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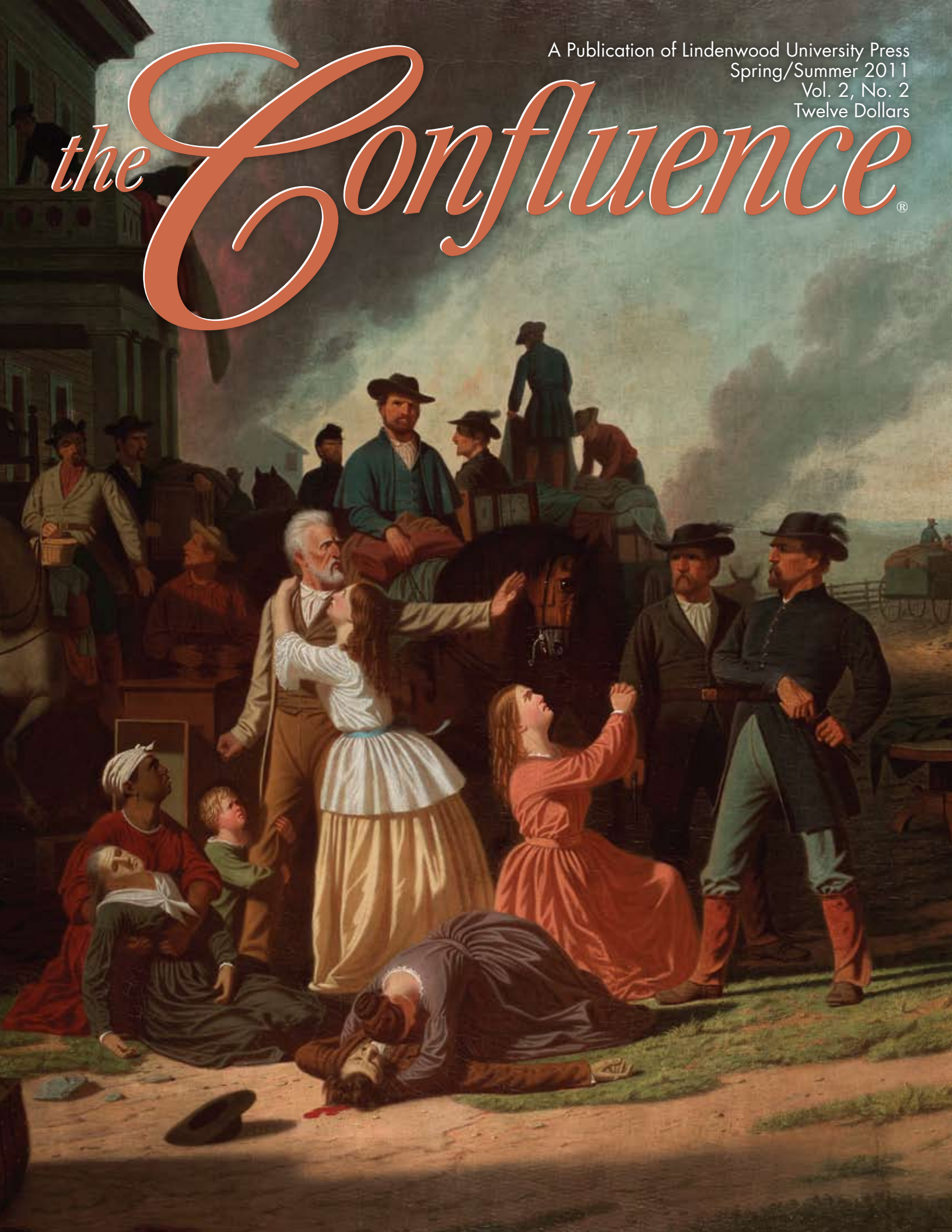

122

REMEMBER OUR SUFFERING HEROES.

(Duet and Chorus.)

Words by Ruth L. Douglass.

With expression.

Air.

1. The leaves of the ma - ple are fall - ing, The sad winds of Au-tumn we hear; In the hush of the night they are call-ing,
2. O gath - er thy dear ones a - round thee, The fire on the hearthstone is bright, Shut doors and draw close - ly the curtains,
3. Re - mem - ber our suf - fer - ing he - roes, When pray'rs are breath'd softly and low, To the Giv - er who sends us the summer,

Alto.

To tell us the Win - ter is near. The breath of the north-wind is cold - er, And dark is the dull beat-ing rain:
To keep out the storm and the night. For - get not to tell them the sto - ry Of the brave and the no - ble who left
The au - tumn the spring and the snow. O give from your plen - ty, to send them The com-forts they left for your sake,

CHORUS.

The step of the frost - king is bold - er, His blight on the blos - soms more plain. Re-mem - ber our brave suffering he - roes,

Bright homes for the bat - tle-field go - ry, And hearts by their ab-sence be - reft.

Tenor.

Your pray'rs shall gain strength by the giv - ing, A bless - ing, the off - 'ring you make. Re-mem - ber our brave suffering he - roes.

OUR SUFFERING HEROES.—Concluded. 123

bloom of the sum - mer has vanished, And win-ter, cold win - ter is here.

bloom of the sum - mer has vanished, And win-ter, cold win - ter is here.

WAKE, WAKE THE SONG.

Moderato.

Air

Wake, wake the song, the song of joy-ful greet-ing, Home a-gain, home a - gain, brave and true they come. Thrills ev - ery heart with

Alto

Wake, wake the song, the song of joy-ful greet-ing, Home a-gain, home a - gain, brave and true they come. Thrills ev - ery heart with

Wake, wake the song, the song of joy-ful greet-ing, Home a-gain, home a - gain, brave and true they come. Thrills ev - ery heart with

No war in American history claimed a larger proportion of lives that the Civil War. With some 600,000 deaths, virtually every family on both sides was touched by death in the war. Because these men died far from home, the war transformed American ideas about death, dying, and mourning as Americans had to find new ways to memorialize loved ones who died far away. Songs such as "Remember Our Suffering Heroes" (above) were part of this transformation in ideas about mourning that the war created. For more on the music of the Civil War, see "Songs from the Civil War," starting on page 40. *(Images: Mary Ambler Archive, Lindenwood University; State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

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CONTENTS

Special Civil War Sesquicentennial Issue

COVER IMAGE

Order No. 11, George Caleb Bingham, 1868. Although Bingham was staunchly pro-Union, he was ardently opposed to the Gen. Thomas Ewing's Order No. 11. Bingham thought that the depredations in the western Missouri counties weren't actually committed by pro-Southern bushwackers, but pro-Unionists and "Red Legs," like the one pictured here attacking innocent civilians. This painting was used as campaign propaganda against Ewing when he was narrowly defeated in his bid to become governor of Ohio in 1880. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri)*

The Confluence is a regional studies journal published by Lindenwood University and dedicated to the diversity of ideas and disciplines of a liberal arts university. It is committed to the intersection of history, art and architecture, design, science, social science, and public policy. Its articles are diverse by design.

the Confluence

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FROM THE EDITOR

Soon after his "Civil War" first appeared on public television, Ken Burns was asked by an NPR reporter about accusations that his epic series had an interpretive bias. Burns said it was true, and that his general bias was that "the good guys won." As an Ohio boy educated deep in the heart of Union country, I'd always taken much the same view; I moved to St. Louis from a place in northern Ohio where southern sympathizers in the Civil War, were thrown into the Ohio & Erie Canal (a chest-deep open sewer by the 1860s) until they renounced their "butternut" (that is, pro-Southern) views. Served them right, folks thought. That was the same county where abolitionist John Brown grew up and lived for awhile, where the Underground Railroad flourished, where a mob chased away bounty hunters trying to take an alleged former slave back to the South. We thought it was all pretty cut and dried.

In these parts, such is not the case. Sympathies for both sides run deep. The region had grown rapidly in the decades preceding the conflict with people from many places—northern industrial areas, southern plantation states, foreign countries—that carried divergent political views. Missouri represented a volatile political mix on the day Abraham Lincoln took office.

This Civil War issue of *The Confluence* looks at those differences and their legacies. Three articles examine the war's religious impact. Sr. Carol Wildt recounts Price's Raid through the eyes of a religious figure, and the responses of Confederates to them. Similarly, Miranda Rechtenwald and Sonja Rooney see the St. Louis wartime experience in "real time" as recorded by pro-Union Unitarian minister (and Washington University co-founder) William Greenleaf Eliot. Katherine Bava uses one St. Charles court case to delve into the divisions of not only nation and state, but the Presbyterian denomination as well.

Often, our impressions of war-related history focus on the war itself, but Thomas Curran writes of an unusual aspect of the Civil War, examining the experiences of pro-Confederate women accused of being spies in a St. Louis under Union control. David Straight looks at the impressions of the region by troops stationed at Benton Barracks during the war in their letters home. Patrick Burkhardt analyzes the sectional tensions that survived more than a half-century in his research into the controversy over constructing the Confederate memorial in Forest Park; old tensions died hard.

Herein lies the problem with the Civil War, and historical commemorations generally. People on both sides of the divide think their side and their ancestors were the good guys. Northerners saw fighting to end slavery as a noble cause, as we do; others look at their forebears as patriots fighting for what they thought was right and just. Thus, some are horrified by "secession balls" scheduled for this spring, while others are angered by judgmental Yankee historians. In the final analysis, commemorations are a tricky business, just as they were at the fiftieth anniversary of the war, with one side or the other offended or hurt or angry. Regardless of the side of your ancestors, we hope you enjoy this commemoration of the sesquicentennial of the Civil War.

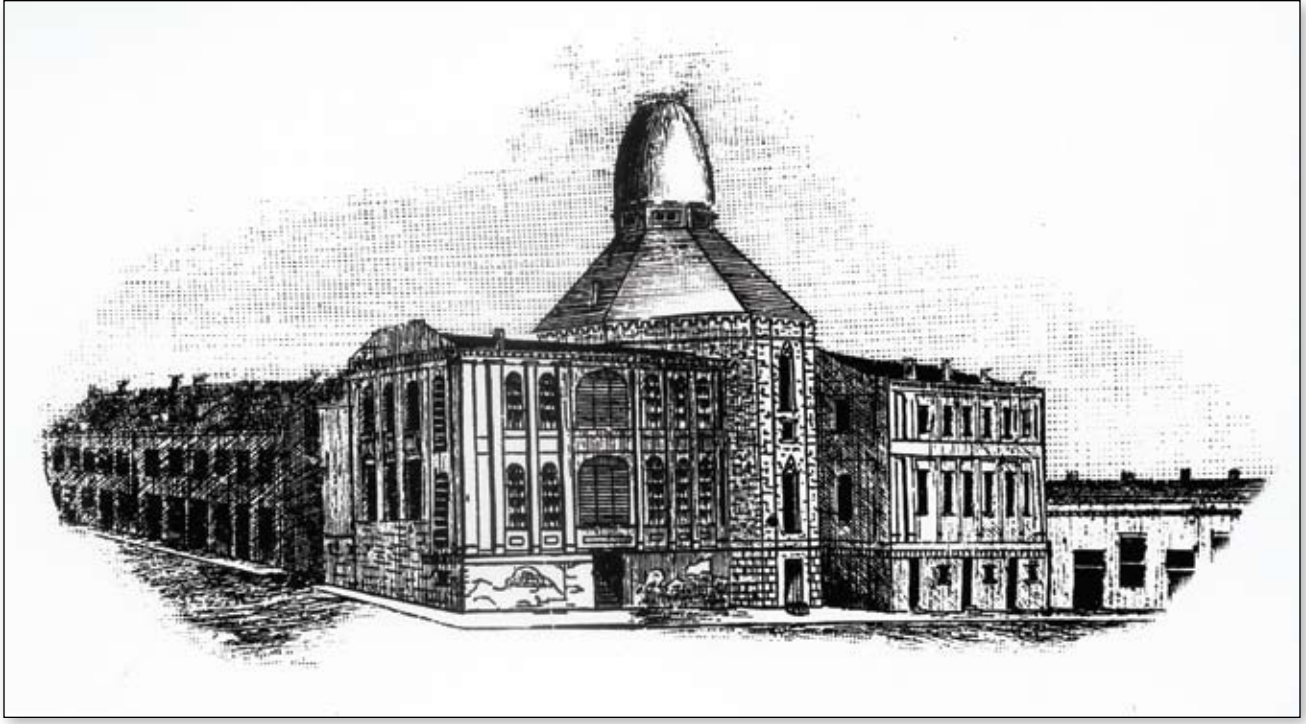
Jeffrey Smith, PhD
Editor

"Making War On Women"

and Women Making War:

Confederate Women Imprisoned in St. Louis during the Civil War

BY THOMAS CURRAN



The Gratiot Street Prison was used by the Union Army to house not only Confederate prisoners of war, but also spies and suspected disloyal civilians—including women. The prison at Eighth and Gratiot streets in St. Louis was actually three buildings: the northern wing along Eighth was originally a medical college; next to it was the former Christian Brothers Academy, with the former McDowell family home to the south. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

In his postwar memoir based on diaries kept secretly during the Civil War, Confederate captain Griffin Frost often condemned the "Yanks" for "making war on women." In the many months he spent as a prisoner of war in the Gratiot Street Prison in St. Louis and the Alton Military Prison in Illinois, Frost directly or indirectly encountered many female prisoners held by Union army authorities. How, he questioned, in this "progressive age" of the nineteenth century could women be kept as "political offenders"? Frost could not understand any circumstances that would justify the incarceration of women by the federal government. "It is a barbarous thing to imprison [women] at all," he insisted, even though he knew that the women often bore guilt for the crimes with which they were charged.[1]

The plight of the women Frost encountered was not unique. At least 360 women are known to have been arrested in St. Louis or to have been sent there after their arrest elsewhere. A large majority of them spent time in the various military prisons in the St. Louis area. Indeed, many of these women openly and boldly took credit for the actions for which they were held accountable, all in the name of the Confederate cause.[2] Griffin Frost failed to realize that the women in the same prison had been fighting for that same cause that he and other Confederate men had defended.

As residents of the region within which the war was predominantly fought, Southern women had ample opportunity to show their loyalty to the Confederate cause by embracing roles as public supporters, spies, smugglers, guerrillas, and even soldiers. Often these activities put the women in harm's way and in some cases brought them into conflict with, and often the custody of, Federal military authorities.[3] Some of the women arrested and imprisoned during the conflict were truly victims of war, arrested for no other reason than their relation to a male serving the Confederacy whom they had not seen for months or even years, or for simply being in the wrong place at the wrong time. For the majority, however, arrest and imprisonment were consequences of conscious decisions they made to do whatever they could to advance the Southern cause and assist those in armed rebellion against the United States government. Those who experienced arrest and imprisonment represent only a portion of the Southern women who refused to remain inactive when so much, both politically and socially, was at stake for the South.[4]

The actions of these Confederate women extended far beyond the recognized boundaries of mid-nineteenth century gender constraints, carrying with them significant political connotations. Historian Paula Baker has defined "politics" as "any action, formal or informal, taken to affect the course or behavior of government or the community."[5] By taking part in these activities, Confederate women sought to lend aid to the Confederate government in its war for independence. The political nature of these actions did not go unnoticed by Federal officers. To be sure, these military men did not concern themselves with the challenge the women's actions posed to gender relations. They arrested the women for the same misdeeds they accused rebellious men of committing and essentially treated the women the same way as male transgressors. Federal authorities took women's activities seriously, considering them of a treasonable nature. The crimes of these women were against the government, not against societal norms, and authorities responded with measures they deemed the women's actions deserved.

As the largest city in the West, St. Louis played a crucial role in the Union Army's Western Theater. St. Louis

Between 1862 and 1864, much of the fighting in western Missouri was guerrilla warfare, pitting Southern "bushwackers" against Kansas "Jayhawkers." These were generally smaller skirmishes that pitted neighbors against one another, as portrayed here in J. W. Buels' The Border Outlaws (1881). *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

became a key supply and troop disbursement center for new regiments awaiting assignment. Many of these fresh troops trained in the city's existing military facilities. The St. Louis region also served as home to three important prisoner of war camps: in the city itself, the Gratiot Street Prison, a former medical college and residence; the Myrtle Street Prison, a prewar slave auction house; and the Alton Prison just upriver from St. Louis, a condemned state penitentiary in Alton, Illinois.[6] It was common for prisoners to pass back and forth between these facilities, and all three counted women among their inmates. Of course, the women would be held in rooms separate from the male prisoners. In addition, several smaller temporary prisons in the city held only female prisoners.

The Civil War bitterly divided Missouri, and guerrilla strife raged through the state throughout the conflict. A majority of the women who passed through the St. Louis region's military prisons came from the city or other parts of the war-ravaged state. Still, a significant number of female prisoners were from other Southern states that fell to Union occupation and a few states that had never seceded.

