Andrew Stuart Bergerson | Thorsten Logge (Eds.)

GERMAN MIGRATION TO MISSOURI

A TRANSNATIONAL STUDENT RESEARCH PROJECT [1.0/2019]

UMKC College of Arts and Sciences
UMSL
Universität Hamburg
DER FORSCHUNG | DER LEHRE | DER BILDUNG
Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Hamburg
Missouri Germans Consortium

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Titelbild: "A stretch of the Missouri River between Rocheport, MO and Boonville, MO" (cropped and edited) by Aimee Castenell, CC BY-NC 2.0

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Andrew S. Bergerson | Thorsten Logge

FOREWORD: GERMAN MIGRATION TO MISSOURI – A TRANSNATIONAL LEARNING EXPERIENCE

In the Fall of 2018, a select group of history graduate students participated in what may very well be the first-ever transatlantic graduate research seminar. The students were enrolled in history or public history programs in the United States at the University of Missouri-Kansas City (UMKC) and the University of Missouri-St. Louis (UMSL) and in Germany at the Universität Hamburg. Our research topic was, appropriately, the transatlantic history of German migration to Missouri.

The issue of migration is as relevant today to current events as it is politically controversial. In both the European Union and the United States, however, current public debates on migration tend to lack the depth of understanding and factual accuracy afforded by history. In addition to informing contemporary debates about migration policy, exploring the transnational history of migration between the German states and America in the long nineteenth century can also enhance our understanding not only of ourselves as Germans, Americans, and something in-between but also of migration as an anthropological constant in the experience of human beings. Moreover, the lives of Germans and Americans have been intertwined by migration for centuries, so there are numerous opportunities for new scholarship. It makes sense, in an era of unprecedented global interactions, to explore and write this history together. By working transnationally as researchers, we may in turn be able to more fully appreciate the transnational dynamics of migration.

With this goal in mind, we developed the idea of a joint teaching and learning project that would bring students together on both sides of the Atlantic to collaboratively research and write the transnational history of German migration to Missouri. Seeing as we were based in Kansas City, Missouri, and Hamburg, Germany, we could easily build upon the migration histories of our regions. Missouri has a rich tradition of German migration, and its German-American heritage seemed like an ideal starting point given the fact that many of its historical societies, archives, and libraries contained unexploited resources for historical scholarship. Similarly, the city of Hamburg became a major port for migration in the nineteenth century as well as an important transit station for countless German-speaking emigrants to North America. So, we had no difficulties at all to find suitable contents for our seminar. Last but not least, the digital revolution today has provided us with the in-

frastructure for teaching and learning on a global scale. Virtual technology enabled us to provide our students with transatlantic access to digitized source material, online communication spaces for work in intercultural pairs, and guidance for collaborative writing. What began in 2017 as a spontaneous idea gradually became a surprising option and viable opportunity for innovative pedagogy.

Over the course of 2018, two paid interns, Benjamin Roers from Hamburg and Michael Spachek from Kansas City, did the leg work of digitizing the archival collections and library resources to make them accessible to the students online. These internships were generously funded by the Universität Hamburg sponsorship program "Hamburglobal" and the Kemper Center for Digital Humanities at UMKC. Benjamin Roers, a graduate student from Universität Hamburg, identified appropriate primary-source materials in the various archives and libraries in Bremen, Hamburg, Kansas City, St. Louis, and online. Michael Spachek, a graduate student from UMKC funded through the online course share arrangement between UMKC and UMSL, returned to those institutions to scan those resources in their entirety, organize them into collections, and properly reference them. We would like to thank all of these institutions and students for their enthusiastic support and collaboration.

To provide this mixed group of students with the historical and historiographical context for studying German migration to Missouri, we invited seven members of the faculty from the three institutions to join us in writing and filming lectures on such topics as American and German history, immigration and environmental history, as well as the history of everyday life, microhistory, and the use of letters for historical analysis. To these lectures we also added a lecture about the primary sources digitized for this project and an instructional film explaining how to read the old German script. As the course language was English, the German students had the opportunity to participate in micro workshops offered by Susannah Ewing Bölke from the writing center at Universität Hamburg to learn more about relevant text types and writing in English about German source material.

A total of fifteen students enrolled from the three universities: six from UMKC, three from UMSL, and six from Hamburg with three of the fifteen being advanced undergraduates. Nine of those students have completed their work in time to be included in this book. The material published here represents the work of the students at the current state of their studies. As editors, we enhanced their writing to some degree through constructive feedback and critical suggestions for revision, but only in helping them to develop their ideas. The work, and the accomplishment, belongs to the students. In order to be able to assess the respective background of the authors, we have supplemented brief biographies of the authors at the end of each chapter.

We would like to thank the faculty and staff at the participating universities in Kansas City, St. Louis, and Hamburg, who have supported us in our activities and always came up with useful solutions to the many administrative and technical challenges that arose from an inter-university virtual course. We also thank the Hamburg Agency for Civic Education for supporting this project as a publishing partner.

Our teaching experiment faced many challenges and learning opportunities for the students, but also for us as instructors. We will report our experiences in detail in an upcoming publication as an experiment in the online teaching of public history. We are very grateful for having such a group of patient and cooperative students in this experiment. We view this first edition of our eBook as an opportunity to report on our achievements so far, but we are already planning a new iteration in 2020 of this course in which we will use our successes and failures to develop online teaching strategies that will better suit the needs of transatlantic and transnational learning groups. Stay tuned.

Kansas City and Hamburg, May 2019

Andrew S. Bergerson | Thorsten Logge

Jude Carmona

WHO'S IN? WHO STAYS? THE EFFECT OF U.S. LEGISLATION ON GERMAN MIGRATION IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Ill. 1-1: Immigrants on an Atlantic Liner, ca. 1906.

The United States has offered economic opportunities to people from around the world since it was still a collection of British colonies in the seventeenth century. During the Revolutionary War, German soldiers fought for the British as auxiliaries. Called Hessians because many came from that German territory, they were some of the first German immigrants to settle in America by accepting the offer to switch sides in exchange for religious freedom and land. After the Revolutionary War, the Congress of the United States established a more viable government with its second charter, the Constitution, in 1789 and maintained open borders to immigrants seeking economic prosperity. As the legislative branch of the government, Congress was responsible for drafting the laws relating to immigration. Legislators knew that immigration was necessary for the growth, settlement, and prosperity of the country, yet, specific rules for immigration were not formalized into legislation at first. This chapter will explore Federal legislation regarding immigration to determine its impact on German migration. Throughout the nineteenth century, German immigrants continued to experience this same degree of preferential treatment as an ethnic group, resulting in large number of Germans migrating to the United States in general and Missouri in particular.

During the Early Republic, voluntary migrants from other countries were called "aliens" rather than foreigners. The Aliens Friends Act of 1798 (5th Congress, Sess. 2, Ch. 58) entailed instructions for supplying foreign mercenary units for American interests. The law allowed the President to appoint field officers responsible for enlisting targeted groups of alien mercenaries. These field officers could hire, pay, train, equip, loan, and sell arms to these foreign mercenaries. The law also allowed the President to amass a standing order of 10,000 of these foreign mercenaries (Sec. 3) at any time that the President deemed "expedient" and "necessary". These vague parameters in terms of time, duration, and country of origin allowed the President and his field officers a great deal of leeway in exercising favors to the foreign agents who allied U.S. military interests. Similarly, the Alien Enemies Act of 1798 (5th Congress, Sess. 2, Ch. 66) represented the efforts of Congress to define the treatment of people from a country at war with the U.S. Congress empowered the President to make a declaration against any foreign enemy that threatened the U.S., its interests, or its borders. Thereafter, all males age 14 or older could be legally apprehended and expelled from the country. There were no exceptions or grievance processes. Congress empowered the courts to have the final authority in these cases. This broad-sweeping legislation ensured that the President could impose mass deportations on aliens once the country was at war. Congress thus distinguished friends from enemy. The U.S. allowed their borders to remain open to its alien friends, but Congress defined who could remain as a permanent citizen. In the first decades of the Early Republic, German migrants entered and remained in the U.S. unimpeded by either of these laws. Most Germans fell under the Aliens Friends Act thanks to their prior military experience, the color of their skin, and the neutral role played by the states of their origin in the Revolutionary War.[1]

Naturalization laws provide a path to citizenship to a foreign national. The first laws on naturalization were established by Congress in 1790. This legislation was designed to grow the population in the hopes of expanding the economic, military, and territorial strength of the U.S. At the same time, Congress used legislation to set priorities in terms of their ideal candidates for citizenship. It was the Naturalization Act of 1790 (1st Congress, Sess. 2, Ch. 3) that offered the Hessian soldiers and other German immigrants citizenship to the U.S. As its first and most important condition for citizenship, Congress required that the candidate had to be a "free white person". This stipulation appears in the first sentence of the law. Of course, slavery was legal in the U.S. at this time and "non-free" whites such as Irish people could also not be indentured servants. Germans thus enjoyed preferential treatment as migrants simply due to their racial status.

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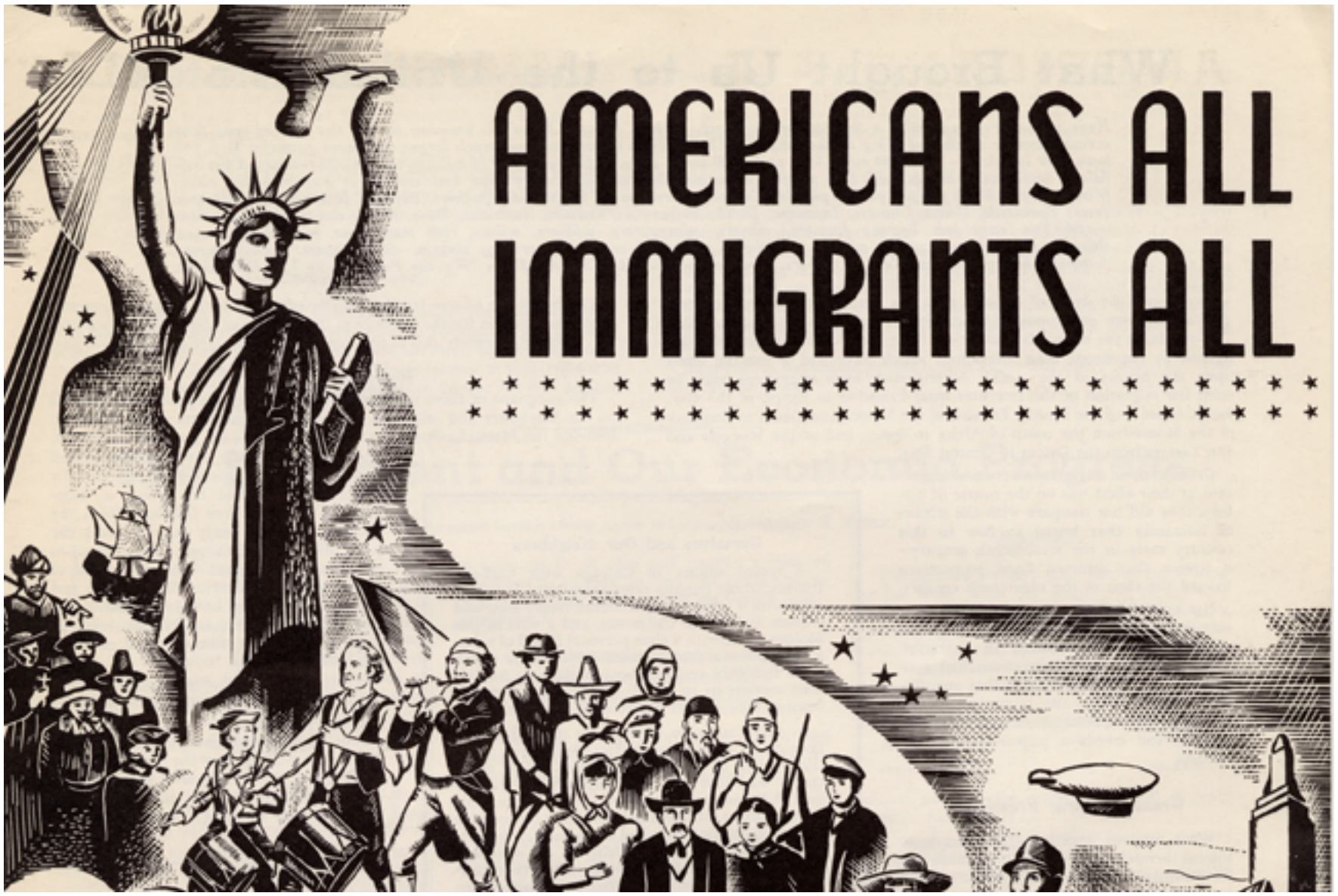
[1] Aliens Friends Act, An Act Concerning Aliens (5th Congress Sess. 2 Chap. 58, 1798); Aliens Enemies Act, An Act Respecting Alien Enemies (5th Congress Sess. 2 Chap. 66, 1798)



Ill. 1-2: Detail of a poster published by the United States Department of the Interior, 1939.

The second requirement for citizenship was an application period: a time under which the alien's application for citizenship was reviewed. In the original legislation in 1790, the application period lasted for two years but would be extended in an amendment in 1795 and other revisions to the naturalization laws. Accordingly, residency in the U.S. became a third element for citizenship. Although the applicant was required to reside in the United States for one year in the 1790 legislation, it included a broad requirement of proving to be a "good" person. After satisfying these requirements, the applicant recited an oath in front of the court whereupon a judge granted citizenship. These requirements were also relatively easy for Hessian mercenaries, seeing as they had already switched sides and fought for the Republic. Germans thus benefitted from the naturalization process of the late eighteenth century. Their race and established credentials allowed them an easy route to citizenship.[2]

In the first half of the nineteenth century, German immigrants flowed into country as the U.S. actively promoted the settlement of new territories in the West. The concept of "manifest destiny" led to westward expansion to the Pacific coast. Networks of roads, canals, and later railroads made it easier for German migrants to reach the furthest frontier

[2] Naturalization Act of 1790, An Act to Establish an Uniform Rule of Naturalization (Sess. 2 Chap. 3, 1790).

of settlement. A large percentage of German immigrants who came to the U.S. during the 1830s and 1840s settled in the newly formed state of Missouri, looking for the economic prosperity that the land offered. Many Germans vocally opposed slavery and were among the strongest advocates for abolition during the Civil War.

After slavery was abolished, the U.S. remained a country primarily of white citizens, but during Reconstruction, westward expansion, the second industrial revolution, and the California gold rush enticed new waves of immigration from a wider range of ethnic and racial groups. The Alien Acts of 1798 were no longer sufficient to regulate the flow of migration to the U.S. in these new circumstances, so Congress introduced new legislation to fit immigration to the demand of a new labor force. The Immigration Act of 1882 established a fee of 50 cents on all immigrants entering the U.S. It applied this fee to a general "immigrant fund" that covered the expenses relating to immigration. At the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, every naval vessel was inspected at the points of entry by field officers and consuls. An entry fee was levied against ships entering the harbors and captains who were unable to pay the fee were not allowed to unload. (47th Congress, Sess. 1, Ch. 376). This fee not only addressed the rising administrative costs of immigration due to the growing numbers of migrants entering the country; it also represented a fundamental shift in values. Immigrants were no longer seen as an economic opportunity for the U.S., but an economic burden. This legislation stifled the flow of immigrants – German or otherwise – who could not afford to pay to enter the U.S. It also set a legislative precedent of making it harder for poor migrants to enter the country. In response, companies specializing in immigration offered to pay the fees levied by the Immigration Act of 1882 in exchange for the promise of employment and a labor force in the U.S. The workers then had to work off the expanses made for them by the companies. The Alien Contract Act of 1885 (48th Congress, Sess. 2, Ch. 164) prohibited this kind of importation of aliens into the country for the purposes of labor. Contracts made by companies and individuals in this fashion were declared void, and punishments of fines and incarceration were used to enforce the law. Foreigners residing in the U.S. were allowed to contract other foreigners outside the country; they could use this "skilled laborer" clause to hire servants, physicians, educators, and managers. In distinguishing between skilled and unskilled labor, Congress was again hindering the immigration of members of the lowest classes. Wealthier and skilled Germans could thus use this legislation to recruit more Germans for immigration.[3] In fact, these class-based distinctions were closely associated with race. The Immigration Act of 1891 (51st Congress, Sess. 2, Ch. 551) included those aspects of the Alien Contract Act of 1885 restricting agreements of immigration fees in exchange for labor, while it also excluded whole new sets of people from enter-

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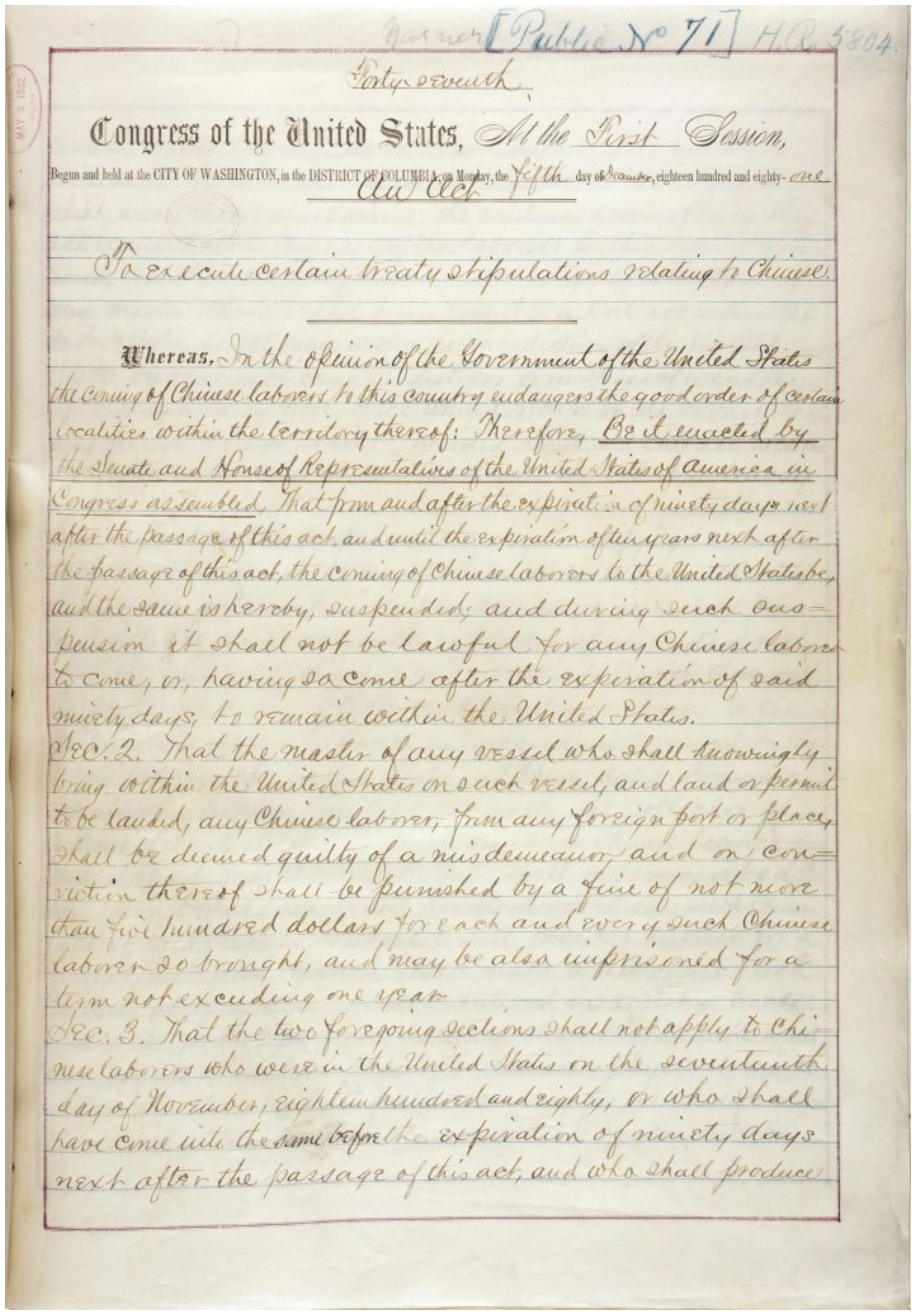
[3] Immigration Act of 1882, An Act to regulate Immigration (47th Congress Sess. 1 Chap. 376 Sec. 1, 1882).


