

Siegmar Muehl

## Shock of the New: Advising Mid-Nineteenth-Century German Immigrants to Missouri

Beginning with the 1830s, German immigration to the United States increased significantly—from around 152,000 in the 1830s to nearly 952,000 in the 1850s. Over-crowding in the farming districts, crop failures, displacement of artisans by new factory methods, and political oppression all contributed to the dramatic increase of those leaving Germany.<sup>1</sup>

When these newcomers arrived, many found themselves poorly-prepared or ill-advised about realities of life in their new homeland. Two examples illustrate this situation. In the 1830s, Gottfried Duden's idyllic report of his experience living on the Missouri frontier induced many Germans to immigrate to America to seek a similar wilderness experience.<sup>2</sup> Those with educated, "white collar" backgrounds, who attempted this radical change in life style, had no relevant experience, habits or physical hardiness for such a life. Derisively dubbed "Latin farmers," some retreated to the more accustomed life in settled communities; others, exhausted by the harsh demands of frontier life, sank into poverty, despair and sometimes suicide.<sup>3</sup>

A decade later a group of Prussian nobles, in order to create a German colony in America to make better lives for German peasants and workers, formed a group known as the "Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas." Their Texas land purchase, however, turned out to be not only fraudulent in title, but ill-suited for settlement because of its remote and arid location and rocky soil. In July 1847, when large numbers of the society's emigrant recruits began to arrive in Texas, they had no place to go and were forced to camp out on the fever-ridden coast near Galveston where many sickened and died.<sup>4</sup>

Friedrich Muench (1799-1881), German Lutheran pastor, and one of the leaders of a Duden-inspired emigrant group, settled in 1834 on land neighboring

# Der Staat Missouri,

gechildert

mit besonderer Rücksicht auf deutsche Einwanderung,

von

Friedrich Münch,

im Staate Missouri.

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M i t 2 C h a r t e n .

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Verlag der Farmers' & Vine-Growers' Society.

New York:

2. Hausler, 20 North William Street.

Zu beziehen durch

St. Louis:

Ed. Fühler & Co. 21 Dritte Str.

1859.

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Duden's old property near Dutzow, Missouri. Although Muench's ministerial background ill-prepared him for pioneering hardships, native pluck, persistence and ingenuity enabled him and his family not only to overcome early travails, but to create a model farm and vineyard in what was originally a forest wilderness.<sup>5</sup>

Over the years Muench retained a close identification with those left behind in the German homeland. With the rise of German immigration to the United States, he conceived the idea of writing a book to prepare prospective German emigrants so they might better adjust to the New World after they arrived.

This book idea found outside support in summer 1858 when C. L. Brai, New York publisher associated with the "Farmers' and Vine Growers' Society," a German-language publishing house, visited Muench on his Dutzow farm. Muench wrote of the occasion: "Brai expressed the wish I should write a work dealing with the State of Missouri for the purpose of inducing a greater influx of German immigrants to Missouri."<sup>6</sup>

Other considerations also fueled this book project. Beside the misadventures experienced by Duden followers like himself, Muench was also aware of the settlement fiasco farther south. He wrote: "The bitter experience of those in Texas should witness for all that colonization here should not be directed from above . . . . Individuals, on the other hand, left on their own with necessary information know best how to help themselves."<sup>7</sup>

Such at-hand information was at the time limited. Muench noted: "Except for the out-of-date reports of Duden and the shorter statistical remarks of Wappaeus . . . there is not another book on Missouri worth mentioning other than the solid work of Theodore Olshausen."<sup>8</sup> Of a third work, he spoke disparagingly: "My book is not the work of a traveling scholar, comfortably written in the homeland after hastily gathering notes." The reference was probably to Franz von Loehner, a German who visited America in 1847. His *Travel Sketches*, published 1855, contained two chapters on Missouri based on brief visits to the St. Louis and Hermann areas.<sup>9</sup>

