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CENTER FOR GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP
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DEUTSCHHEIM STATE HISTORIC SITE
HERMANN, MISSOURI
September 17, 2016 – February 28, 2017
INTRODUCTION

A collaborative effort shares the work of Missouri’s German abolitionists with a contemporary audience.

Dr. Sydney Norton and I first met when she was preparing a paper on German immigrant abolitionists for presentation at the Society of German American Scholars conference in St. Louis in 2015. A visit to Deutschheim State Historic Site revealed new insights into the significance of the German language press and its fight against slavery. From that beginning this exhibit took form and has traveled from the Center for Global Citizenship at Saint Louis University to Deutschheim State Historic Site in Hermann. This catalog enriches the exhibition experience, providing a deeper understanding of the significant contributions made by Missouri German immigrants, many of whom dedicated their lives to fighting for emancipation and social justice.

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Special recognition is owed Dr. Sydney Norton for her research on this important topic and her highly successful efforts to bring it to the attention of a contemporary audience.

Cynthia Browne
Deutschheim State Historic Site
Panorama of Europe (Sweeping out the Radicals), 1849. Lithograph by Ferdinand Schröder (1818-1859), Düsseldorf Monatsheft, Issue 2, 1849 (cat 58)
German Immigrant Abolitionists:
Fighting for a Free Missouri

SYDNEY NORTON

GERMAN IMMIGRANT ABOLITIONISM: THE ORIGINS

The passionate anti-slavery 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 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-Eighers—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 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, and a Stay of Several Years along the Missouri. Elberfeld, Germany: 1829. (cat 1) Courtesy Dorris Keeven-Franke
scribed 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. 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.3 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.4 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

2 Duden, 8.
3 Duden, 115.
4 Duden, 48.
United Stated as part of the Giessen Emigration Society in August, 1834. He settled in the German-populated town of 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. 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.

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."

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."

5 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.

6 In a note to the readers of Anzeiger des Westens Münch sheds light on the survival difficulties encountered by pioneer families 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), 304.


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.”

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.”

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 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.11

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 the 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.12 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 horse-breeder 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."13

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.

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 anti-slavery 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.14

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.

11 While the Germans were staunch supporters of the civil liberties that they believed went hand in hand with democracy, many were still 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 slavery must be stopped in the non-slave states, 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. As translated in Rowan, 85-86.


13 Ibid.

14 Erin McCawley Renn, Missouri Germans and Slavery (Hermann, Mo: Missouri Department of Natural Resources), 4.

Inset: An original copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin in German (cat 24)
culture and traditions of Germany. They were the founders and coeditors of Licht-Freund, a rationalist newspaper based in Hermann, which later became known as the Hermanner Wochenblatt. While 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.15

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.16 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.17

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

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15 Renn, 5.
16 Ibid.
17 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.
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 a 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."19

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.20

Intimidation 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.21

ARNOLD KREKEL: EMANCIPATOR, EDUCATOR AND SELF-MADE MAN

Progressive and politically active German immigrants like Münch, Mühl, and Strely 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

18 Renn, 6.
19 Hermann Volksblatt, 27 April, 1861. Transl. Elmer Dalumer in "Damen & Dutch" for the Union (Hermann, MO: Gasconade County Historical Society), 11.
20 As quoted in Hildegard Binder Johnson "Adjustment to the United States,” in Zucker, 66.
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.22

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 heading towards 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.23 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.24 Despite Arnold’s skepticism about organized religion, he was an unflinching supporter of his family and community’s religious beliefs, helping to fund the Catholic Church of St. Charles and by donating four acres of land in O’Fallon, Missouri for the erection of Assumption Catholic Church in O’Fallon, Missouri, where his younger brother Nicholas established a parish.25

The German community to which Krekel belonged in St. Charles also encountered antipathy from Anglo-Americans who were challenged by these immigrants’ foreign tongue and culture, their anti-slavery stance, and their loyalty to the Union. During the 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.26 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.