Forty-seventh

Congress of the United States, At the First Session,

Begun and held at the CITY OF WASHINGTON, in the DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, on Monday, the fifth day of December, eighteen hundred and eighty-one

An Act

To execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese.

Whereas, In the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof: Therefore, Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or, having so come after the expiration of said ninety days, to remain within the United States.

SEC. 2. That the master of any vessel who shall knowingly bring within the United States on such vessel, and land or permit to be landed, any Chinese laborer, from any foreign port or place, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars for each and every such Chinese laborer so brought, and may be also imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year.

SEC. 3. That the two foregoing sections shall not apply to Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the seventeenth day of November, eighteen hundred and eighty, or who shall have come into the same before the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and who shall produce

Ill. 1-3: Chinese Exclusion Act, 1882.

ing the U.S.: criminals, the insane, "persons likely to become a public charge", polygamists, and "persons suffering from a loathsome or contagious disease". Congress thus used a range of common stereotypes relating to the poor to reinforce the class distinctions in immigration. Yet these stereotypes are also associated with racial minorities, and it is racial prejudice, specifically anti-Asian, that stands at the forefront of the Immigration Act of 1891.

Chinese people migrated to the U.S. during westward expansion, building railroads and participating in the California gold rush to such a degree that "Chinese laborers" were specifically banned from immigration. Here again, the structural racism that banned Chinese immigrants from economic opportunities in the U.S. allowed German immigrants to prosper in a system that was defined by race. The racial foundations for U.S. immigration are particularly evident in a series of anti-Asian laws enacted from 1875 to 1892. The Page Act of 1875 (43rd Congress, Sess. 2, Ch. 141) was supplementary legislation nicknamed for California Representative Horace F. Page, who wrote the legislation allegedly based upon his concerns about the immoral use of Chinese immigrants during the California gold rush. The law allowed officers of the U.S., called "consuls", to determine whether any subject of "China, Japan, or any Oriental country" was forcibly immigrated to the U.S. for immoral or illegal purposes. The law punished U.S. citizens for taking Chinese immigrants and holding them in indentured servitude or in any other unscrupulous activities. The law also explicitly forbade importing women for the purposes of prostitution, however, without identifying a specific race, suggesting again the ways in which immigration conflated categories of race and class. The remainder of the Page Act outlined rules and punishments for vessels and their captains for violating the previous sections of the legislation, however it specifically identified Chinese and other eastern Asians as a problem that required U.S. intervention, indicating they were unable to care for themselves. In a country still reeling from the abol-

ishment of slavery, this legislation added another tier of racial segregation into the laws determining who can become American.[4]

It is worth mentioning that the vast majority of lawmakers were wealthy white men. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (47th Congress, Sess. 1, Ch. 126) represents renewed efforts of these lawmakers to further limit the flow of immigration from China. The Preamble codifies the racist ideology by stating that it is the opinion of the Government of the United States [that] the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order." To restore "good order," the law suspended the immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years. The Angell Treaty of 1880 between the United States and China formally prevented the U.S. from expelling Chinese laborers, but Congress found a way to limit their access in the U.S. The names of Chinese immigrants already inside the U.S. were recorded and kept in a ledger in a customs house for public record. Chinese people who did not work as laborers were required to have official documents from the Chinese government with English translations in order to travel through the U.S. All Chinese people found in the U.S. without proper documentation were deported. Appropriately, the removal section of this legislation used much of the same language found in the Aliens Enemies Act of 1798 and represented a codification of Chinese-Americans as alien enemies. Above all, this legislation forbade Chinese people from gaining citizenship, proving that Congress wanted to restrict their path to citizenship regardless of documentation or class simply because of their race. The Geary Act of 1892 (52nd Congress, Sess. 1, Ch. 60) – also nicknamed for a California congressman, Senator Thomas Geary – extended the prohibitions of the Chinese Exclusion Act for another ten years for its first directive. It allowed for Chinese persons to be arrested on sight, taken to court immediately, and deported if they lacked documentation. It allowed the Secretary of the Treasury to make any rules and regulations to amend and update the powers of this legislation; and the Geary Act also charged its own fees that were separate from the fees of the Immigration Act of 1891. The Geary Act thus continued the unabashed discrimination against Asian people in the U.S. into the twentieth century. By systematically discriminating against poor, unskilled, and Chinese immigrants, the laws of the late 19th century gave skilled and wealthier Germans an unfair advantage in immigration, naturalization, and economic success as American citizens.[5]

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[4] Immigration Act of 1891, An act in amendment to the various acts relative to immigration and the importation of aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor (51st Congress Sess. 2 Chap. 551, 1891); Page Act, An act supplementary to the acts in relation to immigration (43rd Congress Sess. 2 Chap. 141, 1875).

[5] Chinese Exclusion Act, An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese (47th Congress Sess. 1 Chap. 126, 1882); Geary Act, An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States (52nd Congress Sess. 1 Chap. 60, 1892).

Some of these regulations changed at the turn of the century. The second industrial revolution so expanded the demand for labor that Congress passed new Immigration Acts of 1903 and 1907. On the one hand, they increased the immigration fees that were imposed on ships from 50 cents to two dollars and then to four dollars, in order to address the rising costs of administration. But the past racial qualifications were absent. Chinese were no longer categorically refused entry into the U.S. The Naturalization Act of 1906 similarly removed the "white person" wording from the requirements for citizenship and increased the term for application period and residence. The rising cost of immigration as well as the need to maintain residency shifted the focus from race to economic status. For the first time since the beginning of the country, German immigrants were governed under the same laws as any other immigrant. The only Germans hindered from entering the country would be the poor.[6]

Contrary to the ideals of equality, distinctions of race and class dominated American immigration and naturalization policies in the nineteenth century. The Civil War ended slavery but not the racial tensions between Whites, Blacks, and Asians; and the second industrial revolution and California gold rush only exacerbated class tensions. Of course, German immigrants did not write the legislation that opened the doors of American citizenship to them. The source for this structural racism and classism lay in the attitudes of the wealthy white Congressmen. From the beginning of the Republic, Congress distinguished friend from enemy in order to fill the American continent selectively with only those people that they considered desirable. In particular, German migrants to places like Missouri benefitted from legislation that created an uneven system that stifled the competition with exclusion, segregation, and racism. To be sure, Germans were staunch supporters of abolition and equality, but they also used the system of immigration and naturalization to their advantage.

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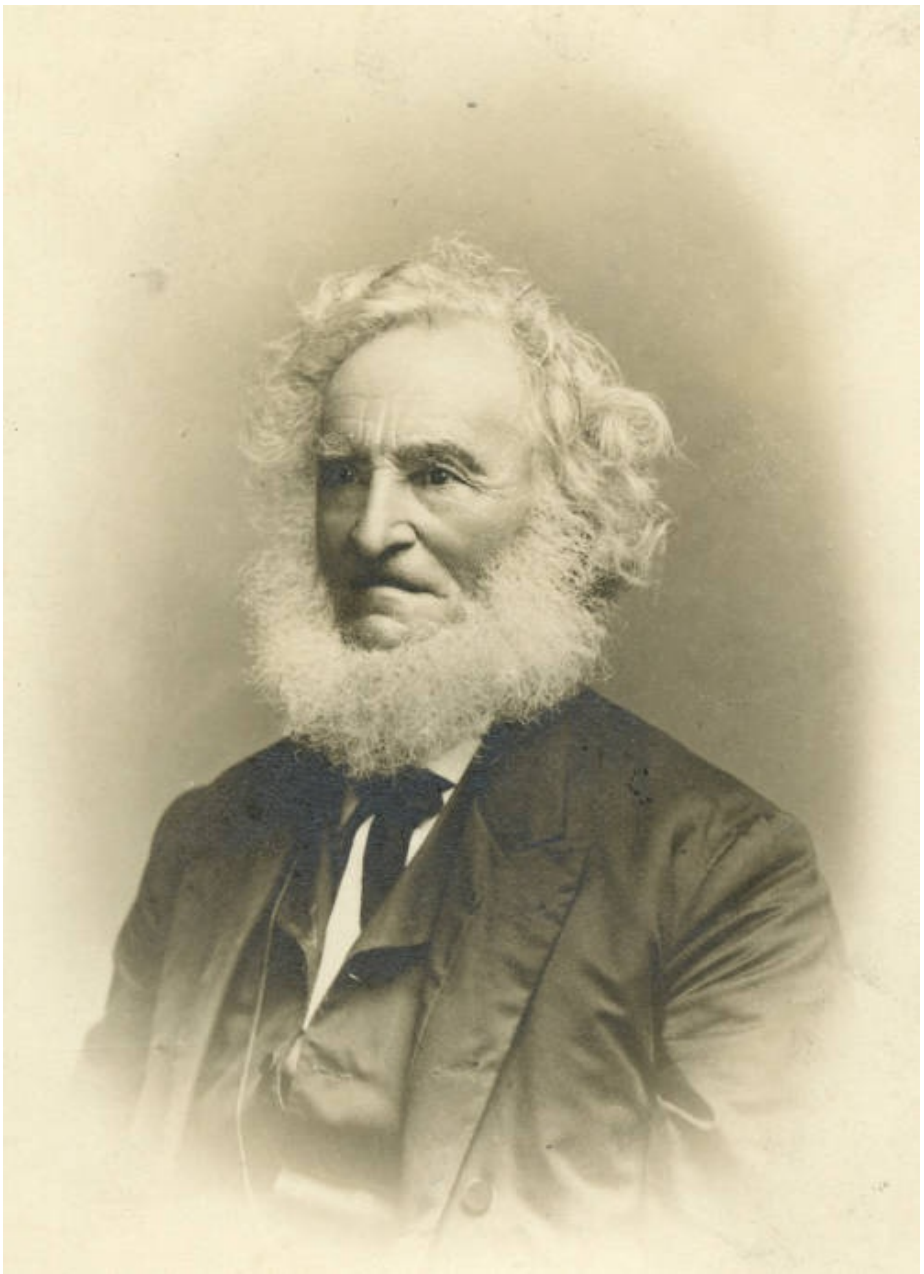
[6] Immigration Act of 1903, An act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States (57th Congress Sess. 2 Chap. 1012, 1903); Immigration Act of 1907, An act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States (59th Congress Sess. 2 Chap. 1134, 1907); Naturalization Act of 1906, An act to establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States (59th Congress Sess. 1 Chap. 3592, 1906).

Alexander Banks | Michael Spachek

GERMAN-AMERICANS AND SLAVERY

In 1862, when the outcome of the Civil War and the question of emancipation was in doubt, Friedrich Muench, a German-American politician, did not doubt his support of freedom. Upon Muench's death in 1881, Franz Rodmann, a political associate of Muench, recalled a conversation after a heated session of the Missouri State Assembly in which he questioned Muench's outspoken support of emancipation. Rodmann questioned whether Muench's passion would hurt the cause. Muench responded fiercely that the "oppressed people of Europe lost their Independence and freedom; the negro lost, besides that, his person. All people have worth as humans, here and now the negro has the worth of a beast." He followed this statement by asking a simple question: "Who is to espouse their cause if we do not do it?"[7] This short exchange in the midst of war leaves no doubt that Muench believed in freedom for all people.



Ill. 2-1: Friedrich Muench.

Prior historians have explored the anti-slavery sentiments of the German community in the U.S. Alison Clark Efford examines how the liberalism of the 1848 rebellion heavily influenced the German-American community. Louis S. Gerteis argues that many Germans did not believe in slavery for pragmatic reasons. If the German-Americans were more inspired by liberalism, and less by pragmatic reasoning, how did their anti-slavery beliefs manifest in their writing and speeches? To answer that question, this chapter relies upon a collection at the Missouri Historical Society relating to German immigration to Missouri from 1834-1947. This collection includes multiple documents that pertain to Friedrich Muench: Muench himself wrote a speech about a new anti-immigration organization in Missouri that he made in front of a

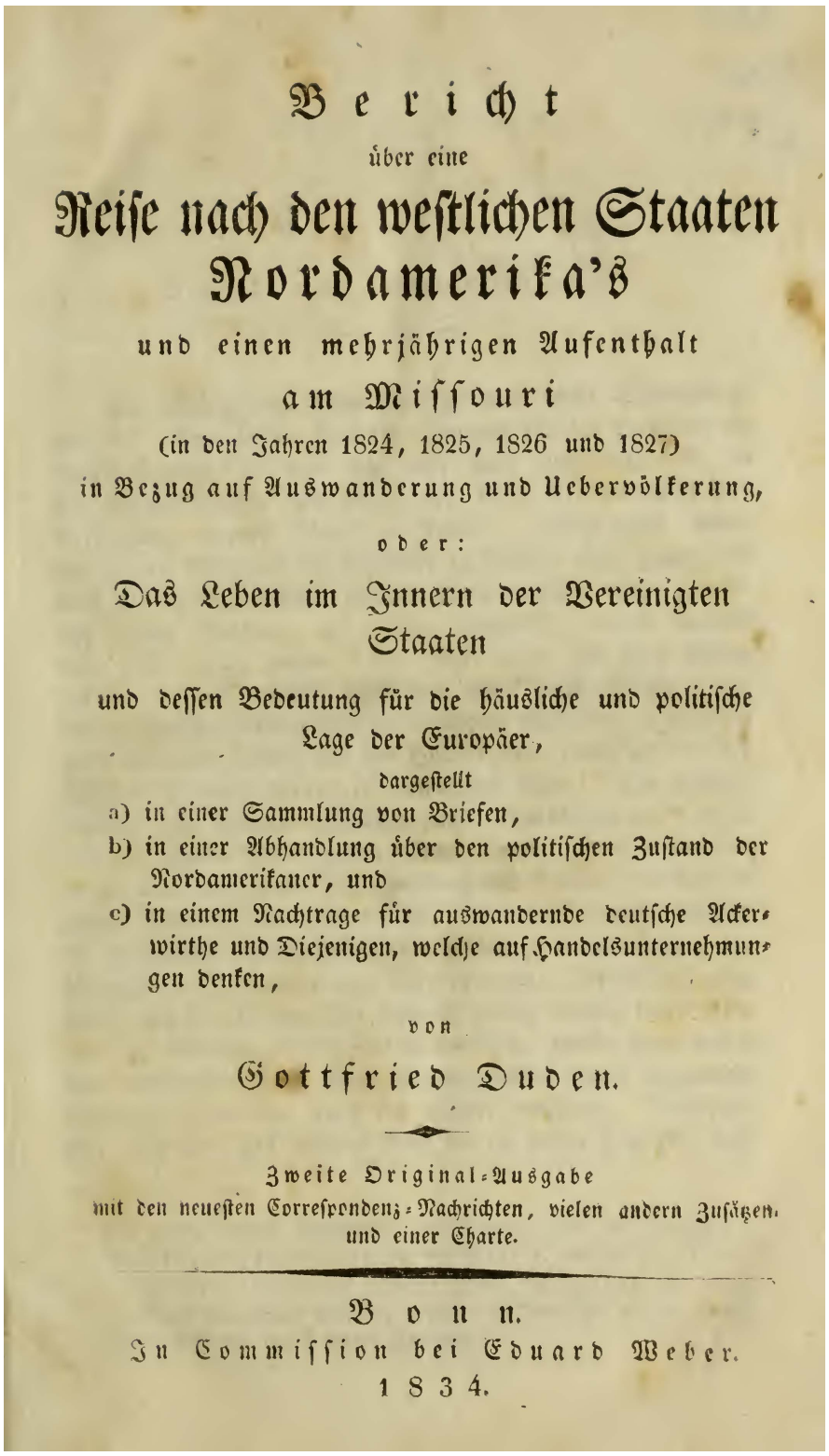
[7] Franz Rodmann, Excerpts from a "*Farewell to Friedrich Muench,*" Coll. A0747, Immigration to Missouri Collection (IMC) (St. Louis: Missouri History Museum Archives), 7.

crowd on July 4, 1840; Friedrich's grandson, Julius Muench, made an address to the Missouri Historical Society about his grandfather's legacy; a colleague of Friedrich Muench, Franz Rodmann wrote his address *A Farewell to Friedrich Muench* that described Muench's political life; and the *Westliche Post* printed an obituary notice after Friedrich Muench's death on December 16, 1881. Friedrich Muench's views on equal rights, immigration rights, and slavery appear frequently in this collection. This chapter also seeks to understand the attitudes of Germans more broadly when they first came to Missouri and how these views changed once they settled there. It begins by studying the published works of Gottfried Duden, Gustav Koerner, and William G. Bek. Duden published his *A Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years along the Missouri,* in 1829, intending it to be a guidebook encouraging Germans to settle in Missouri. In 1834, Gustav Koerner wrote a critical response to Duden's Report, and he titled his response *An Illumination of Duden's Report on the Western States of North America: From the American Side*. From the end of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, a historian named William G. Bek collected sources pertaining to German-American history in Missouri. In that timeframe, Bek published his book *Der Geist des Deutschtums in the State of Missouri,* in which he also criticized Duden's report, but now with the added vantage point of writing in the post Civil War era. To answer our main question, we then move into our analysis of the sources pertaining to Muench, as he was himself a promoter of German immigration to Missouri.