Muench's own work, written in German in a few months time, obviously for a educated audience, was published in early 1859 under the title: *The State of Missouri Portrayed with Special Regard to German Immigration*. Muench commented in his "Foreword": "I wished I could have devoted more time to writing the book. However, it needed quick completion that would serve a practical purpose which would suffer by delay."<sup>10</sup>

For prospective German immigrants to Missouri, Muench characterized his work as:

. . . not only a travel guide but also a source of advice on how to secure a successful outcome in all the affairs they undertake . . . . My portrayal is based on 24 years of my own observations of things and their outcomes, on experience in which all my spiritual and bodily strength were continuously engaged.<sup>11</sup> . . . I especially wanted to give them a true picture of what Missouri has to offer, as well as the necessary information for better adjusting in a new situation . . . . Above all, I wanted to be helpful to our fellow countrymen, to spare them the many bitter experiences we ourselves had.<sup>12</sup>

When published, the book contained twenty-seven chapters of 237 pages. Its contents provided a wealth of detail on a variety of subjects and situations: Missouri history, geography, climate, people, churches and schools, politics, flora, fauna, agriculture, among others. Complete chapter headings appear in the appendix.

What seems currently relevant in the book's mass of information related to that long-ago time were situations which Muench chose to highlight, situations that would strike the new immigrants as strange, sometimes disturbing, or even shocking. In our late twentieth-century era, many of the same circumstances prevail. Muench's nineteenth-century perspective still provides grounds for empathy and insights into the social and psychological adjustments required of today's many and varied newcomers as they struggle to join mainstream United States life, to feel at home.

In what follows, Muench's own words in translation give the flavor of his personal, present-tense style—as if he were addressing his readers in person. Muench observed that culture shock and challenge to adjust began when the immigrant first stepped off the ship bringing him to the United States:

Barely have you stepped onto the shore, when there mingles with your astonishment and wonder at the prospect of the world created here by nature and human hands, an impression caused by its total strangeness. This is not your usual world. It will not completely transform your habits, but you must learn to find yourself in it. A strange speech strikes your ear, strange people run indifferently past you. There are no familiar trees, shrubs, or wild plants. You breathe a different air, another sky arches over your head. The whole way of life is different. You see haste. You see exclusiveness and ostentation, a coldness, and occasionally a lack of consideration which depresses you. Most of all, what bothers you is perhaps the grossness you observe in your own fellow countrymen. I know more than one

instance where men, after one or two days in one of our sea-coast cities, doubting their ability to adapt themselves to this very different life, turn back. They are filled with longing for a homeland which they had just given up in anger because of circumstances there.<sup>13</sup>

In the same passage, Muench counseled those who might experience such extreme reactions:

If you cannot overcome all your habits, if you are forever firmly fixed in your so-called home ways, unable to accommodate to the new circumstances, then you may not be able, try as hard as you will, to change sufficiently. You never leave behind the land where you grew up. I say to you . . . : The old is gone, look to the future. Say to yourself, I will and want to secure a different life, to put down new and strong roots no matter how hard the beginnings . . . . Not everything sanctioned by long custom is superior.

Added to the strangeness of this different physical scene was "life in a Republic" where people made their own laws and rejected unnecessary restrictions. This freer life offered a radical contrast with the immigrant's homeland experience "where everything was ordered, laid out and supervised from above." Muench warned that this freedom had its negative side, especially in the great cities:

Good-naturedness and consideration are not often seen in public life. Men pass each other with apparent indifference. They save their warmth for the "fireside," for the intimate and quiet world of the household circle. Rudeness is displayed in many forms and cannot totally be avoided. However, it is to be deplored. Many of our own countrymen find it hard to adjust to the free ways here. They compensate by rude and arrogant behavior in response to the strange culture to which they find themselves exposed.<sup>14</sup>

Muench offered encouragement for the immigrant's sense of social disorientation in these early encounters. Given time and experience, adjustments would begin to occur:

You will rid yourself of petty concerns, commonplace formalities, wrong turnings, the too long-cautious ways along with other characteristics of Germaness. You become and feel yourself freed

from a heavy load. You are changed into being a person who first appears strange to you, yet more like yourself while at the same time, not having lost any of your best traits. Meanwhile, you test without prejudice everything new and judge it all in the way we do here, trying it out for yourself. You will find how many accustomed ways you discard as useless and exchange these for those suitable to circumstances and local manners. But even here, the frugal, orderly, thoughtful longtime German methods bring with them advantages in practice.<sup>15</sup>

For immigrants considering Missouri, Muench prepared them for scenes they would encounter:

As your journey further into the far West . . . many things astonish, nothing will please you. You will miss the variety in the German scenery, the traces of an ordering human hand as a part of nature, the inspiring remnants and monuments of the long vanished past that edify the spirit. Here, luxuriant and brilliant green is everywhere, an almost endless forest . . . . The extensive grain-covered fields, the lovely meadowlands with their clear and pure brooks are missing. Our mighty rivers will not compare with "Father Rhine." Instead of friendly German villages with happy, bustling youth and the pleasing pealing of evening bells, you will see isolated, scattered and silent farms.<sup>16</sup>

Lest his reader with a mind set on farming be put off by the prospect of living isolated from the accustomed neighbors and village life in Germany, Muench cited advantages when compared with the Old-World scene:

The inhabitant of this separate farm has as a rule woodland, pasture, field, meadow and cropland close to house and farmyard. He uses his grounds as he pleases and does not come into conflict with his neighbor . . . . Family life is very close because of the isolation. In these surroundings one learns to cherish others because one does not see them daily. This peaceful homestead, even if only a log cabin, is protected by law against every disturbance of the peace. We see fulfilled in their inhabitants a feeling of independence that most privileged people of the old world never knew. In this ownership there is nothing of that "right and law" that always went with it: there are no tithes, no service to the manor lord.<sup>17</sup>

At the same time, Muench anticipated the likely reaction when one of these typical isolated farmsteads was seen close up for the first time:

You have come here with the idea of a well-ordered and complete German country estate where nothing is lacking and everything is carefully arranged. Instead, you find a simple log cabin with other structures scattered around it . . . most of which the owner has built himself with ax and saw. What you see is not neat or particularly impressive. If you look at the farm operation itself, nothing seems fitting. You will find fault with the harness, the plow, the harrow, the wagon . . . . It will break you heart to see that perhaps a tenth of the harvest remains in the fields. (There are no gleaners.) . . . When you turn your attention to the orchard, you see on the ground, a litter of fallen apples and peaches left over from August so there is barely room to step. Only the best is selected and gathered. What remains is left to the pigs. The daily waste of wood brings tears to your eyes when you remember the cold in Europe where the theft of a meager branch brought with it heavy punishment.<sup>18</sup>

Much displeasing in this scene, Muench explained, came about because in the beginning the farmer, on his own, had so much to do that much remained undone. Hired help that could hasten improvement was scarce and expensive. He offered assurance that in time things "will slowly get better."

For the immigrant wishing to settle in a city to work in a trade—perhaps in St. Louis, or in one of the several smaller cities described in the book, Muench advised that Old-World ways needed changing to succeed:

You bring with you your accustomed ways that contribute little. Here one needs other skills, different and faster ways, better and more efficient tools, using less material and delivering goods faster. You have only yourself to blame if you stubbornly shut your eyes to these facts. The most advisable course is to go for weekly or monthly instruction. Here wanting to learn is honorable at any age. Soon you are put to rights; you achieve greater efficiency in your task. You turn out twice as much as before. Generally, the German worker here is prized and sought after . . . . He is richly rewarded and rapidly rises to being well-off and respected.<sup>19</sup>

Beyond different ways of doing, future immigrants needed forewarning about other aspects of the United States experience that would likely shock,

disgust and cause discomfort—especially the phenomena of slavery and “nativism.” Coming to the United States in the 1850s, immigrants would be confronted with the institution of slavery with its increasingly controversial and divisive impact on the American social and political scene. If the immigrant chose to settle in Missouri, a slave state, his expectations needed to be realistic.