22 Joan M Juern, More Than the Sum of His Parts: Arnold Krekel (Augusta, Mo.: Mallinckrodt Communications Research, 1999), 3-5.
23 German immigrants remembered the injustices they left behind in the German states 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.
24 Juern, 7.
25 Ibid.
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 ties, during the Civil War, had saved Krekel’s prompt action and activity. 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.”

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 not only for immediate and uncompensated emancipation of the slaves, but also for voting rights and equal access to education. Germans were by no means 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 of these Germans 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. 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. 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. 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 didn’t 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 the 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. 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.30

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.31 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

27 Juern, 13, as quoted in O’Fallon Centennial 49.
28 Anderson, 172-173.
29 Anderson, 174.
31 Lorenzo Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Antonio E. Holland, Missouri’s Black Heritage. Rev ed. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993). During the 1840s numerous slave pens existed throughout St. Louis. By the 1850s, however, this number decreased to one.
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.”

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 widespread 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 and hemp-growing empires to territories west of Missouri. 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 relation-
ship between pro- and anti-slavery 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.”

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 has concocted a hunter for a conscienceless presidency, [and] has pushed through a miserable administration which we are supposed to recognize as holy and unalterable, simply because it has been written into the statute book albeit through lying and fraud.”

It was amidst this political and social turmoil centered about the question of slavery that the Forty-Eighters arrived in St. Louis. 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 their more politically active counterparts as Stimmtrieb, 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, Freilighath 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.

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

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35 Anzeiger des Westens, 6 May, 1855. My translation.
36 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 1,380 were free and 2,676 slaves. Statistics calculated from Anderson, 14, as cited from Seventh Census of the United States 1850, Statistics of Missouri (Washington, DC: Robert Armstrong public printer, 1853).
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 1852 brought him to Paris, where he published the political journal Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift. 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. 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...

Inset: United States Volunteers Attacked by the Mob from the Steps of the Second Presbyterian Church, Corner of Fifth and Walnut Street, on May 11, 1861. Wood engraving after Mat Hastings, 1861. (cat 76) Courtesy Missouri History Museum

Left: Missouri Volunteer Militia Uniform 1st Regiment. Worn by pro-southern militia men under General Daniel M. Frost when they were captured at Camp Jackson (cat 78). Loaned to Saint Louis University and Deutschheim State Historic Site by Frank Aufmuth, Jr.

Right: Brown Sack Coat. Worn by the mostly German United States Volunteers under Capt. Nathaniel Lyon when they occupied Camp Jackson. They did not have U.S. Army uniforms. (cat 79) Loaned to Saint Louis University and Deutschheim State Historic Site by Frank Aufmuth, Jr.
slavery intensified, Boernstein became active in Republican politics, convincing his readers that the new anti-slavery 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.40

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.41 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 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 General 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-drunk 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.42

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, 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."43

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

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40 Boernstein, 124.
42 Boernstein, 303.
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.44 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 unbroken.” 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.45 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 200,000.46

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.

44 Öfele, 45-46.
45 Öfele, 59.

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.47

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.48 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.49

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 largest of the four Federal battalions making Sherman’s march through Georgia to the sea.50 After the war Osterhaus was appointed as Consul in Lyons, France, and eventually settled in Duisberg, 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, the vast majority 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 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 '48 uprisings, thousands 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."

**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,

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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.52

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.53 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 1868.54

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 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.

Women’s dorm room in the Barnes-Krekel Hall at Lincoln University, constructed in honor of Howard Barnes, former slave and advocate for state funding, and benefactor Arnold Krekel. (cat 119) Courtesy Lincoln University Archives.

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. 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.


53 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 Pretorius, owner and editor of the liberal newspaper Westliche Post; Georg Thilenius, a St. Louis candlemaker; attorney Georg Hillgartner; and Isidor Bush, an Austrian-Jewish viticulturalist and businessman from St. Louis. Anderson, 176-177.

54 In Warren County, where Münch resided, the vote for black suffrage in 1866 was 706 “no” to 408 “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 (135-65)—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), 361-385.

