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**More than Blue vs. Gray: Barton Bates, Arnold Krekel
and the Struggle over Emancipation in St. Charles
County, Missouri, during the Civil War**

During the secession crisis following the election of Abraham Lincoln in November 1860 Barton Bates and Arnold Krekel were the two leading Unionists in St. Charles County, immediately west of St. Louis County, Missouri. While united in their desire to save the Union, they would come to differ in their visions of the country's future. Barton Bates' uncle, John Coalter, still sought reconciliation and served as a delegate to a convention in Washington in January to "consider and, if possible, to agree upon some suitable adjustment," of the mounting conflict.¹ His uncles, Robert Frayser and Hamilton Gamble, were delegates to the state convention called to consider the question of secession in February. Both opposed it and Gamble, as chair of the Committee on Federal Relations, guided the Convention towards a rejection of secession.² Frayser admitted his feelings were with the South, but expressed his belief that the Union was inseparable, stating, ". . . if you go out, it will not be by secession but by revolution."³ Barton Bates' father, Edward Bates, became President Lincoln's attorney general in March. Barton Bates, Edward Bates, John Coalter, Robert Frayser and Hamilton Gamble all opposed the political revolution being fomented by southerners.

While Arnold Krekel also opposed that political revolution, as the war progressed he would come to support a social revolution. German immigrants like him would be in the vanguard of the effort to end slavery in Missouri and integrate the freedmen into American society. Edward Bates would later describe their effort as a "destructive program, which comprehends a thorough revolution of the State, in its principles, political, moral and religious, and also in its population and its property."⁴ When another state con-

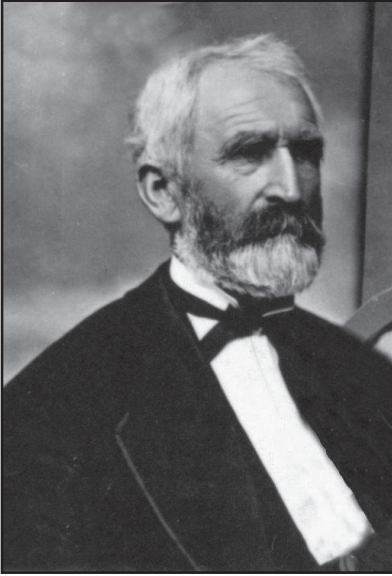


Fig. 1. Arnold Krekel was the first German immigrant elected to the Missouri General Assembly and started the *St. Charles Demokrat*, the first German language newspaper in St. Charles County. Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

vention met four years later, it elected Arnold Krekel president and considered the question of emancipation. Edward Bates complained, “The Convention seems to be running the same career as the French Legislative Assembly, and the Turners’ Hall begins to assume the powers of the Jacobin Club.”⁵ By that time, many espousing such revolutionary ideas were portraying Barton Bates and his family as little better than the secessionists they had opposed since the beginning of the war.⁶

Joshua Barton Bates, born in St. Charles County in 1823, was the oldest son of Edward and Julia Coalter Bates. Edward Bates had come to Missouri from Virginia in 1814, began practicing law, and married Julia Coalter in 1823. That same year, his law partner Joshua Barton was killed in a duel on “Bloody Island” in the Mississippi River and Edward and Julia named their first child

in his honor. After Edward Bates served a term in Congress, in 1828 he and Julia moved to Cheneaux, their plantation on Dardenne Prairie in St. Charles County, for which Edward Bates served as prosecuting attorney.⁷

Edward Bates was elected as a member of the Whig Party to the Missouri Senate in 1830 and the Missouri House of Representatives in 1834. He supervised the law studies of James Broadhead, an aspiring attorney who he also hired to tutor his children, including Barton, in 1837.⁸ In 1842 the Bates family moved to St. Louis, where Barton followed his father into the practice of law and the Whig Party. Barton moved his family back to Cheneaux in 1855 and was an unsuccessful candidate for the Missouri Senate in 1856.⁹

Arnold Krekel, born in Düsseldorf, immigrated with his family to St. Charles County in 1832 when he was seventeen years-of-age. Krekel attended St. Charles College and worked as a surveyor before being elected justice of the peace in 1841. He began studying law in 1843, was admitted to the bar and served as city attorney for St. Charles. He was elected as a Democrat to the Missouri House of Representatives in 1852 and became the first German immigrant to serve in that body. The same year he started the first German language newspaper in St. Charles County, the *St. Charles Demokrat*, which

carried a series of anti-slavery articles by Friedrich Muench in 1853. Krekel served in the legislature for one term and continued to edit the *Demokrat* until 1856, after which it was edited by his political allies.¹⁰

As the debate over slavery intensified, Edward Bates and United States Senator Thomas Hart Benton came to agree that the future of the country lay with free soil and free labor, and opposed the extension of slavery into the territories. Edward Bates had been active in a colonization society dedicated to returning ex-slaves to Africa. He had gained the freedom of Lucy Delaney in a “freedom suit” and was a leader of the anti-slavery Whigs in Missouri.¹¹ Democrats now aligned as “pro-Benton,” or “anti-Benton” depending on their view on slavery. Pro-slavery Whigs and Anti-Benton Democrats denied Benton a new term in the Senate in 1851. After serving a term

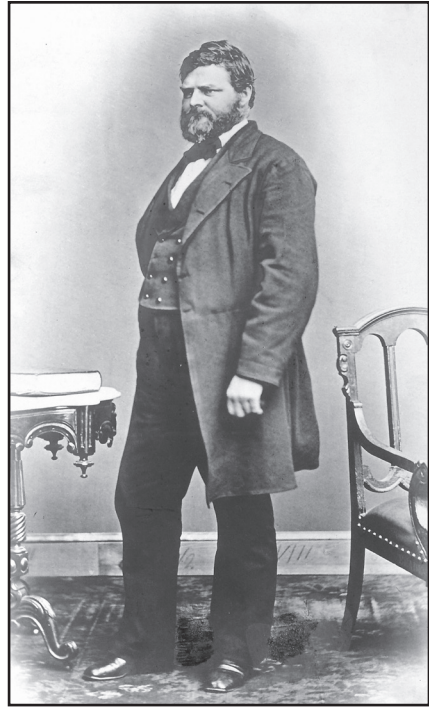


Fig. 2. Barton Bates, the son of Edward Bates and the owner of eight slaves, lived on his family's plantation on Dardenne Prairie in St. Charles County, Missouri. Courtesy of the Missouri History Museum.

in the United States House of Representatives, he announced his candidacy for United States Senator in 1854. Krekel and the *Demokrat* supported Benton claiming, “. . . we have in the man an abiding faith, and a deep-settled conviction in his purity.”¹² Again denied the appointment, Benton ran for governor in 1856 and Arnold Krekel ran as the pro-Benton Democratic candidate for attorney general. Both were unsuccessful.¹³

When Benton retired from public life, Frank Blair took his place as leader of the Benton Democrats, who now joined anti-slavery Whigs to form the Union Party. In 1857 Frank Blair wrote to James Broadhead, “I saw [Thomas] Fagg the other day & at his suggestion have written to Krekel to try & bring out Barton Bates for Judge in your district.”¹⁴ In January 1858, Frank Blair announced a plan in Congress to emancipate the slaves and remove them to Africa. Six months later, Krekel endorsed the new Union Party, explaining how the National Democrats had “sinned against the people and how no man, who was still honest and open about Missouri, could still support this party.”¹⁵



Fig. 3. St. Charles County Courthouse where Unionists passed a resolution against secessionism and abolitionism. Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

At a meeting at the St. Charles County Courthouse in December 1859, John McDearmon, Barton Bates and Arnold Krekel were chosen to draft a resolution and nominate delegates to a state Opposition Convention. The meeting resolved for the preservation of the Union and added, “While, on the one hand, we clearly damn abolitionism, on the other hand we condemn nullification equally.” At the state convention, the Opposition endorsed Edward Bates for the presidency.¹⁶ When the Missouri Republican Party convened in St. Louis in March 1860 and endorsed Edward Bates for president, the *Demokrat*, appreciating the diverse positions within the party on the future of slavery, editorialized that Edward Bates was “precisely the right man to unite into a whole the still very divided and fragmented independent elements. . . .”¹⁷

Arnold Krekel and Friedrich Muench were delegates to the Republican National Convention in May. Unlike most other German-Americans, who were suspicious of Edward Bates anti-immigrant past, they endorsed him for the presidential nomination. Illinois delegate Gustave Koerner later recounted their appearance before the Pennsylvania delegation along with Frank Blair in support of Bates:

I heard the last part of Blair's speech. He was followed by Fred Muench, who promised the vote of Missouri for Bates, and Judge Krekel closed in a rather able speech for Bates. I now asked leave to speak for Lincoln. . . . I controverted the idea that Bates could carry Missouri, said that outside of St. Louis and a few German settlements represented by Krekel and Muench no Republican could get a vote; that the state was for Douglas. . . . That I was astonished that my German friends from Missouri talk of supporting Bates, who in 1856 had presided over a Whig National Convention at Baltimore, which had nominated Fillmore and Donelson, after they had been nominated by the Know Nothings.¹⁸

In the August election, none of the statewide Republican candidates, including attorney general candidate Arnold Krekel, were successful. As the presidential election approached, Arnold Krekel and Friedrich Muench spoke at a Republican meeting in Augusta. After Krekel made some general comments on the slavery question, Muench declared the upcoming election would determine "whether freedom or slavery should be the subsequent ruling principle of American politics."¹⁹ St. Charles County gave Abraham Lincoln 533 votes, a number second only to St. Louis County in Missouri, where the debate over secession now began.