Muench’s account of the institution of slavery revealed his strong anti-slavery persuasion. Further, he assumed that most of his German comrades would share his viewpoint. For that reason, Missouri might seem a dubious place to settle compared to other free states in what was then called the “Far West.” Trying to counter this possible adverse reaction, Muench observed: “Slavery here in Missouri does not have such a secure footing that it could not be suppressed by suitable efforts . . . that the party opposing slavery by becoming stronger may render slavery powerless in a short time.” Although the state had restrictive laws applicable to blacks, among them the prohibition of schools, still, one found:

. . . many Negroes here who can read and write, concern themselves with politics, and for the most part differ little from other workers. The Negro here, where many work and communicate with whites, is not the brutalized worker one finds on the plantation. There are many among them for whom one might wish with all his heart a white skin . . . Among Germans there are only isolated slaveholders, and not all of these champion slavery.<sup>20</sup>

Germans coming to Missouri had a crusading job to do:

It seems to me that we Germans in Missouri are to be given a task . . . of rescuing this fair state from the evil of slavery. For that we need thousands of brave fellow fighters . . . For every German who comes here we gain a fellow fighter for a good cause, if he does nothing more than show the product of his free labors next to the wretched results of slave labor . . . Thus, by means of Germans this state will move more calmly and peaceably to freedom in the course of a comparatively short time.<sup>21</sup>

Muench ranked “nativism” as the next “most damnable social outgrowth” in the United States—a movement founded on “pride of native birth and disparagement of the foreign born.” Hostility toward the foreign born had gained momentum in the 1850s with the large influx of Germans and poor Irish Catholics fleeing famine in their homelands. United States natives’ prejudices



against foreigners aroused by this situation led to the formation of a new United States political group, the "American Party," also known as the "Know-Nothings." The party's tenets included restrictive principles, among them: immigrants should be granted citizenship only after living here for twenty-one years; they could never hold public office.<sup>22</sup>

The party's influence waned after its poor showing in the 1856 elections. Muench noted: "In Missouri Nativism was not as bad as elsewhere. In fact it has hardly shown itself here and is now like distant thunder." Elsewhere, he asserted: "Many accept the German element without reservation as fully justified as Americans."<sup>23</sup> Yet, despite these optimistic judgments, Muench cautioned: "If the native born do not love us over much, we can very well secure their regard through polite, tactful, manly and straight-forward behavior . . . Germaness is here, an irrevocable fact, whether they like it or not."<sup>24</sup>

It was not only encounters with the native born that sometimes proved problematic. New immigrants, so-called "Greens," might find themselves at odds with the generation of Germans immigrants, the "Grays," who had settled earlier. Many of the latter, who entered the United States before the 1848 revolution, came for economic reasons. Over time, these "Grays" had become established in their communities and more conservative in outlook. By contrast, the failed European revolution of 1848 brought into the country a wave of political refugees, many ideologically oriented, outspoken and often disputatious. "Gray" vs. "Green" frictions developed. As one of the "Gray" generation, Muench reminded his readers to remember that it was the older generation of German immigrants "who had smoothed the way for them . . . It is really too bad if in this country the 'Greens' want to outdo the 'Grays,' or the other way around."<sup>25</sup>

Within this intra-German context, Muench also called attention to the great diversity of cultural and regional backgrounds among the various German-speaking immigrant groups already in the United States. In German homelands, these regional differences often were grounds for provincial prejudices toward Germans from other areas. Muench advised not to expect this attitude here: "These different Germans live together sociably and peaceable without the least spitefulness."<sup>26</sup>