Theories of cultural globalization can help explain what happens when immigration brings different cultures together. Cultural Globalization is the term for when the mixing of diverse cultures produces a more consolidated, global culture. These theories analyze the impact various cultures have on each other when they are forced to interact. In this case, educated German immigrants interacted with the culture of native Missourians, a diverse culture in and of itself. As these cultures interacted, immigrants' concerns for their equal rights evolved into a collective desire on the part of German-Americans to end slavery. We begin with a comparative analysis of expectations: the critics of Duden warned immigrants, leading to more realistic and cautious expectations, whereas Duden himself advertised and glorified life in Missouri, leading to more optimistic expectations. As tensions mounted over slavery in the 1840s and 1850s, German immigration to Missouri also increased, especially after 1848. These simultaneous events gave rise to the anti-slavery sentiment among the German-American community. Friedrich Muench was a visible and frequently referenced German-American involved in Missouri's state politics at this time, and eventually national political movements and elections. Muench's legacy is analyzed by reviewing what his family and friends wrote about his most politically active decade, the late 1850s to the late 1860s. From the 1840s through the Civil War, the German-American community in Missouri was

able to proudly insert its voice into the debate over slavery thanks to progressive leaders such as Muench.

Gottfried Duden's guide for immigrants *A Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America,* provided his audience, German immigrants, with a detailed yet slightly idealized view of life in Missouri in 1829. This book was published prior to the Civil War, and while Duden and other immigrants were aware of the tensions between free and slave states, the main concern of the text was the geology and agricultural opportunity of the region.[8] Regardless of how accurate they found Duden's descriptions, many immigrants adapted to the situation around them, embracing their new identity – not as German immigrants to America, but rather German-Americans with voices to be heard on the social and political stage.


Bericht
über eine
Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerika's
und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt
am Missouri
(in den Jahren 1824, 1825, 1826 und 1827)
in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Uebervölkerung,
oder:
Das Leben im Innern der Vereinigten Staaten
und dessen Bedeutung für die häusliche und politische Lage der Europäer,
dargestellt
a) in einer Sammlung von Briefen,
b) in einer Abhandlung über den politischen Zustand der Nordamerikaner, und
c) in einem Nachtrage für auswandernde deutsche Ackerwirthe und Diejenigen, welche auf Handelsunternehmungen denken,
von
Gottfried Duden.
Zweite Original-Ausgabe
mit den neuesten Correspondenz-Nachrichten, vielen andern Zusätzen und einer Charte.
Bonn.
In Commission bei Eduard Weber.
1834.

Ill. 2-2: Gottfried Duden's *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas,* 1834.

Well before the U.S. Civil War, Duden's Report drew not only eager attention, but also critical. In *An Illumination of Duden's Report On the Western States of North America From the American Side,* Gustav Koerner, an educated German immigrant writing in 1834, addresses many problems and inconveniences the German immigrant to Missouri might face – inconveniences Duden failed to mention. To establish his authority on both Duden and Duden's subject, Koerner began his critique with a lengthy comparative analysis between Duden's understanding of the geography, climate, and health conditions, and Koerner's own observations of those same things. Eventually Koerner arrived at his first condemnation and warning about Missouri social life. Writing on the unfortunate lack of hired help, Koerner explains, "There is always one way out, which is to buy a slave, but that requires considerable capital, since it is not easy to find a slave for less than $500. And then

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[8] Gustav Koerner, *An Illumination of Duden's Report on the Western States of North America: From the American Side,* trans. Steven W. Rowan (Frankfurt am Main: 1834), 10-24.

this way out is one that a man of justice and honor would never take."[9] Koerner first commented on the unappealing cost of slavery, and then his next sentence clearly establishes his moral interpretation of slavery. Koerner continues, "New arrivals […] who obey this principle, and who have acquired a horror of this gross and repellent type of slavery […] must be reviled, twice and thrice over, if they arrive convincing themselves that political conviction has brought them to set foot on the republican soil of America."[10] If Koerner's condemnation of slavery was not clear before, it is far clearer here. By "new arrivals," Koerner was referring to immigrants, and by including such phrases as "acquired a horror" and "gross and repellent" and "must be reviled," Koerner had officially moved on from criticizing Duden's text, to now criticizing the institution of slavery and the individuals, particularly immigrants, that partook in slavery. Koerner refrained from mentioning the German people specifically at this point, only criticizing the practice of slavery by Missouri citizens, and then broadening that criticism to outsiders who adopted the tradition. Koerner concluded this passage by clarifying where Germans fit into this story of Missouri slavery:

> It should be said to the credit of the Germans living in Missouri, that none of them have bought slaves, but they would have done better to have avoided this slave state altogether, since that of which they still have a horror will not seem horrible to their children and grandchildren, and the power of custom and their environment will dull them and make them into masters of unfortunate servants.[11]

Koerner was proud that the German people, his people, had not participated in the slave trade, but he was also fearful of the potential harm the immoral system of Missouri slavery would have on future generations of German-Americans. Koerner failed, however, to challenge Duden's opinion of slavery, using this aside in his *Illumination* to explain only his own views.

Koerner was not the only critic of Duden in the nineteenth century, nor was he the only critic to take a moment to mention slavery in his critique. In *Der Geist des Deutschtums in the State of Missouri,* the early twentieth-century, William G. Bek sought to provide a detailed analysis of German immigration to Missouri over the course of the nineteenth century, including the tumultuous Civil War era. In the first few pages, Bek criticized Duden as "a splendid observer, but a most preposterous exaggerator in his descriptions."[12] He, much like Koerner, went on to mention the issue of slavery in Missouri. Bek posited: "Unluckily the institution of slavery had taken deep root in Missouri's soil. For this institution the German

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[9] Ibid., 44.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] William G. Bek, *'Der Geist des Deutschtums' in the State of Missouri,* 5.

mind possessed an inborn antipathy," an antipathy that Koerner expressed in his *Illumination*.[13] Bek, writing after the Civil War, offered a valuable, though short critique of slavery in Missouri. His critique was not valuable in its uniqueness, but more so in its consistency with the views of Koerner, written more than half a century prior.

In the collection of text and primary sources Bek complied at the end of his book, he mentions a few names in his bibliography, the first of which is Friedrich Muench.[14] According to Muench's grandson, Julius, Muench was also a prominent voice in encouraging German immigration to come to the U.S. in the 1850s. In an address to the Missouri Historical Society given in 1947, Julius explained that his grandfather, in the years before the war, lent his support to the presidential campaign of Abraham Lincoln. Muench went on to serve as a Missouri state senator during the Civil War.[15] Unfortunately, Julius is only able to use the first-hand accounts of his grandfather's unnamed associates to tell Muench's story. Conversely, Franz Rodmann, in his eulogy *Farewell to Friedrich Muench,* established that he, Rodmann, personally knew Muench in the prime of his political years. In this farewell address, Rodmann described Muench as having been "one of the most prominent and active defenders of the state against slavery."[16] Rodmann explained that there were two groups of Missouri politicians opposed to a southern secession: one group considered the issues of secession and slavery to be separate matters, but another sizeable group of "radical" politicians who were unyielding in their coupling of southern secession and slavery. Muench was one such "radical" politician, or a member of the "Coal-Blacks" party, as Rodmann named them.[17] Rodmann described Muench's character and manner: "Never have I heard any human being describe the wretchedness and the misery of the poor, oppressed, and scorned negro race in more touching words than 'Old Father Muench.' ... His clear piercing eyes glared in passionate wrath."[18] This descriptive language echoes the anti-slavery diction of Koerner and foreshadows the same general view point of Bek with regards to the German-American position on slavery.

Muench's speech on July 4, 1840, exemplified the passionate wrath Rodmann considered to be characteristic of Muench. In this speech Muench spoke not directly about slavery

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[13] Ibid., 7.

[14] Ibid., bibliography.

[15] Julius Muench, An address to the Missouri Historical Society, *"The German Contribution to Missouri,"* Coll. A0747, Immigration to Missouri Collection (IMC) (St. Louis: Missouri History Museum Archives), 21.

[16] Franz Rodmann, Excerpts from a *"Farewell to Friedrich Muench,"* Coll. A0747, Immigration to Missouri Collection (IMC) (St. Louis: Missouri History Museum Archives), 5.

[17] Ibid., 6.

[18] Ibid., 7.

but rather a new party of "Natives," a group of Americans that held strong anti-immigration feelings. Muench opened his patriotic speech in front of a crowd of American citizens, describing the great privilege he had felt to come to such a great nation. He alluded to the expectations of German-Americans when they came to America. Even though Muench does not specify the sources of German immigrant expectations, the sources described above are examples of where those expectations would have come from. German immigrants based their expectations on both the glorious descriptions of Duden, and the more measured observations of Koerner. Then, however, Muench shifts to a more critical tone: "may anyone wonder that everything did not come up to our expectations? May anyone find fault with our freely and openly expressing what we seriously wish might be altered?"[19] Muench was aware that these self-proclaimed "Natives" might find fault with not only a German immigrant expressing a grievance with their new home's socio-economic relations, no matter how racist, but also with a German immigrating to the United States at all. It was at this turning point in his speech where Muench went on the offensive, even picking apart the name that this anti-immigration group chose for themselves. Muench recalled that, if any Americans were actually "Natives," and not immigrants themselves, they would have been "the red skinned hunters, who, by the arms of the white man, have been exiled from the country of their birth."[20] Muench considered himself an American patriot, and he considered the self-styled "Natives" unpatriotic. Speaking directly against the "Natives," Muench went on to declare, "I despise them heartily, being convinced that their hatred originates chiefly, not from any faults to upbraid us with, but from their own mean selfishness and from our surpassing them in true devotion of equal rights and liberty."[21] By "our" he referred to the German-Americans. Almost a century after Friedrich's speech, in his address to the Missouri Historical Society in 1947, Julius reminded the society of his grandfather's strong patriotic feelings, echoing the same point his grandfather made in that speech. Julius argued that German immigrant ancestors, even back in the 1840s, "probably knew more about the Constitution of the United States and the structure of our government than nine-tenths of the people they found there."[22] That nine tenths must have included the "Natives".

Friedrich Muench embodied his idea of how the new members of a "nation" could be more patriotic and representative of that nation's identity, than those who had lived there

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[19] Friedrich Muench, Speech, July 4, 1840, Coll. A0747, Immigration to Missouri Collection (IMC) (St. Louis: Missouri History Museum Archives), 2.

[20] Ibid., 3.

[21] Ibid., 6.

[22] Muench, Address to the Missouri Historical Society, *"The German Contribution to Missouri,"* (IMC), 23.

much longer. Friedrich Muench passed away on December 16, 1881. His obit described him as "the pride of his country-men in Missouri."[23] The obituary does not specify whether or not Muench's "country-men" refers to Germans, German-Americans, Americans, or Missourians, allowing both Germans and Americans to share in their collective pride in a man who represented a liberal, and more global social progress for the state of Missouri.

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[23] Obituary Notice of the Westliche Post, December 16, 1881, Coll. A0747, Immigration to Missouri Collection (IMC) (St. Louis: Missouri History Museum Archives), 1.

Amy Lutz | Meghan O'Brien | Pascal Küther

THEKLA BERNAYS (1856-1931): AUTHOR, JOURNALIST, ARTIST, WOMEN'S RIGHTS ACTIVIST

A perusal of the family history of Bernays family, German-Americans who settled in the United States during the Gilded Age, reveals several notable names. Edward Bernays received acclaim for his work in the field of propaganda and public relations. The pioneering surgeon, Augustus Charles Bernays, gained a reputation in the St. Louis region at the turn of the 20th century for his innovative surgical techniques. However, one of the less well-known women in the Bernays family, Thekla Bernays, Edward's cousin and Augustus Charles' sister, is worthy of study in her own right. She was an accomplished journalist, writer, and women's rights activist who established herself as a respected intellectual in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Like her brother, Augustus Charles, Thekla Bernays was born in the United States of German parents. The family settled in St. Louis, Missouri on the eve of the Civil War and Thekla Bernays grew into adulthood amid a rapidly changing culture. In his historical monograph, *Germans in Missouri, 1900-1918,* David W. Detjen described how waves of German immigrants like the Bernays family settled in the Gateway City between 1830 and 1900. As historian Adam Arenson, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, St. Louis emerged as a region of "confluence" where St. Louisians, especially among the educated middle and upper classes, enjoyed a life that blended cultural elements from Europe and the United States. As a young woman, Bernays quickly assimilated to American culture but never fully shed her European roots. As Audrey L. Olson shows in her research, anti-German sentiment rose during the First World War, but by that time, Bernays already considered herself "American." The question arises, therefore, of just how much Bernays' native German culture influenced her identity. We argue that Thekla Bernays' identity was influenced by her German and European roots but shaped predominantly by her gender, education, and class.

This chapter is based upon the Thekla Bernays collection located at the Missouri Historical Society. It includes personal letters to and from Bernays, scrapbook collections, printed newspaper columns penned by Bernays, and other printed material. The documents span from 1870 to 1937. Some sources, however, most notably Bernays' published memoir of her brother Dr. Augustus Charles Bernays, do depict events that occurred before 1870. The collection contains limited letters from Bernays herself. In fact, most of her writings preserved in the collection are published manuscripts and newspaper columns. Therefore, what we know about Bernays life consists primarily of her public persona and a glimpse of her private

life as seen through the eyes of close family and friends. We used these sources to write a microhistory of a wealthy, educated daughter of German immigrants. This method helped to "put a face" on the broader history of St. Louis and the history of German immigration to Missouri. This microhistory of one German-American family was influenced by the larger cultural, regional, and political history. While Bernays' German heritage did influence her writing and worldview, her identity was largely shaped by her feminism, journalism, and experience as an affluent intellectual living in the United States in the Gilded Age.

Ill. 3-1: Thekla Bernays, ca. 1878.

The Bernays family was multicultural and featured numerous successful intellectuals. Although both Thekla Bernays and Augustus Charles Bernays were baptized Christian, the family claimed Jewish roots. Before the Napoleonic Era, most Jews were known solely by their first names. This changed in 1808, when Napoleon decreed that every Jewish family adopt a surname. Two brothers, Isaac and Jacob, chose the name of their father "Bär" (bear) and the first part of the name of the village where they resided "Neus," put them together to form "Bearneus" and then adapted the name to the French language to "Bernays."[1] The Bernays family was diverse, both ethnically and professionally. Leopold John Bernays was the first to translate the second part of Goethe's *Faust* into English.[2] Additional members of the Bernays family worked as writers, clerics, and philosophers of significant stature. The renowned psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud married into the Bernays family after he wed Martha Bernays, the granddaughter of Isaac Bernays. Even Thekla Bernays' immediate family boasted an ethnically diverse background. Her father, George Bernays, married Minna Döring, who was also German but was descended from French Huguenots.[3] Thekla Bernays often spoke proudly of her family's heritage. Her ethnically and religiously diverse family history likely impacted her own self-perception. Since she derived her early identity from numerous nations and faiths, she never considered herself "solely" German.

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[1] Thekla Bernays, *Augustus Charles Bernays: A Memoir* (Saint Louis: MO: C.V. Mosby Company, 1912), 12.

[2] Ibid., 14.

[3] Ibid., 18.

Thekla Bernays spent her adolescence and early adulthood in St. Louis during a time of great economic and technological advancement for the western world. She was born in Highland, Illinois, in 1864. Soon after she was born, her German-born parents returned to Germany to escape an epidemic of whooping cough.[4] They returned in 1860 on the eve of the Civil War. During the war, Charles Bernays, Thekla's uncle, marshaled support among the St. Louis German community for the Union army through the pages of the German-language *Anzeiger des Westens*.[5] After the war, the Bernays family moved to Lebanon, Illinois where Augustus Charles enrolled in McKendree College and studied medicine.[6] While unable to participate in the same educational opportunities as her brother because of her gender, Thekla Bernays forged her own successful career. She worked as a journalist, writing columns for St. Louis area publications such as the *Anzeiger des Westens*, *The Mirror*, and the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. In her writing, she frequently discussed the intersection between European and American influences in art and culture. Augustus Charles Bernays died after a long illness in 1907, and in 1912, Thekla Bernays published a memoir about his life. In 1914, soon after the outbreak of World War I, she published an English translation of Else Torge's stage play, *The Judgment of Solomon*. In 1918, St. Louis fell victim to the Spanish Flu epidemic. Although most industries in St. Louis shut down to prevent the spread of disease, newspapers continued to publish and Bernays continued to work as a journalist. Her career as a journalist and writer was particularly unique because she was one of the few female writers of her time, which greatly influenced how she perceived herself: as a feminist intellectual and artist. Bernays died in 1931 and is buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery in St. Louis next to her beloved brother.

Ill. 3-2: Tombstone of Thekla and Augustus Bernays, Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis.

In his landmark book, *The Germans in Missouri, 1900-1918. Prohibition, Neutrality, and Assimilation,* David W. Detjen first describes the nature of German immigration between the 1830s and early 20th century. The years following the revolutions of 1848 brought more educated, liberal, and outwardly-political German immigrants, like the Bernays family, to St.

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[4] Ibid., 34.

[5] Ibid., 40.

[6] Ibid., 50.