While many Whigs, including Barton Bates and James Broadhead, followed Edward Bates into the Republican Party, the majority of Missouri Republicans were former Democrats like Frank Blair and Arnold Krekel. In May 1861, when Blair and Broadhead convinced General Nathaniel Lyons to use German Home Guard units to disarm the pro-secessionist state militia at Camp Jackson in St. Louis, Barton Bates supported the action and encouraged his father to do the same.²⁰ Barton Bates criticized those, including his uncle Robert Frayser, whose enthusiasm for the Union did not match his own complaining, "moderate 'respectable dishrags like our friend Frayser, who while they saw power on our side were motivated to ally with it, are now again giving continence to the Seceders."²¹

In July the reconvened Convention appointed Hamilton Gamble provisional governor until an election could be held. While Blair and Broadhead provided leadership in St. Louis, Arnold Krekel, formerly the owner of two slaves, and Barton Bates, the owner of eight, led Unionist efforts in St. Charles County. Krekel took the lead in organizing local Unionists, initiating in May the recruitment of St. Charles County Home Guard units "for mutual protection and defense against every mob, all rowdies, rogues and idlers."²² While the *Demokrat* reported a shortage of arms and ammunition on the Fourth of July, it cautioned, "This shortage will soon be remedied. It



Fig. 4. Confederate sympathizers in St. Charles County. Courtesy of the Wentzville Historical Society.

will not be long until the entire state is a big, widely extended camp of Home Guards. But even so long as the weapons are not there, the drills should not stop anywhere.”²³ Other Union men joined the Germans to form thirteen St. Charles County Home Guard companies that bivouacked in early August at what came to be called “Camp Bates,” where they received arms, trained and elected Arnold Krekel to command them.²⁴

General John C. Frémont declared martial law on August 30, allowing anyone taken “with arms in their hands” to be court-martialed and executed if found guilty.²⁵ Shortly thereafter Barton Bates suggested to his father that so long as Union forces treated regular Confederate soldier as belligerents they were justified in shooting the irregulars as spies and assassins without exposing Union prisoners to retaliation. He concluded that Confederates “need a severe lesson, and the rebels of Mo. furnish the means of giving them a terrible bloody one. They should be *summarily shot by thousands*.”²⁶

General Frémont also authorized his provost marshals to confiscate the property of anyone aiding the rebellion and then went a step further, ordering the emancipation of slaves of disloyal persons. On that last issue Barton Bates informed his father, “I don’t like General Frémont’s notion about the negroes. I don’t see the propriety of treating them differently from other property.”²⁷ President Lincoln disagreed with General Frémont on both counts, halting executions and making it clear slaves, like other property, would be emanci-



Fig. 5. The only major bridge on the North Missouri Railroad was over Peruque Creek in St. Charles County and it became the prime target for guerrilla bands, necessitating the erection of this fort. Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

pated only if used to aid the rebellion, a standard that had been established by Congress in the Confiscation Act passed in early August.²⁸

In many cases, the enforcement of martial law fell to recently recruited Home Guard Units. Barton Bates wrote to his father informing him, “The St. Charles Home Guard is out upon some duty. They stayed 800 strong at Barrack (Peruque) Bridge last night. I think they have some extensive march in view, but don’t know what it is. Goody Woodson and Fred Hatcher are with them.”²⁹ Hastily trained, the Home Guard was still expected to operate under the laws of war and the code of military justice. However, according to one account, when their train arrived at Mexico, Missouri in September and they discovered the U.S. flag had been taken down Home Guard troops from St. Charles County began firing on the citizens. However, it was further reported, “In justice to Col. A. Krekel, I would say that I saw him in the street, endeavoring to make his own men stop firing, but for a time, they seemed entirely unmanageable.”³⁰ While such events hardened the resolve of secessionists to expel the “invaders” from Missouri, Barton Bates reported, “The feelings between parties is as strong as ever but Col. Krekel’s command is sufficient to keep down any open violence.”³¹

When the Convention reconvened in October and addressed the issue of amnesty for those willing to take an oath of future loyalty, Barton Bates informed his uncle, Governor Gamble, “My favorite plan is to disarm the people except those in Military organizations & punish traitors *and their sympathizers* severely.”³² When Confederate sympathizers and even those who had fought

with the Missouri militia against federal troops, were given amnesty after taking an oath of future loyalty the *Demokrat* first expressed its disapproval of the Convention. "It is good that the Convention has adjourned. Constituted to 50 percent by secessionists, it was not possible for pro-Union members to push through any rational, energetic motion regarding the confused affairs of our state."³³ When a county judge in St. Charles County refused to take the oath required, Governor Gamble appointed Samuel Watson, about whom Barton Bates had earlier complained, "Even Mr. Watson, while he thinks Secession was wrong, excuses the traitors & abuses the North, manifesting a wonderful faculty of preferring falsehood to truth."³⁴ It was clear that Barton Bates was not as conservative as his uncle.

Any complaints about the Gamble administration ceased after Barton Bates was appointed to fill one of three vacancies on the Missouri Supreme Court due to failure to take the oath. Despite the unrest, the courts continued to operate in Missouri. When appellants argued they had missed a deadline because "bands of lawless men," had committed "a great many acts of violence" in Platte County, Justice Bates held "the disturbed condition of the country" was not an excuse" for not bringing suit in the time allowed. In a similar case, Justice Bates held "the disturbed and distracting condition of public affairs, are entitled to consideration, and do excuse some want of diligence, but not to the extent to which it has gone in this case."³⁵

Federal troops from free-states, anti-slavery German Home Guards and General Frémont often assumed any Missouri slave-holder was disloyal. Under political pressure from Frank Blair, President Lincoln replaced Frémont in November with General Henry Halleck. At the same time, Governor Gamble persuaded Lincoln to replace the Home Guards, under federal control, with the Missouri State Militia (M.S.M.), for which the governor appointed all field officers other than the commanding general. General Halleck appointed Colonel Krekel provost marshal for St. Charles, Warren and Lincoln counties in December. Halleck appointed General John Schofield to command the M.S.M. and Gamble appointed Krekel to command the regiment that most St. Charles County Home Guard members had joined after their enlistments ran out in January 1862.³⁶

General Halleck and his Provost Marshal General Bernard Farrar kept the heat on anyone supporting the rebellion. As provost marshal, Colonel Krekel restricted movement from county to county; disarmed those suspected of disloyalty; intercepted men in transit to join Confederate forces; pursued bands of bushwhackers; guarded the Peruque Creek railroad bridge; and ordered all merchants to keep a record of anyone purchasing gun powder, limiting sales to one pound and prohibiting such sales "when there is cause to believe that the same is to be used in the cause of the present rebellion."³⁷

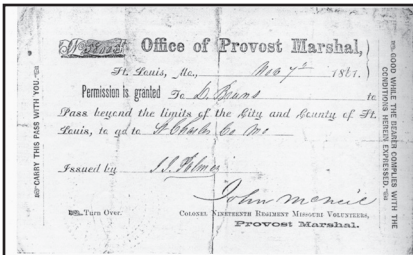


Figure #176: One of two surviving "safe conduct" passes issued to Johann Dietrich Bruns during the Civil War which allowed him to move freight between St. Charles and St. Louis. This pass was issued November 7, 1861.

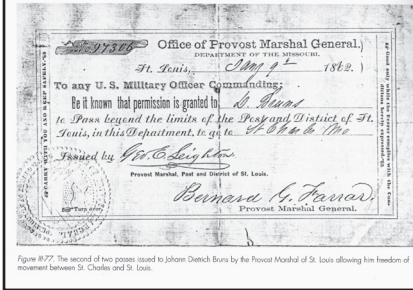


Figure #177: The second of two passes issued to Johann Dietrich Bruns by the Provost Marshal of St. Louis allowing him freedom of movement between St. Charles and St. Louis.

Fig. 6. Second pass signed by Provost Marshall Bernard Farrar allowing D. Bruns to go from St. Louis to St. Charles County. Courtesy of St. Charles County Archives.

General Halleck cooperated with Governor Gamble, now the leader of the Conservative Unionist faction, on the issue they most cared about, preserving their slave property. Gamble had given Dr. Benjamin F. Wilson, the largest slaveholder in St. Charles County, a pass to take his slaves south. General Halleck put a stop to this practice only because it allowed the South to receive military intelligence from slaveholders from Missouri.³⁸ General Halleck ordered that slave-owners could recover their confiscated slaves by proving their loyalty in Missouri civil courts, presided over in St. Charles County by Judge Andrew King, a slaveholder himself.³⁹

Anti-slavery Unionists like William W. Edwards asked all loyal citizens to “contemplate in this hour of

need the necessity of setting aside all partisan views in order to unify and so to turn aside the threatening danger.” He added, “If this Union is first saved, there is still time to work on other purposes.”⁴⁰ In that spirit, Colonel Krekel followed Halleck’s policies, even when they were against his personal anti-slavery beliefs. After receiving complaints that Major Hugo Hollan’s command was helping slaves escape from their masters he sought authority from General John Schofield “to dismount and disarm Major Hollan’s battalion and send it to St. Louis.” After several more complaints Hollan’s command was broken up and his men were placed in two different regiments.⁴¹

General Halleck had also ordered his commanders not to allow fugitive slaves to come within their lines without good reason. Seeking to meet that standard Colonel Krekel inquired of General Schofield in March, “A negro boy gave valuable information in conducting the command, and I would ask for permission to retain him until the war is over, as he cannot safely return.”⁴² Colonel Krekel was clearly not as radical as some, including Hollan.

Congressman Frank Blair, speaking on the floor of the House of Representatives in May pointed out that Arnold Krekel who had interviewed thousands of persons as provost marshal, had come to the same conclusion as himself, that “it was the *negro question*, and not the *slavery question* which made the war.”⁴³ While they may have agreed that social issues were as sig-

nificant as the economic issues, they disagreed on how to address the “negro question.” While Blair continued to believe, as did Edward and Barton Bates, that emancipation should be gradual with compensation to owners and possible colonization to Africa, Krekel, and those who became known as Radicals, favored immediate emancipation with no compensation.

That summer, the gulf widened between these philosophical approaches and the men who held them. When General Halleck assumed a field command, General Schofield, with the support of Conservatives, replaced him in June, retaining command of the M.S.M. When the Missouri State Radical Emancipation Convention met in Jefferson City, delegates from eighteen counties chose Arnold Krekel as vice-president and Friedrich Muench as a member of the platform committee.⁴⁴ The *Demokrat* regretted, “The war is not being led as a war in all seriousness. Instead, our army is being used more as a protection for the rebels and their property than for their defeat under the laws.”⁴⁵ Arnold Krekel filed as a candidate against incumbent Conservative Congressman James Rollins.

Responding to the need to replace the regular federal troops that had left the state, the Convention required all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45 to enroll in the Enrolled Missouri Militia (E.M.M.) in July. Certain occupations were exempted from service, as well as anyone willing to pay a commutation tax. One could avoid service by enrolling as a Confederate sympathizer and surrendering one’s firearms.⁴⁶ Provost Marshal Krekel divided St. Charles County into six enrolling districts and appointed enrolling officers for each, instructing them to report the names of all men who had not enrolled by August 11, 1862.⁴⁷ However, Governor Gamble assigned Colonel Barton Bates the task of organizing two regiments of enrolled militia in St. Charles County and soon thereafter General Schofield relieved Colonel Krekel as provost marshal.

On August 9 General John Schofield ordered Colonel Krekel and his militia regiment to take the field, explaining:

The end to be accomplished is to destroy and put down forever the armed rebels in Missouri, and to punish their sympathizers in such a manner as to give them a wholesome dread of the power of the government. You will take from the secessionists whatever you may need for the accomplishment of this end. Do not encumber yourself with the transportation of supplies, but live upon the country as you go. It is not necessary to give you more detailed instructions; you understand the end to be accomplished and the means by which it is to be done. I rely upon your energy, influence, and discretion to accomplish it to the extent of the means placed at your disposal.⁴⁸

I HEREBY CERTIFY, That I have this day mustered into the service of the State, as Enrolled Militia of the State of Missouri, this Company, consisting of 64 non-commissioned officers and privates, and presided at the election of commissioned officers for said Company, and certify that the following named persons were legally elected:

For Captain Charles Sumper
For 1st Lieut. Nicklas Beier
For 2d Lieut. Nicklas Liser

Barton Bates Mustering Officer.

DATE Sept 20th - 1862
COUNTY AND POST OFFICE St Charles Co. - Saylors Store

Fig. 7. Certification by Barton Bates, Mustering Officer for a company of the Missouri Enrolled Militia comprising 64 men. Courtesy of St. Charles County Archives.