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 for many years and serving on the executive committee of the Board of Trustees. In 1881, Barnes-Krekel Hall was built on the Lincoln 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.56

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 the 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.

Sydney Norton is assistant professor of German at Saint Louis University.

GOTTFRID DUDEN AND EARLY GERMAN SETTLERS IN MISSOURI

1. Gottfried Duden (1789-1853). Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America, and a Stay of Several Years along the Missouri. Elberfeld, Germany: 1829. Loaned to Saint Louis University by Dorris Keeven-Franke

2. Photograph of Duden’s Hill, located on the former farm of Jacob Haun, a German American who purchased the farm in 1819, and provided a place for Duden to stay when he arrived in 1824. Duden describes the Missouri hillside from where he writes, which was north of his own property, along Lake Creek, which flows past Dutzwär. It is located across the Missouri River from today’s Washington, about fifty miles from St. Louis.Courtesy Dorris Keeven-Franke

3. A German Farm in Missouri, published in Friedrich Münch’s Der Staate Missouri (Emigration Guide to Missouri), published in Germany, c. 1859. This etching is probably the work of Theodore Brüere, who lived with Münch on his farm after he emigrated.Courtesy Dorris Keeven-Franke

FRIEDRICH MÜNCH

4. Friedrich and Luise Münch, c. 1832. Oil on canvas, painted in Nieder-Gemünden. Courtesy Missouri History Museum

5. Call and Declaration of the Subject of Mass Emigration from Germany to the North American Free States, Giessen: 1833. Courtesy Missouri History Museum


7. Friedrich Münch (1799-1881), 1859. Photograph. Courtesy Missouri History Museum

8. Watercolor of barn on Friedrich Münch’s farm, 1873. Courtesy Missouri History Museum


11. St. Charles Demokrat article: June 12, 1862

12. Berthold Münch (1843-1861). Photograph. Friedrich’s youngest son, Berthold, died at the Battle of Wilson’s Creek, just two months shy of his 18th birthday. Courtesy Dorris Keeven-Franke and shared from the family archives of descendant Carol Muench

PAULINE MÜNCH BUSCH


15. Jewelry owned by Pauline Münch Busch. Loaned to Saint Louis University and Deutschheim State Historic Site by Marilyn H. Merritt

16. Photograph of Busch Family Farm, c. 1870s. Courtesy Marilyn H. Merritt

17. Busch Family Celebration, c. 1870s. Photograph. The young slave about whom Pauline wrote in her letter to Germany remained with the Busch family after the Civil War. She is standing in the lower right corner of the picture. Her name is unknown. Courtesy Marilyn H. Merritt.

HERMANN’S PROGRESSIVE NEWSPAPERS

18. Portraits of Eduard Mühl (1800-1854) and Carl Strehly (1810-1876). Oil on canvas. Courtesy Deutschheim State Historic Site

19. The Strehly House, home of Hermanner Wochenblatt, built in 1842. Courtesy Deutschheim State Historic Site

20. Photograph of Eduard Mühl’s typebox, brought from Cincinnati to Hermann in 1843. Courtesy Deutschheim State Historic Site


22. The Hermanner Wochenblatt press. Photograph. Courtesy Deutschheim State Historic Site

23. Front page of Hermanner Wochenblatt, which features one of the 26 installments of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s anti-slavery novel, Uncle Tom’s Cabin. July 29, 1853. Courtesy Historic Hermann Museum


25. Article from Hermanner Volksblatt, April 27, 1861, the anti-slavery newspaper that followed Hermanner Wochenblatt after Mühle died from cholera in 1854. Courtesy Gasconade County Historical Society Archives


27. Civil War-era powder horn from Gasconade County. Loaned to Saint Louis University by Historic Hermann Museum

28. Sword and sheath owned by Nicholas Schwarzenbad, a Hermann resident. Loaned to Saint Louis University by Historic Hermann Museum

29. Nicholas Schwarzenbad’s enrollment form for Regiment of Missouri Militia, Gasconade County. Loaned to Saint Louis University by Historic Hermann Museum