Louis. In the years leading up to World War I, they established themselves in the region by starting newspapers, cultivating social clubs, and opening German-speaking language and educational centers. Historian Adam Arenson describes in *The Great Heart of the Republic,* this era in St. Louis history, most notably the three decades following the Civil War, were an era of "confluence" for the region. St. Louisians, primarily those situated in the educated middle and upper classes to which the Bernays family belonged, enjoyed a culture that "blended" both European and American cultural elements. Thekla Bernays spent her adolescence and early adulthood assimilating to the United States in this region of "confluence." As historian Audrey L. Olson describes in *Saint Louis Germans 1850-1920,* an uptick in anti-German sentiment during the First World War encouraged German-Americans to appear as "patriotic" as possible, and German-language courses were increasingly dropped from public school curricula. Because her identity was rooted in her gender and class far more than her ethnicity, Thekla Bernays, however, experienced significantly less anti-German sentiment than some of her German peers.

Bernays' life was largely shaped by the educated class of family and friends with whom she interacted. However, she possessed a vibrant personality that made her popular among aristocrats and workers alike. Her friendships spanned thousands of miles ranging from the casual acquaintanceship to intense life long relationships. These relationships were largely connected to Bernays' intellectual pursuits, and were not limited by international borders.

Thekla Bernays and her brother Augustus shared a close relationship, and he often served as her window into the society life of a man. A well respected doctor of his time, Augustus Bernays was the first person in Saint Louis to perform a successful cesarean section.[7] The Gilded Age produced new medical innovations with which Bernays was fascinated. She once wrote to her brother Walter and described the marvelous technologies and advancements she witnessed during a particular hospital visit for an optical illness. She recalled how embarrassed she was at her petulant mood for a fairly minor and easily managed problem after meeting her chipper teenage floor mate who had been in an automobile accident and was likely to never see again.[8] In letters like this one, Bernays' displayed her trademark self-awareness and sarcastic humor.

Despite restrictions on women's education during her lifetime, Bernays forged a successful career. She began her public life as a journalist at the turn of the century. Between 1897 and 1907, she participated in a "grand tour" of Europe and the world with her brother,

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[7] Ibid., 306.

[8] Letters, Thekla Bernays to Walter Bernays, 1905-1931, Box 1 file 16, (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society).

Dr. Augustus Charles Bernays.[9] In 1900, during the tour, she served as a special correspondent for the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* providing her observations abroad for the *Globe-Democrat's* St. Louis readership. Her depictions of the European cultures she visited were influenced by her educated background and childhood spent between Europe and the United States. In Italy, she observed modern art and architecture and complained that it "disturbed" the simplicity and grandeur of classical Italian art.[10] She viewed artists as being "closer to Christ in time and feeling," and interpreted art a nearly an act of worship. Modern art, she argued, was often a jarring interruption of that worship. Soon after her trip to Italy, Bernays visited the 1900 World's Fair in Paris. Because of her wealth and status, she had already been privileged to visit "numerous" world expositions. Bernays argued in another *Globe-Democrat* column that the "expos" seemed "repetitive" to those who had visited them before.[11]

Ill. 3-3: Dr. Augustus Charles Bernays, 1912.

Bernays, who styled herself as a female intellectual, utilized her artistic expression primarily through the written word. After serving as a special correspondent for the *Globe-Democrat,* Bernays wrote a series of columns for *The Mirror,* a St. Louis publication whose readers were primarily among the educated elite. In those columns, Bernays fleshed out her perspectives on art and culture even further. In one 1908 column, she described art as an "unveiling of the soul".[12] This comment provides insight into Bernays' motivations and passion for art. She depicted her own "art," found in her essays and publications as an "unveiling" of her soul, revealing to the world her inner passions and beliefs.

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[9] Ibid., 239.

[10] Newspaper Article, Thekla Bernays, 1900, box 2, folder 3, Coll. A0117, Thekla Bernays Papers, 1870-1931, (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society).

[11] Newspaper Article, Thekla Bernays, 1900, Thekla Bernays Papers, 1870-1931.

[12] Newspaper Article, Thekla Bernays, 1908, box 2, folder 7, Coll. A0117, Thekla Bernays Papers, 1870-1931, (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society).

While Bernays wrote primarily about art and culture more broadly, she did draw on her German heritage occasionally when writing her columns in *The Mirror.* In one essay entitled "The Vogue of the Epigram," in which she bemoaned the increasing publication of epigrams in American newspapers, she use the German word "Gedankensplitter," meaning "splinters of thought," to describe this type of writing.[13] At the 1900 World's Fair, she wrote of British, French, and German culture. She noted sarcastically the "mutual hatred" between the British and French that was so severe, neither nation "retained" any hatred for the Germans, whose exhibitions were well received at the Fair.

Thekla Bernays published hundreds of newspaper columns and essays during an era when female writers were rare – and she was successful. One of her most important accomplishments was the publication of *Dr. Augustus Charles Bernays: A Memoir* in 1912, five years after her brother passed away. Although the publication took a biographical look at Augustus, it reveals insights about Thekla herself.[14] Dr. Bernays was a well-respected and accomplished surgeon who garnered international fame for his innovated surgical work. By publishing his memoir, Thekla Bernays associated her identity with his, thereby raising her own profile.

In its own right, however, her work garnered the praise of "fans" who appreciated her unique perspectives. In 1915, in response to a column she wrote in *The Mirror,* Bernays received thoughtful letters from Julius Pitzman of St. Louis and Laura M. Kissack of Webster Groves, Missouri. Each letter praised Bernays for her writing, especially her perspectives on culture and Germany. In her letter, Kissack alluded to a column Bernays had written about Germany noting that "everyone who loves and understands Germany will be grateful to you."[15] Julius Pitzman expressed similar sentiments and wrote that he hoped her columns would be published in Germany so that Germans would know "what a strong advocate" they had in St. Louis.[16] Because the Thekla Bernays collection does not include copies of the original column and neither Pitzman nor Kissack's letters elaborate more on the topic, there is a limit to our analysis on the subject. What is clear, however, is that Bernays was recognized in the St. Louis community as a promoter of German interests. Despite the outbreak of the First World War, Bernays was still writing favorably about her parents' native country, which

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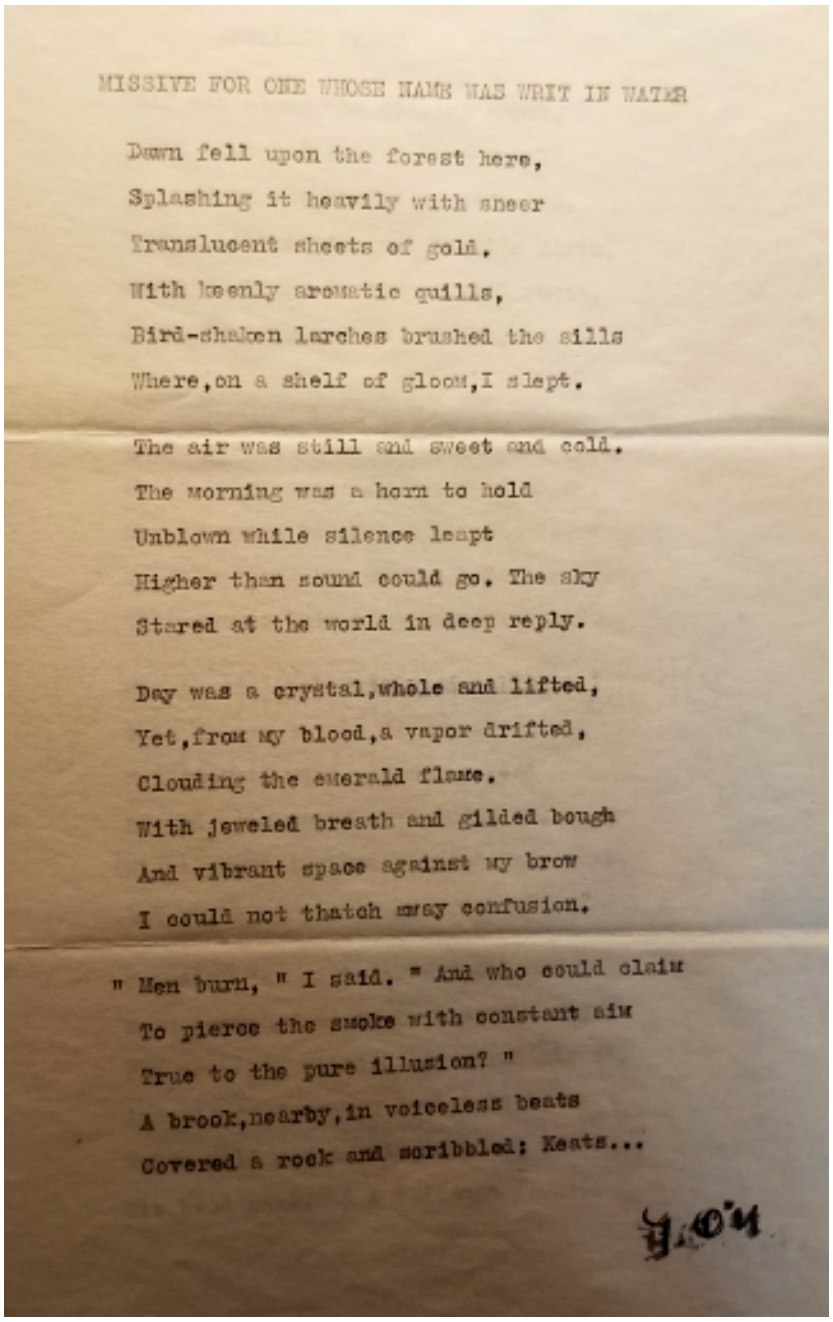
[13] Newspaper Article, Thekla Bernays, 1908, Thekla Bernays Papers, 1870-1931.

[14] Bernays, *Augustus Charles Bernays*.

[15] Letter, Laura M. Kissack to Thekla Bernays, 1915, box 1, folder 34, Coll. A0117, Thekla Bernays Papers, 1870-1931, (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society).

[16] Letter, Julius Pitzman to Thekla Bernays, 1915, box 1, folder 30, Coll. A0117, Thekla Bernays Papers, 1870-1931, (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society).



MISSIVE FOR ONE WHOSE NAME WAS WRIT IN WATER

Down fell upon the forest here,
Splashing it heavily with sheer
Translucent sheets of gold.
With keenly aromatic quills,
Bird-shaken larches brushed the sills
Where,on a shelf of gloom,I slept.

The air was still and sweet and cold.
The morning was a horn to hold
Unblown while silence leapt
Higher than sound could go. The sky
Stared at the world in deep reply.

Day was a crystal,whole and lifted,
Yet,from my blood,a vapor drifted,
Clouding the emerald flame.
With jeweled breath and gilded bough
And vibrant space against my brow
I could not thatch gray confusion.

" Men burn, " I said. " And who could claim
To pierce the smoke with constant aim
True to the pure illusion? "
A brook,nearby,in voiceless beats
Covered a rock and scribbled: Keats...

Ill. 3-4: *Missive For One Whose Name Was Writ in Water,* Poem by George O'Neil sent to Thekla Bernays. Unknown year.

could indicate that her commentary on Germany was only a part of her larger public persona, rather than encompassing it entirely.

Other connections Bernays forged through her writing were much deeper. During the 1920's, she exchanged a series of letters with the young poet and playwright George O'Neil, who she met through the St. Louis Artists Guild. Although Bernays and O'Neil were separated in age by over four decades, they maintained a warm friendship and connected over their mutual love of poetry. O'Neil even sent Bernays a series of his own poems, both handwritten and typed.[17] One of the poems, entitled "*Missive for One Whose Name Was Writ In Water,*" was a typed poem devoted to English poet John Keats. O'Neil deeply respected Bernays' work and begged her for her insight and to critique his work.[18] His letters expressed warm affection, and perhaps even love, for Bernays whom he respected and admired for her intellect and career.

One of the most significant non-familial-relationships maintained by Bernays was with a woman named Zoe Akins, who shared her love for the written word. While making her living as a female playwright, Akins faced many of the same hurdles as Bernays. They were both creative women actively working and struggling to get a seat at the table in a male-dominated field. Letters between the two women provide further insight into Bernays and Akins' personal lives. They maintained playful and nonchalant interactions and thoroughly discussed the daily goings-on in their lives. They discussed their respective writing projects like Akins' successful play, *The Magical City* and even unsuccessful ones like *Papa*.[19] Bernays

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[17] Letter, George O'Neil to Thekla Bernays, 1921-1928, box 2, folder 23. Coll. A0117, Thekla Bernays Papers, 1870-1931, (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society).

[18] Ibid.

[19] Letters, Zoe Akins to Thekla Bernays, 1913-19, Box 1 file 66,67,68, Thekla Bernays Papers, 1870-1931, (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society).

allowed Akins to assist in producing *The Judgement of Solomon*. The play was originally written in German by Else Torge and Bernays translated it into English.[20] "Ninon," as Akins affectionately called Bernays, would continue to write to her and meet with her for the rest of her life. When Bernays died, Akins continued to exchange letters with her late friend's brother Walter and frequently brought up Thekla in her correspondences.

Bernays' choice to translate *The Judgement of Solomon* in particular displays her feminism. In Else Torge's play she found, perhaps, some ideas and thoughts that were running through her own mind and wanted to share them in an accessible way to a larger audience. The United States of the Gilded Age maintained a strong Judeo-Christian character and, therefore, this biblical story would have been a familiar comfort. Unlike Bernays' newspaper writings that were only published in regional and German-language newspapers, theater productions were mobile and often toured smaller towns throughout the United States, particularly on a familiar topic like this one. Yet, the play had the potential for controversy. In the original Biblical story, King Solomon negotiated a disagreement between two women who claimed parentage to the same child. In the end, Solomon threatened to "cut the baby in half" to solve the dispute and then gave him to the mother who did not wish to see the child harmed. In Torge's version, translated by Bernays, the ending has the adoptive mother awarded custody of a now female child because she is more willing to love and care for the child. So the adaptation goes, Solomon believed the adoptive mother was the appropriate guardian because she wanted to care for a female child in spite of the country's cruelties directed towards women of the day.[21] When the other woman revealed that she was in fact the girl's true birth mother, Solomon expressed the controversial belief, at least at the time, that one does not have to be blood to be family. Eventually, the girl's soul will recognize her adoptive mother as her "true" mother, meaning that with time a loving bond would grow between adopted mother and child. Interestingly, this play echoed many key factors in Bernays' own life. She maintained a loving relationship with her own adopted son and nephew, Eric, who she had taken to Europe with her during her "grand tour" at the turn of the century. The two maintained a mother-son relationship until Thekla Bernays died in 1931. Both the play and Bernays' adoption of her nephew challenged gender roles and traditional family dynamics. Both reflected Bernays' feminism and progressive intellectualism.

Thekla Bernays' European, and specifically German, heritage impacted, but never wholly encompassed her identity. She referred to herself and her siblings as "American" and dis-

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[20] Letters, Mary Harris to Thekla Bernays, 1914, Box 2 file 9, Thekla Bernays Papers, 1870-1931, (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society).

[21] Translated Play, *The Judgement of Solomon,* 1914, Box 2 file 8, Thekla Bernays papers, 1870-1931, (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society).

played more pride in her intellect, her writing, and her activism than her "Germanness." For the majority of her life, Bernays worked tirelessly to improve American society and left her mark through her written publications and activism. She styled herself as an educated intellectual and activist who viewed the world through the lens of the educated middle and upper class to which she belonged as a public figure and with whom she associated. Therefore, she did not view herself as a "German immigrant." Rather, her identity was far more influenced by her gender, education, and class.

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Michelle Jurkiewicz

HEINRICH BOERNSTEIN (1805-1892): PUBLISHER, POLITICAL ACTIVIST, AUTHOR, SOLDIER, ACTOR, STAGE MANAGER

During the 1840s, a large influx of Germans migrated to the United States, with many of them settling in St. Louis, Missouri. Many felt unwelcome and under-appreciated by Americans, as their customs and lifestyle did not match the existing way of life. In spite of some controversies in his life, Heinrich Boernstein was a prominent figure in German-American rights in the mid-nineteenth century. For seventeen years, Boernstein remained in St. Louis, advocating for German rights as the publisher of *Anzeiger des Westerns*, or Western Reporter, a major German newspaper located in St. Louis. After living in America for seventeen years, he returned to Vienna, where he wrote a memoir of his experiences in the United States. This book, *Memoirs of a Nobody: The Missouri Years of an Austrian Radical, 1849-1866*, published in 1881, records many of the events and activities in which Boernstein was involved, ranging from his trek to St. Louis and his political advocacy for German rights to his military service during the American Civil War. Leading Boernstein scholar Steven Rowan believes in Boernstein's influence on St. Louis's political and cultural development during the 1850s, yet wonders how much this influenced life in Missouri.[1] This chapter will examine Boernstein's impact on Germans living in the United States, primarily on the German-American community of St. Louis. His memoir, along with his fictional book *The Mysteries of St. Louis*, though written from his particular perspective, challenged pre-conceived notions many Americans had about German immigrants and offer interesting, if biased, insight as to why many Germans emigrated to the United States. According to Boernstein, how did German-Americans view him, and did he agree with their conclusions? By primarily using Boernstein's memoir, this chapter will demonstrate that, despite living in the United States for only a short period of time, Boernstein rallied and fought for basic German constitutional rights in his new American home.