St. Louis' first provost marshal, Justus McKinstry made his initial civilian arrest on August 14, 1861, the same day that Major General John C. Fremont, then commanding the military department that included Missouri, declared martial law in the city. Martial law would follow throughout the state two weeks later. Thus began a steady stream of civilians entering Federal custody in the region, arrested for activities or utterances considered disloyal and treasonous.[7]

While it is unlikely that Southern-sympathizing women remained silent during the early months of the war, it appears that their activities at first evoked little concern from McKinstry and his successor, John McNeil. Perhaps at first the provost marshal could discount the actions of women as insignificant. The subversive activities of Ann Bush and her friend, Mrs. Burke, could not go overlooked, however. According to a newspaper account in October 1861, the two women had been "using their influence to make rebels of young men of their acquaintance." On October 20, 1861, Bush and Burke became the first women arrested in St. Louis for disloyal activities.[8]

Between the time of Bush and Burke's arrest in October 1861 and mid-July 1862, only thirteen other women came into custody in St. Louis, all for relatively minor infractions compared to what was to come. Almost all, in one way or another, had openly displayed support for the Confederacy; for instance, two women draped a rebel flag out of an apartment window, several publicly sang secessionist songs, and others uttered "treasonable language." A Mrs. Bruneen destroyed a small United States flag in front of neighbors, and Margaret Ferguson's second visit to the Myrtle Street Prison to wave at prisoners in the windows secured for her a few hours in custody. Fanny Barron and Margaret Kelson came before

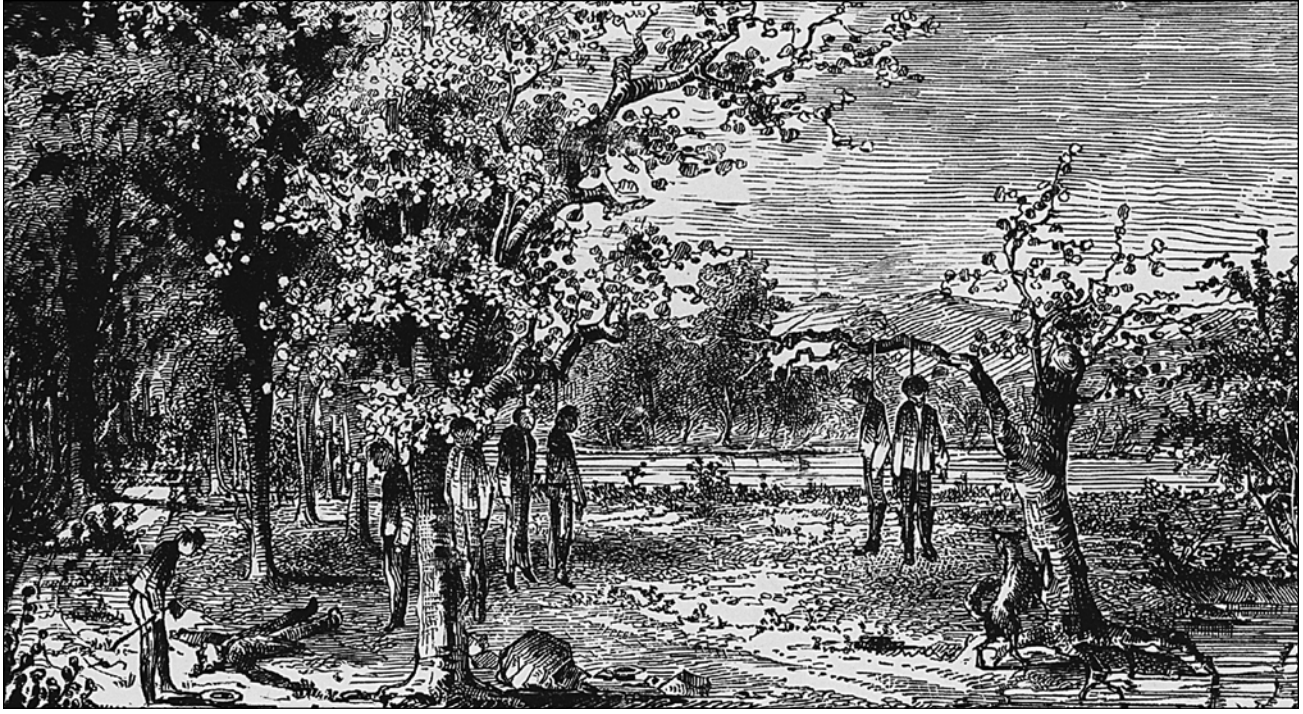
Much of the guerrilla warfare in Missouri involved the ambushes of people or families in rural settings. Horse theft, shown here, was one way for Bushwackers to replentish needed supplies. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

the provost marshal for "inducing one Ja. Tho. Jilton to join a rebel band of bushwhackers." And the family of a Miss Bull found themselves under house arrest, with guards at all exits, because someone allegedly waved a Confederate flag out of one of the house's windows at prisoners arriving from the Shiloh battlefield. The family remained confined for two weeks before the guards were removed.[9]

The provost marshal usually dealt with the women by requiring them to take a loyalty oath and then releasing them. When that failed, the women were banished from the city, county, or state, a punishment commonly meted out by civil authorities when dealing with recalcitrant offenders. In one instance, an arresting officer turned a woman who expressed disloyalty over to the local police. She made her public utterances while highly intoxicated and could be charged with the civil crime of disturbing the peace, removing from the most recently appointed Provost Marshal, George E. Leighton, responsibility of handling her case.[10]

Because these women were arrested by the local provost marshal's order, he had discretion over the way the women were treated. Clearly McKinstry, McNeil, and Leighton exhibited a reluctance to confine the women in the prisons. With the exception of Ann Bush, who spent one night under lock and key before her release, only two other women among these early arrests were confined to prison for more than a few hours, and neither of these women committed infractions designed to aid and comfort the Confederacy. A Mrs. Walton, arrested with her husband for defrauding the government on a cordwood contract, spent a few nights behind bars before her release.[11] And Bridget Connor, arrested for "keeping a disorderly dram shop," gained release after five nights in custody "upon taking an oath not to sell any more liquor in the city to soldiers without special permit from" the provost marshal's office.[12]

A speedy release was not the case for Isadora Morrison who, on July 25, 1862, became the first female inmate sent for confinement indefinitely in the St. Louis region military prisions. Arrested on July 12, 1862, in Cairo, Illinois, for spying and then sent to St. Louis to be imprisoned, Morrison's fate rested in the hands of the Federal officer who ordered her arrest, and not with St.



Guerrilla warfare was particularly brutal along the Missouri-Kansas border, as was the Union's response to it. General Thomas Ewing was committed to ending Confederate support for Bushwackers along the border by any means necessary. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

Louis' Provost Marshal Leighton. Leighton could not order her release under any circumstances. To further complicate matters, on the fourth day of Morrison's stay in the former medical college on Gratiot Street, she attempted to commit suicide by drinking a vial of chloroform. Perhaps Morrison wanted to martyr herself for the cause she embraced. Or perhaps she never intended to take her life. The incident caused Morrison's removal to a local hospital for women, from which she escaped.[13]

From this point onward, officials in St. Louis evinced less hesitancy in imprisoning women arrested on their orders. Between late July and the end of 1862, at least 24 women faced arrest in St. Louis and several spent at least one night, some women many more, in confinement by order of the Office of the Provost Marshal. Expressing support for the Confederacy and the general accusation of disloyalty proved to be common charges aimed at Confederate women during this period. At the same time, the women expressed a rather militant posture toward the Federal government and those who supported it. A Mary Wolfe, arrested in September 1862, allegedly asked her young son if he had enough "secesh" in him to hit their Unionist neighbor's son, whom she called a "little damn black republican," on the head with a "little hatchet." Lucinda Clark, reportedly a "very quarrelsome woman" who continually abused Unionist neighbors, sang this version of the song "Dixie": "I wish I were in the land of cotton and see old Lincoln dead and rotten." Her wish that "the Union folks ought to be shot for arresting secessionists" did not deter the provost marshal from having her arrested.[14]

According to numerous depositions against her, Catherine Farrell's "Reputation for Loyalty is Bad." Described as a "strong secessionist. . . .violent and abusive," Farrell supposedly "kept a rendezvous for disloyal persons since the breaking of this Rebellion." She referred to the German-American militia as "Damn Dutch Butchers" and called one Unionist woman she met in the street a "Black republican Bitch," while threatening to "cut her heart out." She also abused a particular neighbor and his family because he had taken a position with a government office; at one point, Farrell threw a tumbler at the man's mother as she walked past Farrell's open window. At the time these depositions were taken, Farrell had already been arrested once and ordered banished from the Army's Department of the Missouri, but due to a change in personnel in the provost marshal's office, the order slipped through the cracks. Whether it was carried out at this point is not made evident in the records.[15]

Mary Wolfe, Lucinda Clark, and Catherine Farrell fought their own war against the federal government and those who sought to uphold it. Never denying the charges against them, these women defiantly expressed their Confederate allegiance and their hostility toward Federal authority, despite the consequences. As the number of women prisoners expanded, the charges against them grew more complicated and the methods of sentencing them more severe. Paralleling this growth was the seriousness of the infractions women committed and the dedication the women evinced in carrying out their work, as illustrated in the case of Drucilla Sappington. The daughter of a St. Louis-area judge and wife of a Confederate captain, Sappington lived twelve miles from the city in St. Louis County. In early September 1862, a Confederate colonel and his staff were found quartered at her house and arrested; Sappington, however, was not immediately taken into custody, but she would not go unpunished. For "having given information to the traitors of the movement of the U.S. forces and having harbored and aided men in arms against the United States government," Missouri Provost Marshal General Bernard G. Farrar ordered on

September 3 that Sappington swear an oath of parole and pay a bond of $2,000. Farrar further demanded that Sappington leave the state of Missouri and relocate to Massachusetts, where she may have had relatives or friends. From there she was to lodge monthly reports of her good conduct to Farrar by mail.[16]

When Sappington learned that she was about to be served with Farrar's order, she fled the county, heading for southwestern Missouri and presumably Confederate lines. A few days later, authorities found and arrested her and a travelling companion named Mrs. Ziegler 100 miles from the city. The women returned to St. Louis and were placed in Gratiot Prison on September 15. Sappington did not let prison walls stop her from aiding the Confederate cause. In Gratiot, she and Mrs. Ziegler shared a room adjacent to the cell occupied by Absolom Grimes, a noted Confederate mail carrier who had recently been captured in St. Louis and sentenced to be shot. The two women helped Grimes escape confinement to resume his clandestine pursuits. Not surprisingly, Grimes already knew Sappington and had been at her home only a few days before her arrest.[17]

Absolom Grimes (1834-1911) was a notorious Confederate spy and mail carrier during the Civil War, and served in the Missouri State Guard from Ralls County (just north of St. Louis), the same unit in which Samuel Clemens served briefly. After his capture, he made multiple attempts to escape from Gratiot Street Prison; he was wounded in the last one in June 1864, spared being hanged, and eventually pardoned by Abraham Lincoln. Grimes returned to his occupation as a riverboat pilot after the war. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

Having taken her oath and posted her bond, Sappington left the prison more than a month after Farrar's initial arrest order. It is unknown whether Sappington ever traveled to Massachusetts, but evidently the threats of further imprisonment and losing her money did not shake her commitment to the Confederacy. Sappington returned to St. Louis and was arrested again in mid-1863. This time she was briefly detained in a temporary prison before being banished to the South beyond Federal lines. Again, she returned to Missouri, perhaps because there she could act upon her political convictions better than she could within the Confederacy. As late as March 1864, Lieutenant General Kirby Smith, commanding the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department, was still receiving secret communications from Sappington written from St. Louis concerning military affairs in Missouri, Indiana, and Illinois. Smith passed the messages along to Sterling Price, now a regularly commissioned Confederate general preparing to launch a campaign to liberate his home state.[18]

For the most part, the records suggest that authorities investigating suspected women acted with thoroughness. Detectives working under the provost marshal questioned witnesses and suspects and took depositions, often before any arrest was made. Most, but not all, cases appear to have been resolved by the provost marshal himself, rather than the military commissions that had been designated to hear civilian cases.[19] They were also handled expeditiously. In cases of expressing disloyal sentiments, a common charge throughout the war, a stern warning to cease such displays usually sufficed. Bridget Kelly, for instance, had been arrested in August 1862 for singing "secession songs." The provost marshal let her go "as she is sufficiently warned. . . without being kept a night in prison."[20] Thus, many women like Kelly spent just a few hours in custody. Suspicion alone did not prove guilt. For example, accusations that a Mrs. Keating was guilty of "disloyalty and annoying Union people" were "satisfactorily disproven" by the evidence collected in her case.[21] Likewise, the charges of materially aiding in the recruitment of Confederate soldiers faced by Mary M. Barclay were dropped within about 24 hours once they were proved unfounded.[22] And admitted secessionist sympathizer Catherine Duffey, detained for having used "improper language" to an Army surgeon while visiting a St. Louis hospital, was ordered released after apologizing to the doctor. Evidently her language was deemed "improper" but not disloyal.[23]

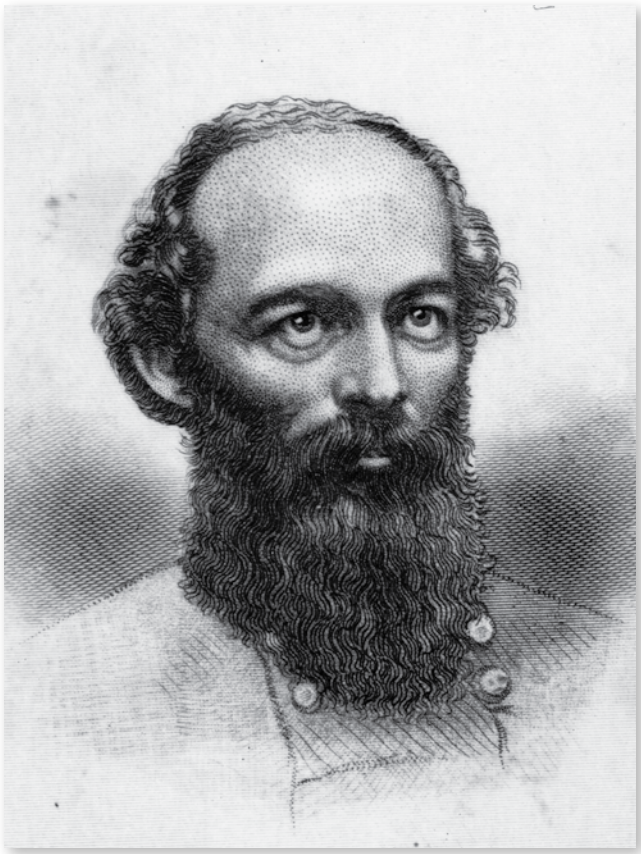
More serious charges merited more severe treatment. Spying, passing messages, smuggling, and providing direct comfort to the Confederates proved to be common charges leveled against the women in the St. Louis-area military prisons, including the larger facility at Alton. In January

1863, investigators from the U.S. Fourteenth Army Corps in Tennessee arrested Clara Judd, the widow of a Presbyterian minister, on suspicion of trying to smuggle various medicines and a pattern for a knitting machine to the Confederates. Compounding the evidence found in her possession was the fact that Confederate cavalry leader John Hunt Morgan had attempted to raid the Tennessee town in which she had lodged on the night before her arrest. Her captors believed that Judd had something to do with the raid.[24]

Though considered by one Federal officer "a dangerous person" and "probably a spy as well as a smuggler,"[25] Judd claimed her innocence. Judd's protestations and her assertion that "I never had anything to do with political affairs, neither do I wish to have,"[26] carried little weight in the eyes of her accusers. Women in Tennessee had proven themselves active participants in the rebellion against the United States government through their smuggling activities. Whether guilty or not, Judd would face the consequences for the actions of all women who aided the Confederacy. With nowhere to confine her in Nashville, she was sent north. Thus, Judd became Alton's first female inmate.[27]

Judd spent six-and-a-half months at Alton for her alleged treasonous activities before being released for health reasons and banished to Minnesota by order of Secretary of War Edwin Stanton. Her release came against the advice of the Union army's commissary general of prisoners, William Hoffman, who considered Judd quite untrustworthy. Perhaps he knew best. Upon her release, Judd immediately booked passage on a steamer bound not for Minnesota but for Memphis. Once discovered, Judd was rearrested and brought back to Alton. Judd eventually arrived in Minnesota, but before the war's end she was arrested at least one more time and incarcerated in Kentucky on unspecified charges.[28]

While Clara Judd strongly denied the claims brought against her, other imprisoned women boldly admitted to serving the Confederate cause in whatever way they could, and readily accepted the fates imposed on them by Federal authorities. In June 1864, a scouting party from the Fourth Cavalry of the Missouri State Militia arrested four women in Saline County, Missouri. According to Captain W. L. Parker, who led the expedition, the women had provided food to "bushwhackers." To make matters worse, the four not only admitted that they would do it again but that they, in his words, "gloried in bushwhackers." Parker did not define how the women went about glorying in bushwhackers, but clearly the actions of these rebellious women had a distinct anti-Unionist tone. At least two of these women were sent to St. Louis and then to the Alton Prison for confinement; they remained imprisoned until February 1865.[29]



A graduate of West Point and veteran of the Mexican War, Edmund Kirby Smith (1824-1893) rose to become one of only seven full generals in the Confederate Army. Smith's command was over the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederate Army, leaving him largely cut off from the rest of the Confederacy after the fall of Vicksburg on July 4, 1863. When Smith surrendered his department to the Union May 26, 1865, it was the only Confederate field army of any consequence left. Smith fled to Mexico and Cuba to escape treason charges, but returned in November to take an oath of amnesty. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

Other women defiantly admitted their guilt to the charges brought against them. Sarah Bond proclaimed that she had fed guerrillas and would do it again.[30] According to the officer who first interrogated her, Nannie Douthitt was "rather candid and discloses being a spy." In a letter to Confederate major Tim Reeves, which was part of the evidence against her, she gave the following words of encouragement: "[M]ay success, glory, and honor crown your every exertion in promoting the interests of the South, adding one link to the gaining of independence."[31] And Susannah Justice, accused of being a guerrilla spy, claimed that "she was willing to do anything, go anywhere, and at any time at the risk of her life to aid the Guerrillas in ridding the country of the 'Feds.'"[32]

Justice's comments suggest that she acted more in response to the influx of Federal troops into Missouri rather than a commitment to the Confederate cause. Yet many women clearly pronounced their Confederate sentiments and their support for the Confederate nation. Arrested for passing through Federal lines without permission, Annie Martin assured that she "would not do anything while in the Federal lines to assist the Southern Confederacy, but when within the Confederate lines would

do all I could to aid the southern Confederacy. Because I believe them right, the people of the south."[33] Lucie Nickolson testified, "I would very much like to see the Southern Confederacy established and then live under Jeff. Davis."[34] Emma English refused to swear an oath of allegiance to the Federal government because "being a Southern sympathizer, and a '*Rebel from principle*,' it would be swearing to a lie."[35]

These testimonies suggest that many of the Confederate women arrested during the war acted from a sense of political conviction, whether it be in opposition to the policies of the Federal government or in support for the Confederacy. These women made conscious decisions to participate in the war, and the Federal army held the women accountable for their choices. To advance the cause they embraced, Confederate women often took extreme measures. These measures often cast them in roles in which they became direct participants in the military conduct of the war. A teenager from Madison County, Arkansas, Sarah Jane Smith devoted nearly two years to smuggling goods from Missouri to Confederate-occupied portions of her home state before expanding her activities to include sabotage. Caught in the act of cutting several miles of telegraph wire in southern Missouri, Smith first received a death sentence for the destruction. General William Rosecrans eventually commuted her sentence to imprisonment for the duration of the war, even though the teen boldly refused to deliver the names of others with whom she associated.[36]

For some Confederate women, imprisonment was not considered sufficient to halt their rebellious activities. Well-connected women of the region's elite class proved to be particularly troublesome. In proposing a plan to arrest a number of these women, Missouri Provost Marshall General Franklin A. Dick noted in March 1863:

> These women are wealthy and wield great influence; they are avowed and abusive enemies of the Government; they incite the young men to join the rebellion; their letters are filled with encouragement to their husbands and sons to continue the war; they convey information to them and by every possible contrivance they forward clothing and other support to the rebels. These disloyal women, too, seek every opportunity to keep disloyalty alive amongst rebel prisoners.