Leading his men into Callaway County, an area described as “the headquarters of the *Sisesch* in North Missouri,” Krekel’s regiment sought out rebel forces, lived off the land, liberated numerous horses and slaves, and enraged the slaveholders in mid-Missouri.⁴⁹ The *Demokrat* later admitted, “If a Negro came within the battalion’s lines, so he was, according to the President’s decree, taken as contraband, and the master did not dare to reclaim him.”⁵⁰

Radicals were pleased when President Lincoln replaced General Schofield in September with General Samuel Curtis, who appointed Franklin Dick as his provost marshal general. That month, Edward Bates complained about “the extreme wing of the Republican Party—men who, whether from intemperate zeal, or studious cunning, will accept nothing, not even the restoration of the Union, unless accompanied by & through abolition.”⁵¹ While also opposing abolition, Barton Bates, like his father years earlier, supported “freedom suits,” which recent pro-slavery Missouri Supreme Court decisions had opposed. In the case of *Charlotte v Chouteau*, Judge Bates held the defendant had to prove the St. Louis jury was prejudiced against her, not just against slavery. He also held that the legality of slavery in Canada at the time of the plaintiff’s mother’s birth was a question for the jury. Finally, he held the court should respect the jury’s decision freeing the plaintiff, “Notwithstanding that we might believe that the verdict should have been rendered for the defendant.”⁵²

As Election Day approached, General Odon Guitar, a Conservative, threatened “He would kick any officer out of his regiment who would vote for A. Krekel vs. James S. Rollins. . . .”⁵³ The voters in and around Augusta

passed a resolution endorsing only candidates that supported Emancipation. On Election Day Radicals William Follenius and Robert Bailey Jr. were elected state representatives, while Friedrich Muench was elected to represent St. Charles, Warren and Montgomery counties in the Missouri Senate. His military tactics earned Krekel the vote of almost all voters in uniform and nearly 80 percent in St. Charles County while his logistics cost him votes in Audrain, Boone, Monroe, Pike and Ralls counties, where he received less than three percent of the combined vote in his unsuccessful bid for Congress.⁵⁴ Gustave Bruere announced a month later the *St. Charles Cosmos* would begin publishing in January and promised, “We shall earnestly advocate the great principle of Universal Freedom, and as earnestly oppose that great enemy of the American Republic, African Slavery.”⁵⁵

After the election, citing complaints from citizens claiming they were victims of “Krekel’s Dutch,” Governor Gamble disbanded the three M.S.M. cavalry companies from St. Charles County, ordering them to return to the people of Callaway County “their possessions, horses, and Negroes acquired through a Jayhawker procedure.”⁵⁶ Krekel was not the only Radical officer to displease Gamble and already bitter feelings intensified. The *Neue Zeit* suggested Gamble sought only to protect slavery and alleged, “We know also that he persecuted every officer with his disgrace who dealt severely with the rebels – thus Loan, Krekel, Penick &c- and that he protected everyone that was at heart a pro-slavery man or traitor. . . .”⁵⁷ The *Demokrat* reported “The contraband Negroes, about 20 in number, were caught with the help of the accompanying State Militia, bound and muzzled, and handed over to their masters or stuck in jail,” adding, “All this occurred in part upon order of Gen. Guitar, in part permitted by his silence.”⁵⁸

By December, these events made General Curtis suspicious that Governor Gamble was attempting to increase his control over the M.S.M. as well as the enrolled militia.⁵⁹ Provost Marshal General Franklin Dick complained that Missouri had been secure when federal troops were commanded by federal officers, but worried “What is called the Enrolled Mo. Militia is expected to take care of the state. That is exclusively under the control of the governor.”⁶⁰



Fig. 8. Masthead of the *Demokrat*. Courtesy of the author.

Under the control of Governor Gamble and the command of Colonel Bates in St. Charles County, Radicals remained suspicious of the E.M.M., now the enforcement arm of martial law.

Colonel Bates and his men strictly enforced martial law when it came to disloyal statements, possession of weapons or aiding the rebellion. When Provost Marshal General Dick wanted to banish Rev. Robert P. Farris in December and asked Colonel Bates for his opinion, Bates answered, "Farris did live in the county of my residence & I well know his general course. For God's sake don't let him return to Missouri. His banishment from Missouri is very slight punishment for his misdeeds."⁶¹ On the complaint of Colonel Barton Bates that he harbored and armed rebels, Lieutenant John McDearmon arrested William Randolph and took him to St. Louis in January 1863.⁶² A month later, Barton Bates' son Onward informed his grandfather, "We have had lively times up here lately, the McDearmons of St. Charles, who profess to be good Union men and belong to the Militia have been furnishing the rebels with arms, the Militia captured a revolver Saturday that one of them gave Willie Talley, it was hid in the piano."⁶³ Reporting on Richard Pitman in April, Barton Bates wrote, "I, in common with the other Union men of the neighborhood regard him as a rebel. It is understood that he is decidedly disloyal, that in December 1860 and in 1861, he . . . furnished material aid to men going to join rebel forces. . . ."⁶⁴

When the issue was fugitive slaves, Conservatives and Radicals continued to disagree on the proper role of federal troops, county law enforcement, slave patrols and the enrolled militia. While President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation did not apply to Missouri, Provost Marshal General Dick, who had federal troops in St. Louis at his command, was anxious to enforce congressional acts that freed the slaves of disloyal persons and, as a Radical, suspected all slave-holders of disloyalty. Meanwhile, Conservative St. Charles County officials continued to strictly enforce Missouri pro-slavery laws. William Vardeman complained to them in December that "certain Negroes, excited by certain white men in the neighborhood," shot into the house of his neighbor Richard B. Keeble." After their arrest, they were tried and convicted by a justice of the peace, who sentenced the two leaders to 25 lashes and the other three to ten lashes.⁶⁵

On December thirtieth Timothy Francis Slatery, described by the *Missouri Republican* as "a Radical of the Krekel School," attended a "negro ball"⁶⁶ After Richard Keeble and William Vardeman alleged he had encouraged slaves to run away, Slatery contacted Provost Marshal Dick with evidence that they had violated the conditions of their bonds and should be banished.⁶⁷ Vardeman testified that shortly thereafter Union soldiers came several nights

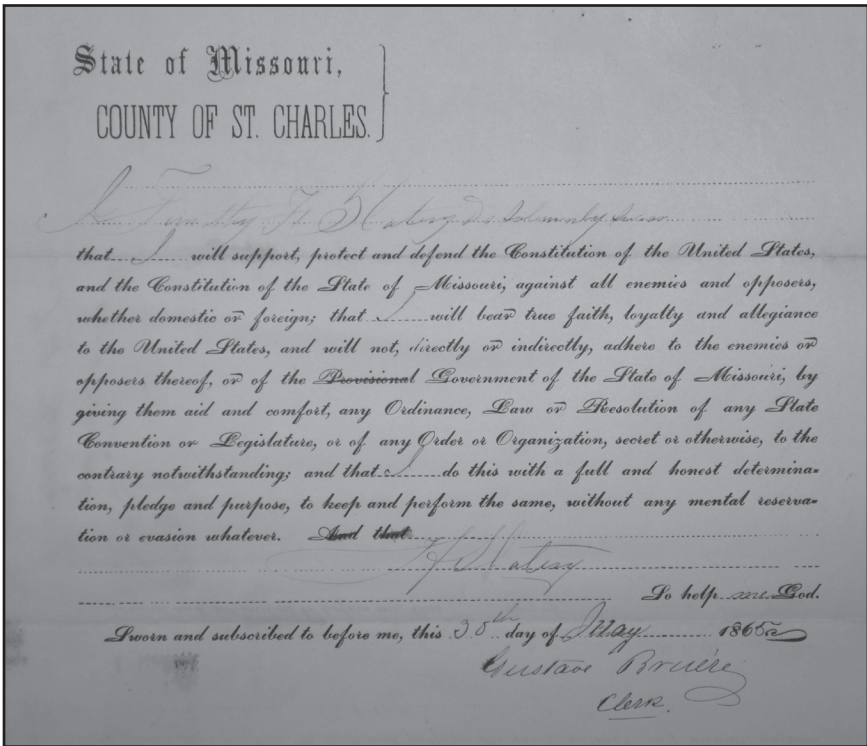


Fig. 9. Loyalty oath of Timothy Slatery, a Radical Unionist and Justice of the Peace in St. Charles County. Courtesy of St. Charles County Archives.

to Keeble's home, verbally abused his wife and daughters, and "swore that every man that had a hand in having those Negroes whiped [sic] should die."⁶⁸

After Keeble and Vardeman filed a criminal complaint in St. Charles County, Timothy Francis Slatery was arrested and Judge Andrew King required him to post bond. The Grand Jury indicted Slatery for inciting slaves "to insolence and insubordination towards their masters and owners and to rebellion, insurrection and murder. . . ."⁶⁹ After Keeble boasted he could get Judge Andrew King to vouch for him Slatery agreed, "For our Judge is not Believed to be Loyal. He took the Convention oath like a few others rather than give up a Lucrative office. Keeble had me Indicted by a Secesh Grand Jury for making a few Remarks of Loyalty to some 15 or 20 Copperheads that were at a negro Ball or party Last December."⁷⁰

Archer Alexander, slave of Richard Pitman, informed Union troops in February 1863 that men had sawed the timbers of a railroad bridge and later informed them about arms hidden in an ice-house. In fear of retaliation, Alexander ran away to St. Louis, where he argued he should be free because Pitman had assisted two men bound for the rebel service.⁷¹ When slave catch-

ers apprehended Alexander, federal troops, on the order of Provost Marshal Dick, recovered him. At the request of William Eliot, a noted abolitionist, Dick gave Alexander an order of protection, allowing him to remain in the service of Eliot who asked Colonel Bates to relay to Richard Pitman his offer to purchase Alexander's freedom. Pitman responded that, "he didn't mean to play into the hands of any Yankee Abolitionist; that he'd have the nigger yet, and take it out of his black hide."⁷²

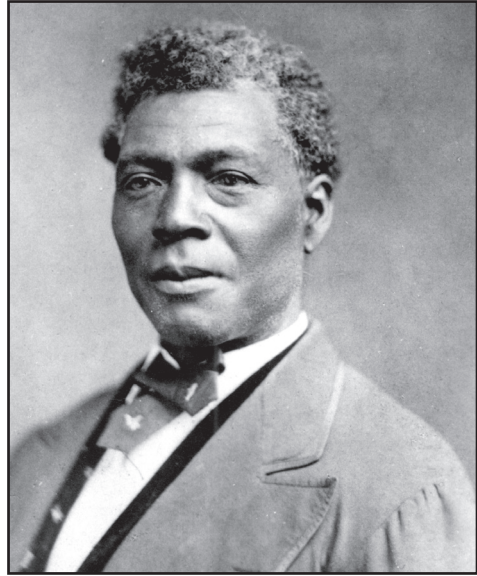


Fig. 10. After Archer Alexander ran away to St. Louis, he argued his owner had assisted two men bound for the rebel service and received the protection of the provost marshal. Courtesy of Washington University Archives.