Besides slavery, nativist prejudices and German-immigrant differences, other United States institutions and practices needed preparatory comment: newspapers, religious practices and schools. About United States newspapers, Muench wrote:

One must not expect to find that the papers here have the subdued style as those in Europe. Not only will subjects and events be covered

by countless reporters with ruthless criticism, but also politics, where the parties fight one another with two edged swords . . . . Events and personalities will be reported that in Germany are only seldom referred to publicly . . . . Nothing escapes sharp investigation. A so-called public man should take care he shows no weaknesses. The worst of this occurs with political candidates. The opposition party leaves them bleeding. In this roughness, ethical limits are often overstepped . . . . Those living in a republic cannot be too over-sensitive . . . . One thinks that the evil the press reports must be intended to make things better, that freedom and progress can be secured only through the steady watchfulness of all.<sup>27</sup>

United States religious practices, Muench reminded his readers, were very unlike those in Germany. On this side of the Atlantic there was no state church. As a result, religious denominations of varying and sometimes extreme religious character proliferated. These groups, often in doctrinal conflict with one another, actively proselytized and engaged in public polemics. "All the different sects now and then carry on a heavy pulpit and newspaper war, battling in common cause against the irreligious . . . . All stand in opposition to the Roman hierarchy."<sup>28</sup>

Laws restricting Sunday activities, so-called "blue laws," existed in most states, despite constitutional guarantee of separation of church and state. These Sunday laws, when rigorously observed in communities where German immigrants had settled, caused the latter considerable inconvenience and aggravation since they prohibited recreations most Germans considered appropriate for Sunday relaxation: going to the tavern, theater, dancing, playing cards and other forms of entertainment and socializing. Speaking of Missouri in this regard, Muench reported "there is great liberality so long as the pious are not disturbed."<sup>29</sup>

Public schools posed a problem for German immigrants who set great store in keeping their German heritage—its language and culture—alive and passing it along to their children. Public schools required the teaching of English and seldom included curricula related to German culture, or teachers trained to impart it. Although German schools had been founded to meet this deficiency, they existed only in a few communities. In Missouri, they were found only in St. Louis and in a few of the small cities with sizeable and active German settlements: Hermann, Jefferson City and Washington.<sup>30</sup>

Muench warned that this hope to foster and retain the German language in the United States had practical forces opposing it. English was increasingly becoming "the common colloquial speech . . . . Already in the second

generation, English is preferred by many as the easier language—by children and by those who find themselves not fully conversant in High German. Where mixed marriages take place, which has not happened often up to now, German will almost entirely disappear.” There were even some first-generation German immigrants who, “ashamed of their descent and wanting to be well-regarded by the native born, would get rid of their mother tongue.”<sup>31</sup> On a more optimistic note, Muench added that for the present, the German language was maintaining itself “through the worth of German literature, the German churches and schools, and by the steady influx of new German immigrants.”

Throughout his book, he offered advice and observations relating mainly to male concerns. One exception occurred in the chapter on “Country Life.” Here, he set forth the prospects of the immigrant wife as someone sharing in the experiences of farm living:

A man can be satisfied only if his wife is as well. Many wives, if they have to live in the country, are made uncomfortable, partly by what they left behind, partly by what is demanded of them. Yet the great majority of German wives adjust with a good and ready will to the new situation . . . . Our wives have significant and difficult tasks here. In performing these, they feel important, are never plagued by boredom and are satisfied by what they accomplish for their family. They keep their house clean and orderly, do the cooking, baking, washing, knitting, mending, sewing (some make men’s clothing better than a tailor), care for children, milk the cows, make butter, cheese and soap, dry the fruit, cook jams, prepare fruit and vegetables, tend the flower and kitchen gardens and the fowl. Indeed, many even weave the necessary fabrics for household use.<sup>32</sup>

Lest the distaff member of a prospective immigrant family be put off by the chores awaiting her in the United States countryside, Muench concluded with what, in his male view, was compensation for all this dawn-to-dark labor: “Despite all that, wives do not cease to live as cultured human beings. They are the center of the intimate and warm family life where every member helps as he can.”