Dick recognized political power and influence in these women. Further, he did not think that power and influence, which he deemed "injurious and greatly so," could be halted with their imprisonment. He therefore recommended that the best way to stop these partisan activities was to banish the women to the Confederacy. A policy of leniency, Dick asserted, had "led these people," both male and female, "to believe that it is their 'constitutional' right to speak and conspire together as they may choose." He disagreed, and would not condone it.[37]

The first and best documented case of such banishment occurred on May 16, 1863. This group had been the focus of Franklin Dick's March 5 letter. On March 20, 1863, Margaret McLure, one of Absolom Grimes' most trusted Confederate mail couriers who had inherited a sizeable estate upon the death of her husband, became the first of this group arrested. For a few days McLure remained in one of the St. Louis prisons while Federal soldiers removed all her possessions from her Chestnut Street home and replaced them with simple cots, converting the residence into a temporary prison for women. They then relocated McLure to her house.[38]

Held at the newly designated prison along with McLure were Eliza Frost (wife of a Confederate general), Mrs. William Cooke (widow of a recently deceased Confederate congressman), and several other women with prominent Confederate connections arrested in April and early May. About a dozen were also confined until boarding a southbound steamer on the Mississippi River. By the end of 1863, at least six more large shipments of banished women departed from St. Louis for the South.[39]

Meanwhile, the number of women entering the military prisons continued to rise. Banishments beyond federal lines continued through the rest of the war, as women would be sent individually or in small groups. But banishments sent women in other directions as well. Imogen Brumfield, the widow of one of "Bloody Bill" Anderson's men, was exiled to Canada in early 1865.[40] Admitted spy Nannie Douthitt received an offer to have her sentence commuted provided she relocate to the Idaho Territory.[41] And a significant number of women were banished to "any of the free states, north & east of Springfield, Illinois, not to return to the State of Missouri during the rebellion without the consent of the Military authorities."[42]

The year 1864 marked an important turning point in the war. In the East, Ulysses S. Grant launched his overland campaign to destroy Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and to capture Richmond. In Georgia, William T. Sherman conducted his drive southward to occupy Atlanta and then to reach the Atlantic Ocean. In Missouri, the year witnessed an escalation of the war against partisan guerrillas, complicated by a Confederate invasion of the state that ultimately failed. These events necessitated an increased effort to destroy Confederate support. Thus, the flow of disloyal women arriving at the St. Louis-area prisons greatly accelerated in 1864, with at least 170 confined in that year alone. By that time, St. Louis's military prison personnel had grown accustomed to having women among their prison populations. Significantly, some women prisoners continued to exhibit the disloyalty and defiance against the Federal government that precipitated their arrests. Sarah Jane Smith could have been released from prison much sooner than she was if she had revealed the names of those with whom she conspired.[43] Many women accepted imprisonment for not only themselves but also their children rather than revealing the whereabouts of guerrillas operating in Missouri and elsewhere.[44] And some women intentionally found other ways to complicate their releases,

Missouri wasn't the only state ravaged by guerrilla warfare. Mosby's Raiders (the 43rd Battalion, Virginia Calvary) were controversial, even during the war. Small groups of men under Confederate Col. John Mosby staged quick raids against Union targets, then seemed to disappear into the local landscape of Southern farms and homes. Because of their unconventional tactics, many in the Union dubbed them "guerrillas," not unlike those in places like Missouri. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

necessitating their further incarceration. Florence Lundy, for instance, completed part of the sentence she received in Memphis for smuggling—six months imprisonment—but refused to comply with the rest of the sentence, paying a $3,000 fine, a sum well within her means. She even turned away offers from friends concerned with her health to pay the levy, preferring instead, in the words of a fellow inmate, to "let the Government vent the full force of its august and dignified anger on her own little person." Only when the friends paid the fine without her knowledge just days before the war's end did Lundy leave Alton Prison, more than a month after her prison term had expired.[45]

The most pressing question faced by prison authorities related to sufficient space to house the women. As the number of women prisoners swelled, prison officials temporarily used several existing structures located throughout the city as well as the regular military prisons to hold women. For instance, a residence confiscated from a William Dobyns held female prisoners in 1863. Likewise, a building on St. Charles Street on the north side of the city served as a women's prison from at least early January through October 1864. Margaret McLure's Chestnut Street home also underwent a revival as a women's prison in 1864. And the prisons on Gratiot Street and Myrtle Street regularly confined women throughout the rest of the war.[46]

By the latter half of 1864, demands mounted for a new site for a women's military prison, and in September a building across from the Gratiot Street structure was converted for this use. Only a month later, however, St. Louis' superintendent of military prisons began advocating yet another new prison to meet the space demands created by the arrests of more partisan women.[47] A partial solution to the overcrowding in the city prisons was to send some women facing longer sentences to Alton. Before 1864, the provost marshal and his superior in St. Louis had shown a

reluctance to do this. The decision to transfer these women to Alton was not an attempt to rid the city prisons of female prisoners. Rather, it reflected the reality that most of the women sent to Alton would be in custody for long periods of time, while more women would be arriving at the city's prisons in the future. By the end of the war, the Alton Prison would receive dozens of female prisoners, about half of whom came from Missouri by way of St. Louis.

Finally, banishment offered another method of easing the congestion in the women's prisons. As late as April 26, 1865, Department of the Missouri Commander Grenville Dodge ordered the removal of ten inmates from the Gratiot Street Female Prison, "to be sent beyond the lines of the U.S. Forces for disloyal practices." Even with the Confederacy in ruins, gasping its last breath, Dodge deemed these women, all Missourians arrested for aiding guerrillas, too dangerous to remain where they may cause further disruption to Federal authority.[48]

The presence of women in the St. Louis-region's prisons reveals that at least some Confederate women actively promoted secession and rebellion. These women had indeed located themselves amid the politics of rebellion by taking as their own the war against the Federal government, even if it meant arrest and imprisonment. Union officers had little time to be troubled by the potential disruption Confederate women's activities might cause to gender norms and the expectations of womanhood. Rather, authorities remained concerned about the threat the actions of these women posed to the Union war effort and to the authority of the Federal government. From overtly sympathizing with and giving moral support to the Confederacy to more direct insurgency such as smuggling communications and contraband, sabotage, spying, and even enlisting in the Confederate service, Southern women both expressed and acted on the politics they embraced.[49] Through their actions and deeds, Confederate women risked their personal liberty and lives to further their cause. Rather than being viewed as victims of the war, these women should be recognized as public actors who hazarded all in the name of the Confederacy.

After a guerrilla attack at Lawrence, Kansas, known as the Lawrence Massacre, Union General Thomas Ewing accused pro-Confederate farmers in western Missouri of supporting and instigating the attack, so issued General Order No. 11, portrayed here by George Caleb Bingham. General Order No. 11 forced everyone not loyal to the Union to evacuate the region, and their properties were burned. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

NOTES

[1] Griffin Frost, *Camp and Prison Journal* (Iowa City, Iowa: Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, 1994 reprint [1867]), 40, 196.

[2] This study utilized several collections from the National Archives, Washington, D.C., including Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Related to Individual Civilians [M 345], Record Group 109 [hereafter cited as Individual Civilians File]; Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Two or More Civilians [M 416], Record Group 109 [hereafter cited as Two or More Civilians File]; and Selected Records of the War Department Relating to Confederate Prisoners of War, 1861-1865 [M 598], Record Group 109 [hereafter cited as Alton Prison Records]; as well as *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901) [hereafter cited as *O. R.*]. Also of particular use were the wartime issues of the *Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis).

[3] Recent studies concerning women's direct contributions to the war effort include Elizabeth D. Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier: Women of the Civil War Armies* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999); DeAnne Blanton and Lauren M. Cook, *They Fought Like Demons: Women Soldiers in the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002); and LeeAnn Whites and Alecia P. Long, eds., *Occupied Women: Gender, Military Occupation, and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009).

[4] Little has been written about female Confederate prisoners. In his Pulitzer Prize-winning study, *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), Mark E. Neely, Jr. argues that the number of women arrested during the war was inconsequential. Thomas P. Lowry's *Confederate Heroines: 120 Southern Women Convicted by Union Military Justice* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006) looks at a limited number of women arrested by the Federal army during the war, some of whom are part of the present study. Lowry limits his research primarily to the Records of the Judge Advocate General's Office (Army), Record Group 153, National Archives, Washington, D.C., which often do not tell the entire story of the arrests, confinements, and ultimate fates of the women prisoners. In a recent essay LeeAnn Whites investigates a particular group of wealthy women arrested in St. Louis and banished to the South in 1863, but her study overlooks the women who came into custody before those she looks at and the many more who came later. See "'Corresponding with the Enemy': Mobilizing the Relational Field of Battle in St. Louis" in *Occupied Women*, 103-16.

[5] Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," *American Historical Review* 89 (June 1984): 622.

[6] For the best work on St. Louis during the war see Louis Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001).

[7] *Missouri Democrat*, August 15, 1861; *O. R.*, I, 3: 442, 466-67.

[8] *Missouri Democrat*, October 21, 1861; Individual Civilians Files, Roll 40, Mrs. Burke.

[9] *Missouri Democrat*, May 15, June 16, June 20, June 21, May 3, July 11, August 14, April 16, April 17, April 18, and April 29, 1862; Individual Civilians File, Roll 18, Mrs. Fanny Barron.

[10] *Missouri Democrat*, July 14, 1862.

[11] *Missouri Democrat*, December 5, December 6, December 7, and December 11, 1861; Individual Civilians File, Roll 278, Nicholas Walton.

[12] *Missouri Democrat*, December 28, 1861; Individual Civilians File, Roll 57, Bridget Connors; Two or More Civilians File, Roll 93.

[13] Individual Civilians File, Roll 196, Isadora Morrison; *Missouri Democrat*, July 28, 1862.

[14] Individual Civilians File, Roll 295, Mary Wolf; Individual Civilians File, Roll 52, Lucinda Clark.

[15] Individual Civilians File, Roll 89, Mrs. Catherine Farrell; *Missouri Democrat*, September 1, 1862.

[16] *Missouri Democrat*, September 4, 1862; Telephone interview, Olly Sappington, July 18, 2000; *O.R.*, II, 4: 486. The author thanks Mr. Sappington for the biographical information he provided for both Drucilla and William David Sappington. In *Civil War St. Louis*, 178, Gerteis erroneously identifies Drucilla as Jane Sappington, the wife of former governor John Sappington and mother-in-law of Claiborne Jackson. Jane Sappington died a decade prior. See Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*, 66, n22, 214.

The *Missouri Democrat*, September 8, 1862, identified the officer at Drucilla's house as Colonel John C. Boone, but Confederate mail carrier Absolom Grimes identified him as Hampton Boone. See Absolom Grimes, *Absolom Grimes, Confederate Mail Carrier*, ed. M.M. Quaife (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926), 75.

[17] *Missouri Democrat*, September 17, 1862; Two or More Civilians File, Roll 93; Grimes, *Absolom Grimes*, 75, 85-93.

[18] *Missouri Democrat*, October 14, 1862, 14 May, 1863; *O.R.*, I, 34, 2: 1077.

[19] *O. R.*, II, 1: 247-49.

[20] Individual Civilians File, Roll 152, Bridget Kelly.

[21] *Missouri Democrat*, August 8, 1862.

[22] *Missouri Democrat*, August 13 and August 14, 1862; Individual Civilians File, Roll 16, Mary M. Barclay.

[23] *Missouri Democrat*, June 20 and June 21, 1862.

[24] *O.R.*, II, 5: 227, 621; Individual Civilians File, Roll 149, Clara Judd (see also *O. R.*, II, 6: 621-24).

[25] *O.R.*, II, 5: 621.

[26] *O.R.*, II, 5: 624.

[27] *O. R.*, II, 5: 621.

[28] Individual Civilians File, Roll 149, Clara Judd; *Missouri Democrat*, August 18, 1863; *The Valley Herald* (Chaska, Minnesota), August 29, 1863, April 1, 1865.

[29] *O. R.*, I, 34, 1: 994-95; Register of Civilian Prisoners, March 1863-June 1864 (Roll 15), Alton Prison Records; *Missouri Democrat*, March 1, 1865.

[30] Individual Civilians File, Roll 30, Sarah Bond.

[31] Individual Civilians File, Roll 76, Nannie Douthitt; General Orders, No. 190, October 6, 1864, in U.S. Army, *General Orders of the Department of the Missouri, 1864* [In two parts, Part II] (St. Louis: R.P. Studley & Co., Printers, 1864).

[32] Individual Civilians File, Role 149, Susannah Justice.

[33] Individual Civilians File, Roll 176, Annie B. Martin. Martin first traveled from St. Louis beyond the lines with her sister Theresa Blannerhassett, who was banished from St. Louis in October 1863.

[34] Individual Civilians File, Roll 203, Lucie Nickolson.

[35] Individual Civilians File, Roll 85, Emma English.

[36] Individual Civilians File, Roll 251, Sarah Jane Smith; Frost, *Camp and Prison Journal*, 207, 217.

[37] *O.R.*, II, 5: 319-21.

[38] Mrs. P. G. Robert, "History of Events Preceding and Following the Banishment of Mrs. Margaret A. E. McLure, as Given to the Author Herself" in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri During the Sixties* (St. Louis: United Daughters of the Confederacy, Missouri Division, 1929), 78-79; Individual Civilian File, Roll 186, Margaret McLure; Grimes, *Absolom Grimes*, 76-77.

[39] *Missouri Democrat*, May 9 and May 14, 1863.

[40] Individual Civilians File, Roll 38, Imogen Brumfield; *Missouri Democrat*, January 19, 1865.

[41] Individual Civilians File, Roll 76, Nannie Douthitt; General Orders, No. 190, October 6, 1864, in U.S. Army, *General Orders of the Department of the Missouri, 1864* [In two parts, Part II].

[42] See, for example, Individual Civilians File, Roll 254, Mary Simpson.

[43] Individual Civilians File, Roll 251, Sarah Jane Smith.

[44] Records reflect that some women had their children with them in the prisons, but little other information is available.