JUDGE ARNOLD KREKEL—EDUCATOR, EMANCIPATOR, AND SELF-MADE MAN


31. Front page of St. Charles Demokrat, June 12, 1962 Courtesy Missouri History Museum

32. St. Charles Demokrat article showing local Republican ticket with Arnold Krekel and Friedrich Münch running for office. October 23, 1862. Courtesy Missouri History Museum

33. Cannonball used in Civil War found along Missouri Pacific tracks outside of Hermann. Loaned to Saint Louis University by Historic Hermann Museum

34. Two G.A.R. (Grand Army of the Republic) hat emblems. The G.A.R. was a fraternal organization of Union Army veterans. Loaned to Saint Louis University by Historic Hermann Museum

35. Front page of Hermanner Volksblatt, April 27, 1861. Courtesy Gasconade Historical Society

36. Henriette “Jette” Bruns (1813-1899), c. 1863. Photograph. Jette Bruns came to Missouri in the 1830s. Her husband and son enlisted in the Union army during the Civil War. After the death of her husband in 1864, Jette opened a boarding house in Jefferson City, which was often frequented by German politicians. Due to the fiery political debates among these Radical Republicans, Arnold Krekel named Jette’s house the “Radical Corner.” Courtesy The State Historical Society of Missouri


38. Bodice, c. 1840. Silk damask, trimmed with silk fringe and lace. Original owner unknown. This hand-sewn bodice would have been worn with a matching skirt, most likely for formal occasions or church. Loaned to Saint Louis University by Dr. Silvana Siddali

39. Bodice, c. 1840. Wool, hand-sewn and hand-printed with wool blocks. Original owner unknown. This would have been worn with a matching skirt, most likely for less formal occasions, such as visits or errands in town. Loaned to Saint Louis University by Dr. Silvana Siddali

40. Bodice, c. 1860. Printed silk. Original owner unknown, though probably the same owner as the other bodices in the exhibit. This machine-stitched bodice would have been worn with a matching skirt, for very formal occasions such as evening dinners, dances, or even ball. Loaned to Saint Louis University by Dr. Silvana Siddali
ANTEBELLUM ST. LOUIS

41. A Sketch of the St. Louis Riverfront in 1848. Steel engraving by Henry Fisher. Courtesy Missouri History Museum

42. St. Louis from the Mississippi River, c. 1870. Hand tinted lithograph, published in Harper’s Weekly. Loaned to Saint Louis University by Marilyn H. Merritt

43. The Lieve at St. Louis, c. 1850s. Lithograph. Loaned to Saint Louis University by Marilyn H. Merritt

44. View of Front Street, 1840. Lithograph by John Caspar Wild. The image depicts the bustling crowded space that the St. Louis levee had become. Courtesy Missouri History Museum

45. View of the City of St. Louis, looking from the East, 1850. Lithograph, published in Harper’s Weekly. Loaned to Saint Louis University by Marilyn H. Merritt

46. H.E. Hayward and Slave Nurse Louisa, Missouri, c. 1858. Courtesy Missouri History Museum


SOCIAL VOLATILITY AND POLITICAL UNREST IN MISSOURI

48. A woodcut illustration depicting a pro-slavery riot at the Alton newspaper press of Elijah Lovejoy, where he was murdered, 1837. Courtesy Missouri History Museum

49. Lynch’s slave pen at 104 Locust in St. Louis, c. 1852. Thomas M. Easterly Daguerrotype Collection. Courtesy Missouri History Museum


SLAVERY VERSUS FREEDOM IN MISSOURI

51. James Milton Turner (1839-1915). Born a slave in Missouri and became the state’s most prominent post-Civil War black leader. Courtesy Lincoln University Archives

52. Reverend Moses Dickson (1824–1901) Prominent St. Louis minister and a co-organizer of the Missouri Equal Rights League, 1865. Courtesy The State Historical Society of Missouri


54. Bob Wilkinson, c. 1860. Barber at the Southern Hotel, St. Louis, who is named in Cyprian Clamorgan’s book, The Colored Aristocracy of St. Louis, as one of the 45 free black aristocrats of St. Louis. Photograph. Courtesy Missouri History Museum