Other slave catchers were more successful. In February, 16 slaves from St. Charles County sought to secure their freedom, with the assistance of what Uncas McCluer called "one of our

abolitionin [*sic*] friends," by crossing the Missouri River and proceeding to Benton Barracks in St. Louis. McCluer explained, "But their liberty was short lived. After traveling some distance they were surrounded by the citizens of St. Louis Co, & delivered to their owners; who after due deliberation, tied them up, & played "Hail Columbia" upon their bare backs."⁷³

While Congress had restricted the use of federal troops to capture fugitive slaves, the E. M. M. was a state force under the control of Governor Gamble, who refused to relinquish control to General Curtis. The *Demokrat* argued, ". . . it is an undeniable fact that the powerful transformation of the slave question in Missouri is to be credited primarily to the untiring efforts of the Germans"⁷⁴ They protested strongly when the enrolled militia became "negro-catchers." After a captain in the Warren County enrolled militia assisted in the apprehension of 20 slaves from Darst Bottom, the *Demokrat* described him as a German "blood hound," and regretted, "So the breast of every honest German must fill with great indignation and insurmountable disgust when individual bastards of his national tribe make themselves the jailers of inhumane slave holders."⁷⁵

In St. Charles County Provost Marshal Dick had to rely on the E.M.M., which was controlled by Conservatives who would go to great lengths to help

masters retain their slaves. Three prominent slaveholders visited the home of Robert Frayser and told him they were patrolling and “there were apprehensions of an insurrection among the negroes in Dog Prairie.”⁷⁶ They told Henry Hatcher they were “hunting for two of Dr. Talley’s negro [*sic*] men.”⁷⁷ While prohibited by martial law from carrying guns, they were well armed. Therefore, on the orders of Colonel Bates, Lieutenant John F. Dierker of the enrolled militia attempted to arrest the three men. After Lucius Randolph threatened to kill Dierker, Virginius Randolph explained that they were acting with the permission of Colonel Benjamin Emmons “to keep 70 armed negroes straight.” When Dierker asked to see the written permission, Randolph answered, “Why Fritz, you would not dispute my word?”⁷⁸

Dierker left, but Emmons later clarified that indeed, while investigating a report that Negroes led by two white men were armed on Dog Prairie, he had questioned Virginius Randolph. When asked why he had a gun, Randolph told Emmons the gun was borrowed and, “alluded to the rumor he had heard in relation to the uprising of the negroes and the local fears were entertained by his wife for the safety of her mother and that he was going up to protect her in case of danger. He then remarked, ‘I suppose you have no objection.’ Emmons replied, ‘Of course not.’”⁷⁹

Since December President Lincoln had been dealing with the case of Samuel McPheeters, a Presbyterian minister in St. Louis, who Provost Marshal Dick wanted to banish for baptizing an infant named after Confederate General Sterling Price. Edward Bates objected strongly and Lincoln sympathized with McPheeters but did not want to overturn General Curtis, who he warned not to “run the churches.”⁸⁰ Edward Bates confided to his diary, “In fact, for some time I have not recd. the consideration which I thought my due, especially in regard to Mo. Affairs—and also, some matters proper to my own office—I do not doubt the [President’s] personal confidence, but he is under constant pressure of extreme factions and of bold and importunate men, who taking advantage of his amiable weakness, commit him beforehand to their ends, so as to bar all future deliberation.”⁸¹ While Curtis did not banish McPheeters he did prohibit him from preaching. Lincoln was greatly embarrassed when Edward Bates and other McPheeters supporters again complained.⁸²

Under added pressure from Conservatives, President Lincoln dismissed General Curtis, bringing back the more conservative General John Schofield who appointed Colonel James Broadhead, also a Conservative, as provost marshal general in June. Convention Delegate Robert Frayser interceded for Richard Keeble and William Vardeman, asking Colonel Broadhead to “suffer them to return to their families.”⁸³ Keeble was paroled by Broadhead on July 22 on the condition he would remain in St. Louis and report each morning.⁸⁴

William Randolph, who had been notified by Colonel Emmons to be ready to leave for the south, was not banished.⁸⁵

After issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, President Lincoln stopped opposing the enlistment of black troops and, by the spring of 1863, authorized such enlistments in all the border-states except Missouri. The *Demokrat* had suggested the previous summer that more men would enlist if, “the services of the only true loyalists in the South—the slaves—also will be used for suppression (of the rebellion). . . .”⁸⁶ But military service implied citizenship and Conservatives in Missouri continued to oppose the arming of African Americans.⁸⁷

However, after Lincoln’s Proclamation it became obvious even to Conservatives that the days of slavery in Missouri were numbered. In June, Arnold Krekel criticized Senator John Henderson for an amendment to increase the compensation to slave owners in an emancipation plan being considered by Congress. That same month Governor Gamble, under pressure from President Lincoln, called the Convention into session to consider emancipation. A skeptical Arnold Krekel stated, “Such emancipation as they will likely bestow on us, I fear, will savor more of a securing than a destroying of slavery.”⁸⁸ After an ordinance passed granting freedom to certain slaves in 1876 after a six-year apprenticeship, the *Demokrat* complained, “The entire ordinance is a network of contradictions and lies and would never have gotten the people’s sanction. Our clever folks at the Convention knew that, very well, too, and therefore also do not offer a plebiscite.”⁸⁹

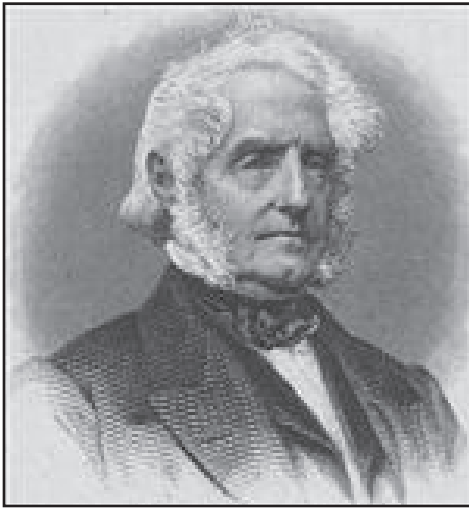


Fig. 11. Governor Gamble, pictured here, called the Convention into session to consider Emancipation in June 1862. Courtesy of stltoday.com.

During Schofield’s second tenure Radical opposition increased despite Arnold Krekel’s warning that “We must carefully discriminate and see that we don’t carry our opposition to an extent so as to injure what we seek to uphold.”⁹⁰ When the *Demokrat* invited its readers to “Come visit loyal friends of the Union!” at a meeting on August 6 at “Camp Bates” in Cottleville to celebrate the second anniversary of the encampment of the Home Guard, it added, “Copperheads and traitors are not awaited. . . .”⁹¹ That month, a group of Radicals, led by Charles

Drake and including Arnold Krekel and William W. Edwards, traveled to Washington to meet with President Lincoln.⁹² When Secretary of the Treasury Salmon Chase invited them to his home, Attorney General Bates refused to join them, explaining, “I refuse flatly to hold social, friendly intercourse with men, who daily denounce me and all my friends, as traitors.”⁹³

When the Radical contingent asked President Lincoln to dismiss General Schofield and replace the E. M. M. with regular federal troops, he sent them a letter in which he declined to do so.⁹⁴ After the Radicals’ visit, Edward Bates reported, “I talked with but two of them—Ralph Hart and W. W. Edwards—Poor creatures: They were evidently bribed into that brothel, by promise of office. I don’t know what Hart was to get; but Edwards’ price is the Judgeship in St Charles Circuit.”⁹⁵ Two weeks later he informed Governor Gamble, “I hold no terms with the Radicals, and shall suit the action to the word, by asking the President to remove Mr. Dist. Atty. Edwards, as one between whom & me there can be no mutual confidence.”⁹⁶ When he was replaced, Radicals called the action, “war from the White House upon the friends of Mr. Chase.”⁹⁷

In November, William W. Edwards did run against Conservative Circuit Judge Andrew King. Radicals Henry Clover, David Wagner and Arnold Krekel were candidates to replace the three Conservative incumbent Supreme Court Justices, including Barton Bates. The Conservative *Missouri Republican* reported Bates “is regarded by his professional brethren as one of the foremost lawyers and ablest men of Missouri; and his decisions on the bench prove him to be a judge of justice learning and truth.”⁹⁸ The same paper suggested, “Mr. Krekel, finally, who personally deserves all possible esteem, and whom we are sorry to see in the ranks of the revolutionary party, has never played aught but a subordinate role as a jurist.”⁹⁹

James B. Eads criticized the Radicals for politicizing judgeships that had always been non-partisan and endorsed the incumbents, including Justice Bates.¹⁰⁰ The *Neue Zeit* reminded its readers that, in 1861, Barton Bates’ uncle, Governor Gamble, “had then the happiness to fill the vacancies in the court by his own

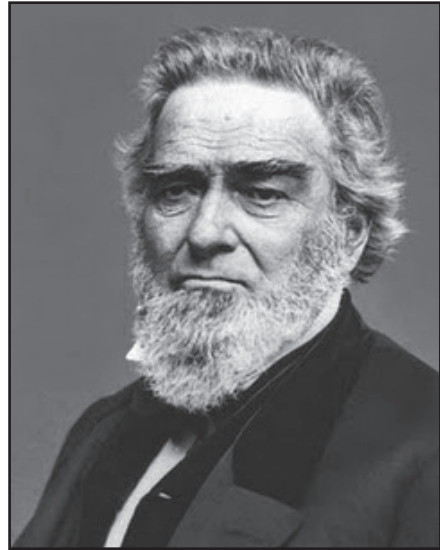


Fig. 12. Edward Bates, one of the Conservative members of President Lincoln’s Cabinet, protested the influence of Radicals, especially in Missouri. Courtesy of www.britannica.com.

appointments; he did it in such a manner as to represent the trinity (Gamble, Bates and Blair,) in that Court in a most wonderful manner, by Messrs. Dryden Bates and Bay, which again savors not only of party, but even of personal or dynastic interests.”¹⁰¹

As Election Day neared, the *Missouri Republican* called Krekel “a man of violent and vindictive feelings,” who was “imbued with all the abominable Red Republican doctrines of Europe.” It further argued, “A vote for Bates, Bay and Dryden . . . to-day, is an endorsement of the truth of President Lincoln’s letter to Drake & Co. As he did right in writing that letter, so well calculated to give quiet to the State, every good and loyal man should give him the benefit of his endorsement at the polls, by voting the anti-Jacobin ticket.”¹⁰² While the Radicals received 65 percent of the vote in St. Charles County, the Conservatives, including Barton Bates, won the Supreme Court races statewide.