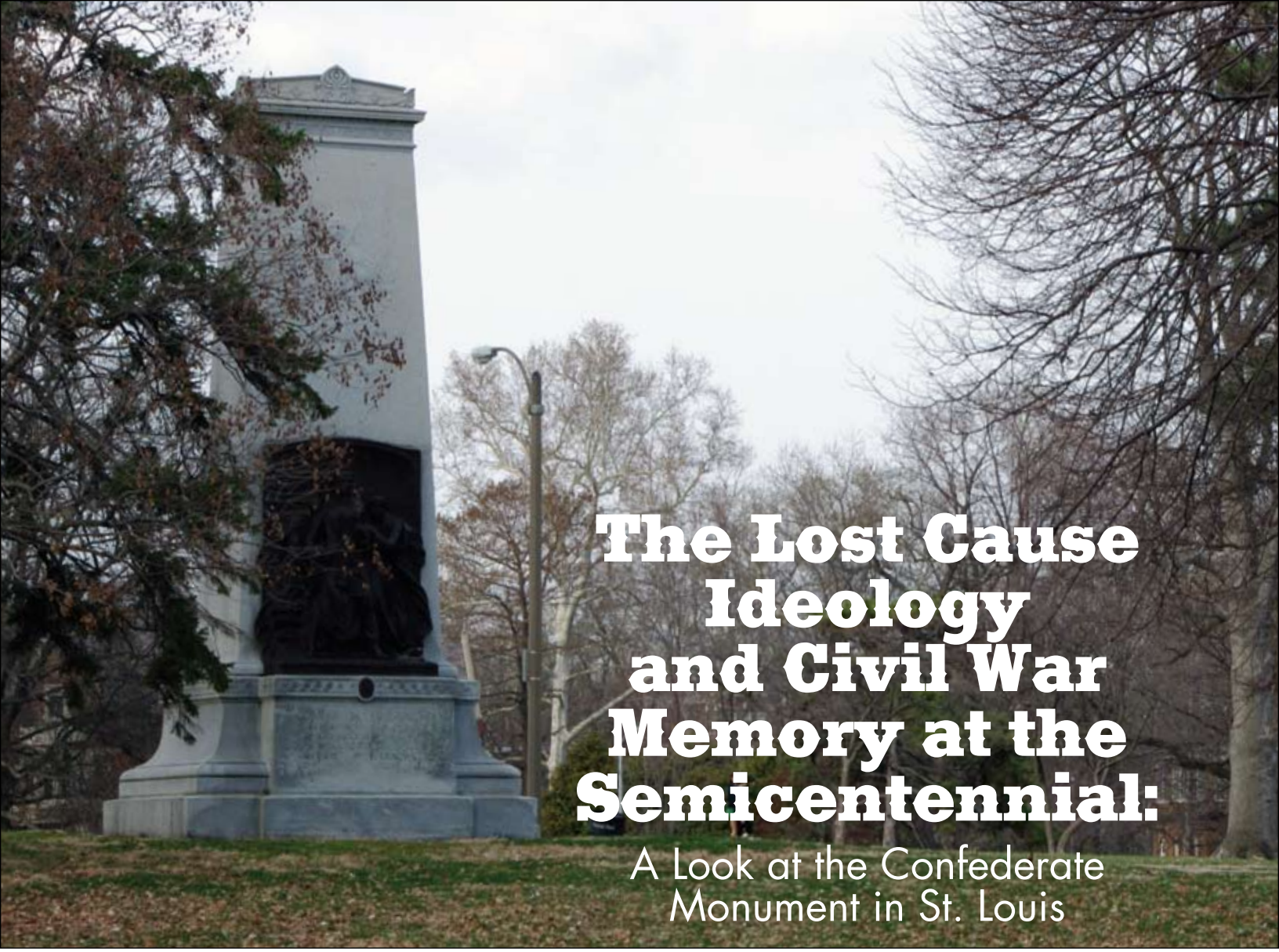
[45] Register of Civilian Prisoners, March 1863-June 1864; Register of Confederate and Federal Soldiers and Civilians Sentenced, No. 5, January 1863-July 1864, p. 16, both (Roll 15) Alton Prison Records; Frost, *Camp and Prison Journal*, 240 (quote).

[46] *Missouri Democrat*, June 12, 1863, October 22, 1864; Individual Civilians File, Edward Dobyns (Roll 74); *New York Herald*, June 30, 1863; Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri during the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 221.

[47] *O.R.*, II, 7: 772, 1019, 1142; *Missouri Democrat*, October 22, 1864.

[48] *Missouri Democrat*, April 29, 1865.

[49] At least one woman investigated here, Mary Ann Pitman, claimed to have served in the Confederate army disguised as a man. See *O.R.*, II, 7: 345. For more on women who disguised themselves as men and joined the army during the Civil War, see Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldiers*, and Blanton and Cook, *They Fought like Demons*.



The Lost Cause Ideology and Civil War Memory at the Semicentennial:

A Look at the Confederate Monument in St. Louis

BY PATRICK BURKHARDT

In the "Letters from the People" section of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* on December 5, 1912, a St. Louisan identified only as J.A.L. asked the question, "Are We One Nation?" J.A.L. went on to express his resentment that Union monuments had been raised in parks all over the country, but whenever or wherever a Confederate monument was suggested, people protested. J.A.L. said, "Then they have the nerve to say there is no North and South; we are all one! Well it don't look like it to me, not by a long way."[1] Although fifty years had passed since the start of the American Civil War, many in the country still harbored bad feelings, and there were very different perceptions of how the Civil War should be remembered.

The ideology of the Lost Cause is responsible for creating these divided memories of the Civil War and emancipation; one memory is of forgiveness and forgetting and another is of change and equality. The influence of the Lost Cause ideology can be seen leading up to the semicentennial anniversary of the Civil War. The controversy over both the Confederate monument in St. Louis' Forest Park and the monument itself provide an excellent example of that contest between reconciliationist and emancipationist memories and how the Lost Cause ideology shaped the popular memory of the Civil War by the time of the Civil War semicentennial.

The Lost Cause is the name given to the literary and intellectual movement that attempted to reconcile the Southern white society with the end of the Confederate States of America after its defeat in the Civil War. Civil War historian David Blight defines the Lost Cause ideology as "a public memory, a cult of the fallen soldier, a righteous political cause defeated only by a superior industrial might, a heritage community awaiting its exodus, and a people forming a collective identity as victims and survivors."[2] The Lost Cause ideology sought to reverse the idea that the Civil War had been a "War of Rebellion" and characterized the South as a region victimized by "Northern aggression." John H. Reagan, former Confederate cabinet member, said that ex-Confederates were not responsible for starting African

"The Gates of Opportunity," designed by George Zolnay (1863-1949) in University City, held the promise of a thriving area, despite appearances when completed in 1909. Today, the gates stand amidst a populated University City. *(Image: Christopher Duggan)*

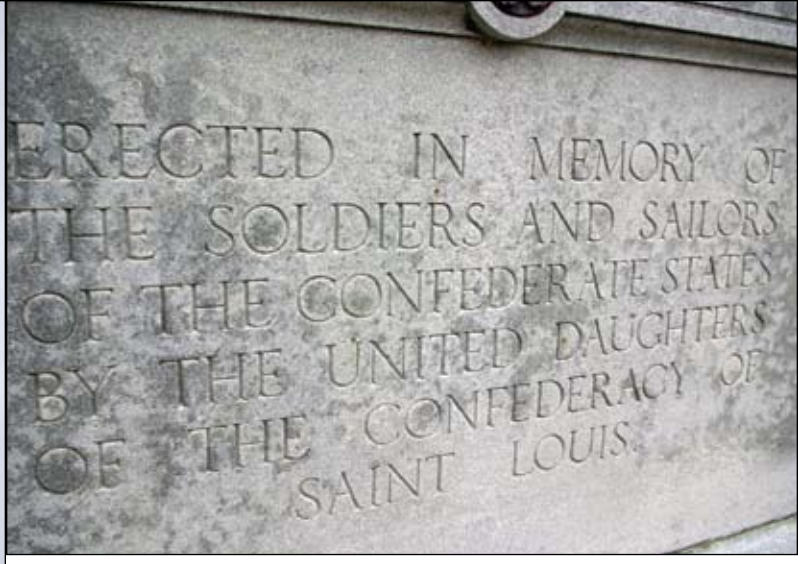
slavery and were not responsible for the existence of the "Great War," which was the result of the agitation of slavery.[3] Confederate veterans believed that the South fought from what the editors of the *Richmond Dispatch* described as a "sense of rights under the Constitution and a conscientious conviction of the justice of their position."[4] They believed the Confederacy was a noble cause that would have succeeded had it not been trampled by what Virginia Governor Charles T. O'Ferrall called the "juggernaut wheels of superior numbers and merciless power."[5] To rationalize their belief that they were the victims of the Civil War, those associated with the Lost Cause had to believe what they fought for was noble and justified by the Constitution. The Lost Cause ideology also projected the belief that the Founding Fathers left the question of slavery unanswered, and the South sacrificed itself to find an answer.

Monuments to Confederate soldiers, such as the Confederate monument in St. Louis designed by famous Civil War monument sculptor George Julian Zolnay, played a major role in spreading the Lost Cause ideology. Zolnay was well known in St. Louis for designing the lions at the Delmar Boulevard gateway in University City and the statue of Pierre Laclede in City Hall Park in downtown St. Louis. Zolnay was also known nationally for his work all across the South on Confederate monuments of fabled Confederate spy Sam Davis, General Charles Barton, General Lafayette McLaws, Duncan Jacob, and Jefferson and Winnie Davis.[6] Zolnay's design for the St. Louis Confederate monument, of a Southern man about to leave for battle, won the competition held by the Ladies Confederate Monument Association in November of 1912 for a $20,000 memorial to be built in Forest Park.

After the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, George Zolnay received more commissions locally, including this sculpture of one of St. Louis' founders, Piere Laclede, which now stands in front of the St. Louis City Hall at Market and Tucker streets. *(Image: Christopher Duggan)*

The Ladies Association imposed a bizarre condition on the artists in the competition. According to the *Post-Dispatch*, the women decided to break from the conventional style of soldiers' monuments and to avoid provoking any possible antagonism by imposing a

The Confederate Memorial still stands today in a secluded area of Forest Park, on the north side of the park just east of the Visitor's Center. *(Image: Christopher Duggan)*



This inscription on the side of the Memorial reflected the Lost Cause ideology that sought to recast the defeat of the Confederacy in the decades following the war's end. *(Image: Christopher Duggan)*

restriction that no figure of a Confederate soldier or object of modern warfare should be in the design.[7] When hearing of Zolnay's victory, his fellow artist in the competition, Frederick W. Ruckstuhl of New York, was furious and wrote a letter to the Ladies Association claiming that Zolnay came too close to representing a soldier, which violated the conditions of the contest. Ruckstuhl demanded that Zolnay's design be eliminated from the competition. When George Zolnay heard of Ruckstuhl's letter, he wrote the Ladies Association calling Ruckstuhl's actions a "contemptible procedure," and said, "Mr. Ruckstuhl's design was suitable for a wedding cake."[8] This would not be the only controversy over the St. Louis Confederate monument.

On the north face of the monument, Zolnay inscribed a quote from Dr. R.C. Cave, a St. Louis lecturer and writer. Cave was a Confederate veteran who served under General Stonewall Jackson. Cave authored the book *The Men in Gray* and was the pastor of a popular non-sectarian church in the Central West End of St. Louis. The inscription on the monument reads:

> To the memory of the soldiers and sailors of the Southern Confederacy, who fought to uphold the right declared by the pen of Jefferson and achieved by the sword of Washington. With sublime self-sacrifice, they battled to preserve the independence of the states, which was won from Great Britain, and to perpetuate the constitutional government, which was established by the fathers. Actuated by the purest patriotism they performed deeds of prowess such as thrilled the heart of mankind with admiration. "Full in the front of war they stood," and displayed a courage so superb that it gave a new and brighter luster to the annals of valor. History contains no chronicle more illustrious than the story of their achievements; and although, worn out by ceaseless conflict and overwhelmed by numbers, they were finally forced to yield. Their glory, on brightest pages penned by poets and by sages, shall go sounding down the ages.

Below Cave's quote, Zolnay also inscribed a quote credited to Robert E. Lee that says, "We had sacred principles to maintain and rights to defend for which we were in duty bound to do our best, even if we perished in the endeavor." On the southern face of the monument is a figure in low relief, appearing as a spirit floating out of the granite, representing the spirit of the South. Below that, in bronze, is the figure of a Southern man, compelled by the spirit, as he leaves his home and family to enlist in the struggle. To emphasize the martial spirit of the Southern people, Zolnay included with the family a child looking

When the Confederate monument was erected in Forest Park, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, founded in 1894, was already almost twenty years old. Its emblem at the time, pictured here, appeared on the side of the monument. *(Image: Christopher Duggan)*

up to the man and handing him a symbol of their cause, the Confederate flag.[9] Below the relief is an inscription that reads: "Erected in memory of the soldiers and sailors of the Confederate States by the United Daughters of the Confederacy of St. Louis." The St. Louis Confederate monument is the embodiment of the Lost Cause ideology. The Cave and Lee quotes specifically reflect the Lost Cause attitude that the South fought to uphold the principles of Jefferson, Washington, and the Constitution. Erecting public monuments became a central method by which Southerners of the Lost Cause could rewrite the history of the Civil War from the Confederate perspective by unveiling their monuments with elaborate rituals and rhetoric. The monuments themselves display inscriptions that speak of honor, courage, duty, states' rights, and Northern aggression. Lost Cause women's organizations such as the UDC commissioned Confederate sculptures and staged elaborate unveilings in the hope of preserving a positive memory of antebellum life.[10]

Debate Over the St. Louis Monument

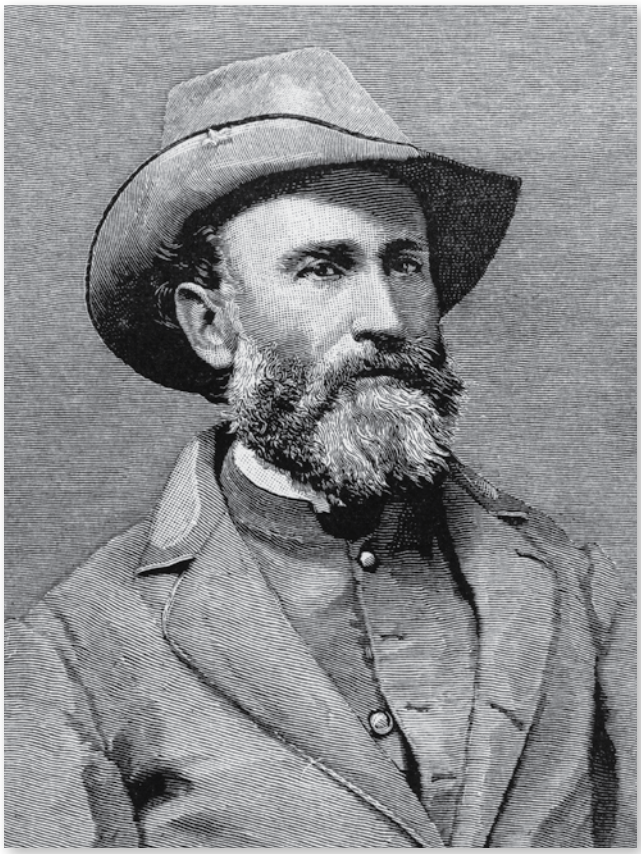
In the decade prior to the semicentennial of the Civil War, the very different reconciliationist and white supremacist memory combined into a powerful influence and served as a counterbalance to the social and economic changes of the new century.[11] Civil War veteran reunions and Civil War monument unveilings during the semicentennial celebrations served as public gestures of social cohesions. The image of the Confederate and Union soldiers clasping hands became a popular, unifying symbol during a time of social upheaval with race riots, labor strikes, and class antagonism. The fact that commercial flag makers produced Confederate battle flags at this time shows there was nostalgia for the battlefields and plantations of the past.[12]

However, the Confederate flag was not universally accepted, as was seen in St. Louis when the city council voted against the Confederate monument in late November 1912, because of the rebel flag in the design. Councilman William R. Protzmann believed that "flaunting the bloody flag in the face of the Unionists" would open up new wounds.[13] Council President John H. Gundlach, on the other hand, could not believe that there were still sectional feelings left and reasoned that museums might as well remove all pictures of historic occurrences if a Confederate flag appears in them.[14] The designer of the monument, George Julian Zolnay, shared Gundlach's

This larger-than-life sculpture depicting a man leaving his family to join the Confederate cause created further controversy over the monument. The family is on the south side of the monument, appropriately. *(Image: Christopher Duggan)*

sentiments and said, "As far as the flag is concerned, it can be removed, but whether I shall is another question. The flag was put on there to represent the Confederacy," and without the flag, in a thousand years, an observer would not know what the monument represented.[15]

Differing opinion on the Confederate flag was not limited to those who were deciding the fate of the monument. St. Louis residents' feelings about the monument could be read in the editorial section of the *Post-Dispatch*. One editorial made the point that the Confederate flag symbolized a dead cause and that it would make as much sense to attempt to erase the Confederate flag, and the cause it symbolized, from the pages of history as to insist upon removing the flag from memorials to the Confederate dead. The editorial staff asked, "Why should not their memorials—with uniforms and emblems—stand side by side in public places, North and South? Would Lincoln or Grant or Lee or Davis or any of the heroes of the Civil War object?"[16]



Jubal Anderson Early (1816-1894) served in the Confederate Army under Stonewall Jackson and Robert E. Lee. He wrote a series of articles for the Southern Historical Society in the 1870s that formed the literary foundation for the Lost Cause ideology. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

Two days later in the *Post-Dispatch*, another editorial called St. Louisans to march on other Confederate memorials all over the country, many of them displaying not only the Confederate flag, but the Confederate uniform and said, "There are Confederate flags and other relics in historical museums—why not march on these hotbeds of sedition?"[17] The editorial blamed the federal government for forgetting the past and overlooking the danger that lurks in returning the flags to the South to be preserved as relics and said St. Louis' loyalty to the Union must not be tarnished by tolerance and good will toward the Confederacy. This editorial was satirical. On the same page as this editorial is a political cartoon featuring people fleeing the monument in terror and a caption reading, "Look Out! Here Come the Rebels," which was meant to mock the fear of a Confederate conspiracy in the editorial piece. This is not the last time a *Post-Dispatch* editorial would effect the monument in Forest Park.