In all these varied confrontations with the shock of the new and finally coming to terms with the many changes from accustomed homeland ways, could and would the immigrant eventually discover a new sense of identity to replace the old ties and allegiances to the old country, to have “the satisfying feeling of having won a Fatherland again”?

As Muench viewed his own and others's experience, he found some succeeded in this quest while others made, at best, a marginal adjustment. Of factors facilitating this adaptation, he cited the favorable blending of the German and Anglo-Saxon elements in the United States, the similarities of climate, occupations and culture to those in Germany. Especially helpful was the possibility of finding "an almost completely German life in expanding German settlements."<sup>33</sup>

Yet, despite these helpful circumstances, Muench cautioned that for many first-generation immigrants the process was not easy; that in some instances the adjustment was never completely made: "Those who grew up in Europe, especially the educated, live here with an alienated feeling. Even when an honorable man . . . confronts this feeling and tries to fulfill his obligations, he cannot alter the fact that he had another Fatherland in whose fate and honor he once exalted . . . Few here become fully Americanized. We remain German in feeling and striving."<sup>34</sup>

Sometimes, change in national and cultural identification went on so gradually that individuals were unaware of its happening. Their altered sense of self was revealed only when they made a return visit to the German homeland "to once again see the scenes which had impressed their youthful feelings at the deepest level, to recapture the joys of youth." When they arrived they found everything changed, not least of all themselves. "They will no longer understand those they had once been close to. They will be struck by how much they have changed by living in America. Dissatisfied, most soon return to the New World, even if it were a wilderness."<sup>35</sup>

Sometimes the transition was readily accomplished by the immigrant's taking on a kind of double identity. "Many Germans, without in the least disowning their Germaness, have so completely adopted American ways, they have a double capacity, an advantage of over the native born—especially for business people, lawyers, doctors, etc. This capacity is often envied by the natives."<sup>36</sup>

For most, everyday encounters, demands, needs and accomplishments eventually fostered a transition to a sense of belonging:

Local life changes and develops those who enter newly into it . . . . These persons seem marvelously changed. A dissolute student ends as an eyerolling Methodist preacher; a cast-off lieutenant, as a woodsplitter or soapmaker; a proud baron, driver of an ox cart; a Catholic priest has a wife and child and happily farms; a cunning stable hand heads one of the greatest business houses in St. Louis. Each learns and sees anew, his view enlarges, his judgment sharpens.

Forced to unaccustomed exertions, he gains in energy and self-confidence . . . . The former downtrodden individual raises himself and learns as an equally entitled human being to feel this and amount to something. The former aristocrat sees to his own interest, forcing himself to come down from his fancied superiority and to relate to others as his equals.<sup>37</sup>

Not in all cases, however, was the impact of the United States environment positive: "Men without firm and honorable principles, who earlier held to these in the old world for purposes of outward show, are here inclined to throw overboard all respect for honor and to indulge only in common self-interest."

In various passages in the book addressing major adjustments for immigrants, Muench often stopped to rally, to exhort his readers to believe they too would prevail: "Take courage, be resolved to overcome the first pressing difficulties. Do not doubt that you too will succeed as we succeeded in even more difficult circumstances. Raise your sights! Renounce narrow mindedness! Start afresh! After a few years Missouri will become your treasured new home."<sup>38</sup>

In his last chapter, "Final Word to the Reader," Muench concluded his discussion in the same personal tone he used throughout most of the book: "Farewell dear reader. Perhaps we will yet extend a hand to one another in the 'Far West.'"

Following publication of the *State Missouri* in early 1859, its New York publisher, Brai, asked Muench to travel to Europe to arrange for distribution of the work in Germany and Switzerland.<sup>39</sup> No account seems to exist of contacts and arrangements Muench made for this purpose during his November to May sojourn abroad.