Despite the Conservative victory, the strong showing by Radicals in state circuit judge elections, including Edwards’ victory in the nineteenth, convinced President Lincoln that recruiting slaves was politically feasible in Missouri. Later that month, General John Schofield ordered, “all able-bodied colored men, whether free or slave, will be received into the service.”¹⁰³ While loyal owners were to be compensated at the rate of \$300 per slave, after an auction at the farm of Lewis Howell a month later, the *Demokrat* reported, “When the assessors came to the Negroes and the owners were asked what the Negroes’ worth might now be, the answer was ‘nothing.’”¹⁰⁴ In January 1864, a month after George Senden was appointed provost marshal for the purpose of enlisting black troops in St. Charles County, a local paper reported he was making progress enlisting “‘swarthy sons of toil’ who are willing to peril their lives for freedom.”¹⁰⁵

Slave-owners in St. Charles County reacted to the recruitment in various ways. Seeing the inevitable, Spencer Tyler wrote to Colonel Broadhead reporting his slave had run away and requested, “You will please send this to a responsible Recruiting Officer and if he gets him please send me a receipt for him and I hope [the] Government will make something out of him & I will be paid for him someday.”¹⁰⁶ When a recruiter went to enlist one of his slaves, Richard Keeble locked the slave in the kitchen and was arrested for interfering in recruitment.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, Edward Bates wrote to his grandson Onward at Cheneaux in March, “We hear very good reports of you, and indeed, all the children—how cheerfully you conform to your new situation (lacking servants) and with what a good-will you help your ma, in all her domestic labors.”¹⁰⁸

Arnold Krekel attended the Slave State Freedom Convention in Louisville, Kentucky in February. There, he offered and passed several resolutions



Fig. 13. African-American men from St. Charles County, seen here on the river, began joining the Union Army in late 1863. Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

calling for amendments to the U.S. Constitution, including one “to secure freedom to every human being within its jurisdiction.”¹⁰⁹ When he passed another limiting the president to a single term, the *Anzeiger des Westens* insisted, “The passage of this resolution was by no means a victory of the ultra-Radicals, for Col. Krekel repudiated the charge that it was an indirect declaration against Mr. Lincoln.”¹¹⁰

Even when Radicals in St. Charles County attempted to purge Conservatives in positions of power, they continued to respect Barton Bates for his unqualified support of the Union from the very beginning of the war. Radical Robert Bailey Jr. explained that, after 57 commissioned officers complained to Governor Gamble about the appointment of John McDearmon as colonel in the enrolled militia, the appointment was revoked and “a loyal man (Judge Bates) put in the position.”¹¹¹ In May Barton Bates suggested because Mr. Lincoln was no longer taking his advice, his father retire from the cabinet and come with his mother and live at Cheneaux.¹¹²

Radicals continued to distrust the enrolled militia, in which Krekel served as a colonel in the summer of 1864, when guerrilla activity increased in anticipation of an invasion by a Confederate force under General Sterling Price. The *Demokrat* explained, “No loyal citizen—at least none among those



Fig. 14. Radicals suspected the loyalty of some members of the Missouri Enrolled Militia seen drilling in this picture. Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

who through their decisive action at the outbreak of the rebellion saved St. Charles and the neighboring counties from secessionist riots—will ever stand in ranks with disloyal, southern traitors or secret rebels.”¹¹³ However, Conservative General John Gray complained, “If Colonel Krekel had done perhaps as much as he could have done in encouraging the formation and organization of the Enrolled Missouri Militia of St. Charles County during the present year I am inclined to the opinion that there would be much less trouble now in procuring the necessary force from it than is now experienced.”¹¹⁴ But even Barton Bates worried that many enrollees “believe that if they happen to get caught in their deviltry, that their only punishment will be the taking of an oath which they do not regard as obligatory.”¹¹⁵

Bushwhacker activity continued throughout the summer and fall. Two weeks before Election Day Edward Bates recorded ““Even as low as Warren and St. Charles, the guerillas and other stragglng bands roam the country at pleasure. . . .”¹¹⁶ After President Lincoln’s re-election in November, Edward Bates did leave the cabinet, further weakening Conservative influence in the administration. He returned to Missouri, where slave-holders continued to complain about black troops:

Since you were here we have had more troops passing through than ever we had before, the most insulting and hardest to bear were the negros. One Company Stationed at the R. Road Bridge were allowed to treat the People as they choose, stealing and plundering houses and threatening [*sic*] everything that barbarous and Inhuman beings could think of. They came to Our house but did not come in took two or three horses and riging [*sic*] to fit them out for the military.

I hope Abe Lincoln may see the time when he will have to bow to every Negro he meets.¹¹⁷

Having argued the necessity and the constitutionality of martial law in the courts as attorney general, Edward Bates now bemoaned the role it had played in destroying slavery in Missouri, criticizing it as “a cherished institution of the radical policy in Missouri—their stock in trade of politics,” further explaining, “By that false pretense they have succeeded in their first step to the comprehensive scheme of revolutionizing the state.”¹¹⁸

Radical Thomas Fletcher had garnering over 80 percent of the vote for governor. St. Charles County voters elected Radicals Robert Bailey Jr. and Gustave Bruere to the Missouri House of Representatives, as the Radicals carried both houses of the new General Assembly by large majorities.¹¹⁹ Congressman Henry T. Blow wrote the president to recommend Arnold Krekel for a federal judgeship, citing, “many years of experience in his profession, while his conduct during the rebellion has won him the confidence & support of the loyal people of Missouri.”¹²⁰

Voters had also approved a convention on Election Day. With Union victory imminent, the Convention convened in St. Louis in January 1865 and elected Arnold Krekel president. As president, Krekel signed the ordinance freeing the slaves in Missouri. Edward Bates wrote that he found the emancipation ordinance wholly unnecessary because the previous convention had already adopted a sufficient plan for gradual emancipation. Edward Bates surmised that emancipation was merely the excuse for calling the convention into session. He was correct. The Emancipation Ordinance solved the “slavery question,” but not the “Negro question.”¹²¹

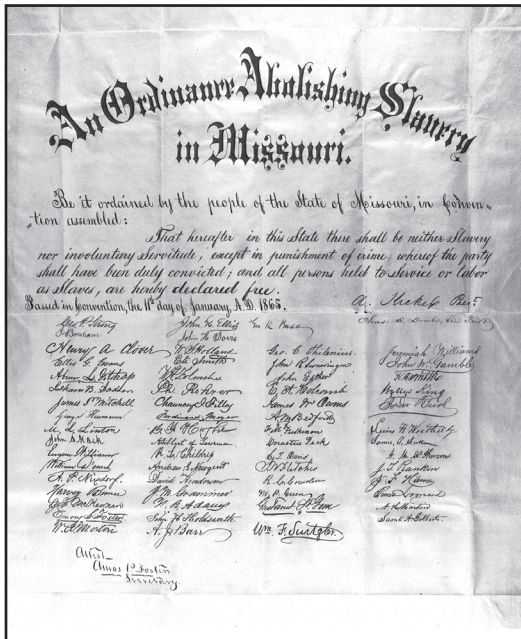


Fig. 15. *An Ordinance Abolishing Slavery in Missouri* was passed by the Convention and signed by A. Krekel, President. Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri

As president, Krekel signed the ordinance freeing the slaves in Missouri. Edward Bates wrote that he found the emancipation ordinance wholly unnecessary because the previous convention had already adopted a sufficient plan for gradual emancipation. Edward Bates surmised that emancipation was merely the excuse for calling the convention into session. He was correct. The Emancipation Ordinance solved the “slavery question,” but not the “Negro question.”¹²¹

Krekel and many Radicals believed a solution to the “Negro question” re-

quired full citizenship rights for the freedmen, a judiciary that would protect those rights, and guarantees that democratically elected majorities would not undo their gains in the future. To achieve these ends Arnold Krekel led the fight for black suffrage, claiming, "The immigrant German is the only one who is not biased by prejudice against the Negro." He suggested the franchise should not be based on "skin color," and the prospect of a "Negro president or governor" presented no "horror" for him.¹²² Most other delegates disagreed, and blacks, like women, minors and criminals, became citizens, but with no right to vote until adoption of the 15th Amendment to the U.S. constitution in 1870.¹²³

As for the judiciary, President Krekel and Delegate Henry A. Clover, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, had been unsuccessful Radical candidates for the Missouri Supreme Court in 1863. To guarantee immediate control of the judiciary by Radicals, the Convention passed an "Ouster Ordinance" which declared the offices of all judges and clerks of Missouri courts vacant as of May 1, 1865. It was not necessary to oust Judge Barton Bates who had resigned from the Supreme Court in February to pursue business opportunities. Finally, to assure their continued control of all three branches of government, the Convention sent to the voters what became known as the "Drake Constitution" that disenfranchised former supporters of the Confederacy, and even some Conservative Unionists who had taken the Convention oath after initially supporting secession.¹²⁴

President Lincoln nominated and the United States Senate confirmed Arnold Krekel as Judge for the Federal Western District of Missouri in the month before the president's assassination. Edward Bates expressed the Conservative frustration over Radical rule and martial law, complaining:

Colonel Krekel, President of the Convention, is better provided for, as yet, than most of his brethren, for his good services and law-abiding character have secured for him the office of United States Judge for the Western District of Missouri, though he does not live in the district. When the Convention shall adjourn or be annulled by martial law, the colonel will at once assume his functions as Judge, and will have great advantage over new Judges. He hates conservatism, and loves martial law, and the Radical party, and as Colonel Harding's command is within the Western District, Judge Krekel may from time to time hope to receive military orders, when to act and when to forbear; and possibly, may be furnished with opinions to be delivered from the bench better than his own.¹²⁵

The proposed Constitution was soundly beaten in St. Louis and received only 31.1 percent in St. Charles County, causing Edward Bates to write, "And so, Mr. Drake is plucked bare, and cast down upon his own dunghill. In St. Charles, Krekel fares no better; we beat them largely in the town, and in the whole county 5 or 600." Nevertheless, with the overwhelming support of voters in the military, the new Constitution passed statewide and the Radical revolution was safe.¹²⁶

Complaining the following September of the continued influence of Judge Krekel, a tongue-in-cheek letter to the editor of the Conservative *Missouri Republican*, signed "St. Charles County," reported that the editor of the *Westliche Post*, described as "this great luminary," appeared "as representative of our most gracious sovereign (Krekel), who could not be present (delicacy you know), came here to our grand Jubilee when we changed the name of "Camp Bates" (Bates the arch-traitor) to "Camp Krekel" (Krekel, that glorious patriot, brave General and wise statesman).¹²⁷

Judge Krekel continued the consummate Radical on the federal bench in Jefferson City. When a prospective grand juror told him that the only aid he had given the Confederacy was to retrieve his dying brother, who had been wounded serving in General Price's army, and testified, "That was the only time I ever attempted to help anyone connected with the cause of the South," Judge Krekel replied, "Well Mr. Gentry, if you did that you are not qualified to serve on a United States Grand Jury. Stand aside."¹²⁸

The other side gave as good as they got. A Jefferson City newspaper referenced a speech by Joseph W. McClurg, Radical candidate for governor in 1868, at which he criticized Chief Justice Chase for his "political predilections," and talked about "staining and polluting the spotless ermine of the Federal Judiciary with vile partisan adherence." The article continued:

No sooner had McClurg eked out than calls were made by the Wide Awakes for "Krekel," and sure enough out stepped his Honor, Arnold Krekel, Judge of the United States District Court for the Western district of Missouri, and proceeded to "befoul" his ermine with the stain of Radical politics. He commenced by saying that he recognized the Wide Awakes as being the same men whom he addressed in Illinois in the canvass of 1860. No doubt the judge was quite right in this, for there was many a carpetbagger among them. The Judge, imagining 1860 had come again, proceeded with the same old speech that he has been making at every political gathering he has attended since that time. We know of no federal judge in the United States that dabbles in politics.¹²⁹



Fig. 16. Barton Bates joined his long-time friend James Eads in the effort to build a railroad bridge across the Mississippi River at St. Louis. Courtesy of stltoday.com