Born in Hamburg, Germany, on November 4, 1805, Boernstein was the eldest surviving son of Franz Sigmund and Ilse Sophie Boernstein. Prior to marrying Ilse, Franz worked as an actor who no doubt influenced his son's later interest in the theater. After the French annexed Hamburg in 1810, the Boernsteins guessed they would suffer greatly, having already lost some of their precious and expensive valuables. So in 1813, the family left Hamburg for Lemberg, Ukraine, a journey that would take them two months to complete. During the

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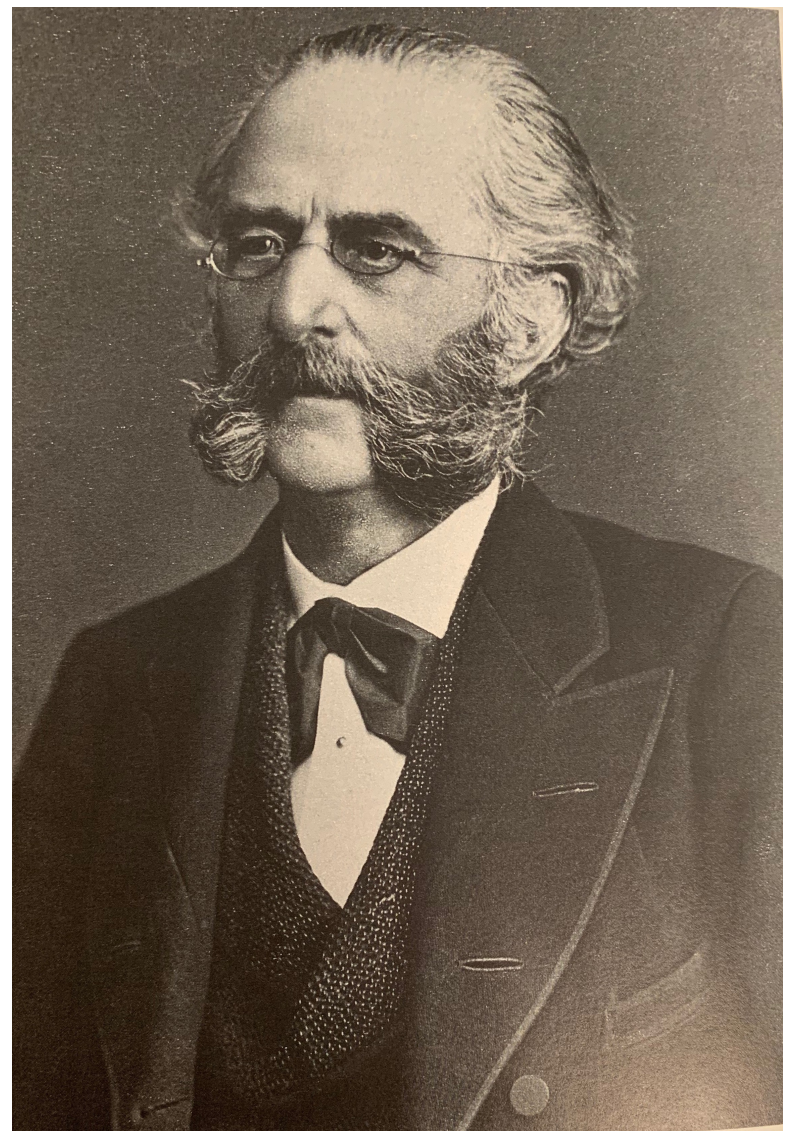
[1] Steven Rowan, "Henry Boernstein," in *Dictionary of Missouri Biography*, edited by Lawrence O. Christensen, William E. Foley, Gary R. Kremer, and Kenneth H. Winn (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 89-90.

next several years, the young Heinrich Boernstein spend a lot of time thinking about religion, as his father was a Catholic while his mother was a Protestant. After graduating high school in 1821, he networked with poets and writers which prompted him to compose his own poems and plays. While he did attend many theatrical productions during his studies at Lemberg University, they were cut short when he became a soldier until 1826. In his 1881 *Memoirs,* Boernstein judged his soldiering as a "complete waste of time." After a particularly heated duel, another cadet gravely wounded Boernstein's arm, yet he recovered.[2] After being honorably discharged, Boernstein spent the next few months facing disappointments in his professional and personal life.[3] Fortunately, a publisher in Vienna required an editor for a cultural journal, prompting Boernstein to apply and begin a career in journalism in 1826. However, his time as a journalist was short-lived and only lasted a year, and he turned his attention to theater from 1827 to 1848.[4]



Ill. 4-1: Boernstein, ca. 1870s

The next fifteen or so years of Boernstein's life challenged him in many ways. He was charged with abducting a minor, whom he later married at the young age of fourteen. He directed and opened theaters, and he also arranged tours for his acting troupe. He traveled throughout German-speaking Central Europe until finally settling in Paris in 1841. He became acquainted with the Hungarian composer Franz Liszt, the poet Heinrich Heine, and the composer Giacomo Meyerbeer; until he left Paris in 1849, Boernstein had a fruitful career as a playwright, theater director, and journalist. Unfortunately, French and German nationalist conflicts arose in Paris, prompting Boernstein and his family to travel to the United States to seek their freedom. He decided to emigrate "from Europe not because of the tyranny of rulers, but because of the opportunities [American] Liberty, however misunder-

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[2] Heinrich Boernstein, *Memoirs of a Nobody*: *The Missouri Years of an Austrian Radical, 1849-1866,* translated and edited by Steven Rowan (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997), 37.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., 41-42.

stood."[5] The many connections Boernstein made in Europe gave him the confidence to begin his own business ventures, as he knew the constant uproar among the French and Germans would make it nearly impossible to further his professional career.

In 1849, Boernstein left Paris aboard the brig *Espindola*. This two-month journey provided many challenges, not only for Boernstein, but also for other passengers. People were forced to fend for themselves, with many possessing little to no provisions. Boernstein eventually did arrive in New Orleans, only to realize that he was unaccustomed to American air and life. Similar to many immigrants, including Germans, who first arrive in the United States, Boernstein "remained true to (his) old customs" regarding food and nutrition.[6] From New Orleans, Boernstein traveled to St. Louis, which made a "not very positive" impression on him.[7] After a year of living in St. Louis and witnessing many succumb to cholera during the epidemic, including his brother-in-law, Boernstein moved to Highland, a country-side town in Madison County, Illinois, along with longtime friend Karl Ludwig Bernays. After a short time, Boernstein was hired as a physician, as cholera spread to Highland. He was incredibly successful in this profession. During his time in the country, he also studied American history and politics, and even helped form a reading society.[8] This interest in American civics shaped the rest of his life in St. Louis.

In 1850, Boernstein accepted a position as the editor for the newspaper *Anzeiger des Westens*. As he described in his *Memoirs*, his fundamental goal as editor was to increase subscriptions and subscribers. There were two reasons for this: more readers not only increased his salary but also spread German culture and language on the frontier. His innovation was to write and serialize a fictional novel, *The Mysteries of St. Louis*, a story that follows the Boettcher family and their journey to St. Louis from Germany. As this serial was published in the first months of 1851, Boernstein included recent events occurring in St. Louis, including the 1848 Great Fire and the cholera epidemic. Within a matter of months, the number of subscriptions of *Anzeiger* rose by the thousands. Through this fictional tale, Germans, who newly emigrated to the United States along with many others who had arrived before them, discovered the many societies and organizations that Boernstein advertised in the *Anzeiger.* Also through the *Anzeiger,* Boernstein advocated strongly for German-American voting and constitutional rights. Yet his primary "fight" was to abolish slavery. Despite receiving death threats from Americans of other ethnic backgrounds, Boernstein continued to advocate for

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[5] Ibid., 130.

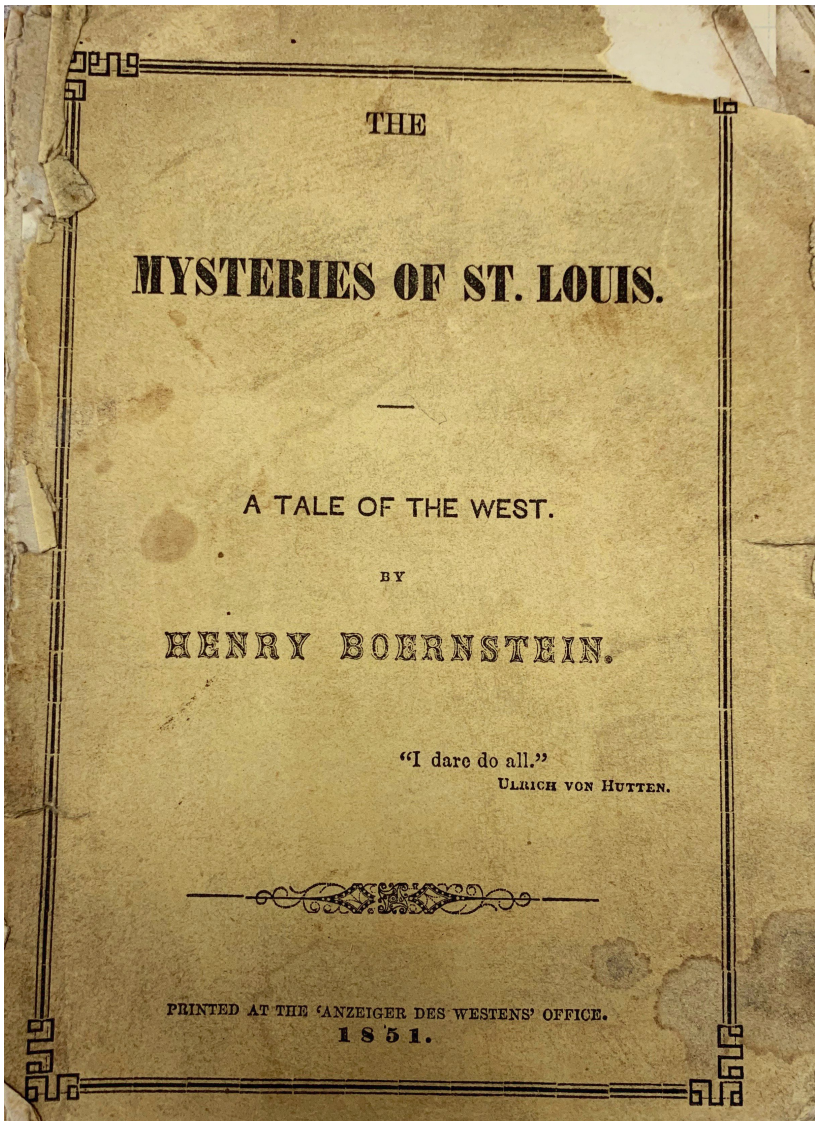
[6] Ibid., 87.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., 117.

German rights. Soon, *Anzeiger* became "the leading paper not only in St. Louis, but also in the entire Mississippi Valley."[9]

Boernstein fought repeatedly for his constitutional rights. For instance, he recognized the misuse of the grand jury in the American judicial system. It was well known that biases occurred in the courtroom when law enforcement officials choose specific people for their juries to incriminate the innocent while the criminally wealthy could escape prison. Boernstein was summoned to testify in front of a grand jury, and after hearing the oath that he


THE

MYSTERIES OF ST. LOUIS.

A TALE OF THE WEST.

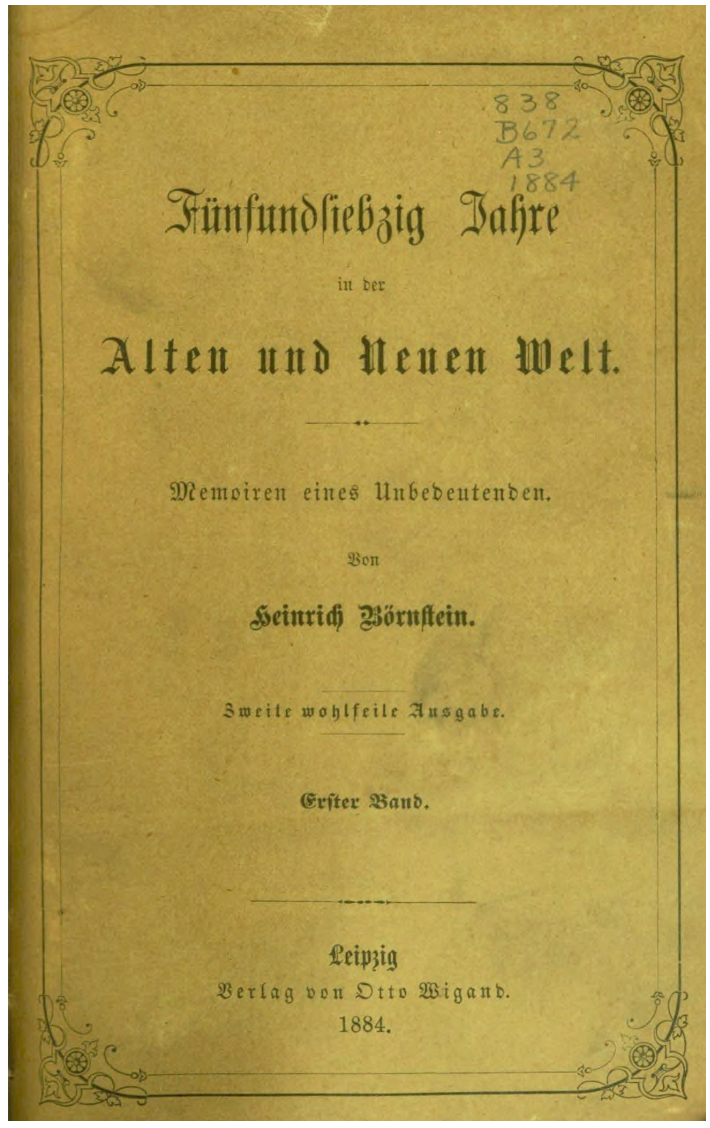
BY

HENRY BOERNSTEIN.

"I dare do all."
ULRICH VON HUTTEN.

PRINTED AT THE 'ANZEIGER DES WESTENS' OFFICE.
1851.

Ill. 4-2: Boernstein's *The Mysteries of St. Louis. A Tale of the West,* 1851.



Fünfundsiebzig Jahre

in der

Alten und Neuen Welt.

Memoiren eines Unbedeutenden.

Von

Heinrich Börnstein.

Zweite wohlfeile Ausgabe.

Erster Band.

Leipzig
Verlag von Otto Wigand.
1884.

Ill. 4-3: Boernstein's *Fünfundsiebzig Jahre in der Alten und Neuen Welt*, 2nd Edition, 1884.

was supposed to swear, he declined – to the shock and outrage of the others present. He stated that "making such an oath in advance, without knowing the questions in advance, would violate my conscience and be against my conviction."[10] The majority of the jury demanded that Boernstein be forced to take the oath, while a small number requested for him to be recused. When the grand jury asked him to swear under oath and, once again, Boernstein refused, he was imprisoned for contempt of court. Eventually his lawyers worked suc-

[9] Ibid., 191.

[10] Ibid., 200.

cessfully to gain his release from jail. His objection to the procedures of grand juries caused other states to abolish them.

In addition to fighting for constitutional rights, Boernstein also strove to give the Germans a sense of community in St. Louis. While still maintaining and writing for *Anzeiger*, Boernstein helped reinvigorate the German lifestyle. Realizing the importance of education, he founded the German Women's Association, which gave "the German female population the opportunity to meet one another [... and] to unite them for common useful efforts."[11] No doubt inspired by his work experience in the theater, Boernstein believed that drama provided the best education for people. Yet he considered the German-language theaters of the United States to be of poor quality, which prompted him to create the Philodramatic Society. This group featured amateur performers, with Boernstein serving as actor, director, and producer for many of the shows. Similarly, Boernstein judged social life in the United States to be rather dull, so he expanded opportunities for leisure in St. Louis. Though neither an expert brewer nor a beer enthusiast, he helped a friend, Friedrich Schaefer, to establish a beer hall and brewery. Boernstein owned the building *Anzeiger* was housed in, yet the ground floor remained unoccupied, and because of his diversification in business ventures, Boernstein was able to fund Schaefer's business venture. Opening a beer hall proved to be a success, but these men soon discovered that they sold out of beer as quickly as they received it. Boernstein consulted with close friends, discovering that a successful beer hall possessed its own brewery.[12] Still not content with how he was spending his free time, Boernstein took ownership of the St. Louis Opera House. With it, he was able to establish a stable German-language opera in St. Louis.

Unfortunately for Boernstein and the German-American community, the Opera House suffered during the Civil War. For three months in 1861, Boernstein fought for the Union hoping to overthrow the Confederates in Missouri. After an honorable discharge, he returned to find St. Louis troubled and in disarray. The financial crisis in 1857 continued well into 1861, affecting the profitability of *Anzeiger*. Desperate to bring *Anzeiger* back to life, Boernstein re-enlisted in the Union army to stabilize and boost his finances.[13] Because of his German heritage, Secretary of State William Henry Steward appointed him as the consul for the United States in Bremen in August 1861.[14] His overall first impression of Bremen was poor, as he had, in the meantime, grown accustomed to the large-scale city life of St. Louis.

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[11] Ibid., 239.

[12] Ibid., 251.

[13] Ibid., 341.

[14] Ibid., 350.

Here we can see to what degree he had become Americanized, for he had once readily rejected New Orleans as a newly arrived immigrant to the United States. His job as consul ended in 1866, prompting Boernstein to return to St. Louis, only to discover the collapse of *Anzeiger*. With no desire to live in a city where he could no longer write, he returned to Bremen and made his way to Vienna in 1869, where he managed a short-lived theater and lived for the remainder of his life.

Boernstein wrote his Memoirs in the late 1870s, largely as a legacy for his children and grandchildren. Still, it offers us a glimpse of German-American life in St. Louis. Henry Boernstein was a complex character. By today's standards, his marriage practices seem to be morally highly problematic, if not to say pedophile. On the other hand, Boernstein advocated for constitutional rights in the United States and played a major role in building the cultural and civic institutions of German-Americans in St. Louis. In its title, Boernstein called himself a "nobody," but this is unfairly humble. Through the Anzeiger, reading groups, the Opera House, and even the beer halls, Boernstein gave German-Americans a voice and provided them, along with many other St. Louisians, with cultural and civic institutions through which they could read and discuss as citizens. To be sure, Boernstein made St. Louis feel more German while giving German-Americans this sense of community. Yet Germans and St. Louisians knew that Boernstein was also fighting for their constitutional rights as citizens.