The Grand Army of the Republic's response to the Confederate monument was one of reconciliation. Shortly after the city council voted against the monument, Thomas B. Rodgers, assistant adjutant-general of the Division of Missouri GAR, made a statement to the *Post-Dispatch* that the GAR as an organization would not protest the monument being placed in Forest Park because many of the members only had indifferent consideration towards the monument. Rodgers said that the GAR was of the opinion that a national cemetery like Jefferson Barracks would be a better location than Forest Park, but that would not be enough to protest the monument. However, Rodgers said that some members of the GAR might oppose the monument, and that a few of them said they did, but that no protest against the Confederate monument would take place from the society of men who fought the Confederacy.[18]

However, Rodgers was correct that there were members of the GAR who opposed the Confederate monument in Forest Park. Francis P. Becker, a member of the Council of Administration of the GAR, opposed Confederate monuments anywhere, but since they could not be stopped, Becker opposed having them in public parks. Becker suggested that if there should be a Confederate monument in St. Louis it should be at Jefferson Barracks, where Confederate soldiers are buried.[19] The Frank P. Blair Post of the GAR sent an oppositional letter after the city council passed the bill allowing the monument in Forest Park. The letter said that the design was unpatriotic and offensive to Unionists and that allowing such a monument in a public park was comparable to glorifying the British flag.[20]

The organizations allied with GAR also opposed the Confederate monument in Forest Park. Dr. F.W. Groffman of the council of the Sons of Veterans, said, "The Confederacy is a lost cause, and we feel that those who supported it should abandon it."[21] Groffman acknowledged the reconciliationist spirit that was pervasive in the United States, but discussed how in some parts of the South there were objections to placing the United States flag on school buildings, and stated that he therefore opposed permitting

the Ladies Monument Association placing a monument commemorating an attack on the government in a public park. These sentiments show that there was a divided Civil War memory and opposition to the Lost Cause ideology.

Nationally, there were similar controversies over Confederate monuments and memorials, but sometimes the debates were between sympathizers of the Lost Cause. The Stonewall Jackson statue in Richmond, Virginia, dedicated on October 26, 1875, was the first significant monument to a Confederate war hero. Virginia Governor James L. Kemper was the grand marshal of the unveiling ceremonies and asked the leaders of the Confederate veterans to restrain their display of battle flags, so as to not give Northern Republicans another "bloody flag" to waive. Jubal Early, Confederate general and propagator of the term Lost Cause, complained to Kemper about black militia companies and civilians being allowed in the parade procession and threatened to encourage other Confederate veterans to boycott them as well. Kemper told Early to mind his own business. Black militia officers and ministers in Richmond petitioned to take part in the procession. In an effort to appease both parties, Kemper placed the black militia companies and civilians in the very rear of the several-miles-long parade. The black militia companies refused to march, and the only African Americans who participated were a small group of former slaves who had been in Jackson's brigade during the war.[22]

Emancipationist Memory and the African American Perspective

In both Civil War mythology and the actual national memory of the war, the Lost Cause became necessary to national reunion. The United Daughters of the Confederacy reached the height of its power during the semicentennial by funding Confederate monuments, fighting to control Southern history textbooks, lobbying congressmen, and holding essay contests where young Southern children could write about the "truth" of the Lost Cause.[23] As a result of these actions by Lost Cause groups like the UCV and the UDC, the South's Lost Cause mythology garnered a surprisingly wide appeal. These groups won over a large segment of the American historical memory, and the "loss" in the Civil War by the South became transformed for many, even including Northerners, into a "victory" over the experiment of Reconstruction.[24] There was no place for slavery in the way in which most Americans found meaning in the Civil War, and white supremacist memory combined with reconciliation to dominate how most Americans viewed the war.[25]

However, by winning a "victory" over Reconstruction, the Lost Cause created a segregated society in the South, and that society required a segregated historical memory and a national mythology that could contain the conflict at the heart of that segregation.[26] The Lost Cause ideology had opponents such as Fredrick Douglass, author Albion Tourgee, several different reformist newspapers, black churches and intellectuals, and even the fringe of the Republican Party. They were all trying to keep an emancipationist, Unionist legacy alive.[27] By the time of the Civil War semicentennial, Emancipation Day celebrations were as popular as the Fourth of July in some African-American communities, as an occasion both to celebrate culture and to be entertained.[28]

In St. Louis, the African American community seemed to be more concerned with protesting the Jim Crow segregation laws proposed in the city rather than the Confederate monument. The proposed segregation laws made it illegal for whites or blacks to live on a block that was predominately inhabited by the opposite race and imposed a five- to fifty-dollar fine for each day that the ordinance was violated.[29] Unfortunately, the two St. Louis African American newspapers published at that time, the *Argus* and the *Advance*, are not preserved on microfilm before 1915, so it is impossible to tell if the Confederate monument in Forest Park was as hotly protested as the segregation laws.

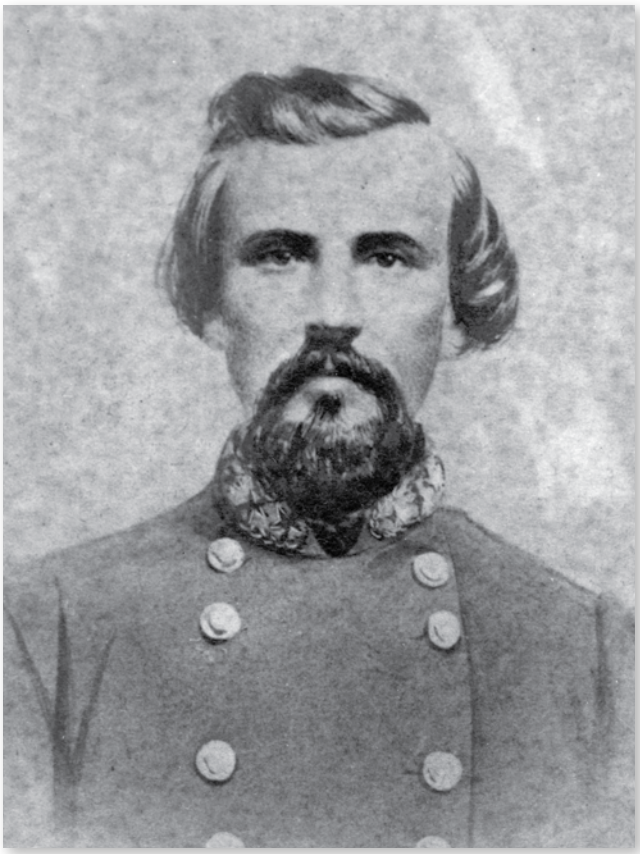
Despite the small number of objections to the flag and placement, and the half-hearted response from the GAR and African American community in St. Louis, it was a *Post-Dispatch* editorial that would ultimately decide the fate of the Confederate monument. Just a few days before the city council was to vote on the Confederate monument in Forest Park, a *Post-Dispatch* editorial asked, "Will St. Louis Offend Southerners?" The editorial suggested that the city council was endangering the business welfare of St. Louis by refusing to allow the Confederate monument in Forest Park. It said that trade with the South was of primary importance and claimed the South can get along better without St. Louis than St. Louis can get along without the South. The editorial also warned against the danger of the boards of trade in Southern cities passing resolutions against St. Louis.[30]

Two days later, Councilman William Edward Caulfield said that he would vote in favor of the monument because the editorial held great weight with him. Councilman Henry Rower also said that the editorial showed how St. Louis might injure its trade with the South.[31] When the bill passed to allow the Confederate monument in Forest Park by a vote of nine to two, Councilman Paul Fletcher, one of the two men who voted against the monument, charged that the *Post-Dispatch* editorial coerced the Council. Rower responded by saying, "I was not coerced, wise men sometimes change their minds, but fools never."[32] Once approved by the city council, the Confederate monument in Forest Park was built in just less than two years.

The Unveiling of the St. Louis Monument

The dedication took place on December 5, 1914, in St. Louis' Forest Park with a crowd of about 500 people in attendance. The proceedings leading up to the unveiling were about a half-mile northwest of the monument in the Thomas Jefferson Memorial. Captain Frank Gaiennie of the St. Louis Police Department was the master of ceremonies, and Dr. H.C. Atkinson welcomed the visitors.

General Bennett H. Young, National Commander of the United Confederate Veterans, was the principal speaker. Young was notorious at the time for his book *Confederate Wizards of the Saddle*, which chronicles the successful Confederate cavalrymen and battles during the Civil War, especially praising Nathan Bedford Forrest as a fierce, natural-born leader equaled by no other Confederate leader. Forrest and the massacre at Fort Pillow, in which Union soldiers (many of whom were African American) were slaughtered after they had surrendered had been an obstacle to the ideology of the Lost Cause because it had made the Southern whites' campaign of idealizing and ennobling the Confederate cause more difficult. To combat the stigma of Fort Pillow, historians and journalists of the Lost Cause praised Forrest and denied that a massacre had taken place. Young's book was part of that Lost Cause ideology. Rather than devoting an entire chapter to Forrest's raid on Fort Pillow, Young only mentions the massacre a few times as "amply disproved by overwhelming testimony," and as propaganda to anger black Union troops. Young also mentions Fort Pillow as an example of Forrest's ingenuity because Forrest was greatly outnumbered and managed to trick the Union forces into surrendering. [33]



Nathan Bedford Forrest (1821-1877) of Tennessee was a major proponent of the Lost Cause, but also loathed by Northerners who saw him as a war criminal after the massacre at Fort Pillow. He was an active and violent member of the Ku Klux Klan and may have been its first grand wizard. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

In his speech, Young paid special tribute to Missouri Confederates such as Joseph Shelby, John Marmaduke, and Sterling Price, but specifically those who fought under the command of Francis M. Cockrell at the second Battle of Franklin, Tennessee, where 657 Missourians came under fire and only about 200 returned home.[34] Young also said, "The 600,000 Southern men who served under the Confederate flag fought with bitter determination to win and the beautiful monument was a fitting tribute to their memory."[35] After Young's speech, the First Regiment band, in United States uniforms, played "Maryland, My Maryland," and the Reverend James W. Lee said the benediction. General Seymour Stewart, Commander in Chief of the Sons of United Confederate Veterans, also spoke, and Mrs. Mary Fairfax Childs read an original poem titled "The Boys that Wore the Gray."

After the proceedings in the Thomas Jefferson Memorial, the crowd moved to the Confederate monument, where Alexander H. Major, Jr., president of the Betty S. Robert Chapter of the Sons of United Confederate Veterans, and Dean McDavis, president of the Robert E. Lee Chapter, pulled the chords to unveil the monument. The First Regiment band played "Dixie" while the men removed their hats and the crowd cheered. George Julian Zolnay, designer of the monument, then spoke and said, "The erection of a monument entails more responsibility than that of any other edifice or building, in that while all other buildings, art, literature, etc., might pass away, a monument remains forever."[36] Mrs. H. N. Spencer, chairman of the St. Louis Confederate Monument Association, delivered a brief address presenting the monument to the city and closing the unveiling ceremony. Spencer praised Missouri's "Southern sentiment" and said that she was part of a group of women representing every Southern state that brought love and loyalty to the traditions of the South, and the St. Louis Confederate monument was the embodiment of that love and loyalty.[37] The St. Louis Confederate monument unveiling at the semicentennial of the Civil War represents the effectiveness of the Lost Cause ideology in controlling the history and memory of the Civil War.

Two Conflicting Speeches

When read together, a divided Civil War memory is represented by two speeches delivered in St. Louis about the Confederate monument in Forest Park. The first speech, given at the unveiling of the Confederate monument by Seymour Stewart, Commander in Chief of the Sons of the Confederate Veterans, focused on the bronze relief on the southern face of the monument. Stewart said that the sculpture of an average southern home, without depictions of weapons or battles, neither a mansion nor a shack, told the story that was going on in

all of the homes across the Confederacy. Stewart likened the scene depicted in the sculpture to Egypt of Scripture where the angel of death took the life of every first-born child; Stewart believed that Southern mothers and wives made a nobler sacrifice than "all the legends of heroic mythology."[38]

Stewart said a Southern man would leave his family and home because

> "this man came of a race that would sacrifice its all for one thing—duty. This race prized above all things, above happiness, above wealth, above comfort, one treasure—liberty. His native land was invaded; the oppressor's heel was at his door. His liberty was assailed, and duty called him to action. No sacrificial love here dedicating him to an unholy cause, but the spirit of freedom, inherited from his ancestors, sent him forth."[39]

Stewart also believed that the Confederate monument was a tribute to a just and holy cause because it was compatible with American institutions such as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Stewart also discussed the behavior of the vanquished Confederate soldier after the war. Stewart said, "Did he retire vanquished yet sullen? Did he inspire rebellion, excite insurrection, urge guerrilla warfare? Not he! Within a shorter time than history has recorded in similar cases the soldier became the farmer, the clerk, the merchant, the teacher, the laborer, the professional man. What a metamorphosis!"[40] Stewart believed this was the result of the high ethical principles of the South during Reconstruction. Stewart also praised the Southern women depicted in the monument. Stewart said of the Southern woman, "She knitted, she sewed, she patched, and, almost impossible of belief, she, with a few faithful house servants, managed the plantation. She taught her children. When I think of her magnificent deeds, I feel that she is entitled to the most beautiful monument that can be erected."[41] Stewart's speech reveals the Lost Cause ideology that the noble Southern man fought a righteous cause justified by the Founding Fathers.

In contrast to Stewart's speech, George W. Bailey, Union Captain of the Sixth Infantry Missouri Volunteers, gave a speech to the Grand Army of the Republic Ransom Post, No. 131, focusing on the inscription written by Dr. R.C. Cave on the northern face of the St. Louis Confederate monument. Bailey said,

> "This inscription appears indefinite and unsatisfactory, as stating but half the truth, or as a mere conclusion from connected facts not stated, and apparently well calculated to confuse rather than to educate. It ignores utterly all the essential facts and circumstances inseparably connected with the subject—matter and a consideration of which is absolutely necessary to an intelligent comprehension of the same."[42]

Bailey began by addressing and dispelling the passage about the Confederacy fighting for the rights declared by Jefferson's pen and won by Washington's sword by reading quotes from Jefferson and Washington referring to their convictions about the preservation and unity of the national government. Bailey predicted that the public displays of Union and Confederate veterans coming together as friends in peace would be deeply regretted as an unpatriotic blunder. Bailey asked, "What would our people think of the spectacle of monuments erected in our public parks to gratify our British, our Mexican, and our Spanish citizens and proclaiming and teaching that in the wars with their respective countries the respective cause of our enemies were just and necessarily implying that our government was wrong in defending itself against those who would defeat or destroy it!"[43]

Bailey also took issue with the passage, "[The Confederacy] battled to perpetuate the Constitutional Government which was established by the Fathers," because it implies that Lincoln and the Union were battling to overthrow the constitutional

George W. Bailey was active in the Grand Army of the Republic, a fraternal organization for Union veterans formed after the Civil War. It became one of the first advocacy groups in American politics, including its work for pensions for Union veterans starting in the 1880s. It was the model for other veterans groups organized around local posts, such as the American Legion. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

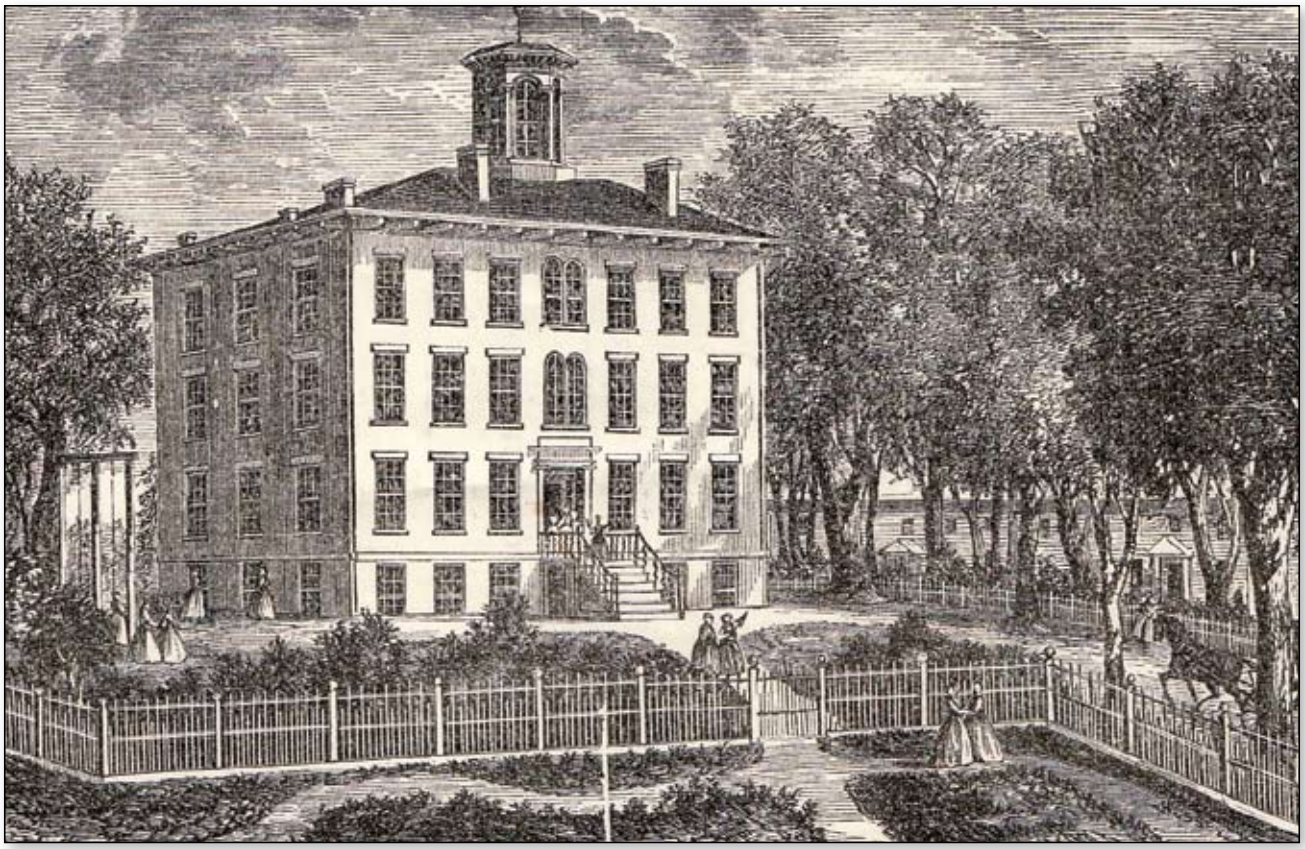
government of the Founding Fathers. Bailey sarcastically said, "Every encyclopedia and every standard history that have been published and distributed throughout the civilized world during the last half century should be immediately recalled and revised and made to conform to the 'truth' as sanctified and certified by a select little coterie of individuals on a Confederate Monument in St. Louis!" Bailey believed that the acceptance of that statement would be a very serious matter if it were not so ridiculous that even school children would read it as "a joke, or a laughable historical blunder."[44] Bailey then quoted Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, and Vice President Alexander Stephens as saying that their government was founded on the opposite theory of the constitutional government of the Founding Fathers. This speech by George Bailey shows that the influence of the Lost Cause ideology was not all encompassing and that a divided memory of the Civil War remained.