Judge Krekel was among the strongest supporters of the Lincoln Institute, a school for African Americans in Jefferson City, and served on its board of directors for more than twenty years. Krekel lectured without pay on Government and Political Economy, traveled east to raise funds for the Institute and was generous with his own funds. Along with freedman Howard Barnes, he gave his name to Barnes-Krekel Hall, the first women's dormitory at Lincoln Institute constructed in 1881.¹³⁰

Barton Bates became an investor, along with his friend James Eads, in the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at St. Louis. The Eads Bridge was completed in 1874 but was undercapitalized during construction and burdened with debt. A lack of adequate rail terminal facilities and poor rail access added to the problem and the bridge company was bankrupt within a year of opening. After the bridge was sold at auction for 20 cents on the dollar the National Bank of the State of Missouri failed. As vice-president of the bank Barton Bates was indicted by a federal Grand Jury in 1879.¹³¹ The government had a hard time getting the case tried because the Senate had not confirmed a new federal district judge for St. Louis and visiting judges, including Judge Krekel, refused to hear the case, probably because they knew Barton Bates personally. On a division of opinion by two federal appeals judges the case went to the United States Supreme Court, where the indictment against Bates was quashed altogether in 1883. The following year the



Fig. 17. Barton Bates and his large family continued to reside on Dardenne Prairie in St. Charles County after the Civil War. Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Post-Dispatch reported that Barton Bates, who 12 years earlier paid taxes on over \$141,000, did not make the list of the city's richest men, due primarily to the failure of the bank.¹³² He did continue to practice law and the same newspaper described him as "one of the best attorneys of the time in land cases."¹³³

While many former slaveholders moved away from St. Charles County, Barton Bates and his wife continued to reside there. Onward Bates later wrote that Cheneaux "was so dear to father and mother and children that no idea of exchanging it for one in the city was successfully maintained, although professional and business requirements caused the father to make frequent visits to Jefferson City and St. Louis."¹³⁴ Judge Bates never again held elective office and his influence in St. Charles County declined as more German immigrants came and purchased land for small family farms on what had been "plantations" cultivated by slaves.¹³⁵

A split in the Republican Party led to re-enfranchisement of the former Confederates in 1870 and eventual counter-revolution in Missouri. Former Confederates and Conservative Unionists revitalized the Democratic Party and controlled Missouri politics for the remainder of the century. Their an-



Fig. 18. Meeting of G.A.R. members in St. Charles about 1900. Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

swer to the “Negro question” was segregation and their favorite theme was the “lost cause.” However, Judge Bates’ avid pro-Unionism did not fit well with the “lost cause” myth. Typically, an 1885 history of St. Charles County ignored the idealism of the North and the racism of the South, referring to bushwhackers as “scouts,” and insisting the men on both sides were, “loyal and patriotic to what they believed to be their duty to their country.” Barton Bates was mentioned only for his orchards and the fact that Caroline Hatcher had married him.¹³⁶

When he died in 1892 Barton Bates was buried in Dardenne Presbyterian Church cemetery on Dardenne Prairie. The *Post-Dispatch* explained, “The death of Judge Barton Bates was passed with slight notice by the present generation, yet there were few men in St. Louis or the State of Missouri to whom he was not known twenty-five years ago . . . and was one of the last of the men who took part in preserving the loyalty of the State Government.”¹³⁷

During the same period, in addition to changing the name of “Camp Bates” to “Camp Krekel,” Civil War veterans kept Judge Krekel’s name alive in St. Charles County by establishing the Krekel Post of the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.), a valuable ally of the Republican Party. By the time Judge Krekel died in 1888, the *Demokrat* had again become a Democratic newspaper. While it praised its founder profusely, it was not for his efforts



Fig. 19. Krekel Memorial. Courtesy of the author.

on emancipation. Instead, the paper emphasized his importance to the emerging German-American community under attack from nativist in the 1850s stating, “His influence among his fellow citizens, and especially among his fellow Germans, was so great that his word was decisive in all cases—he was their counselor, leader, defender against all attacks from xenophobics.”¹³⁸ Judge Krekel was buried in St. Charles next to his deceased wife and his son “in the simplest manner possible, without pomp and religious ceremonies.”¹³⁹

In May of 1890 a “Krekel Memorial Society” was formed to raise funds “to mark the last resting place” of Judge Krekel.¹⁴⁰ It took ten years but the money was raised and a memorial to Arnold Krekel was erected in the St. Charles City Cemetery. Krekel profited from the fact that St. Charles County, a center of Radical Unionism during the Civil War, had seen continued German immigration and German-Americans constituted nearly three-fourths of its population. On the issue of race, Krekel and St. Charles County, if not Missouri and other former slave states, were on the right side of history. All but one of the sixteen elected officials in the county courthouse were German-American Republicans—all elected with the support of African American voters.

St. Charles County Government
St. Charles, Missouri

Notes

¹ Snead, *The Fight for Missouri* (New York: n.p.1886), 60.

² Louis Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 88.

³ Bob Schultz, “Some Civil War Politics in St. Charles County,” *St. Charles Heritage*, Vol. 20, No.1, January, 2002, 17.

⁴ Frederick W. Lehmann, “On Edward Bates and the ‘Test oath.’” 1916, Missouri Historical Society Library, 10. In 1860 Friedrich Muench identified the two contending political views explaining, “The first is that there must be masters and servants, rulers and subordinates, free persons and slaves that one is born with spurs to ride and the other with the saddle on his back to be ridden. . . . The other view is that which first found public expression in the Declara-

tion of Independence: ‘all men are born with the same rights.’” “Augusta,” *Demokrat*, October 7, 1860, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 48.

⁵ *The Diary of Edward Bates*, 1859–1866, February 24, 1865, Howard K. Beale ed. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933), 447.

⁶ Edward Bates to Hamilton Gamble, October 10, 1863, Broadhead Papers, Missouri Historical Society (MHS).

⁷ James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley, St. Louis, Missouri* (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company, 1981), 115. “Three Missouri Statehood Fathers,” *Missouri Historical Review (MHR)*, January 1980, 267; Marvin R. Cain, *Lincoln’s Attorney General, Edward Bates of Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965), 7, 19. Garland Broadhead commented years later, “Most of the Coalters with the Naylor and Bates and other relatives resided for a number of years on Dardenne Prairie, St. Charles County, and between 1820 and 1850 there was no better society in Missouri than that of Dardenne Prairie.” Garland Broadhead, “A Few of the Leading People and Events of Early Missouri History,” *MHR*, Vol. 1, July 1907, 289.

⁸ *History of St. Charles County, 1765–1885*, by the Partria Press with an introduction by Paul R. Hollrah and an index, 366; The St. Charles County portion of the *History of St. Charles, Montgomery, and Warren Counties*, was reissued in 1997 as the *History of St. Charles County, 1765–1885*, by the Partria Press with an introduction by Paul R. Hollrah and an index, 145. Referred to hereafter as the “1885 history.”

⁹ Marvin R. Cain, *Lincoln’s Attorney General, Edward Bates of Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965), 50.

¹⁰ *Missouri’s German Heritage*, Don Heinrich Tolzmann, ed. (Milford, Ohio: Little Miami Publishing Co., 2004), 27. Walter D. Kamphoefner, “Arnold Kregel: A Republican for Immigrant Rights and Racial Equality,” *Boone-Duden Historical Society Newsletter* (April 2015). Kregel had been an unsuccessful candidate for the state senate in 1850. From its founding, his paper took an increasingly strong stand against slavery commenting favorably on speech by Dr. James Pennington, an escaped slave who was awarded a Dr. of Theology in Heidelberg. A headline in 1854 characterized abolitionist editor Elijah Lovejoy, driven out of Missouri and then killed by a mob in Alton, Illinois in 1837, as “A Martyr to Freedom of the Press.” Ibid.

¹¹ Trexler, Harrison, *Slavery in Missouri, 1804–1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1914), 120. Lucy Delaney, *From the Darkness Cometh the Light or Struggles for Freedom* (St. Louis: J. T. Smith, 1891), Electronic edition, University of North Carolina, accessed 22 Apr 2009. Edward Bates defended John Muldrow in his trial for assault in St. Charles County in 1836. A fight had erupted when Muldrow offered to establish a \$10,000 fund from which to reimburse slave owners if the legislature would pass an emancipation program. Three years later, Bates defended Thomas Lindsay, who was charged with allowing his slave Jane “to go on a hiring on her own time.” Harrison, *Slavery in Missouri* 120. Polly Berry, who in 1843 gained her freedom decades after having been held illegally in the free state of Illinois, enlisted Bates’ support as her attorney in the separate freedom suit she filed for her daughter Lucy Ann Berry, then about age 14. Delaney, *From the Darkness*.

¹² *Demokrat*, July 22, 1854. When Democrats in the legislature split Edward Bates predicted, “If the Whigs keep aloof from both factions . . . it need surprise no one if a Whig Senator should succeed Colonel Benton.” *Diary of Edward Bates*, August 23, 1849. Bates Family Papers, MHS.

¹³ Steve Ehlmann, *Crossroads: A History of St. Charles County, Missouri*, Bicentennial Edition (St. Charles, MO: Lindenwood University Press, 2011), 132-37.

¹⁴ Frank Blair to James O. Broadhead, April 18, 1857, James O. Broadhead Papers, MHS.

¹⁵ “Mass Union Meeting at Cottleville,” *Demokrat*, July 8, 1958, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta, Missouri and its Area*, Vol.1, 26.

¹⁶ “Procedures of the Opposition Meeting,” *Demokrat*, December 29, 1859, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 31.

¹⁷ “The Republican State Convention of Missouri,” *Demokrat*, March 15, 1860, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 39.

¹⁸ *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, 1809–1866, Vol. II, 88–89, cited in “The Republican Party in the ‘Border-Slave’ States,” MHR, 159.

¹⁹ “The Republican Meeting in Augusta,” *Demokrat*, October 11, 1860, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 47.

²⁰ Barton Bates to Edward Bates, June 3, 1861, Bates Family Papers, MHS. Christopher Phillips, *Damn Yankee, the Life of General Nathaniel Lyon* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 201. John F. Dierker, a storeowner from Wentzville, Dietrich Ehlmann, a farmer from St. Charles, and 30 members of the Augusta *Harmonie Verein* were among those who joined the 4th Regiment of the United States Reserve Corps, organized in St. Louis on May eighth. Carl Wentker to R.A. Hoffman, “History of the Augusta ‘Harmonie Verein’” February 2, 1906, MHS.

²¹ Barton Bates to Edward Bates, June 3, 1861, Bates Family Papers, MHS.

²² “The Formation,” *Demokrat*, May 9, 1861, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 58. The 1852 state census shows Krekel with two female slaves; in 1860 he owned a mulatto man. At the war’s outbreak he reportedly freed his slave. Kamphoefner, “Arnold Krekel.”

²³ “County Organizations,” *Demokrat*, July 4, 1861, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 60.

²⁴ “Home Guards of St. Charles County,” August 1, 1861, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 62. Kamphoefner, “Arnold Krekel.” Southern sympathizer David Pitman wrote to Governor Gamble, “I now feel alarmed, fearing a collision between the encampment and the citizens. They seem to go at will about the village (Cottleville), drinking and insulting with pleasure all that cross their path. . . . Should any violence be committed by the ‘home guards’ I will not pretend to say where it will end.” Jo Ann Brown, *St. Charles Borromeo, 200 Years of Faith* (St. Louis: Patrice Press, 1991), 89.