55. “Visit to Dred Scott: His Family, Incidents of his Life, Decision of the Supreme Court,” from Frank Leslie’s Illustrated, June 27, 1857. Courtesy Missouri History Museum

THE ARRIVAL OF THE FORTY-EIGHTERS

56. Map of Europe showing the centers of rebellion during the 1848 revolution. 1848 revolutionary flag. Made by Dr. Evelyn Meyer. The origins of the German flag is unknown and the colors’ symbolism varies from source to source. Turnvater Jahn, nationalist and father of the Turnverein (gymnastics) movement in Germany, explained them as “out of the black of night of slavery through bloody strife to the golden dawn of freedom.” After the Napoleonic wars, the flag became the symbol for German unity and therefore the flag for the 1848 Revolution. 58. Panorama of Europe (Sweeping out the Radicals), 1849. Lithograph by Ferdinand Schröder (1818-1859), Düsseldorf Monatsheft, Issue 2, 1849. Caricature on the suppression of the revolution by the reactionary forces. The revolutions are sent from Prussia to Switzerland and are shipped to America by French President Napoleon III. In England trade is flourishing under the reign of Queen Victoria. In Denmark the king is triumphant. In Austria-Hungary the people revolt in vain against the feudal system. In Warsaw the lights go out.

FRIEDRICH HECKER: REVOLUTIONARY AND RADICAL REPUBLICAN

59. Friedrich Hecker at the Battle of Kandern, April 20, 1848. Engraving. Courtesy Saint Louis Mercantile Library

60. Colonel Friedrich Hecker, 1861. Photograph. Courtesy Saint Louis Mercantile Library

61. Civil War-era powder horn used in Gasconade County. Loaned to Saint Louis University by Historic Hermann Museum

62. Letter from Brigadier General Ulysses S. Grant to Colonel Friedrich Hecker, Ironton, Missouri, August 16, 1861. Courtesy Saint Louis Mercantile Library

63. Pass issued to Private Friedrich Hecker as a member of the 3rd Missouri Regiment, commanded by Franz Sigel, May 25, 1861. Courtesy Saint Louis Mercantile Library

THE GERMAN PRESS IN ST. LOUIS AND SUPPORT FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY: HEINRICH (HENRY) BOERNSTEIN

64. Heinrich (Henry) Boernstein (1805-1892), 1861 Engraving from a photograph by Charles Brown. Courtesy Missouri History Museum

65. View of Broadway in St. Louis. Illustrated London News, May 1, 1858. Courtesy of St. Louis Mercantile Library

66. Portraits of Heinrich and Maria Boernstein, Vienna, c. 1830s. Oil on canvas by Karl Ludwig Philippot, court painter to Prince Schwarzenberg. Private Collection


68. Front page of Anzeiger des Westens, January 31, 1856. Courtesy Missouri History Museum

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE GERMANS


70. First statewide ticket of the Missouri Republican Party, 1860. Courtesy Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri-St. Louis, Free Gemende Papers

71. Heinrich Boernstein, 1873. Carte de visite. Courtesy Missouri History Museum

THE CAMP JACKSON AFFAIR

72. Historic Old Camp Jackson. Camp Jackson, St. Louis, MO, with units of the pro-Southern Missouri Militia drilling, May 1861. Photograph. Courtesy Missouri History Museum

73. Camp Jackson, after Survey of Edward B. Sayers, Missouri Volunteer Militia. Courtesy Saint Louis Mercantile Library


75. Camp Jackson. Color lithograph by E. Robyn, c. 1862. Courtesy Missouri History Museum

76. United States Volunteers Attacked by the Mob from the Steps of the Second Presbyterian Church, Corner of Fifth and Walnut Street, on May 11, 1861. Wood engraving after Mat Hastings, Harper’s Weekly, June 1, 1861, p. 349. Courtesy Missouri History Museum
77. Small contemporary map of Civil War battles in Missouri, c. 1865.
Courtesy St. Louis Mercantile Library

78. Missouri Volunteer Militia Uniform 1st Regiment. In 1857 General Daniel M. Frost “modernized” his 1st Regiment in St. Louis by requiring each militia company to adopt dark blue frock coats with white cross belts. The uniform was described as a facsimile of the U.S. Army uniform. This is the uniform the 1st Regiment would have been wearing at the time of their capture by the mostly German United States volunteers at Camp Jackson.
Loaned to Saint Louis University and Deutschheim State Historic Site by Frank Aufmuth, Jr.