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Michael Leverett Dorn

HEINRICH BOERNSTEIN AND "PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY" IN THE MIDWEST, 1850-1852

Heinrich Boernstein arrived in New Orleans after a grueling passage across the Atlantic anxious to meet up with his old friend Karl Ludwig Bernays.[1] A man of many talents, Boernstein read avidly alongside his fellow passengers from the library of travel accounts and pamphlets that he brought with him on the voyage. His initial plan had been to set himself up in a country estate in the American interior, and he had brought all manner of housekeeping and farming implements in his baggage. With Bernays he had begun sketching out a plan for settling in the fertile region described by German writers Bromme and Duden.[2] However, the letters that awaited in New Orleans, and that met him at river ports as he made his way up the Mississippi River, evinced a prevailing sentiment among the urbane friends whose passage had preceded his that the life of breaking sod and building a homestead was altogether too rough and unbecoming. The prospect of editing a newspaper that Bernays had already begun writing for better suited Heinrich Boernstein's taste and temperament, promising to mend an ego also sorely bruised by the long-delayed arrival in Louisiana and the rough accommodations that met him in New Orleans.[3]

Boernstein's earlier experience editing the "most radical" variety biweekly *Vorwärts!* in Paris, and the ever-ready assistance of second-in-command Karl Bernays, set Heinrich Boernstein up well for the task of editing what would become the voice of German St. Louis. However, challenges awaited, both internally – in the German expatriate community he would assume leadership of – and externally, from the risky position of St. Louis within the young American republic. The German community in St. Louis already supported Old Lutheran, Reformed Lutheran, Protestant, and Catholic newspapers, and would soon, thanks to Boernstein's socialist compatriots, support multiple Rationalist ones as well. Before Boernstein's arrival, the city had already supported the partisan German-language Deutsche Tribune for over a decade, edited by the 1833 immigrant J. Gabriel Woerner.[4] And of course the city also had partisan English-language newspapers to contend with, such as the *Missouri Democrat*, *Missouri Republican*, and *The St. Louis Intelligencer*. The only recently ter-

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[1] See Michelle Jurkiewicz' chapter above for an assessment of Heinrich Boernstein's entire life. Heinrich Boernstein, *Memoirs of a Nobody*: *The Missouri Years of an Austrian Radical, 1849-1866,* translated and edited by Steven Rowan (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997).

[2] Boernstein, *Memoirs of a Nobody,* 1997, 62.

[3] Ibid., 67-76.

[4] Kristen Layne Andersion, *Abolitionizing Missouri: German immigrants and racial ideology in nineteenth-century America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016).

minated war with Mexico had brought the issue of slavery in new territories – ones to which St. Louis served increasingly as a gateway – to a head, and with it the perennial question of defining and defending or dismantling the great Missouri Compromise of 1820.[5] Favorite son Thomas Hart Benton had sent his son-in-law John C. Fremont to find a potential middle-latitude route to the Pacific that would support a great federally sponsored road. Northern and Southern cities also vied for the enviable "gateway" title. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to elaborate the terms of the political debate that took place during the spring and long, hot summer of 1850 in the halls of the U.S. Congress on these and other measures, suffice to say that the battle up and down D.C.'s Pennsylvania Avenue found strong resonance on the streets of St. Louis, from North St. Louis and Bremen to southernmost Carondelet.[6]

This chapter sketches out a few of the lines of battle that developed for Boernstein and Central European emigrants over the course of the Summer of 1851 as Boernstein sought to create a place for himself, his family and his friends in the American interior and at the same time construct a public sphere where immigrants could proudly express their ethnic, as well as their newborn American, identities.[7] Intending to look beyond and also below the most commonly utilized accounts of German migration, resistance, and accommodation, it draws on overlooked newspaper accounts recently made searchable and classifiable through the portal Newspapers.com.

In early June 1851, as Heinrich Boernstein put the finishing touches on his anti-Catholic potboiler *Die Geheimnisse von St. Louis*[8], it must have appeared that the entire United States was readying to be torn asunder by sectional division. During the lengthy negotiations that led to the passage of the Compromise of 1850, Southern mercantile and political interests had begun meeting at regular conferences in Nashville. These conferences were known by the location where they took place but also by the name of the Southern Rights Association that had been founded to organize the conferences and to mobilize member

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[5] Christopher Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the creation of Southern identity in the border West* (Columbia: Mo. University of Missouri Press, 2000); Ken S. Mueller, *Senator Benton and the People: Master race democracy and the early American frontiers*. (Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014).

[6] Timothy M. Roberts, "'Revolutions have become the bloody toy of the multitude:' European revolutions, the South, and the Crisis of 1850." *Journal of the Early Republic*. 25, no. 2 (2005): 259-283.

[7] For a cogent discussion and application of Habermasian "public sphere" theory to the American context, see Alison Clark Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 17-51.

[8] Boernstein, "The Mysteries of St. Louis", *Anzeiger des Westerns*, trans. in the following year by Friedrich Muench (1852).

states to lobby Congress.[9] The final scene in Boernstein's semi-autobiographical 1851-52 *Mysteries* featured an August 1850 civil wedding between two of his young characters at the St. Louis courthouse amidst the hubbub of Missouri's biennial state election canvas. That particular election had been memorable one for Boernstein, as it had seen an unprecedented split in Democratic support for U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton, who Boernstein considered a personal friend, over Benton's resolute but increasingly out-of-step political positions concerning slavery extension. This and other tangled issues surrounding territories newly acquired in the war with Mexico, saw the elevation of Whig candidates to represent St. Louis in the corridors of Jefferson City.[10] Upriver editors James G. Edwards of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* and Orion Clemens of the Hannibal, Mo., *Western Union*, both quoted above, looked on with great concern at the portents as a rattled populace wearied of sectional agitation leading up to and following the Compromise measures rallied to a "Union at all costs" banner, turning their backs on both Northern abolitionists and Southern "fire-eaters".[11] Following record spring flooding in the Missouri and Mississippi watersheds, reports began to appear in German-language newspapers of cholera's reappearance in port cities from St. Louis in the eastern to Weston on the western border of the state. By the end of the summer the dread illness would take the editor of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*.[12]

By early July, the tide of arriving immigrants was reaching its height. Newspaper editors kept close tabs on the health, welfare, and volume of travelers along the rivers and overland trails. Burlington, in Southeastern Iowa, was particularly well-placed to meet the needs of newly-arrived settlers from Central Europe. Land was to be had at low rates and slavery was prohibited in the 1846 Constitution of the young state. John F. Abrahams, a bookseller of Pennsylvania German background, stocked a particularly strong selection of religious and theological works, and was reportedly "desirous" to return to the East to procure more to meet the needs of well-educated arrivals fleeing revolutionary upheaval. Newspapers in the

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[9] Thelma Jennings, *The Nashville Convention: Southern movement for unity, 1848-1851* (Memphis, Tenn.: Memphis State University Press, 1980).

[10] Phillips, *Claiborne Fox Jackson*; Mueller, *Senator Benton and the People*.

[11] James G. Edwards, "The Union must be preserved at all hazards." BHE 06.12.1851, 2; "Alabama." WU 06.12.1851, 3.

[12] "Die Cholera," *Hermann Wochenblatt*, June 20, 1851, 2, c. 1. Editor Edwards had been roundly attacked for criticizing the Compromise measures of 1850, rousing angry conservatives to advocate subscription cancellation and the organization of a competing Whig organ. See Dykstra, *Bright Radical Star*, 106-107. Within two weeks of publishing this followup editorial which reiterated his concern for the future of the Union but criticizing as futile the efforts of Northern abolitionists to oppose the Fugitive Slave Law, editor James B. Edwards would retire from active business and set about arranging personal and business his affairs. He took ill with cholera in mid-July, rallied for a week and a half, only to have it return with "fearful violence" at the end of July, ending his life. Philip D. Jordan, "James Gardiner Edwards," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, vol 23, no. 2, 1930, 495-496.

East also regularly reprinted news from the southwestern Iowa community of New Buda that had been set up by Governor Ujhazy to house Hungarians exiled after the failed revolution that had been crushed by Austrian authorities.[13]

The Democratic party split in Missouri that had been revealed in the August 1850 canvas threatened to grow wider and to spread to other parts of the county. Independence Day festivities found Missouri Valley politicians of all stripes turning their attention to "imbibing very unusual quantities of Dutch Beer" and interesting themselves in "Dutch Balls" in a valiant effort to woo the now available and potentially, in "majority-minority" St. Louis, decisive German constituency.[14] Germans would have been relatively easy to find, often lacking the means to escape a city suffering from the plagues of both river valley summer heat and endemic noxious disease.

By degrees, the swollen tide of the Mississippi from the spring flooding was following its old course and bounds, according to the *Western Union* correspondent in St. Louis, with the health of the city improving in "just about the same proportion." The July 5th correspondence blamed the continued desultory pace of the city on the return of cholera – so devastating during the Fire summer of 1849 – which was now endemic amongst recently arrived immigrants. Business of all sorts, the correspondent continued to Orion Clemens, had been almost entirely suspended in the city as residents sought to leave "toil" behind by packing like sardines into watercraft heading East. Two theaters in the city, that had earlier done a "driving business," had now suspended operation for the summer. One theatre owner promised that when justified by "returning population," he would reopen. The other edifice would be taken down for good, so that the site could be used for the new federal Post Office Customs House, a "much desired work."[15] Concerned for the prospects of his fellow emigrants, Heinrich Boernstein for his part established a well appointed German Reading Room above the dispensary, with chairs, newspaper racks, maps and globes, as an outreach to unattached young men who poured out of every ship arriving at the levee.[16] Although the room would close at the end of summer, it was soon succeeded by fall 1851 efforts to organize a school for young women.

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[13] "J. F. Abrahams, Again!" BHE; Brownson, "The Hungarian Rebellion," Brownson's Quarterly Review, ser. 02 vol. 05, April 1851, 164-192.

[14] "Dear Editor, St. Louis, July 2d, 1851." *WU,* July 10, 1851, 2. Milwaukee had the highest German percentage of any major American city by 1850. Census figures that same year put St. Louis' German percentage at 28 percent, over double the city's Irish population. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee,* 1976; Kamphoefner, "Learning from the 'majority-minority' city," 2003.

[15] "Dear Editor, St. Louis, July 5th, 1851." *WU,* July 10, 1851, 3.

[16] Boernstein, *Memoirs of a Nobody,* 117.

Dismayed by the inability of German candidates to advance to elected offices during the August canvas, Heinrich Boernstein announced in an editorial for *Anzeiger des Westens* his new plan. Politicians regardless of party affiliation saw the sheer numbers that an *Anzeiger* endorsement could bring the polls. Boernstein would help to organize a new political party that reflected the interests of the vibrant German community. Although I need to confirm this against extant issues of the paper, alarmed editors across the country spoke of the editor's intention to consolidate not only Germans, "but foreigners from all countries, and even Americans also" as an alternative to the Free Soil Party that had found itself so weakened in the wake of 1850.[17] Rather than following predetermined party platforms, Germans now had the opportunity to pick and choose "planks" that were the most apparently progressive. This was a risky proposition, especially since cities with sizeable German communities also saw persistent intra-group division and conflict.[18] Such an exercise of electoral muscle by former revolutionaries was anathema to conservative American commentators such as Orestes A. Brownson of *Brownson's Review*, frequently reprinted in St. Louis Catholic organ, *The Shepherd of the Valley*, but it also wounded the pride of working-class Americans finding common cause in gangs and nativist "brotherhoods" to target German voters in the runup to, and execution of, elections.[19]

The end of the summer brought word of abject failure on the foreign stage and discontentment at home.[20] Newpapers printed in all caps the news that the latest effort to "liberate" the island of Cuba from Spanish control, which had been covered in minute detail for weeks on end, had ended in collapse.[21] Foreign (largely Cuban, German, Irish, English, Hungarian) and American adventurers from every U.S. state were in custody and would be

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[17] "St. Louis Election," *BHE* August 14, 1851, 3; "Dear Editor, St. Louis, August 9th, 1851," *WU*, August 14 1851, 2.

[18] Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976); Walter D. Kamphoefner, *"Learning from the 'majority-minority' city: Immigration in nineteenth-century St. Louis,"* 79-99. In Eric Sandweiss, ed., *St. Louis in the Century of Henry Shaw* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 2003).

[19] See the literary review articles by Brownson in *Brownson's Quarterly Review* for April 1851, as well as their coverage in *The Shepherd of the Valley* over subsequent weeks. For more on Brownson, *bete noire* of European "revolutionists" in American exile, and his defense of traditional prerogatives, see Chapter 6, "The radical necessity of the Church," 65-79, in Longley, *For the Union and the Catholic Church*, 2015. On the world of mid-nineteenth-century street gangs, and the street literature that inspired their exploits, see Monaghan, *The Great Rascal*, 1952; Denning, *Mechanic Accents*, 1987; Greenberg, "Pirates, patriots, and public meetings," *Journal of Urban History*, 2005.

[20] "Gov. Ujhazy and his colony," *BHE,* September 11, 1851, 2, col. 2; "A German party in Missouri," *BHE,* September 11, 1851, 1, col. 4; "The secessionists at Charleston." *Hannibal Journal and Western Union,* September 11, 1851, 1; "Dear Editor, St. Louis, Sept. 13th, 1851." *Hannibal Journal and Western Union,* September 18, 1851, 2, col. 5.

[21] "Dear Editor, St. Louis, Sept. 6th, 1851." *Hannibal Journal and Western Union* September 11, 1851, 3.

sent to Spain to work in the mines, and the leaders including naturalized American citizen dubbed "General" Narciso Lopez, were dead.[22] Emotional appeals to "Remember the Cuban Martyrs" drew flag-waving throngs to follow coffin-carrying marchers as well as criticism from Whig newspaper editors, but also inspired further filibuster exploits across the Caribbean Basin up to and through the Civil War era.[23] Although the Mexican theatre of war had been closed by 1850, war fever and support for government economic coordination continued unabated amongst self-styled "anti-Benton" or "Young America" Democrats during the 1850s.[24] Andrea Mehrländer in her excellent compendium on Germans in the American South and Heinrich Boernstein in his *Memoirs* both describe a spectrum of political affiliation among German-Americans.[25] Heinrich Boernstein displayed his choices (in gothic metal type) in real time, but as the editor of the 1997 edition of his *Memoirs* suggests, the Boernstein of 1881 sought to entertain as he informed, thereby occluding by sleight-of-hand as much as he revealed.

To offer just one example, Boernstein's account of the April 1852 election day riot between German Turners and nativist gangs is fantastic in its geographic detail, but varies widely from contemporary newspaper accounts – *The St. Louis Intelligencer* clearly identifies Boernstein as the instigator of conflict – as well as the more balanced but also cinematic account of mid-twentieth-century author Jay Monaghan.[26] Without a more balanced assessment of early 1850s events – that took place even before the gasoline of Kansas-Nebraska

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[22] "The fate of Lopez and his followers," BHE 09.11.1851, p. 2, col. 5; Miller, Michael L. "From Central Europe to Central America: Forty-eighters in the filibuster wars of the mid-nineteenth century," 193-208. In Charlotte A. Lerg and Heléna Tóth, eds., *Transatlantic Revolutionary Cultures, 1789-1861*. (Boston, Mass.: Brill).

[23] Although I have not seen this discussed in the secondary literature, in St. Louis these demonstrations were carefully planned in advance. The announcement that German-language groups would march on the one week anniversary of Gen. Lopez's death was roundly criticized in the English-language press: "Dear Editor, St. Louis, September 8th, 1851." *Hannibal Journal and Western Union* 09.18.1851, p. 2, col. 6; Boernstein, *Memoirs of a Nobody*, p. 139. For the gender dynamics of these demonstrations, see Greenberg, "Pirates, patriots, and public meetings,". Summaries of Southern plans and rehearsals for activity in the Caribbean through early 1860s can be found in several books but I particularly enjoyed Keehn's *Knights of the Golden Circle*, 2013.

[24] Eyal, "Trade and improvements," 2005; Idem., *The Young America Movement and the Transformation of the Democratic Party*, 2007. Another Whig newspaper, this time published from Southwestern Arkansas, is particularly strong in covering the movement which became briefly dominant in the state. See: "'Old Fogies' for the President." WT 04.07.1852, 2; "Sayings and doings at Washington" WT 04.14.1852, p. 2; "Douglas and Cuba." WT 05.05.1852, 3.

[25] Mehrländer, *Germans of Charleston ... compendium*, 2011; Boernstein, *Memoirs of a Nobody*, 1997, pp. 172-182. Boernstein casts a jaundiced eye on the socialists who met in Western Virginia in 1854 to plan world revolution, however it is clear from reading a range newspapers in English that Boernstein was thought to their ring-leader acting in plain sight from St. Louis.