²⁵ Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis*, 169.

²⁶ Barton Bates to Edward Bates, September 8, 1861, Bates Family Papers, MHS.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Dennis K. Boman, *Lincoln and Citizens’ Rights in Civil War Missouri* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), 44. General Benjamin Butler had treated fugitive slaves in Virginia as contraband and informed their masters he did not have to return them under the Fugitive Slave Law because Virginia was no longer part of the United States. Because Missouri was still in the Union, only the slaves used in furtherance of the rebellion could be freed. *Ibid.* 56–57.

²⁹ Barton Bates to Edward Bates, September 8, 1861, Bates Family Papers, MHS. Frederick Hatcher was the brother of Caroline Bates, wife of Barton Bates. Major Krekel had left St. Charles the day before in 18 railcars headed west to assist regular federal troops protecting the operation of the North Missouri Railroad. Gen. S. D. Sturgis to Capt. John Kelton, St. Charles, Missouri, September 7, 1861, A. Krekel to General Halleck, Warrenton, Missouri, December 25 and 30, 1861, *War of the Rebellion: Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and the Confederate Army* (OR), 475–476, 461, 474.

³⁰ *Missouri Statesman*, September 20, 1861, State Historical Society of Missouri (SHSM). A week later when operating near Mexico, Missouri, Krekel’s men captured four young rebel recruits returning home because they had contracted the measles and executed them. Bruce Nichols, *Guerrilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri, 1862* (London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2004), 67.

³¹ Barton Bates to Edward Bates, October 10, 1861, Bates Family Papers, MHS.

³² Barton Bates to Hamilton Gamble, October 16, 1861, Gamble Papers, MHS.

³³ “The State Convention,” *Demokrat*, October 24, 1861, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 65.

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³⁴ Barton Bates to Edward Bates, June 3, 1861, Bates Family Papers, MHS.

³⁵ *Cockrill v. McCurdy*, Supreme Court of Missouri, January 1, 1863, 33 Mo. 365; *Boggs v. American Ins. Co.*, Supreme Court of Missouri, March 1, 1862, 31 Mo. 499.

³⁶ Ehlmann, *Crossroads*, 155.

³⁷ Provost Marshal Records St. Charles, Warren & Lincoln Co, March 20, 1862, 83, Krekel Records, MHS. Letter from Major Krekel, 01-08-1862, F1583, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, Missouri State Archives, (MSA).

³⁸ N.C. Bates to Mrs. C.M. Bates, November 11, 1861, Bates Family Papers, MHS. Benjamin F. Wilson owned 45 slaves; Robert Frayser 27; Charles Woodson 23; Dr. John Talley 20; Spencer Tyler 19; Henry Hatcher 18; Richard Pitman 10; William Randolph 9; Barton Bates, Lewis Howell and Richard Keeble 8 each. 1861 Tax Book, St. Charles County Archives (SCCA).

³⁹ Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis*, 268.

⁴⁰ "Union Meeting in Cottleville," *Demokrat*, February 14, 1862, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 72.

⁴¹ Boman, *Lincoln and Citizens' Rights*, 117.

⁴² Lieutenant Colonel A. Krekel to General John M. Schofield, St. Charles, March 10, 1862, OR, Vol. VII, 333.

⁴³ Donnie D. Bellamy, "The Persistence of Colonization in Missouri," *MHR*, Vol. 72, October, 1977, 13.

⁴⁴ Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis*, 152-153, 157, 268; Benjamin Merkel, "The Anti-slavery Controversy in Missouri, 1819-1865 (St. Louis: Washington University Doctoral Dissertation, 1939), 32, 40-41.

⁴⁵ "The Second Appeal," *Demokrat*, July 17, 1862, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 76.

⁴⁶ "Who is Exempted for Militia Duty," *Demokrat*, October 12, 1862, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 80. One occupation exempted was millers. In September Captain Gerhardt Osthoff of the E.M.M. asked Colonel Bates to clarify his authority explaining that a miller, who was exempt, claimed his son was exempt as well. He explained, "But I insisted on his coming to drill, and the miller says now that he will suit me, & put me to as much trouble as possible, but I do not think I have done anything more than right and fair." G. Osthoff to Barton Bates, September 25, 1862, Bates Family Collection, MHS.

⁴⁷ "Headquarters, St. Charles, Mo." *Demokrat*, August 14, 1862, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 78-79.

⁴⁸ J.M. Schofield to Col. A. Krekel, St. Louis, Missouri, August 9, 1862, OR 550. The forces of Colonel Joseph Porter recruiting for the Confederacy in Northeast Missouri had clashed with a Union force on August sixth in Kirksville. Ibid.

⁴⁹ Walter D. Kamphoefner, *Germans in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006), 345.

⁵⁰ "Dissolution of Col. Krekel's Battalion," *Demokrat*, November 27, 1862, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 83.

⁵¹ Edward Bates to Hamilton Gamble, September 21, 1862, Bates Family Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

⁵² *Charlotte v. Chouteau*, Supreme Court of Missouri, October 1, 1862, 33 Mo. 194. Judge Bates dealt with 19 cases dealing with slavery while serving on the Missouri Supreme Court. The moderation previously shown by Missouri courts on Freedom Suits had been reversed in the Dred Scott Case by a Missouri Supreme Court, Justice Hamilton Gamble dissenting, that had been popularly elected and was responsive to the pro-slavery views of Missourians outside St. Louis. Paul Finkelman, "The Politics of Slavery and Missouri's First Elected Supreme Court: *Dred Scott v. Emerson*," *Missouri Law and the American Conscience, Historical Rights and Wrongs*, Ken Winn ed. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2016), 92-94.

⁵³ Letter to Schofield, November 25, 1862, Odon Guitar Correspondence, SHSM. Odon Guitar was a leading Conservative appointed general of the M.S.M. by Gamble. He would be an unsuccessful candidate for Congress himself in 1864. He had a reputation as friend of secessionists who were non-combatants and on several occasions returned to them horses taken by troops from outside Boone County. North Todd Gentry, "General Odon Guitar," *MHR* Vol. 22, July 1928, 424.

⁵⁴ *Demokrat*, October 30, 1862, in *A History of Augusta, Missouri and Its Area*, Vol. 1, 81.

⁵⁵ *St. Charles County Heritage*, Vol. 25, No. 4, October, 2007, 170.

⁵⁶ "The Infamy against Krekel and the Germans Becomes Greater," *Demokrat*, December 4, 1862, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 84.

⁵⁷ *Neue Zeit*, quoted in *Missouri Republican*, October 15, 1863.

⁵⁸ "Dissolution of Col. Krekel's Battalion," *Demokrat*, November 27, 1862, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 83. Even the *Demokrat* admitted, "Individual misdeeds, which numerous soldiers had committed but for which they therefore were rightly punished." *Ibid.* Eight men were turned over to civil authorities in St. Charles to face charges of grand larceny allegedly committed in Troy, while three other men were turned over to civil authorities in Callaway County to face charges of grand larceny. Colonel Odon Guitar, to Colonel William Wood, November 23, 1862, Civil War, First Battalion Cavalry, Correspondence, Miscellaneous, MSA.

⁵⁹ Gari Carter, *Troubled State, Civil War Journals of Franklin Archibald Dick* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008), 155.

⁶⁰ Boman, *Lincoln and Citizen's Rights*, 109.

⁶¹ Carter, *Troubled State*, 96.

⁶² Wm. M. Randolph arrested, 1-2-1863, MSA, F1255.

⁶³ Onward Bates to Edward Bates, February 2, 1863, Bates Family Papers, MHS. William Talley, the son of Dr. John Talley, was 16 years old at the time. After graduating from the University of Virginia, he began the practice of medicine in the county in 1869. 1885 history, 526.

⁶⁴ Statement by Barton Bates, 4-16-1863, F1218, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA.

⁶⁵ Vardeman, Wm. Gives statement of causes leading to his arrest, 4-28-63, F1591, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA. After Sheriff Charles Branham was unable to post a surety bond in September, 1862 the County Court declared his office vacant and Governor Gamble promptly appointed Edward Cunningham, a former sheriff and Conservative slaveholder, to take his place. Radical Friedrich Gatzweiler was elected sheriff in November, but did not take office until January 1, 1863.

⁶⁶ *Missouri Republican*, November 27, 1863.

⁶⁷ Complaint of Collins et. al., 12-30-62, F1591, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA.

⁶⁸ Vardeman, Wm. Gives statement of causes leading to his arrest, 4-28-63, F1591, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers MSA.

⁶⁹ Indictment of Timothy Francis Slatery, March, 1863, File No. 2109, St. Charles County Circuit Court files.

⁷⁰ Statement of F.H. Slatery, 4-25-63, F1351, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA. Jeremiah Laler testified that Keeble came to his school house with a band of slaveholders who called him an abolitionist and said if he did not leave the area they would hang him. Statement of Jeremiah Laler, N. D., F1623, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA.

⁷¹ Archer Alexander to the provost marshal, 4-15-63, F1218, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA. Affidavit against Richard Pitman, 3-4-1863, F1384, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA; William G. Eliot, *The Story of Archer Alexander: From Slavery to Freedom* (Boston: Cupples, Upham and Company 1885), 46, 56.

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⁷² Eliot, *The Story of Archer Alexander*, 74.

⁷³ Letter from U, McCluer to George Miller, February 1863. <http://homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~schmblss/home/Letters/1851-1900.htm>

⁷⁴ "Protest Meeting at Augusta," *Demokrat*, March 26, 1863, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 92.

⁷⁵ "A German Militia Captain's Heroic Act," *Demokrat*, March 26, 1863, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 92.

⁷⁶ Statement of R.B. Frayser, 2-2-63, F1255, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA; Provost Marshal Records St. Charles, Warren & Lincoln Co., January 6, 1862, 17, Krekel Records, MHS. The three were former Representative Virginius Randolph, a Conservative Unionist, along with Lucius Randolph and John Cunningham, who had been exchanged after fighting against Union troops at Mount Zion. *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Frederick Hatcher statement that Virginius Randolph came to his father's house, 1-30-1863, F1255, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA.

⁷⁸ John Fritz Dierker report of attempt to arrest Virginius Randolph, 01-06-1863, F1255, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA.

⁷⁹ Ben Emmons Jr. statement, 1863, F1255, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA. The following August Major Edward Harding wrote the provost marshal asking that Cunningham, who had informed on militia who were lawbreakers, have his parole extended and be allowed to carry a pistol for his protection. Lucius Randolph, on the other hand, joined a band of notorious bushwhackers. Cunningham, John, Letter from Edward Harding, 08-25-1863, F1247, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA.

⁸⁰ Boman, *Lincoln and Citizens' Rights*, 166.

⁸¹ *The Diary of Edward Bates*, February 26, 1863, 280.

⁸² Boman, *Lincoln and Citizens' Rights*, 166. Shortly thereafter Richard Keeble, when questioned about his loyalty, boasted he could get certification of his character from "Pres. Lincoln's cabinet, down to a county judge." Statement of Richard B. Keeble, 04-24-1863, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA.

⁸³ R.B. Frayser to Col. J.C. Broadhead, 6-17-63, F1591, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA.