79. Brown Sack Coat. With Capt. Nathaniel Lyon taking quick action to protect the United States Arsenal in St. Louis, there was little time for the newly raised, mostly German, United States Volunteers to acquire uniforms in time for the capture of Camp Jackson. Many reported to the Arsenal in civilian clothing to receive muskets, ten rounds of ammunition per man, and old white belts with “U.S.” belt plates found in the Arsenal but left over from the Mexican war.
Loaned to Saint Louis University and Deutschheim State Historic Site by Frank Aufmuth, Jr.

80. The Gray Work Shirt. Following Camp Jackson, the leadership of St. Louis’ U.S. Volunteers struggled to uniform the men. Lacking time and funds for proper uniforms, gray work shirts were procured. Many of the U.S. volunteers in Missouri appeared on the battlefields of Booneville, Carthage, and Wilson’s Creek in gray shirts similar to this one.
Loaned to Saint Louis University and Deutschheim State Historic Site by Frank Aufmuth, Jr.

THE TURNER SOCIETIES
86. Cigar box with illustration of Turnvater Jahn (1778-1852). Friedrich Ludwig Jahn was a gymnastics educator and gymnast. His followers knew him as “Turnvater Jahn” (father of gymnastics). Jahn taught his gymnasts to regard themselves as members of a kind of guild for the emancipation of their fatherland. The date of the drawing is unknown.
Courtesy Washington Historical Society

87. St. Louis Turnverein, 1860. Lithograph by Adolf Boettger featuring 99 men in the St. Louis Turnverein organization enjoying a picnic in a woodland setting.
Courtesy Missouri History Museum

88. St. Louis Turner Hall on 10th between Market and Walnut, 1902. Photograph by Andrew J. O’Reilly.
Courtesy Missouri History Museum

Loaned to Saint Louis University and Deutschheim State Historic Site by Washington Historical Society

90. Images of gymnastic and stretching exercises from Die Turnübungen des gemischten Sprunges.
Courtesy Washington Historical Society

91. Indian clubs used by Washington Turner Society, c. 1870s.
Loaned to Saint Louis University and Deutschheim State Historic Site by Washington Historical Society

92. Dumbbells used by Hermann Turner Society, c. 1860s.
Loaned to Saint Louis University and Deutschheim State Historic Site by Historic Hermann Museum

Courtesy Washington Historical Society

94. Turner Hall in Washington, Missouri, c. 1870s.
Courtesy Washington Historical Society

95. “Wieder ein Dementi für die Sudrechtshelden” (Again a Denunciation of the Heroes of Southern Law). Anzeiger des Westens, December 8, 1855. Written by the St. Louis Turners to the Charleston Turners, stating disapproval of the Society’s cowardice about speaking out against slavery. They request that the Charleston organization withdraw from the Turner league.
Courtesy Missouri History Museum

96. Franz Wilhelmi (1827-1883), c. 1859. Photograph. Franz Wilhelmi was a founder of the Washington Turner Society. At the outbreak of the war he took a decided stance on behalf of the Union, and was instrumental in raising one of the first companies that went from Franklin County. On September 25, 1861, he was commissioned Captain of Co. “G,” the 17th Mo. Infantry Vol. In July 11th, 1864, he was commissioned Major of the regiment.
Courtesy Washington Historical Society

Courtesy Washington Historical Society

THE GERMAN IMMIGRANT AS SOLDIER: FRANZ SIGEL
Courtesy Missouri History Museum

Courtesy Library of Congress

83. Memorial dedicated to Franz Sigel and German-American troops who fought for Union in the Civil War, Forest Park. Photograph.
Courtesy Washington Historical Society