Bailey concluded his speech by saying, "There remains the hope that this monument, with its inscriptions, may indeed be truly educational far beyond the most ardent expectations of its founders, from the very fact that the indefinite and vague character of its inscriptions may excite sufficient curiosity or interest to lead many to a studious investigation of the indisputable facts and circumstances upon which these monumental abstractions and conclusions are predicated."[45]

"The Gates of Opportunity," designed by George Zolnay (1863-1949) in University City held the promise of a thriving area, despite appearances when completed in 1909. Today, the gates stand amidst a populated University City. *(Image: University City Public Library)*

NOTES

[1] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 5, 1912.
[2] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belnap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 38.
[3] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 344.
[4] *Ibid.,* 37.
[5] *Ibid.,* 256.
[6] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 2, 1949.
[7] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 14, 1912.
[8] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 15, 1912.
[9] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 15, 1912.
[10] Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson, eds., *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory* (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003), xv-xvi.
[11] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 354.
[12] *Ibid.,* 355.
[13] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 30, 1912.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 2, 1912.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 3, 1912.
[20] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 7, 1912.
[21] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 2, 1912.
[22] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 80-81.
[23] *Ibid.*, 392.
[24] David W. Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, & the American Civil War* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 155.
[25] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 388-90.
[26] *Ibid.*, 391.
[27] Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield*, 155.
[28] *Ibid.*, 204.
[29] "Opinion: The Democrats and the Negro," *The Crisis*, Vol. 5 No. 3 (Jan. 1913).
[30] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 3, 1912.
[31] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 5, 1912.
[32] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 7, 1912.
[33] Bennett H. Young, *Confederate Wizards of the Saddle* (Boston, Massachusetts: Chapple Publishing Company, Ltd., 1914), 11.
[34] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 6, 1914.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] "Confederate Monument in St. Louis," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan. 1915): 16.
[38] Seymour Stewart, "Address By Seymour Stewart, Commander in Chief S.C.V., at Unveiling of the St. Louis Monument," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan. 1915): 35.
[39] Stewart, *Confederate Veteran*, 35.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] George W. Bailey, *The Confederate Monument in Forest Park [a speech delivered at] The Grand Army of the Republic, Ransom Post No. 131, Feb. 27, 1915* (n.p., n.d.), St. Louis Public Library, Central Branch, St. Louis, Missouri.
[43] *Ibid.*, 5-6.
[44] *Ibid.*, 3.
[45] *Ibid.*, 6.



When first constructed, "Lindenwood Hall" was the only large building on the Lindenwood campus when completed in 1857. The college expanded the present-day Sibley Hall at least two times over the next three decades, adding wings on each side and a chapel; the large neo-classical porch was added in the 1920s. *(Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*

Conflict and Division
within the Presbyterian Church

BY KATHERINE BAVA

The case of *Samuel S. Watson v. Robert P. Farris, et. al. (six members of the Board of Directors of Linden Wood Female College)*[1] reveals the political, cultural, and religious conditions of Missouri after the Civil War, and it is additionally important in understanding the history of the Presbyterian Church. Between 1816 and 1861, the Missouri Presbyterian Church split three times, leaving behind four separate but similar branches. Some of the issues that caused division were also questions that afflicted the whole nation: slavery and political loyalties. Like the United States, divisions within the Presbyterian Church did not resolve these matters, but instead led to growing resentment and hostilities between the Northern and Southern branches of the denomination. In the case of *Watson v. Farris,* the St. Charles Circuit Court had to determine whether Linden Wood Female College's charter and deed allowed a Southern Presbyterian Church member to hold a position or make decisions within the school. This case exemplifies many of the tensions that faced the Presbyterian Church as a whole, the problems that plagued it, and the causes behind the numerous church divisions. Additionally, *Watson v. Farris* illustrates how the fight over Linden Wood Female College between the Northern and Southern branches of the Presbyterian Church mirrored the struggle for the nation in the aftermath of the Civil War.

Watson v. Farris took place between May 1867 and December 1869 in St. Charles, Missouri. The plaintiff, President of the College Board Samuel S. Watson, argued that the defendants, Robert P. Farris and five other Linden Wood Female College Board members (Samuel J.P. Anderson, James H. Brooks, Joseph H. Alexander, John Jay Johns, and Andrew King) failed to follow Linden Wood Female College's charter and deed established by

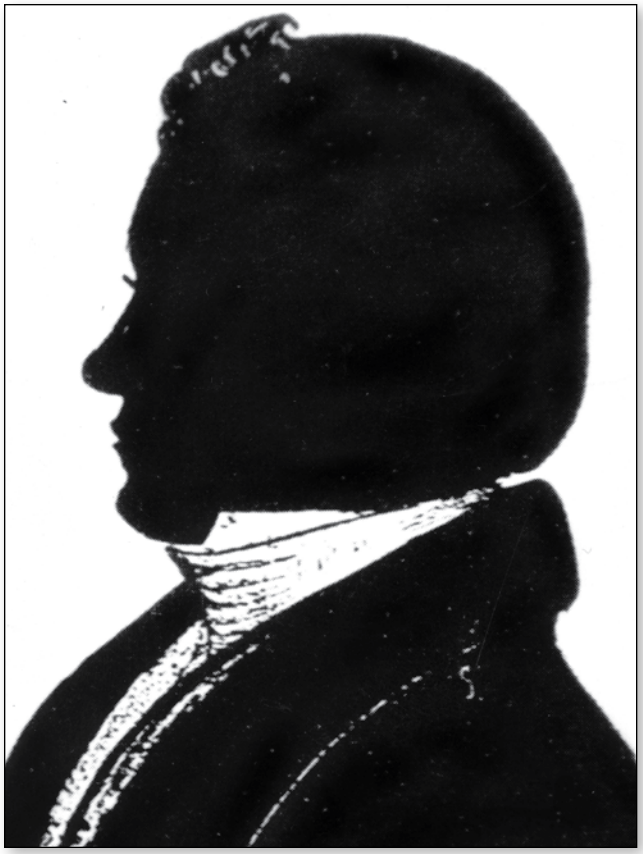
George and Mary Sibley along with the Presbytery of St. Louis, also called the Old School Presbyterian Church. Watson wanted an injunction to prevent these six board members from continuing their plan to hire French Strother as Linden Wood's president on the basis that they all (Strother included) had broken away from the Northern Presbyterian Church and refused to take the Test Oath to the Federal government.

The founders of the college, George and Mary Sibley, incorporated Linden Wood Female College into the Presbyterian Church on February 24, 1853, because they wished the school to be a place of Christian education for young women. George Sibley's last will and testament, written on March 11, 1853, that Linden Wood shall "always [be] under the general control and supervision of the Presbytery of St. Louis of the Old School of the Presbyterian Church."[2] The charter between the two parties stated that the church was responsible for the care and supervision of the college, and that the officers of the school must continue to be a part of the Presbyterian Church. Watson argued that the specific purpose for which the charter was obtained and granted was the

> establishment and perpetual support of said Linden Wood, of a college or seminary of high order for the Christian education of young women, to be carried on by the corporation so created under the care and supervision of the Presbytery of St. Louis herein mentioned: that it was expressly intended that said college should be directly and at all times controlled as to the causes of study therein pursed, the religious and intellectual instruction therein imparted, the person, who should from time to time be employed as teacher therein and the constant encouragement and regulation thereof by directors who should therein represent and carry out the religious and educational views of the said Presbytery of St. Louis.[3]

The Sibleys required the college's leaders to have the same religious and educational views as the church, so they set up the school's charter and their personal wills to reflect this desire. The college's charter was used as evidence by Watson because he believed that the six board members did not adhere to the agreement since they refused to join the Northern branch of the Presbyterian Church; as a result, they had to resign and any decisions they made in office (especially the appointment of Strother as president, who had served for the last nine years) was void.

The defendants disputed the idea that they were rebelling against the school's character. As members of the College's board of directors, they had the power under the charter to fill vacancies, even the position of president, as they saw fit. The "defendants further aver that they, together with the said French Strother, do in fact 'represent and carry out' and fully concur in the 'religious and educational views' of the said Presbytery and persons, so far as the same were ever made known to defendants."[4] Farris and the other five board members were trying to confirm the Sibleys' original idea of trying to distinguish between the Old and New Schools. Throughout the rest of their answer, the defendants argued that the Presbyterian Church should not be biased in political and social issues and therefore should not take issue with their decisions.



Elijah Parish Lovejoy (1802-1837), a Presbyterian minister and newspaper editor, is sometimes called the "first martyr of abolition." Lovejoy published *The Observer* (first in St. Louis, then in Alton, Illinois), which was both anti-Catholic and, later, antislavery. Less than two months before he was murdered in Alton while trying to keep a proslavery mob from destroying his new printing press, Lovejoy escaped another such mob in St. Charles; the Sibleys helped him escape. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

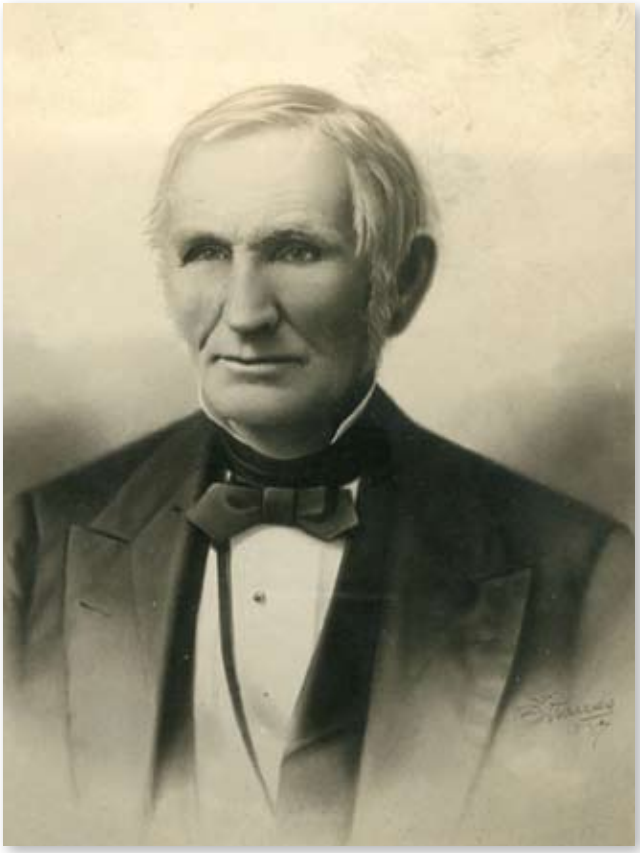
Watson was the minority (out of twelve board members, he was the only plaintiff), but he felt the majority's beliefs at Linden Wood Female College were counter to those of the official Presbyterian Church. Many of the students at the college came from the South and most likely supported the Confederacy throughout the Civil War. In 1846, a student newspaper clearly illustrated the majority's positions. "Wanted–one half pint of sense in the northern part of the country. Whoever will furnish the destitute with the desired articles shall forever inherit their gratitude."[5]

continued on page 30

Who Were the Key Figures?

This court case involved many members of the St. Charles community and Linden Wood Female College. Although the two main participants were Samuel S. Watson and Robert P. Farris, many others played important roles. The plaintiff, Judge Samuel S. Watson, was the president of Linden Wood's Board of Directors when the case began in 1867, but his career as a public figure started long before that. He was born in Pennsylvania on February 18, 1804, and early on became connected with the Presbyterian Church. In 1817, Watson moved to St. Charles, Missouri, quickly getting involved in the First Presbyterian Church of St. Charles, where he was elected an elder in 1832. Governor Hamilton Gamble of Missouri appointed Watson a St. Charles County Court Judge in 1865, a position Watson held for many years. During the Civil War, Watson strongly opposed secession, while still pursuing his liberal educational ideas. He was involved with the incorporation of Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, and the founding of Linden Wood Female College. In 1853, Watson became the president of Linden Wood's Board of Directors and remained an important donor to the college during his life. He contributed $5,000 to the construction of Sibley Hall and left a large amount of property to the school after his death in 1878.[1] Watson was one of the most influential men of St. Charles County and an important character in Linden Wood's history.

The history of the defendant, Robert P. Farris, is not as clear as Watson's. Born September 6, 1826, in St. Louis, Farris studied law under St. Louis' Honorable Trusten Polk. Not satisfied with law, Farris decided to study theology and in 1852 was ordained by the Presbytery of St. Louis. In 1866, he helped create *The Missouri Presbyterian* (*The Old School Presbyterian* or the *St. Louis Presbyterian*) journal.[2] He continued to be its editor until 1895. Farris was a prominent member of the Presbyterian Church and the St. Charles community, leading to his becoming part of the Board of Directors of Linden Wood Female College in 1853. He continued



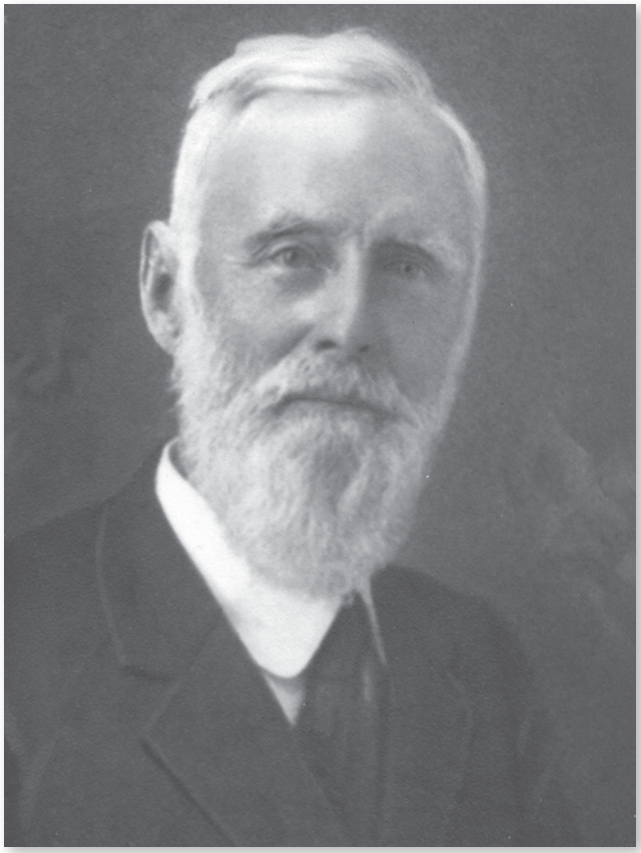
Samuel Watson (1804-1878) was a major benefactor to Lindenwood Female College starting in the 1850s. When some the College's property was forcibly sold at a sheriff's auction in 1862, Watson purchased it and returned the property to the college; he was president of Lindenwood's Board of Directors for more than twenty years. (Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)

in this position during the Civil War, when he was also the pastor of St. Charles Presbyterian Church. As pastor, Farris strongly believed that no civil issues should intrude with the church.[3] But some of his congregation disagreed, leading to a demand for him to take Missouri's Oath of Alliance and to post a $2,000 bond. He refused, was found guilty of general disobedience, and was put into St. Louis' military prison. Released after six weeks due to a handwritten letter from President Abraham Lincoln, Farris was banished from the state by the provost marshal of Missouri. Farris again received a letter from President Lincoln releasing him from all custody and banishment. Farris continued to oppose the federal government's

influence in the Church, signing "The Declaration and Testimony Action" in 1865.[4] This document affirmed the Southern Presbyterian Church's resolution to not take any oaths claimed necessary by the civil or military authority to qualify for sitting in church court. It was unclear what happened to Farris after the 1867 case with Linden Wood Female College, but it is apparent that Farris had a big impact on St. Charles.