⁸⁴ Wm. Vardeman, 6-22-1863, F1591, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA. Parole of Richard B. Keeble, Western Manuscript Collection, SHSM.

⁸⁵ Emmons, Ben Jr., Report that he has notified William M. Randolph to be ready to leave for the south and to report to Col. Dick's office, 05-01-1863, MSA, F1255. The provost marshal explained later that, while William Randolph had supported secession at the beginning of the war, he had been living peaceably and lawfully, and recommending he be allowed to "care for the families of his rebel kinsmen." Letter to Maj. Gen. Rosecrans, 10-08-1864, F1255, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA. .

⁸⁶ "The Second Appeal," *Demokrat*, July 17, 1862, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol.1, 76.

⁸⁷ Blassingame, John W., "The Recruitment of Negro Troops in Missouri during the Civil War," 326-329.

⁸⁸ Remarks of Arnold Krekel at Warrenton, June 13, 1863, MHS, 8; Benjamin Merkel, "The Anti-Slavery Controversy in Missouri," 32.

⁸⁹ Mallinckrodt, trans, "Missouri Emancipation," *Demokrat*, July 16, 1863, in *A History of Augusta, Missouri and Its Area*, Vol.1, 99.

⁹⁰ Remarks of Arnold Krekel at Warrenton, June 13, 1863, MHS, 8; Benjamin Merkel, "The Anti-Slavery Controversy in Missouri," 32.

⁹¹ "Anniversary Celebration of 'Camp Bates'" *Demokrat*, July 30, 1863, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 99.

⁹² *Illustrated Atlas Map of St. Charles County, Missouri*, W.R. Brink & Co. of Illinois, 1875, 29.

⁹³ Edward Bates to Hamilton Gamble, October 10, 1863, Broadhead Papers, MHS.

⁹⁴ Boman, *Lincoln and Citizens' Rights*, 224-25. When some Radicals stopped short of publicly criticizing Lincoln, Edward Bates wrote Governor Gamble suggesting, "Those Radical Senators have quite as much need of the President (who has yet a year and a half) as he has of them. They mean to go against him hereafter; if they see a chance, but they dare not *avow* it yet." Edward Bates to Hamilton Gamble, October 24, 1863, Bates Family Papers, MHS.

⁹⁵ *The Diary of Edward Bates*, September 30, 1863, 308.

⁹⁶ Edward Bates to Hamilton Gamble, October 24, 1863, Bates Papers, MHS.

⁹⁷ R.S. Hart to Chase, October 30, 1863, *Chase MSS* (Library of Congress).

⁹⁸ *Missouri Republican*, October 18, 1863.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* October 15, 1863.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Missouri Republican*, September 11, 1863, citing the *Neue Zeit*.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* and *Missouri Republican*, November 2 and 3, 1863.

¹⁰³ Blassingame, "The Recruitment on Negro Troops," 332; Schultz, "Civil War Politics," 18; Cain, *Lincoln's Attorney General*, 280. Bates received all but two votes cast at Naylor's Store on Dardenne Prairie and also won the precincts of Flint Hill, Wentzville and Portage des Sioux. Krekel won big in all the heavily German areas and received almost all the votes cast by men in uniform for the Union. *Demokrat*, November, 5, 1863.

¹⁰⁴ "A Negro's Value is Less Than Zero," *Demokrat*, December 10, 1863, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 103.

¹⁰⁵ Popp, Bill, "Private Bird Washington," *St. Charles County Heritage*, Vol. 26, No. 1, January, 2008, 10. Over 40 slaves were recruited by February including Tom Alexander, the son of Archer Alexander. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Spencer Tyler states he owns a healthy Negro who ran away 11-06-1863, F1409, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA.

¹⁰⁷ Statement of Corp. Daniel Ulrich, 4-07-1864, Document partially illegible, 4-06-64, F1623, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA.

¹⁰⁸ Edward Bates to Onward Bates, March 25, 1864, Bates Family Papers, MHS.

¹⁰⁹ *Missouri Republican*, February 24, 1864.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* February 29, 1864.

¹¹¹ Letter from Rep. Robert Bailey Jr., 03-26-1864, F1198, Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA. Order No. 6, on March 2, 1864, required all commanding officers to provide rolls of the E.M.M. to the Commissioner of Enrollment for their county. Commanding officers were to enroll those not properly enrolled. *Missouri Republican*, March, 3, 1864.

¹¹² Barton Bates to Edward Bates, May 13, 1864, Bates Family Papers, MHS.

¹¹³ "General Order No. 107," *Demokrat*, July 14, 1864, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 113.

¹¹⁴ General John Gray to Isaac Sturgeon, St. Louis, Missouri, July 20, 1864, OR, 330, 331, 333.

¹¹⁵ Barton Bates to Edward Bates, September 8, 1864, Bates Family Papers, MHS. Radicals who did not trust militia under the state government were pleased when Rosecrans authorized the recruitment of nine regiments under his command. The St. Charles County volunteers were assigned to the 49th Missouri Regiment which was able to protect St. Charles, Lincoln, Pike and Warren counties, with the assistance of the enrolled militia. "Meeting in Femme Osage Township," *Demokrat*, August 11, 1864, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta*, Vol. 1, 115.

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¹¹⁶ *The Diary of Edward Bates*, 420. In October General John Gray ordered colonel Krekel to consolidate the 27th and 75th regiments of the E.M.M. Elections, October 4 and 22, 1864, RG 133 Adjutant General EMM 27th Reg. Co. A and C elections, MSA.

¹¹⁷ Uncas McCluer to Charles Henry Gauss, November 20, 1864, Charles Henry Gauss Family Papers.

¹¹⁸ Frederick W. Lehmann, "On Edward Bates and the "Test oath." 1916, MHS Library, 10.

¹¹⁹ 1885 history, 342, 344; *Demokrat*, November 3, 1864.

¹²⁰ Henry T. Blo to Abraham Lincoln, December 12, 1864, MHS. Edward Bates recorded, "Mr. Hickman tells me that Judge [William W.] Edwards (being advised from Washington, that Krekel could not be Judge of the Western District), was disposed to apply for it himself (!) on the ground that, as he was turned out of the District Attorneyship because he was a Radical, and as the President is now, as great a radical as he, his chances might be good!" *The Diary of Edward Bates*, 460.

¹²¹ Mark Alan Neels, "Edward Bates and the Battle over the Missouri Constitution," *Confluence*, Fall/Winter 2013.

¹²² *Westliche Post*, January 17, 1865, translated in Allison Clark Efford, "Race Should be as Unimportant as Ancestry: German Radicals and African American Citizenship in the Missouri Constitution of 1865." *MHR*, Vol. 104, No. 3, April, 2010, 144. See also *Missouri Republican*, January 19, 1865. Krekel presented a petition by members of the 56th Colored Infantry who asserted they had earned citizenship by their service. Kristen Layne Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri, German Immigrants and Racial Ideology in Nineteenth Century America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016), 174

¹²³ Efford, "Race Should be as Unimportant as Ancestry," 150. As a compromise Krekel proposed all white males over 21 to vote immediately; immigrants to vote six months after declaring their intention to become citizens; and African American men "of good moral character" to vote after July 4, 1876. It was defeated. Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 175

¹²⁴ Dennis W. Belcher, "The Judicial Ouster Ordinance of 1865 and Radical Reconstruction in Missouri," *Missouri Law and the American Conscience*, 92-94.

¹²⁵ Frederick W. Lehmann, "On Edward Bates and the "Test oath." 1916, MHS, 11.

¹²⁶ *The Diary of Edward Bates*, 486. The apex of Radical power would occur in June when Supreme Court Justices William Bay and John Dryden, who had just been elected with Barton Bates 18 month earlier, were forcibly removed from the court room by state militia under the orders of Governor Fletcher who had appointed David Wagner, the third unsuccessful candidate in 1863 to the Supreme Court. Belcher, "The Judicial Ouster Ordinance of 1865," 93-94.

¹²⁷ *Missouri Republican* September 7, 1865. Edward Bates did not live to see the Thermidore of the Radicals' social revolution. He died in 1869, a year before a split in the Republican Party led to re-enfranchisement of the former Confederates, resurgence of the Democratic Party and eventual counter-revolution in Missouri.

¹²⁸ North Todd Gentry, "Some Missouri Judges I Have Known," *MHR*, Vol. 34, April, 1940, 342; See also Larsen, *Federal Justice*, 62.

¹²⁹ "Ermine—Judge Krekel," *People's Tribune*, August 19, 1868. Judge Krekel was elected Alderman in the City of Jefferson in 1868. He was on the Radical Union City Ticket but also on the "Citizens Ticket." *Missouri State Times*, April 3, 1869 and April 9, 1869. After he was elected director of the Jefferson City, Lebanon and Southwestern Railroad in 1874 he resigned, citing conflict of interest with his judicial position. *People's Tribune*, January 14, 1874.

¹³⁰ Kamphoefner, "Arnold Krekel." Due to his interest in education, Judge Krekel addressed the annual session of the State Teachers Association in 1878 on the question of "Shall We Have an Educational Poll Tax?" *People's Tribune*, June 19, 1878.

¹³¹ Onward Bates, *Bates, et al of Virginia and Missouri* (Chicago: Press of P.F. Pettibone, 1914). When John Coalter died in 1865 he relieved his nephew Barton Bates of the \$10,000

note he owed him. Anticipating “the termination of the struggle may leave them destitute,” Coalter had also established a trust for the benefit of his sister’s family in South Carolina and named as trustee Barton Bates, who traveled to South Carolina in the fall of 1865 to “provide comforts for those who may need them.” Ibid

¹³² “A Lame Conclusion,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 9, 1884.

¹³³ “As A Site for a School,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 20, 1890.

¹³⁴ Onward Bates, *Bates et al of Virginia and Missouri*.

¹³⁵ Barton Bates was one of 17 non-Germans who filed a remonstrance in the St. Charles County Court against renewing the license of a German dram shop operator alleging he “habitually keeps his house or dram shop open, and sells intoxicating liquor, on the first day of the week, commonly called the Sabbath. . . .” After a hearing, the court composed of German-Americans not only renewed the license but ordered the remonstrants to pay court costs. *Thomas E. Talbott v. Joseph Dalhoff*, files 19-63, SCCA.

¹³⁶ 1885 history 183, 185. In an even more prejudicial strain describing Leander Henry the publication stated, “He is steadily prospering by honest industry, as all good Democrats do, for, unlike their opponents, they do not have to resort to ways that are dark and tricks that are sometimes vain to make a living and secure a competence.” Ibid. 474.

¹³⁷ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 30, 1892.

¹³⁸ Mallinckrodt, trans, “Federal Judge Arnold Krekel,” *Demokrat*, July 19, 1888, in *A History of Augusta, Missouri and Its Area*, Vol.1II, 543. The *Demokrat*, reported Krekel, like Bates, had not been successful in his business ventures, claiming his wealth had been estimated at \$100,000 in 1865 but he had become dependent on his judge’s salary by 1888. Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid. Ida Krug Krekel had died in 1870 and Judge Krekel had remarried. Though raised a Catholic, Krekel had been a “freethinker” for most of his life. Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Mallinckrodt, trans, “Krekel Memorial Society,” *Demokrat*, May 22, 1890, in *A History of Augusta, Missouri and Its Area*, Vol. III, 563.