84. Peter Osterhaus (1823-1917), General, U.S. Army, 1863. Lithograph by H. Spies.
Courtesy Missouri History Museum

85. Civil War-era Sword, c. 1860s.
Courtesy Washington Historical Society

86. Images of gymnastic and stretching exercises from Die Turnübungen des gemischten Sprunges.
Courtesy Washington Historical Society

87. St. Louis Turnverein, 1860. Lithograph by Adolf Boettger featuring 99 men in the St. Louis Turnverein organization enjoying a picnic in a woodland setting.
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88. St. Louis Turner Hall on 10th between Market and Walnut, 1902. Photograph by Andrew J. O’Reilly.
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Loaned to Saint Louis University and Deutschheim State Historic Site by Washington Historical Society

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91. Indian clubs used by Washington Turner Society, c. 1870s.
Loaned to Saint Louis University and Deutschheim State Historic Site by Washington Historical Society

92. Dumbbells used by Hermann Turner Society, c. 1860s.
Loaned to Saint Louis University and Deutschheim State Historic Site by Historic Hermann Museum

Courtesy Washington Historical Society

94. Turner Hall in Washington, Missouri, c. 1870s.
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Courtesy Washington Historical Society

Courtesy Washington Historical Society
AFRICAN AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN THE CIVIL WAR

101. Unidentified African American soldier in Union uniform with a rifle and revolver at Benton Barracks, Saint Louis, Missouri, c. 1864. Photograph
Courtesy Library of Congress

Courtesy Missouri History Museum

AUGUSTUS BOERNSTEIN AND THE UNITED STATES COLORED TROOPS

103. Letter from Augustus Boernstein to Colonel Duncan. October 4 1864.
Courtesy Library of Congress

104. Officers of the 4th U.S. Colored Infantry, District of Columbia, Fort Slocum, 1865. Photograph
Courtesy Library of Congress

105. Company E of the 4th U.S. Colored Infantry, 1865. Photograph
Courtesy Library of Congress

106. Chaffin's Farm, where Augustus Boernstein led members of the 4th and 6th U.S. Colored Infantry in battle. Photograph
Courtesy Library of Congress

107. Christian Abraham Fleetwood (1840-1914), c. 1900. Photograph. In his letter to Colonel Duncan, Boernstein described Fleetwood's gallant performance at the Battle of Chaffin's Farm: "He picked up the national colors... We lost 200 men but our honor is unshaken." For this Fleetwood received a Medal of Honor.
Courtesy Library of Congress

FREEDOM FOR MISSOURI'S SLAVES

Courtesy Missouri History Museum

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

110. An Ordinance Abolishing Slavery in Missouri, signed January 11, 1865.
Courtesy Missouri History Museum

RECONSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION IN MISSOURI: LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

111. Members of the 65th USCT, c. 1865. Photograph.
Courtesy Lincoln University Archives

112. Lieutenant Richard Baxter Foster (1826-1901), Commanding Officer of the 62nd USCT. He worked with many of his soldiers to establish Lincoln Institute after the Civil War. He became the first principal of the school in 1866.
Photograph
Courtesy Lincoln University Archives

113. Private Logan Bennett. Photograph. Logan Bennett was a former slave and one of the last surviving members of the 65th USCT who contributed funds to the founding of Lincoln Institute. He was a life-long resident of Jefferson City. His receipt for contribution of $10 is also shown here.
Courtesy Lincoln University Archives

114. By the Campfire, 1940. Oil on canvas, painted by Hiram Jackson. This painting depicts members of the 62nd Regiment, USCT, who were stationed in Fort Bravos, Texas, discussing plans to establish a school in Missouri for African-Americans following the U.S. Civil War.
Photograph
Courtesy Lincoln University Archives