[26] "The Riot in St. Louis (from *St. Louis Intel.*)," *WT,* April 28, 1852, 2; Monaghan, *The Great Rascal*, 1952, 192-203.

would be poured on the hot coals of sectionalism – it is difficult to grasp the critical role that militant Germans played in Missouri's careening and rough passage through the 1860s.[27]

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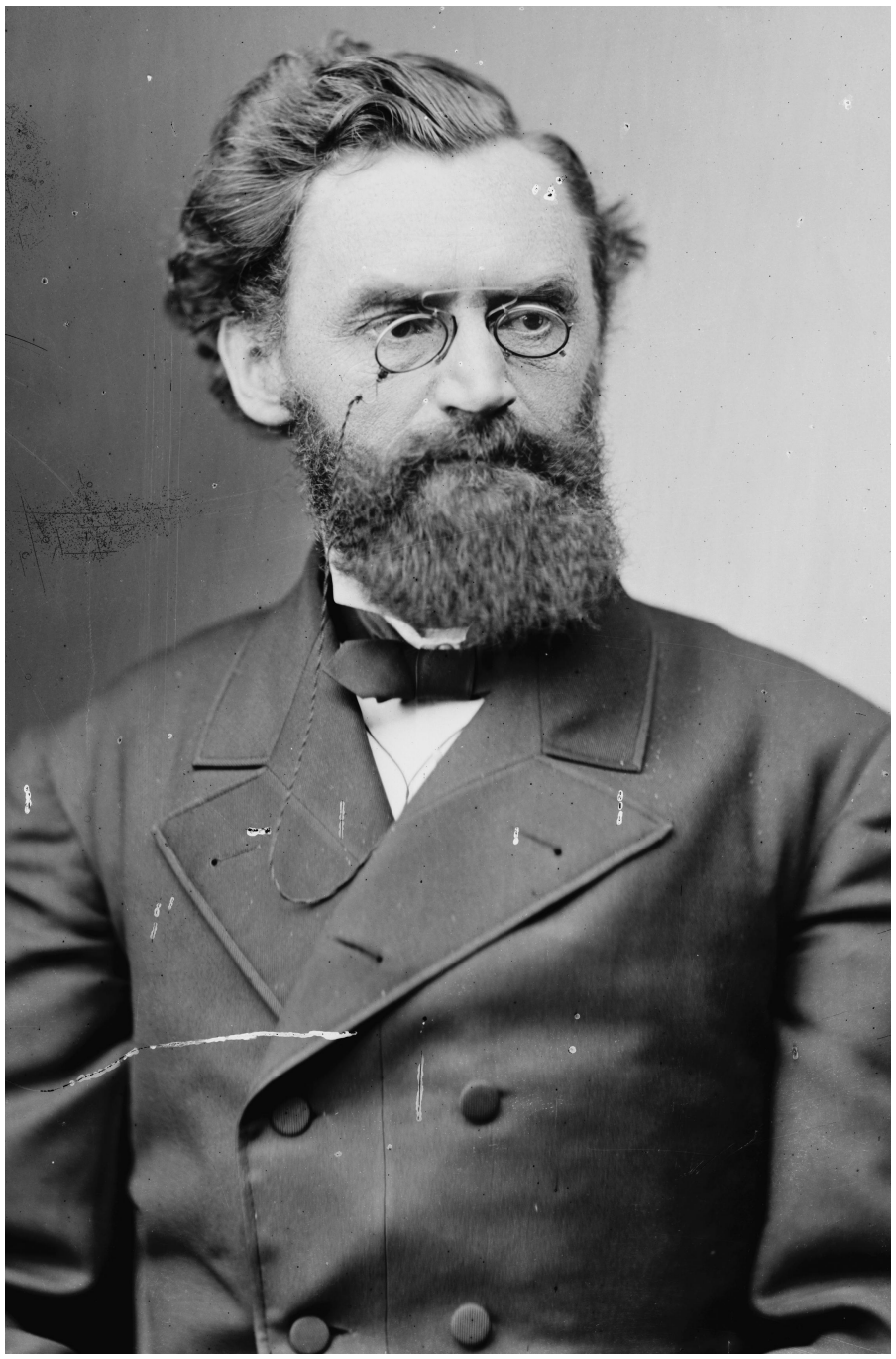
[27] Engle, "Yankee Dutchmen," 2010; Arenson, *Cultural Civil War*, 2015.

Robert Keough | Sophia Löhmann

CARL SCHURZ (1829-1906):REVOLUTIONARY, STATESMAN, NEWSPAPER EDITOR



Ill. 5-1: Carl Schurz, ca. 1870s.

During the 1840s, several European nations, including France, Italy, and Germany, experienced revolutions that attempted to introduce more liberal forms of government. Some of the great political leaders of these democratic revolutions, such as Carl Schurz, had an impact on not one continent but two. Carl Schurz was a German and American politician who participated in the 1848 German Revolution, the American Civil War, and the politics of Reconstruction. Schurz began his political career when he was a 19-year-old student in Bonn fighting for a united German state with a constitution supported by the German people, and he became a member of the upstart Republican Party prior to the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States. After the U.S. Civil War, Schurz was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1868 to represent Missouri and also served as the U.S. Secretary of the Interior during the Hayes Presidency. In the years following his death in 1906, a number of autobiographers examined and honored Schurz's impact on the American political landscape. This chapter will explore the life and impact of Carl Schurz as a leading German-American politician by comparing those biographical assessments of his legacy to archival sources like newspaper articles and his own autobiography *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*. How did Schurz shape the political landscape in Germany and in the United States? Did Carl Schurz abandon his German cultural identity after coming to the United States? Or did he maintain political and social connections with Germany upon leaving after the failed German Revolution of 1848? This chapter will show that, as a student in Germany in 1848, Schurz fought for the expansion of democratic rights, and he continued to do so in the 1850s in the United States as a citizen and political leader.

Carl Schurz was born on March 2, 1829, in Germany and attended school in Cologne. In his *Reminiscences,* which he wrote in 1905, Schurz claimed that he learned from his teachers "that clearness and directness of expression are the fundamental requisites of a good style" and how "to exercise the faculty of correct observation."[1] Schurz often became friends with older and more powerful authority figures such as his teachers. The most notable relationship of this kind was with his former professor Gottfried Kinkel who later became a fellow revolutionary. In school, Schurz read authors like Heinrich Heine who, during the "Vormärz" years prior to the start of the German revolution in March 1848, used poems and prose to inspire many educated young Germans like Schurz with their liberal and democratic ideas. He agreed with the common opinion among his fellow students that "shared the prevailing impression that great changes" such as "a new constitutional form of government" was necessary and "that the disintegrated Fatherland must be molded into a united empire with free political institutions."[2] Looking back on his life as an old man, Schurz recalled the formation of his democratic aims very much in keeping with the liberal and national trends of the era: a united German state with a constitution that guaranteed the civil and political rights of the German people. He pursued these ideals, formulated in his youth, not only in the German revolution of 1848 but also as an American citizen and politician.

Schurz adopted these liberal attitudes and became politically active already when he was a student at the University of Bonn. He participated with his fellow students in a demonstration on March 18, 1848, in Bonn during the first days of the German revolution. He belonged to the fraternity Frankonia and served as editor at the *Bonner Zeitung*, which his friend Gottfried Kinkel published. He also became a member in the Democratic Club of Bonn, served as chairmen of the student council, participated in a congress of democratic clubs in Cologne, and participated in a student congress in Eisenach in the summer of 1848 while the revolution was still in motion. When the revolution started to fail in 1849, Schurz still wanted "some opportunity to contribute to its victory, be it ever so little."[3] He supported the aim of the democrats to create "a constitutional government on the broadest democratic basis."[4] As he wrote in his *Reminiscences,* "instinctive impulse as well as logical reasoning led me to the democratic side."[5] As he recalled, he lifted himself up to the belief "that so great, so just, so sacred a cause as that of German unity and free government could not possibly

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[1] Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz with Portrait and Original Drawings. Vol. 1* (New York: McClure, 1907), 55-56.

[2] Ibid., 73.

[3] Ibid., 177.

[4] Ibid., 128.

[5] Ibid.

Ill. 5-2: Carl Schurz: "The man with the (Carpet) bags", 1872.

fail".[6] As this statement suggests, his disappointment persisted even more than fifty years later after spending most of his life in the American Midwest.

This statement also suggests that Schurz continued to believe in the legitimacy of those liberal and national ideals. In his *Reminiscences*, he traced the larger political developments of the German revolution and his involvement in them in precise detail in order to demonstrate the degree to which his actions were grounded in "true convictions". In a letter to his parents before he participated in a revolt in Siegburg with a revolutionary brigade, he wrote that, if it came to it, his would be a "honorable death".[7] Afterwards, he admitted to his disappointment that he did not have the opportunity "to render some worthy service" as he had wanted "to look [his] fate in the eyes with courage and dignity".[8] He admitted that the largest mistake of the German people was their childish trust in the promises of the King of Prussia, to whom the Frankfurt parliamentarians offered the German crown of the new constitutional monarchy. He repeated the classic explanation of the failings of the Frankfurt Parliament in his *Reminiscences*: the parliamentarians were too intelligent and too educated, which led to "an overabundance of learning and virtue". He stated that "the true statesman will be careful not to imperil that which is essential by excessive insistence upon things which are of comparatively little consequence."[9] The National Parliament in Frankfurt "consisted in the will of the people" but ultimately had at its command "only its moral authority".[10] They did not have enough weapons and soldiers, as the army still belonged personally to the Prussian king and remained loyal to him. On the one hand, Schurz insisted that the liberal and national goals of the revolutionaries were not un-

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[6] Ibid., 178.

[7] Ibid., 214.

[8] Ibid., 212-213.

[9] Ibid., 162.

[10] Ibid., 161.

attainable and that a lot of them were fulfilled later in the 1870s. On the other hand, Schurz clearly regretted the fact that the German revolutionaries lacked the military power needed to take and maintain power in the face of counterrevolution by the conservative aristocrats. This notion – that a more practical politician might better be able to do good with the help of military power – seemed to shape not only Schurz's thinking but also his actions as an American citizen and politician.

The failure of the revolution presented Schurz with a serious challenge to his self-image. By 1849, Schurz became a political refugee – a life that, to him, was meaningless and characterized by illusions precisely because his actions no longer had any practical worth to himself or others. After fleeing from one of the last revolutionary revolts in the Rastatt fortress in Baden, he experienced "the life of a refugee in its true reality."[11] As he arrived in Strasburg the "depressing consciousness" came over him that he "was really a homeless man, a fugitive, and under police surveillance."[12] Schurz depicted the activities of his political club in exile as "illusory" in his 1905 autobiography precisely because of hindsight: their efforts to foment a new German revolution had failed. He then lived for a while in Zurich, where he continued to trust the other refugees and believed in the dream of a new revolution. Yet he described himself in his *Reminiscences*as naïve. "Nobody cultivates the art of deceiving himself with the windiest illusions more cleverly, more systematically and more untiringly than the political refugee."[13] Schurz and his political club in Zurich even dreamed of how they would succeed over the monarchic Prussian government, and identified each person's role in the post-revolution government. After a short stay in Paris in 1851, Schurz left for England. There he seemed to worship the ingrained freedom of British society and at the same time felt like an outsider as refugees could not share this freedom like the British citizen. As he later recalled, he felt like they "lived separate lives, as on an island of our own in a great surrounding sea of humanity".[14] As Schurz sarcastically described from the perspective of hindsight, these German political clubs in London continued to send emissaries to Germany "to find people who lived in the same illusions as the exiles"[15]. To be sure, Schurz took effective action in one regard: while he was still in Zurich, Schurz decided to help Johanna Kinkel to free his friend Gottfried who was incarcerated in a penitentiary. Schurz felt that he could not simply wait in Switzerland while his friend was treated like a common perpetrator. He also believed that Kinkel "might still do great service to the cause of the

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[11] Ibid., 240.

[12] Ibid., 233.

[13] Ibid., 241.

[14] Ibid., 370.

[15] Ibid., 379.

German people."[16] Along with his other revolutionary activities, this dangerous mission to rescue his friend was in keeping with the norms of class and gender of a "self-made man", who developed his own principles and strove to realize them in meaningful deeds.

His decision to abandon the European continent fits within this same paradigm of the self-made man who had to find a new arena in which to finally achieve his political goals. The final straw for Schurz was the bad news from France, which reached him in December 1851: Louis Napoléon had executed a coup d'état and was resurrecting a Bonapartist monarchy in France. As a consequence of the developments, Schurz stated that "the revolutionary fires had burned out."[17] In his estimation, although the people of the German states still disagreed on many political issues, the popular urge to start a new revolution was gone. While his fellow exiles tried to persuade him to stay in Europe, Schurz left London with his new wife Margarethe by ship and reached the port of New York in September 1852. As he reflected later in his life, he believed that the free country of the United States could give him the opportunity "to do something really and truly valuable for the general good"[18] – that is, the chance to finally achieve some of his democratic goals and make a career for himself in the process.

By 1855, Schurz settled in Wisconsin, where he began his political career in the United States. The Republican Party was trying to find its footing in the American political landscape after different abolitionist factions had come together to oppose the established Democratic party. Given their abolitionist views, Schurz felt that the German voting bloc in Wisconsin could be easily convinced to support the Republican Party. In a letter to senator James Rood Doolittle of Wisconsin, Schurz claimed that that he "could command at least 8000 German votes outside of the Rep. party. That figure is not unlikely to run up to 9000 or 10000. Of 4000 I am perfectly sure."[19] Schurz also felt that his personal record of revolutionary activism in Germany made him the right man for this job of mobilizing the German vote. He thus began to apply his liberal and national ideals to the issue of slavery.

After rising through the Republican parties ranks, Schurz became a vocal critic of slavery and its supporters. According to Schurz biographer Joseph Schafer, his attacks were directed towards Northern Democrats whose support for slavery "forced them from one posi-

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[16] Ibid., 249.

[17] Ibid., 379.

[18] Ibid., 399.

[19] Letter. Carl Schurz to Senator Doolittle. "Letters of Carl Schurz, B. Gratz Brown, James S. Rollins, and G. G. Vest et al., from the Private Papers and Correspondences of Senator James Rood Doolittle of Wisconsin", Missouri Historical Review, v. 11, no. 1 (October 1916), 5.

tion to another, from the Missouri Compromise to the Dred Scott Decision." Schurz rode this wave of public criticism into political stardom in Wisconsin, "with the more determined anti-slavery people of the North, the group which was most effective in pushing the cause (of abolition) along."[20] Where Schurz had fought for democratic ideals in 1848, he now raised his voice in opposition to policies that denied freedom and equality to enslaved blacks in the United States.

In contrast to the failed German revolutions, Schurz began to see real results quickly both for his adopted country and his own career. His early efforts in the Republican Party were rewarded with an appointment as the United States Ambassador to Spain. After the American Civil War broke out in April of 1861, Schurz felt that he must be a part of the Union military efforts and so offered his resignation to President Abraham Lincoln in exchange for his own military command. As Schurz wrote to President Lincoln, he was aware that, when the war was over, it would be those who had fought with the colors who would have a decisive influence in Reconstruction, and he was convinced that "the true place for a young able-bodied man was in the field, and not in an easy chair."[21] reflecting back to Schurz's view of himself from Germany as a "man of action" and not an idle spectator.

At the end of the Civil War, Schurz was excited at the prospects of what the new era of Reconstruction could bring, but was saddened and shocked by news of Lincoln's assassination. During Andrew Johnson's Presidency, Schurz grew weary of Johnson being too lenient with the Southern states and believed that he was not going to allow the Republicans' desired policies of Reconstruction to be implemented. Hoping to gain Republican support, President Johnson sent Schurz on a tour of the Southern states to inspect and recommend initiatives on how to rebuild the South. This was a political gamble for Johnson, a Southern Democrat himself from Tennessee, to instruct Schurz, a Northern Republican and vocal anti-slavery advocate, but this assignment was viewed as an opportunity for Johnson to show bipartisanship and claim that he was making an attempt to appeal to Republicans during this time.

To Johnson's dismay, Schurz wrote a critical review of Johnson's political goals for the former rebellious states. In *Carl Schurz: Reformer,* Claude Moore argues that Schurz believed that one of the major issues facing Reconstruction in the South "was the establishment of some workable system of Negro labor. Negro suffrage would certainly never be extended to the blacks by the voluntary action of Southern whites themselves, yet it was absolutely necessary if the ends of justice and equality were to be attained. The Negro must be made a

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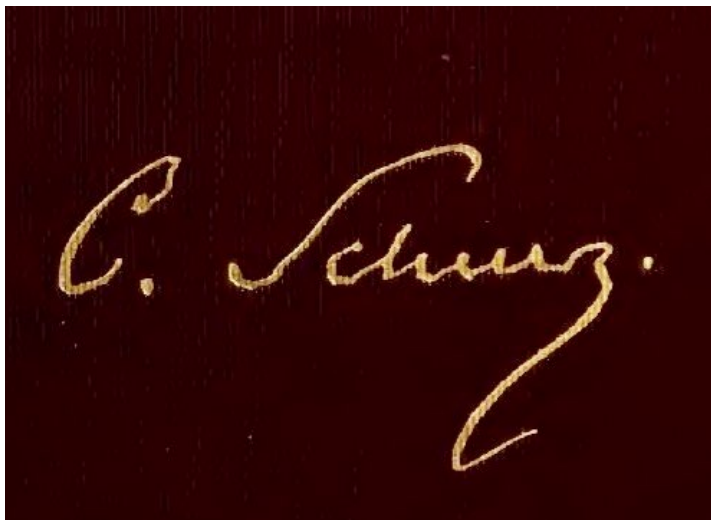
[20] Joseph Schafer, *Carl Schurz: Militant Liberal*. (Evansville: Antes Press, 1930), 126.

[21] Claude Moore Fuess, *Carl Schurz: Reformer*. (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1932), 93.

true freeman and an intelligent and useful citizen."[22] Additionally, "if all that was desired was the reestablishment of the forms of civil government in the former Confederacy, then Reconstruction had already been virtually achieved. If, however, the revolution begun in the South was to be completed, if Unionists and blacks were to be protected, it was absolutely necessary to retain the army there, at least for some time to come, to support the Freedmen's Bureau, and to delay the full restoration of the states."[23]. This policy review by Schurz demonstrated a connection back to his experiences in Germany as one who fought for more democratic rights and principles including a constitution that would be adopted by Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia that limited his power but also expanded the political authority of the German citizens. Schurz continued his support of the expansion of democratic rights to individuals in the United States after he arrived with his support of black suffrage during Reconstruction.



Ill. 5-3: Autograph on the Cover of Schurz's „Reminiscences", 1907.

After completing his tour of the Southern states in 1865, Schurz found himself in St. Louis. Schurz, who had always been interested in a career in journalism, noted the large German presence in the city and considered it a potential spot for future political activity. While in St. Louis, Schurz met with several local German newspaper owners including Emil Praetorius of the *Westliche Post* and bought a share of it. According to biographer Hans L. Trefousse, after Schurz "was made one of the co-owners of the paper and co-editor, he succeeded in repaying his share within two years and kept his interests in it until the day he died."[24] This new strategy became a hallmark of Schurz's political career: using a newspaper that had a large German audience to mobilize the German-American vote in his own interests. Schurz used this position of influence and power in the German-American community to his advantage in subsequent political conflicts.

During the 1860s, Schurz stayed current on international affairs in Europe, particularly the events surrounding the wars of German Unification. Schurz traveled to Germany in 1867 to speak to Otto von Bismarck, the Prime Minister of Prussia. Schurz implies in some of his writings that, in part, Bismarck's motive in meeting with Schurz was to convince him to move back to Germany and restart his political career there, an interpretation of events that

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[22] Ibid. 135.

[23] Hans L Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography*. (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Pr., 1982), 158.

[24] Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography*, 163.

is shared by Schurz's 1932 biographer Claude Moore Fuess. Such a move back to Prussia would have been rather ironic given the fact that Bismarck was the embodiment of the neo-absolutist style of monarchical government against which Schurz had fought so desperately in 1848. Yet it makes some sense in that Bismarck wanted to find ambitious liberal politicians who would be willing to work with him in the Prussian and later the German parliament. It also made sense that he met with Bismarck given Schurz's political ambitions to use his German connections to help further his political career. Their discussions did not amount to anything specific except that it reestablished his connections to his heritage and homeland even after he left as a political refugee.