Although not technically one of the members of this case file, French Strother nevertheless played a major role in Linden Wood Female College. Born in Virginia on January 14, 1825, Strother graduated from the University of Virginia and became a teacher on a Virginia plantation and later taught in several Alabama country schools. He moved to Missouri in 1855, creating and running Glasgow Ladies Seminary in 1857. He continued teaching there throughout the Civil War (among his students were the daughters of Confederate general Sterling Price), finally moving to St. Charles in 1865 where he leased Linden Wood Female College. He was the president of the school from 1866 to around 1870. This is the time period that Strother became caught up in the 1867 *Watson vs. Farris* court case. Although Watson claimed that Strother was a "stranger to said corporation [Linden Wood] and as your petitioner believes, hostile to the views and principles held by the said Presbytery of St. Louis and the powers composing the same," most of Linden Wood's students and other faculty members considered him an excellent and admirable president.[5] According to several personal accounts of Strother, his strong appreciation of and love for education caused him to attempt to always provide his students with a godly and beneficial education. Strother's sympathies were with the South (Susan A. Strother, the head of the music department at Linden Wood during her husband's presidency, actually composed a musical piece dedicated to General Robert E. Lee in 1866), and he refused to take Missouri's loyalty oath.[6] After the *Watson v. Farris* case, Strother left St. Charles. He continued teaching and managing schools in Independence, Missouri, and then in Monroe County, Missouri.

French Strother (1825-1916) was president of Lindenwood College after the Civil War, but lost his lease in 1870 as a result of this court case. A mathematics and chemistry instructor, Strother came to Missouri in 1855; two years later, he was at the Glasgow Ladies Seminary in Glasgow, Missouri, where he stayed until war's end. (Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)



NOTES

1 Lucinda de Leftwich Templin, *Reminiscences of Lindenwood College,* 58.
2 Howard Louis Conard, *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri* (New York: Nabu Press, 2010), 421.
3 Joseph H. Hall, *Presbyterian Conflict and Resolution on the Missouri Frontier* (New York: The Edwin Mellon Press, 1987), 134.
4 Ibid., 136.
5 *Samuel S. Watson vs. Robert P. Farris, et. al.*, St. Charles Historical Archives, St. Charles, Missouri.
6 Templin, *Reminiscences of Lindenwood College,* 64.

But Watson made it apparent that he saw the defendants as rebelling against the established church and would not be satisfied unless the court ruled against the Southern Presbyterian Church.

The Presbyterian Church in the United States traces its origins to the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, as the Pilgrims held similar principles and beliefs as the later Presbyterian Church. As the North American colonies grew, so did the influence of the Presbyterians; they soon had a scattering of churches around the colonies. Reverend Francis Makemie, "Father of American Presbyterianism," organized the first official Presbytery, the General Presbytery of Philadelphia, in 1706. This is significant because "the General Presbytery was the first denominational organization on American soil free from European church control."[6]

Over time, the Presbyterian Church started expanding to other areas of the country. The biggest area of concern was the West—the frontier—which included Missouri. The Presbyterian Church, based on the East Coast, saw the frontier of Missouri, with its abundance of resources, fertile land, and established fur trade, as an excellent opportunity to spread its beliefs.

Problems occurred because of the Presbyterians' strict conviction that only trained and skilled ministers should be sent to establish churches. Along with the Congregational denomination, "they (the Presbyterians) insisted on sending only fully educated pastors who represented not only the gospel, but also the best in Christian civilization" who "would function in a community as a teacher as well as a pastor."[7] In order to overcome this shortage of trained ministers, the Presbyterian Church joined together with the Congregationalists to form the Plan of Union in 1801. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the General Association of Connecticut set up this Plan of Union with the idea that as churches started in the frontier, they could call on the closest pastor, either a Presbyterian or Congregationalist. This allowed scarcely populated areas to have a church and a trained pastor.

The first Presbyterian Church in Missouri started in Washington County in 1816 and a year later in St. Louis. The First Presbyterian Church of St. Louis claims to be the oldest extant Protestant Church west of the Mississippi River. The first Presbyterian worship services in the St. Charles region were held in 1816, but the church was not officially organized until August 30, 1818. [8] Salmon Giddings, co-founder of the churches in Washington County and St. Louis, also helped form this church, along with John Matthews. The Old Blue Church, the earliest building of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Charles, was built in 1833 and named after its sky-blue glass windows. The Old Blue Church, which is no longer standing, achieved national significance when Elijah P. Lovejoy, the Presbyterian abolitionist publisher, preached two sermons here in 1837, less than two months before he was murdered by a mob in Alton, Illinois. By the time of the Civil War, the Presbyterian Church was well established and thriving in Missouri and the St. Louis area. By 1860, there was at least one church denomination in every Missouri county, 127 of which were strictly Protestant.[9] However, by 1861 the Presbyterian Church had divided three times over conflicts in church doctrine, slavery, and political matters.

When the Presbyterian Church was first created in the 1700s, it was under the control of one head General Assembly. The Presbyterian Church participated in the Plan of Union with the Congregationalists and claimed unity in major issues. The Congregationalist denomination had mixed well with the Presbyterians, leading to some of the Congregational minority disappearing within the Presbyterian majority. By 1834, the Presbyterian membership had risen to 248,000 from only 18,000 in 1807.[10] Yet this large denomination did not always agree on church doctrine and often interpreted Scripture differently, giving way to growing tensions within the Presbyterian General Assembly. The disputes within the Presbyterian Church were so well known in the nineteenth century that some joked that "if members of the Old School party tried to enter heaven, St. Peter would reject them on the grounds that they would get up a synod and 'turn all heaven upside down with [their] doctrinal disputations.'" [11]

By 1837, the Presbyterian Church was separated into two camps: the New School and the Old School. Gaining strength through the Second Great Awakening in the second quarter of the 1800s, the New School, also known as the New Light Churches (formed by Charles Grandison Finney's branch of the church), was most similar to the Congregationalists. They supported progressive views of Christian doctrine and elements of free will and were known as revivalists. The Old School, recognized as the anti-revivalists, was more orthodox in nature, holding on to the Westminster Confession and the traditional Calvinist belief of God's complete sovereignty. The controversy arose between the Old and New Schools over many of these issues. As a result, the General Assembly meeting of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia in 1837 brought up these concerns over differences in church doctrine in the *Testimony and Memorial*, leading to the first Presbyterian schism.

The issues between the New and Old School churches were not only doctrinal. "On the surface this was made to appear as purely a theological and practical argument, but slavery also played its role."[12] The Old School attempted to keep the issue of slavery out of the controversy, but it is clear that the New School held most of the Presbyterian antislavery supporters, while the Old School contained many proslavery members. This is not to say that each side was strictly proslavery or antislavery, but it is important to notice this divide as the issue returned in later years. Some clergy believed that the divide of the Presbyterian Church represented future troubles in the United States, not only because of a difference in theology, but because it signified a future division over the issues of slavery and religion.[13]

The Old School and New School churches continued to operate as separate churches, with the New School having churches in every state, while the Old School was more limited to the southeast portion of the Unites States.[14] In

The "Blue Church" in St. Charles, Missouri, where Elijah Lovejoy delivered an antislavery sermon just weeks before his death in Alton, Illinois. *(Image: St. Charles Historical Society)*

Missouri, the Presbyterian churches were also divided into New and Old School affiliations. For example, the First Presbyterian Church of St. Charles was part of the Old School, but the First Presbyterian Church of St. Louis belonged to the New School Assembly. Throughout the next few decades, the issue of slavery rose up again, this time in the New School. The denomination had been known for its strong antislavery stand, while others (including the Old School) stayed away from this sensitive topic. From 1846 through 1857, the New School Assembly declared the evilness of slavery, the church's disproval of the system and anyone participating in it, and advocated all New School synods and individual churches assist in the complete destruction of slavery.[15]

Not all members agreed with this position; in 1857, some 10,000 Southern members left the church and created the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. This was the first Northern and Southern sectional divide in the Presbyterian Church, but it was not the last one. In 1861, the Old School Presbyterian Church had its own division, leaving it separated into Northern and Southern branches. In the early part of 1861, the Old School, both North and South, still held to the position that Scripture did not condemn slavery as evil.[16] The real reason behind the split of the Old School was not slavery, but divisions over church power and political loyalties caused by tensions between the North and the South.

At the 1861 General Assembly of the Old School Church, two resolutions were discussed: the Spring Resolution proposed by the New York pastor Gardiner Spring, and the Hodge Resolution offered by Charles Hodge, principal of Princeton Theological Seminary. Both resolutions intended to state the Old School position of loyalty to the Federal government and to the union of the nation. Interestingly though, the resolutions were quite different. Hodge's resolution, which had majority support, pledged church members' allegiance to the United States *Constitution*, along with their support for the union of the country. The Spring Resolution, having only the minority backing, resolved that the Old School General Assembly would declare complete loyalty to the United States Federal *government*, and swore "to strengthen, uphold, and encourage the Federal Government." [17]

These two resolutions divided the Old School General Assembly. Some members, like Hodge, declared it outside the church's domain to tell its members who to side with politically. These objections did not originate from any proslavery or pro-secessionist sentiments. In fact, it was quite the opposite with many of the leaders of the Old School. For example, Charles Hodge was pro-union and antislavery, although he was similar to other church

leaders in the nineteenth century and did not openly condemn the institution of slavery. The real concern here was whether the church was overstepping its bounds of jurisdiction. Most of the Southern churches of the Old School Assembly believed it was. When the Spring Resolution passed, creating a "Court of Jesus Christ," the Southern portion of the Old School left and formed the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America in December 1861. They wanted no part of the Northern branches' political loyalties and did not approve of the qualifications now placed on members in order to be part of the denomination. The Presbyterian Church had begun in 1706 as a large and powerful denomination but had faded into four separate and sectional denominations by 1861.

The Presbyterian schisms in 1837, 1857, and 1861 did not just occur on a national level. These political and doctrinal separations also resulted in individual church divisions. Some of the best examples would be here in the St. Louis area. As already mentioned, the First Presbyterian Churches of St. Louis and St. Charles affiliated themselves with either the New School or Old School branches of the Presbyterian Church. However, after the 1857 and 1861 schisms, these churches also separated themselves into Northern and Southern branches. Henry Nelson was the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Louis from 1856 through 1868. He grew up in the Congregationalist churches around Massachusetts and became known around the country as a New School pastor. When Nelson came to St. Louis in 1856, he had already formed strong opinions about the Union and slavery. During the Civil War, Nelson openly stated his loyalties to the Federal government and flew a Union flag over the church.[18] Although not uncommon in his loyalties, some St. Louis members did not approve of his position and his public declarations. Even before the Civil War, Nelson had also declared his antislavery sentiments from the pulpit, which alienated Southern members. Nelson continued to publicly ally himself with the Union and gained Federal support in his church because of his loyalties. Although these Northern and Southern arguments had already been boiling beneath the surface for decades, Nelson's actions finally caused the congregation to choose sides.

Until 1867, the First Presbyterian Church of St. Charles had similar conflicts, but was content to leave civic matters out of its worship. For the majority of the time, this Old School church agreed to avoid the topic of slavery and to continue to be unified even in turbulent times, as exemplified by the church's relationship with Elijah P. Lovejoy, the famous abolitionist newspaper editor. Lovejoy met his wife, Celia Ann French, at the Old Blue Church, or First Presbyterian Church of St. Charles, and married her on August 4, 1833.[19] By 1837, Lovejoy had been run out of St. Louis for his abolitionist beliefs and was living in Alton, Illinois. In October of 1837, he returned to St. Charles on the invitation of the Old Blue Church's pastor, Reverend William Campell. On the night of October 1, Lovejoy preached two sermons at the church, one in the morning and one in the evening, both regarding slavery. Lovejoy's antislavery sentiments were well known and his sermons did not please everyone in St. Charles. He stated later that "after the audience was dismissed at night. . . . a young man came in, and passing by me, slipped the following note into my hands: 'Mr. Lovejoy, Be watchful as you come home from church to-night, A friend.'"[20] That night, while visiting a friend's home in St. Charles, Lovejoy was attacked by a mob. Campell and another member of the church, Thomas P. Copes, assisted Lovejoy in escaping the mob. Two other members of the church aided Lovejoy that night: George Sibley from Linden Wood Female College in St. Charles lent Lovejoy one of his horses, and Lovejoy spent the rest of the night at Samuel S. Watson's home, four miles outside of town.[21] Although not everyone inside the church agreed on contemporary matters (Sibley owned slaves and was not a supporter of Lovejoy's newspaper, *The St. Louis Observer*), they were still willing to cooperate and be unified as one church body.

George Sibley (1782-1863) moved to Missouri as a government agent in the fur trade, but had settled in St. Charles by 1827, where his wife Mary was teaching girls. By 1831, he built a log structure on the present site of Lindenwood University as a residence for students. When the Sibleys gave the college to the Presbyterian Church in 1853, George Sibley was already an invalid; he lived until January 1863. *(Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*

Mary Easton Sibley (1800-1878) spent much of her life as an educator, including founding Lindenwood Female College with her husband, George. Mary was a more strident opponent of slavery than her husband, although both were acquaintances of Elijah Parish Lovejoy. *(Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*

The First Presbyterian Church of St. Charles' unification and cooperation would not last forever. The Civil War brought to light many deep-seated resentments between the Northern and Southern members. As one source stated, "Those were the days in this border city, resounding with the tramp of one army and threatened by the other, when patriotism and religion were so well mixed that you couldn't tell where one ended and the other began."[22] In 1867, the Old Blue Church divided into Northern and Southern branches. The Old Blue Church was abandoned, and two separate buildings were formed: the New Southern Presbyterian Church on Fifth and Madison streets, and the Northern Presbyterian Church on Jefferson Street (also known as the Jefferson Street Presbyterian Church U.S.A. Northern).[23]

The issues concerning this divide were once again a difference in political loyalties. The Reverend Robert P. Farris, the pastor of the Old Blue Church from 1860 through 1868 and one of the main defendants in the Linden Wood court case, explained it as "a crisis occasioned by the General Assembly's departures from the Constitution of the Church and the Word of God."[24] One third of the members withdrew from the First Presbyterian Church in St. Charles because of their differences with Farris' and the majority's beliefs.

The two branches of this church were involved in a circuit court case involving the property of the Old Blue Church in May 1868.[25] Again, Robert Farris was one of the defendants, while Samuel S. Watson was one of the plaintiffs. The Missouri Supreme Court's ruling that the Southern branch owned the Old Blue Church and property resulted in continued tension between these two branches for many years to come. Not until 1949 did the First Presbyterian Church of St. Charles reunite.

After examining the history of the Presbyterian Church on a national and local level, it is easier to understand the court file of *Watson v. Farris* and realize why this was such an important case in 1867. Not only did this case involve valuable property (as did the case concerning the Old Blue Church), but it also pitted the Northern and Southern branches of the Presbyterian Church against each other, representing the national conflict at that time. Reconstruction was still occurring in the United States, separating many people and political parties. While the Radical Republicans controlled the Federal government and many state governments, their control in Missouri was especially strong. The constitution passed during the Missouri Constitutional Convention in 1865, and the laws passed throughout the next several years, reflect this Radical Republican domination and illustrate the political context in which this case took place. The Reconstruction amendments, the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth amendments, were adopted in 1865 and 1868, leading to the national abolition of slavery and a new definition of citizenship that included African Americans. On January 11, 1865, Missouri passed immediate emancipation for all the state's slaves. This led to an increase in resentment, for under the new constitution many people who saw themselves as full citizens were denied certain constitutional rights, while ex-slaves gained privileges throughout the state and country.

As a result, Missouri's laws changed drastically with the 1865 Missouri Constitution. A state convention led by Charles Drake met on January 6, 1865, to discuss what would happen after the Civil War. It was decided that a new constitution was needed. Drake, a Radical Republican, pressed for limitations on former rebels and anyone who had supported the South during the war. The convention's intentions were "to erect a wall and a barrier, in the shape of a constitution that would be as high as the eternal heavens, deep down as the very center of the earth, so that they [Conservatives] shall neither climb over it nor dig under it, and as thick as the whole territory of Missouri so that they shall never batter it down nor pierce through it."[26] Consequently, the convention created a test oath that required citizens to swear that they had never committed any of 86 different acts of disloyalty against Missouri or the United States. These acts included armed hostility, aid and comfort to the "rebels," and providing money or goods to the enemy in any manner.[27] Since Missouri had divided loyalties throughout the Civil War, and many citizens

had been supportive of the Confederacy or had "assisted" them in some way (even if that meant just giving a family member a meal and a place to stay for the night), they were considered rebels and refused many basic rights of citizens. A previous loyalty oath had already existed in Missouri, but this new test oath extended to public and political offices, including schools and churches. A group of moderate Republicans argued for a wording change on the test oath, insisting that the oath be changed so that people would be swearing that they had been loyal since December 17, 1861, when Missouri's Governor Hamilton Gamble promised peace and reconciliation to any disloyal person who wanted to return to the Union. The alteration was denied, though, and the test oath became law along with the 1865 Constitution, also known as the Drake Constitution. This directly affected the court case of *Watson v. Farris,* as the test oath required that no one could teach in a private or public school or preach in any religious denomination unless he or she had taken the test oath by September 2, 1865. Even the Old School Presbyterian Church's General Assembly made it very clear that it would exclude any member who would not take the oath. For Watson, this was the point of contention with some members of the Linden Wood Board of Directors and the school's president, French Strother.