In Missouri's post-Civil War era, other voices began speaking out, encouraging immigration to the state. In February 1865, the Missouri General Assembly, acting on the recommendation of then Governor Thomas C. Fletcher, passed an act creating a State Board of Immigration empowered to publish material describing the state's resources and advantages and to appoint agents to travel to the eastern states and Europe to foster immigration to Missouri.<sup>40</sup>

Fletcher appointed Muench to membership on this new board, a role he continued under subsequent governors. Muench's political experience—four years as anti-slavery Republican in the Missouri Senate, 1861-65—and his interest in immigration made him a natural candidate for the appointment. He served with another German-American, Isidor Bush, prominent in the St. Louis community. Bush, a Jewish immigrant born in the Prague ghetto, shared many

of Muench's interests: Union supporter, emancipation activist and long-time president of the German Immigration Aid Society in St. Louis. Muench and Bush served for several terms as the board's treasurer and secretary, respectively.<sup>41</sup>

It was probably Muench's immigration board membership which gave impetus for the publication in Germany of his 1866 book titled *The State Missouri: A Handbook for German Emigration*. The title page described the work as "an abridged and updated edition" of the 1859 work.<sup>42</sup> In addition to the Board of Immigration's promotional efforts, various private groups whose economic interests would be served by increased immigration—local communities, real estate operators and the railroads—joined the recruiting campaign.<sup>43</sup>

Muench's literary career that preceded publication of the 1859 book continued in his later years, encompassing subjects as varied as viticulture, philosophy, rational religion, history and biography. He often wrote under the pen name "Far West." Muench also remained involved politically, helping to organize the so-called Liberal Republican Party in 1871-72.<sup>44</sup> Active into his eighty-second year, Muench died suddenly on his farm, December 1881, while winter-pruning his beloved vineyard.

Iowa City, Iowa

## Appendix

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Albert Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), 1:584-85.

<sup>2</sup> See James W. Goodrich, ed., *Gottfried Duden's Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years along the Missouri* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1983); Alice H. Finckh article series beginning, "Gottfried Duden Views Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 43 (July 1949): 334-43.

<sup>3</sup> William G. Bek, "The Followers of Duden: Friedrich Muench," *Missouri Historical Review* 18 (April 1924): 415-37, 436.

<sup>4</sup> T. R. Fehrenbach, *Lone Star: A History of Texas and Texans* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 291-95. The emigration scheme was also known as the "Adelsverein," or "Nobles' Association."

<sup>5</sup> For account of Muench's involvement with the Giessen Emigration Society and his subsequent years in Missouri, see Bek's article-series in the *Missouri Historical Review*, "The Followers of Duden: Friedrich Muench," 18 (April 1924): 415-37; 18 (July 1924): 562-84; 19 (October 1924): 114-29; 19 (January 1925): 338-32. For a brief biographical sketch, see Siegmar Muehl, "A Brief Encounter Between Friedrich Muench, German-American Rationalist in Missouri, and Theodore Parker, New England Transcendentalist," *Yearbook of German American Studies* 28 (1993): 13-32, "Appendix," 28-29.

<sup>6</sup> Bek, "Followers," 19: 119-20.

<sup>7</sup> *Selections*, "To the Future German Emigrant to Missouri," n. 20-21. See note 10 for *Selections* reference.

<sup>8</sup> Theodore Olshausen, *Der Staat Missouri geographisch und statistisch beschrieben; also Karte des Staats Missouri nach den besten Hilfsmitteln bearbeitet* (Kiel: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1854). Olshausen, 1851 German immigrant, settled in St. Louis and after five years moved to Davenport, Iowa, where he edited the *Davenport Democrat*. He returned to St. Louis in 1860 as editor of the *Westliche Post*. Johann Wappaueus, *Handbuch der Geographie und Statistik von Nord-Amerika* (Leipzig: Hinrichsche Buchhandlung, 1855). Wappaueus, a German academic never lived or traveled in the United States. See *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations Lexicon*, ed. Alexander J. Schem (New York, 1873), 8:286-87 and 11:398, for biographical entries.