115. Replica of the 62nd USCT Battle Flag.
Loaned to Saint Louis University by Lincoln University Archives

116. Charter of the Lincoln University Board of Trustees on which German immigrant Judge Arnold Krekel, shown here, served for many years, 1866.
Courtesy Lincoln University Archives

117. Lincoln Institute, c. 1869. The photograph shows a prominent view of the entrance gates that lead to the top of the hill where the main campus buildings of Lincoln Institute were located.
Courtesy Lincoln University Archives

118. Barnes-Krekel House, constructed 1881-82. Photograph. The building was used as a women's dormitory, campus dining room, and recreation area. The structure was named for Howard Barnes, a former slave who became a businessman and lobbied for Lincoln Institute to receive state funds, and Arnold Krekel, who supported the school through fundraising. The building was demolished during the 1960s.
Courtesy Lincoln University Archives

119. Women's dorm room and cafeteria in Barnes-Krekel Hall. Photograph.
Courtesy Lincoln University Archives

120. Foundational stone from Barnes-Krekel Hall. Photograph.
Courtesy Lincoln University Archives

121. Lincoln University with memorial to the soldiers and officers of the 62nd and 65th regiments, 2015. Photograph.
Courtesy Lincoln University Archives


CARL SCHURZ: A CELEBRITY AMONG GERMAN-AMERICANS

123. Portrait of Carl Schurz (1829-1906), 1870. Steel engraving by George E. Perine.
Courtesy Missouri History Museum

124. Masthead for Mississippi Blätter (Mississippi Pages), the Sunday edition of Westliche Post and image of Editorial Room of the Westliche Post newspaper. Carl Schurz is seated lower left next to the table, c. 1868.
Courtesy Missouri History Museum

Courtesy Missouri History Museum

126. Puck Magazine cover image: Puck with Chapman Glass, 1873. The German-American satirical magazine Puck was published in St. Louis between 1871 and 1876 by Viennese immigrant Joseph Ferdinand Keppler (1838-1894). From 1876 until 1918 it was published in New York.
Courtesy Missouri History Museum

127. “Triumphal Entrance of U.S. Grant in St. Louis and Reception of Carl Schurz in St. Louis.” Puck Magazine, No. 9, 1873. The German-American satirical magazine Puck illustrates Carl Schurz’s celebrity status among the largely German population of St. Louis, compared with Ulysses S. Grant’s meager reception.
Courtesy Missouri History Museum

128. “Carl Schurz as Don Quixote attacking the U.S. Windmill.” Cartoon by Thomas Nast, published in Harper’s Weekly, April 6, 1872. Nast draws from Miguel de Cervantes’s Don Quixote to parody liberal Republican senators Carl Schurz of Missouri (left) as the title character and Thomas Tipton of Nebraska (right) as his sidekick, Sancho Panza. The cartoonist depicts the liberal Republicans’ effort to malign the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant by investigating alleged illegal arms sales to France as a quixotic (i.e., unrealistic) attack on windmills, as in the novel.
Courtesy Missouri History Museum

129. “Carl Schurz as Carpetbagger.” Political Cartoon by Thomas Nast, Harper’s Weekly, 1872. In this cartoon Thomas Nast vilifies Schurz as a corrupt carpetbagger who moved south to Missouri, using his personal power for political gain.
Courtesy Missouri History Museum

130. Broadside advertising meeting at the St. Louis Courthouse for a rally in show of support for Republicans, abolitionism, and the continuation of the Civil War, October 25, 1864.
Courtesy Missouri History Museum

131. Replica of Union sack coat with kepi and equipage.
Loaned to Saint Louis University by Mark Breckenridge.

Courtesy Missouri History Museum
An Ordinance Abolishing Slavery in Missouri, handwritten and signed by Judge Arnold Krekel, president of the Missouri State Convention, 1865. (cat 109)

Courtesy Missouri State Archives
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. — Eduard Mühl, editor of the Hermanner Wochenblatt

Publisher Eduard Mühl arrived in Hermann, Missouri, with this type box in 1843. The Hermanner Wochenblatt press pictured on the front cover and the type box are on display at Deutschheim State Historic Site.