Upon his return from Germany, Schurz re-settled in St. Louis and sought to position himself to become the state's Senator in 1868. Schurz was able to capitalize on mobilizing the German-American vote in the St. Louis region through his campaigns for the Republican Party, and his election to the U.S. Senate was widely publicized. The *Missouri Valley Register* editorialized: "The German Republican General Committee hails your entrance into the Senate of the United States as one of the most important events in the progress of our Republic. As patriot, as political leader, as gifted orator, and as volunteer soldier in the cause of preserving and enabling the Union, your name is already inscribed in brilliant colors of the page of her history."[25] They also argued: "Your election, the free-hearty and honest expression of the young will of the Empire state of the West is conclusive evidence that this idea is living and active in the minds of the native population of this country."[26] The press' reaction to Schurz's election in Missouri demonstrates two things about his German-American identity. First, it provided a political connection between him and the German-American community as a voting bloc that was used to his advantage. Secondly, Schurz was clearly viewed as an American politician who represented the German community on a national stage. The *Missouri Weekly Patriot* repeated this belief later during his tenure in the Senate: "Mr. Schurz was elected to the Senate by the Republicans as a good will offering to the powerful German element of Missouri."[27]

Schurz was elected as a member of the Republican party, but he did not follow the party line if he felt that the policy was not in his best interests or intents of the nation's. Schurz had several conflicts with the Grant administration mostly around the policies of Recon-

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[25] "Presentation of an Address to Senator Schurz," *Missouri Valley Register*, March 11, 1869. p. 1, c. 8 (Digital Newspaper Collection. State Historical Society of Missouri: http://digital.shsmo.org/digital/collection/lmvr/id/792).

[26] Ibid.

[27] "The Anti-Grant Republican Leaders and their Budget of Grievances – The Drift of Our Political Parties," *Missouri Weekly Patriot*, January 11, 1872. p. 1, c. 5 (Digital Newspaper Collection. State Historical Society of Missouri).

struction in the Southern states or in regards to civil service reform. His independent tendencies were noticed by the *Bates County Record:* "Mr. Schurz, it will be seen, does not speak as either a Republican or as a Democrat. He assumes a sort of grand neutral position and hurls at both parties the grandiloquent opinion that neither of them is able to cope with the new dangers and difficulties that have arisen." They also wrote: "It may be true […] the ability of the Republican Party of today the great party that, without the aid of Mr. Schurz, has done so much during the last 10 years – to meet and to deal with the present situation and issues; but we are inclined to believe that we are not quite yet ready to surrender and acknowledge its helplessness merely at the bidding of the great American German."[28] This kind of reporting demonstrates that Schurz was a well respected member of the Republican party and was known for his leadership within the party's rise to power; but he was still viewed as a German-American politician. "It was precisely Schurz's ability to speak on behalf of his compatriots that gave him so much influence in the Senate during his one term. Had he merely represented Missouri, his appeal would have been limited, but as he was presumed to speak for millions of German-Americans all over the land, he exerted an influence far greater than that of an ordinary one-term Senator."[29]

As continued tensions rose between Schurz and Grant over the direction of the county, Schurz demonstrated his independent nature. He broke away from the Republican party by founding an independent third party, the Liberal Republican Party, to challenge both the Republicans and Democrats. Schurz felt that both major parties were too focused on political infighting over the policies of Reconstruction and were ignoring the nation as a whole. Schurz biographer Hans Trefousse wrote that "thus the Senator from Missouri, after breaking with the President [Grant] on patronage, foreign affairs, and Reconstruction, became one of the founders of the Liberal Republican movement. Because [Schurz] played such a prominent role in the revolt of against the administration, it was clear that the dissidents would look to him or guidance."[30] Additionally, Trefousse would add "Schurz believed that the time for action had come […] the German element was more than ever in a fluid condition, (and Schurz) was determined to mold it in such a way as to enhance its influence as an independent force."[31] This political move was not without questions from various newspapers, including the *Bates County Record*, reporting on Schurz's ambitions saying that "it looks a little suspicious, and Schurz, in our opinion, will bear watching. His latest speech is not an

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[28] "Mr. Schurz and His Platform," Bates County Record, August 26, 1871, 1, c. 5 (Digital Newspaper Collection. State Historical Society of Missouri).

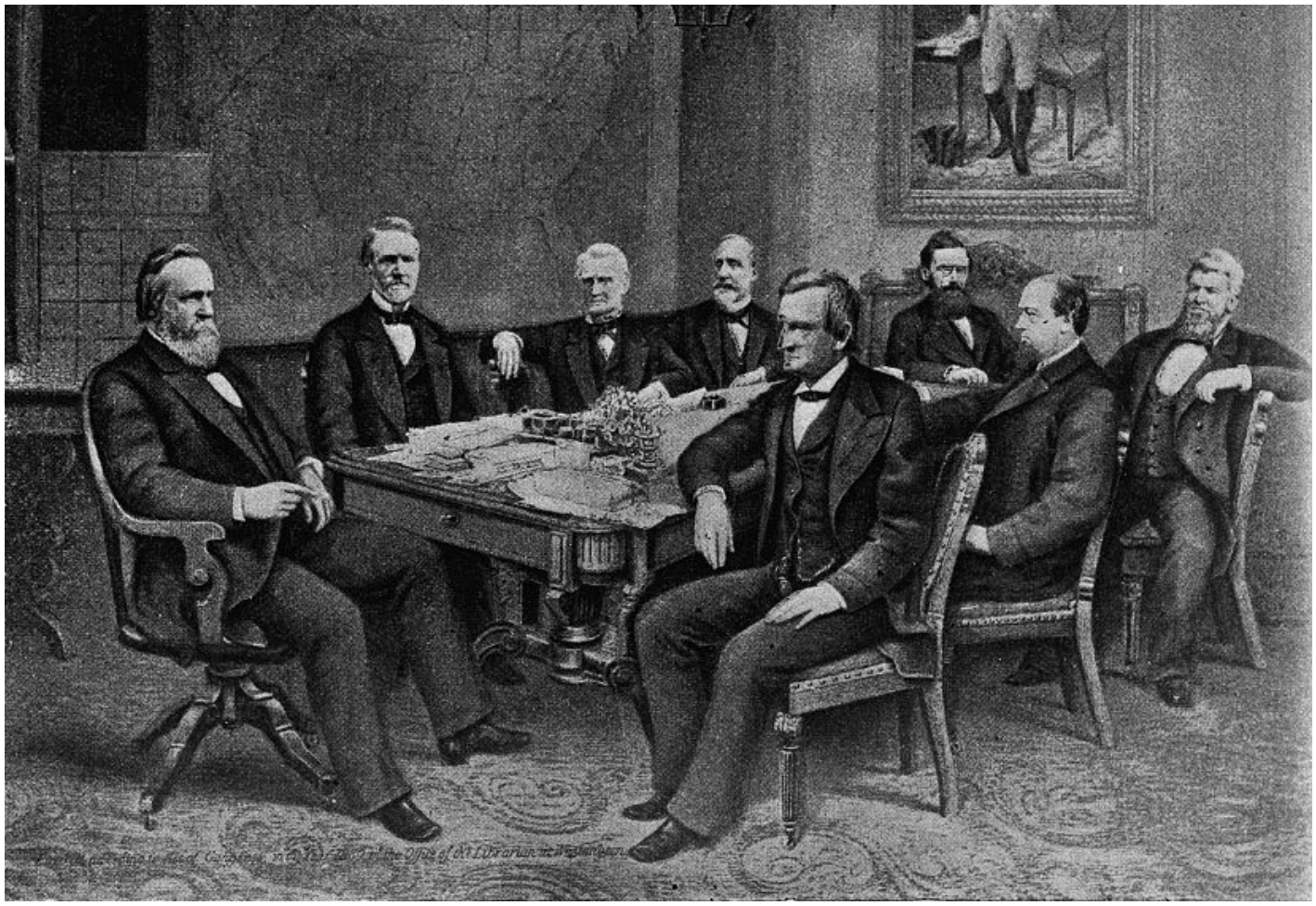
[29] Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography,* 181.

[30] Ibid., 196.

[31] Ibid., 198.

attack on the administration, but a attack on the party itself, and a mean and cowardly attack at that."[32] Ultimately, this movement was a political failure and led to Schurz's defeat in his bid for re-election in 1874.

After his tenure in the U.S. Senate ended, Schurz continued to hold significant political influence and popularity. He was invited on several speaking tours in the Northeast which ultimately led him to becoming involved in the Ohio gubernatorial campaign on the side of future President Rutherford B. Hayes. Schurz maintained this alliance as Hayes sought the Republican nomination for the Presidency in 1876. Once in office, Hayes offered Schurz a nomination as the Secretary of the Interior in his cabinet. At first Schurz was not open to the idea, but he accepted the position, becoming the first German-American to hold that high an office. According to the biographer Trefousse**,** "thus, Schurz, hit hard by defeat and the death of the three closest members of his family, by relying on the independents and the German-Americans, succeeded in making a splendid political comeback. If his commitment to human rights had been gravely compromised by his virtual abandonment of the blacks, he had nevertheless survived the political annihilation both friends and foe had expected. He had every reason to be satisfied".[33]

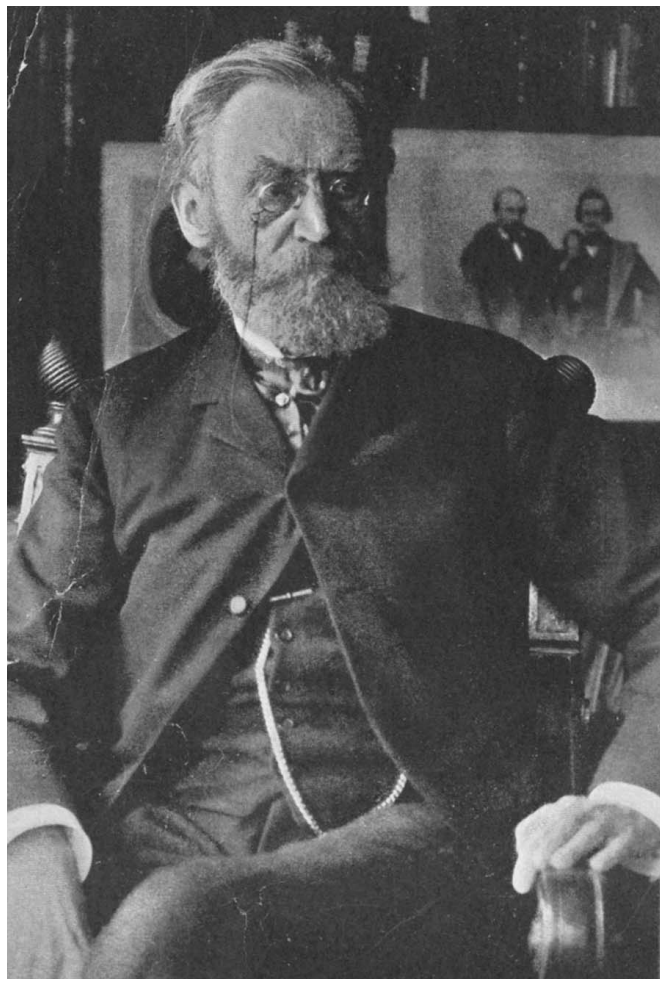


Ill. 5-4: President Haves and his Cabinet. ca. 1878.

[32] Bates County Record. August 26, 1871 (Digital Newspaper Collection. State Historical Society of Missouri).

[33] Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography*, 234.

Schurz's nomination was met with great surprise, especially from Senate Republicans who, at the time of his nomination, held the majority. It was also contested. "Politically speaking," Schurz biographer Trefousse wrote, "the appointment caused the President endless trouble. Stalwart Senators were outraged when the famous bolter's name was presented to them for ratification […] [Some] sought to defeat the nomination and many Half-breeds were left unhappy."[34] During the nomination process, Schurz was called many insults by former Republican colleagues including "godless German philosopher"; but "in spite of these calumnies, he finally won confirmation." During his tenure as Interior Secretary, his policies were similarly attacked by his opponents in Congress. There was no greater example than his management and preservation of natural forests. Schurz attempted to institute new rules designed to curtail the theft of timber and other associated damages, but his ideas were met with resistance, saying that he was attempting "to introduce German methods into free America in total disregard of the needs of frontiersman or firewood." Others complained that "the Secretary of the Interior does not happen to be a native of this country."[35] These criticisms, designed as political payback for his desertion of the Republican Party, were meant to impeded Schurz's political goals as Interior Secretary. Even after being in the United States for over a quarter of a century, Schurz was still primarily associated with Germany and the German-American voting bloc who brought him to power.



Ill. 5-5: Carl Schurz, ca. 1905/1906

At this point in his career, Schurz was not just a self-made man but capable of making or breaking other men. During his tenure with the Department of the Interior, Schurz maintained his connections with Praetorius and the *Westliche Post*. During the Presidential Election of 1880, he feared a possible renomination of Ulysses S. Grant for the Republican Party platform, so Schurz ordered the *Westliche Post* to "do everything possible to prevent Grant's renomination. No other Republican must be attacked and even Blaine must be treated gingerly." As Trefousse explained, Schurz "sought to stress that the German would never vote for Grant, and it was an open secret that [Schurz] would resign rather than support the for-

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[34] Ibid., 237.

[35] Ibid., 241.

mer President."[36] Schurz's political battles with Grant played out in public in the *Westliche Post* and with success: Schurz prevented Grant from becoming the party's nominee, and his determination to use the newspaper to mobilize a German voting bloc to support this political agenda became the pinnacle of his political career. Because of Schurz's efforts, James Garfield led the Republican platform to Presidential victory.

After his tenure as Interior Secretary ended, Carl Schurz never held public office again but nonetheless remained a major public figure. His political skills and ambitions were first realized during the European revolutions of 1848, where he fought for democratic politics and German unity. These experiences were not forgotten once he moved to the United States, as he developed his own political identity but remained rooted in his life in Germany. Throughout his political career, we thus see a German and an American who advocated for a consistent political program in both countries, but who was able to realize these goals for political change based on his successful strategy of ethnic politics.

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Sophia Löhmann is a 21-year-old student from Hamburg, currently in the 4th semester of her bachelor's degree in history and German language and literature. Her fields of interest are modern German history with a special focus on the German revolution in 1848 and its consequences.

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[36] Ibid., 251.

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BCR, *Bates County Record* (Butler, Mo.)

BHE, *Burlington Hawk-Eye* (Burlington, Iowa)

DFD, *Daily Free Democrat* (Milwaukee, Wisc.)

GWT, *Glasgow Weekly Times* (Glasgow, Mo,)

HJ, *Hannibal Journal* (Hannibal, Mo.)

HR, *Hermann Wochenblatt*

MVR, *Missouri Valley Register* (Lexington, Mo.)

MWP, *Missouri Weekly Patriot* (Springfield, Mo)

SOTV, *Shepherd of the Valley* (St. Louis, Mo.)

TPS, *The Portage Sentinel* (Portage, O.)

TNE, *The National Era* (Washington, D.C.)

TRIR, *The Rock Island* Republican (Rock Island, Ill.)

TU, *The Union* (Washington, D.C.)

WT, *Washington Telegraph* (Washington, Ark.)

WU, *Western Union* (Hannibal, Mo.)

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Ill. 1-1: Levick, Edwin, photographer. *Immigrants on an Atlantic Liner.* United States, ca. 1906. Dec. 10. Photograph. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division [LC-DIG-ds-11826]

Ill. 1-2: William Norman Thompson: Cover Illustration for "Americans All Immigrants All", a companion guide to a series of radio broadcasts spotlighting the contributions of various cultural groups, produced by the Department of the Interior Office of Education and the Works Progress Administration, 1939. University of Minnesota Libraries, Immigration History Research Center Archives, Rachel Davis DuBois Papers (IHRCA5730), https://umedia.lib.umn.edu/item/p16022coll137:411, Cropped.

Ill. 1-3: An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to the Chinese, May 6, 1882; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1996; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

Ill. 2-1: Black and white photograph of Friedrich Muench, Warren County, Missouri Photograph Collection, Colletion P1141, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Digital Collection

Ill. 2-2: Gottfried Duden, *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas,* Bonn: E. Weber 1834.

Ill. 3-1: Thekla Bernays. Carte de visite by J. A. Scholten, ca. 1878. Portraits Collection. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. N27970.

Ill. 3-2: Thekla & Augustus Charles Bernays Gravestone, Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis, Missouri, Foto © Connie Nisinger.

Ill. 3-3: Photo of Dr. Augustus Charles Bernays, Dr. Augustus Charles Bernays: A Memoir, Thekla Bernays, 1912.

Ill. 3-4: "Missive For One Whose Name Was Writ in Water", Poem by George O'Neil sent to Thekla Bernays. Unknown year.

Ill. 4-1: Photo of Heinrich Boernstein in the 1870s, taken from *Memoirs of a Nobody: The Missouri Years of an Austrian Radical, 1849-1866,* translated and edited by Steven Rowan (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997).

Ill. 4-2: Cover of a 1851 copy of *The Mysteries of St. Louis*. LaBudde Special Colletions at UMKC Miller Nicols Library in Kansas City, Missouri

Ill. 4-3: Cover of the second edition of Heinrich Boernstein's German language memoir *Fünfundsiebzig Jahre in der Alten und Neuen Welt,* vol. 1, Leipzig: O. Wigand, 1884.

Ill. 5-1: Schurz, Hon. Carl, Brady-Handy photograph collection, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [reproduction number LC-DIG-cwpbh-04020].

Ill. 5-2: Carl Schurz: "The man with the (carpet) bags", Cartoon by Thomas Nast, 1872. Granger Academics, Image No. 0010915; GRANGER – all rights reserved.

Ill. 5-3: Cover detail of Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz,* vol. 1, New York: McClure, 1907.

Ill. 5-4: Hayes & Cabinet, 1878, National Photo Company Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division [reproduction number LC-DIG-npcc-12854]

Ill. 5-5: Carl Schurz, ca. 1906, in: Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences,* vol. 1, New York: McClure, 1907, frontispiece.