<sup>9</sup> Frederic Trautmann, "Missouri Through a German's Eyes: Franz von Loehner on St. Louis and Hermann," *Missouri Historical Review* 77 (July 1983): 367-94.

<sup>10</sup> Friedrich Muench, *Der Staat Missouri: Geschildert mit besonderer Rücksicht auf deutsche Einwanderung* (New York and St. Louis: Verlag der Farmers' & Winegrowers' Society, 1859), trans.,

ed. and privately printed by Siegmund and Lois B. Muehl under the title *Selections from the State Missouri: Portrayed with Special Regard to German Immigration* (1997). The translation is on file at the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, and the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. Subsequent references are to *Selections* chapter headings and pages. *Selections*, "Foreword," 11.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, "Final Word to the Reader," 60.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, "To the Future German Emigrant to Missouri," 13-14.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 14-15.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-19.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, "Foreword," 17-18; see also "Business and Trades . . ." 59.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, "Slavery," 49-50. The phrase "the party opposing slavery" in the quote referred to the radical Republicans in the Missouri legislature, the "charcoals," who held for full as opposed to the gradual emancipation. Moderate Republicans, called "claybanks" held the latter view. When elected to the Missouri senate, 1861, Muench became an outspoken member of the "charcoals." See Bek, "Followers," *Missouri Historical Review* 19 (October 1924): 122-23.—The author is grateful to a reviewer of this article for pointing out that Friedrich Muench himself was listed in the 1850 manuscript census as owning one female slave. See Walter Kamphoefner, *The Westfalians*, 116-17.

<sup>21</sup> *Selections*, "Final Word to the Reader," 61-62.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, "Nativism," 52.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, "Population . . .," 31.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, "Nativism," 55-56.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, "Population . . .," 29.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, "Literature . . .," 47.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, "Church and School Affairs," 42.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 43.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 44-45.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, "Population . . .," 29-31.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, "Country Life . . .," 38.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, "Foreword," 9.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, "Country Life . . .," 39-40.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, "Population . . .," 31.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-32.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, "To the Future German Emigrant . . .," 20.

<sup>39</sup> Bek, "Followers," *Missouri Historical Review* 19 (October 1924): 119-20.

<sup>40</sup> Norman C. Crockett, "A Study of Confusion: Missouri's Immigration Program, 1865-1916," *Missouri Historical Review* 62 (April 1963): 248-60, esp. 250; L. Steven Demaree, "Post-Civil War Immigration to Southwest Missouri, 1865-1873," *Missouri Historical Review* 69 (October 1974): 169-90, esp. 170-71.

<sup>41</sup> "Isidor Bush," *The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men, Missouri Volume*, ed. J. W. Hodge (Kansas City: United States Biographical Publishing Co., 1878), 36-39.

<sup>42</sup> Friedrich Muench, *Der Staat Missouri, ein Handbuch für deutsche Auswanderer* (Bremen: In Commission bei C. Ed. Mueller, 1866), 122. Copy of the title page courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. This author has not seen the full German text. When Muench wrote the 1859 book he had a follow-up publication in mind. In the chapter, "Significant Cities in Missouri, (outside of St. Louis)," he wrote: "If I am alive ten years from now and able to write, I want to



publish for German readers a new overview of Missouri cities to show which of those here have doubled or more in population, and in addition name fifty new cities in which vigorous German lives and concerns make themselves felt," *Der Staat* (1859), 208-9.

<sup>43</sup> Crockett, "A Study," 248-49, see n. 41.

<sup>44</sup> Bek, "Followers," *Missouri Historical Review* 19 (October 1924): 127; for a bibliography of Muench's literary works see Bek, "Followers," *Missouri Historical Review* 19 (January 1925): 338-32; also Muehl, "A Brief Encounter," n. 5.