Hamilton Gamble (1798-1864) supported antislavery even when a justice on the Missouri Supreme Court; he wrote the dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott decision in 1852, in which he supported the "once free always free" doctrine. He was elected governor by a constitutional convention after Union forces took control of Jefferson City in 1861. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

The 1865 Missouri Constitution was submitted to the people of the state, but only those who had already taken the test oath were allowed to vote. It passed with only a 1,800-vote majority on June 6, 1865. [28] The Radical Republicans now completely controlled the state. Over the next couple of years, several other huge political controversies arose in Missouri. The Missouri Constitution Convention in 1865 also passed an "Ousting Ordinance" removing all (loyal or not) previous state judges, circuit attorneys, sheriffs, and county recorders. All together there were some 800 officeholders pushed out, and their positions were filled by Radical Republicans.[29] Then in 1868, a session within the state's legislature proclaimed that the governor would have the power to appoint the superintendents of voting registration in each senatorial district. These men would then have the right to appoint three registrars in each county. The registrars would each create a list of all legal voters, meaning only those who had taken the loyalty oath. This became a main issue in the 1868 election campaign.

There are many examples of court cases that arose to challenge the different loyalty oaths in Missouri, especially those denying clergymen the right to act in their profession. One example is Dr. Samuel McPheeters of St. Louis' Pine Street Church. As the pastor of this church, McPheeters "cautioned moderation and Christian forbearance" and advised his congregation to "stand aloof from all factions and only know Jesus Christ."[30] In 1861, one of the elders of the church, G.P. Strong, demanded that McPheeters announce his loyalty to the Federal government. When McPheeters refused to do so, the elder arranged for his arrest and banishment from Missouri. This same elder gained control over Pine Street Church soon after McPheeters' banishment. In 1866, a Catholic priest named A. Cummings rejected the oath and was arrested for illegal preaching. Cummings appealed the Missouri ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court which, on January 14, 1867, in the case *Cummings v. Missouri,* declared that the test oath in Missouri was *ex post facto* legislation. This law was illegally punishing people for past actions and therefore ruled unconstitutional.[31] As a result, the test law became less enforced against clergymen, but unfortunately it was still often used to determine one's eligibility for a profession as demonstrated in the *Watson v. Farris* case. It was not until 1870 under the Repeal of Proscription Tests that the test oath was completely revoked.

Cases continued to come before the courts over Missouri's test oath, demonstrating the majority's dissatisfaction with this 1865 Constitution. Even loyal supporters of the Union were not spared. Francis Preston Blair, Jr., a major general for the Union army, did not agree with Missouri's Radical Republicans or the 1865 Constitution, and because of this he refused to take the

loyalty oath.[32] He claimed that the election offices had no right to question his actions before 1865. Consequently, he was not allowed to vote. Blair sued, but lost. Blair's case was an exception, since he was known as a Union man, but there were many other court cases surrounding the test oath; most of them concerned clergy and churches. The Radical Republicans' belief that it was necessary to implement strict laws to keep Missouri stable after so much turmoil throughout the Civil War restricted the legal rights of a large percentage of the population and increased resentment against the Radical Republicans. Missouri's test oath continued to cause problems for many religious denominations across the state, leading to much conflict and division within the population.

The tension caused by the Presbyterian Schisms and the Drake Constitution resulted in court cases such as *Watson v. Farris*. Although some judges ruled against the test oath, not all saw the Drake Constitution as unconstitutional. The specific court case, *Watson v. Farris*, was one of those incidences. By the end of the case in 1870, several attempts had been made by the defendants to dissolve the injunction and retain their choice of Strother as president. From the evidence in the case file, it is apparent that the judge, the Honorable David Wagner, ruled in favor of the plaintiff. Since Strother also declined to join the Northern Presbyterian Church, he was not allowed to continue as president and was forced to leave his position. Watson believed that the defendants deliberately broke from the Northern Branch of the Presbyterian Church and their decision to appoint someone he believed was a Southern sympathizer was a rebellious act. Thus, according to Watson, the defendants were breaking their contracts with the Old School Presbyterian Church and unfit to be officers of Linden Wood Female College. They were forced to submit to the Circuit Court's decision, thus resulting in a $1,000 fine and the removal of French Strother as president.

Clearly, the political situation in Missouri and the conflict within the Presbyterian Church affected the outcome of this case. Watson, as a member of the Northern Presbyterian Church and a strong supporter of the Federal government, sought to rid Linden Wood of the Southern Presbyterian Church's influence. He accomplished this by winning the court case, leaving Linden Wood under the control of the Northern Presbyterian Church. Interestingly, the outcome of the case might have been different if property had been involved. In 1872, Reverend Samuel S. Laws wrote a detailed letter to the Synod of Missouri in which he mentions the *Watson v. Farris* court case. During the nineteenth century, the court system decided that the Presbyterian Church General Assembly had "unlimited control 'legislative judicial and executive,' over 'the concerns of the whole Church,' and no civil court can revise, modify, or impair its action in a matter of *merely ecclesiastical concern*." [33] Cases concerning religious matters would be determined by the General Assembly, not secular courts. Unlike the Old Blue Church court case over the church's property, *Watson v. Farris* was deemed an ecclesiastical case. This is why Watson declared that the real issue was the defendants' separation from the "true" Presbyterian Church, or the Northern Branch of the Old School; Farris and the other board members argued that they were able to carry out the terms of the college's charter, a secular issue. Laws continues in his letter to say that "*if* the title to the property had been in question, the rule would be different. '*In matters of litigation, where the title to property comes in contest, the rule would be different.*'"[34] The Northern branch, clearly having more power after the Civil War, controlled Missouri's Presbyterian Church, allowing the Northern branch of the Old School Presbyterian Church to win.

By looking through the history of the Presbyterian Church throughout the nineteenth century, it is easily understood why the Northern and Southern branches of both of the New and Old Schools had such a conflicted and divided relationship. Not only did they disagree theologically, but also politically and socially. Their relationship was very similar to the one between the two regions of the country after the Civil War, especially in the state of Missouri. The Northern Presbyterian Church believed allegiance to the Federal government to be extremely important, while the Southern Presbyterian Church attempted to prevent any civil issues from interfering with its religious worship. Clergymen like Farris believed that the government did not have the right to dictate who was preaching, for ecclesiastical matters should be separate from the state. In this specific court case, the defendants' eligibility to be teachers, board members, or school officials should not be determined by religious views. Yet, according to Watson and many other Northern Presbyterians, political loyalties meant a great deal to one's religious views, and thus demonstrated whether they were suitable or not for a position.

Like the conflict between the North and South, the Presbyterian Church was divided over the rights each citizen had. In *Watson v. Farris*, the defendants argued that it was their right to appoint the president; Watson sought to have men politically aligned with the North and federal government in that position. In various incidences of division within the Presbyterian Church, the Southern or the Northern branches formed their own denominations because they no longer agreed with the majority of the church. They separated themselves peacefully, for they believed they had the right to leave whenever they wished. The differences in theology, slavery, or political loyalties should have been enough to demonstrate that the two branches' dissimilarities were irreconcilable. Many of these issues caused problems that often resulted in court cases. Watson himself was involved in three separate court cases, all involving suing the Southern branch of the Presbyterian Church. So not only was Missouri conflicted in political and social issues after the Civil War, but also in religious matters.

NOTES

[1] *Samuel S. Watson vs. Robert P. Farris, et. al.(six members of the Board of Directors of Lindenwood Female College)*, May 1867, St. Charles Circuit Court Case File-Civil, St. Charles Historical Archives, St. Charles, Missouri.

[2] Lucinda de Leftwich Templin, *Reminiscences of Lindenwood College, May 24-27, 1920,* Mary E. Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University, Missouri, 50.

[3] *Watson vs. Farris,* St. Charles Circuit Court Case File-Civil.

[4] *Watson vs. Farris,* St. Charles Historical Archives, St. CharlesCircuit Court Case File-Civil.

[5] *Lindenwood Violet* from 1846, Lindenwood University, St. Charles, Missouri, P:\PHuffman\Archive- Public Folder\Lindenwood Publications_Digital Format\Student Newspapers (1846) (accessed on December 20, 2010).

[6] "The Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 3, (June, 1906): 255.

[7] *Ibid., 98.*

[8] "Edna McElhiney Olsen, "Historical Series-First Presbyterian Church," *St. Charles Journal*, May 1, 1969.

[9] Duane Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri: A History* (St. Louis: State Publishing Company, Inc., 1963), 284. Paul Hollrah states in his *History of St. Charles County* that there were 146 Presbyterian Churches by 1860, but as his is an older source, so this paper will use the statistics taken from William Parrish, Charles T. Jones, Jr., and Lawrence O. Christensen, *Missouri: the Heart of the Nation* (Wheeling: Harlan Davidson, Ic. , 2004).

[10] George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Experience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 11.

[11] *Ibid.*, 59.

[12] *Ibid.*, 179.

[13] James Hutchinson Smylie, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians* (Geneva : Geneva Press, 1996), 80.

[14] St. Charles Presbyterian History, St. Charles Historic Society Archives, St. Charles, Missouri.

[15] Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Experience,* 188.

[16] Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson, *Religion and the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press , 1998), 79.

[17] John Halsley Wood, Jr., "The 1861 Spring Resolutions: Charles Hodge, the American Union, and the Dissolution of the Old School Church," *Journal of Church and State,* 47 (Spring 2005): 380.

[18] "The Centennial of the City of St. Louis," 8.

[19] St. Charles Presbyterian History, St. Charles Historic Society Archives, St. Charles, Missouri.

[20] Paul Simson, "Elijah Lovejoy: Minister, Editor, and Martyr," *Presbyterian Life* (November 1, 1965): 10.

[21] "Edna McElhiney Olsen, "Historical Series-the Old Blue Church," *St. Charles Journal*, September 22, 1960.

[22] "The Centennial of the City of St. Louis," 8.

[23] Olsen, "Historical Series-the Old Blue Church."

[24] Rev. Robert P. Farris Letter, May 15, 1867, St. Charles Presbyterian Church Papers, St. Charles Historical Society Archives, St. Charles, Missouri.

[25] Presbyterian Churches-St. Charles Presbyterian [Suit in Circuit Court], St. Charles Historic Society Archives, St. Charles, Missouri.

[26] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri*, 409.

[27] William E. Parrish, *Missouri Under Radical Rule* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965), 27-29.

[28] *Civil Government and the History of Missouri* (Columbia: Press of E. W. Stephens, 1898), 357.

[29] *Ibid.*, 362.

[30] Witherspoon, *Westminster Presbyterian Church,* 8.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*

[39] Samuel S. Laws, *A letter by the Rev. S.S. Laws, LL. D., to the Synod of Missouri (O.S.): Which Met at Columbia, Missouri, October 8, 1872* (Columbia: S. Angell, 1873), 34.

[33] Samuel S. Laws, A letter by the Rev. S. S. Laws, LL.D., to the Synod of Missouri (O.S.): Which Met at Columbia, Missouri, October 8, 1872 (Columbia: S. Angell, 1873), 34.

[34] *Ibid.*

Financing a Government in Exile

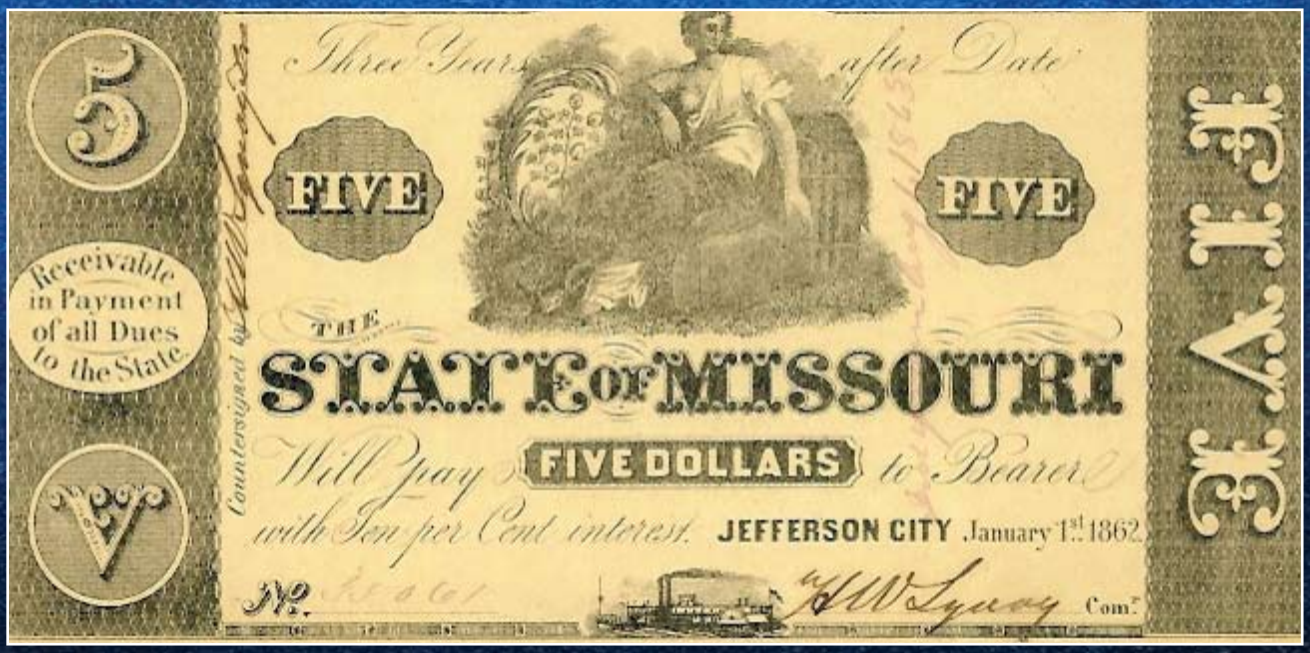
In the election of 1860, Missouri elected a pro-Southern governor, Claiborne Fox Jackson (1806-1862). Despite having run as a Douglas Democrat (Democrats who opposed secession, as opposed to those who supported John Breckenridge) on an anti-secession platform, Jackson started working toward secession as soon as he became governor, even though a state convention voted overwhelmingly to remain in the Union. When Abraham Lincoln called on states to raise troops, Jackson refused and called the Missouri State Guard into service, which gathered at Camp Jackson, in St. Louis near the present-day St. Louis University campus (see page 52 for more). General Nathaniel Lyon chased the State Guard and Jackson's government across the state through Jefferson City and Boonville; Lyon himself was killed at Wilson's Creek, just outside Springfield, Missouri.

The state government meeting at Neosho passed its ordinance of secession on October 28; after being formally admitted into the Confederacy in late November, it elected senators and representatives to the newly formed Confederate government. It also voted to allocate $10million for defense, and in January of 1862 began issuing defense bonds. Meantime, the Confederate state government of Missouri spent much of the war in exile, outside Missouri.

These defense bonds, like the one pictured here, were First Series Bonds that paid ten percent interest over three years. Such bonds as these were issued by every state in the Confederacy as well as by the Confederate government itself as a way of financing the war; by and large, they were purchased by fellow Southerners. At the end of the war, bonds like this one were practically worthless, leaving Southern planters and others even more impoverished.

Interestingly, the bond features the allegorical Commerce sitting on a bale of cotton, the symbol of Southern economic strength. Scenes linking the Confederacy to cotton production weren't uncommon. Yet the wealth of Missouri's planter aristocracy stood not on cotton, but on tobacco and hemp production. The plantation counties—those cutting a swath across the state with the Missouri River running through—were inhabited by planter families from Virginia and Kentucky who brought tobacco cultivation and slaves to work the fields. This bond was issued in January, 1862.

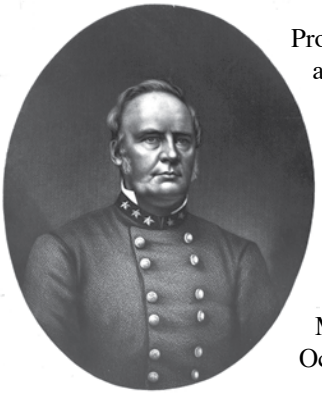
Bonds like this one bearing ten percent interest were issued in $5, $10, and $20 denominations; smaller ones bore no interest. (Image: Deer Run Mercantile, Franklin, West Virginia)



Experience of the Civil War

by the School Sisters of Notre Dame in Washington, Missouri

BY CAROL MARIE WILDT, SSND



Pro-Union residents in Washington heard of the coming Confederates in early October 1864, and many had fled the town by the time the Confederates arrived October 2. Col. Daniel Gale moved his Federal Enrolled Missouri Militia across the Missouri River, which spared the town of a battle that would have resulted in far more damage. Confederate soldiers attacked the town, but there were only two deaths. It is often called "Price's Raid," even though it appears that Confederate General Sterling Price was never there himself, but rather near Union, Missouri.

The following excerpts are taken from the eyewitness chronicle of the School Sisters of Notre Dame at St. Francis Borgia, written at the time of the battle at Washington, Missouri. The chronicle entry describes the Confederate soldiers attacking the town in October 1864, and the responses of Confederates to the Sisters.

Top: Washington, Missouri, as it appeared just after the Civil War. Sterling Price's men came through here as part of "Price's Raid" in his Missouri Campaign in 1864. Price was eventually defeated in this campaign at the Battle of Westport near present-day Kansas City; his defeat helped win Lincoln reelection later in 1864. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

Before becoming a major general in the Confederate Army, Sterling Price (1809-1867) had served as both Missouri governor (1853-1857) and in the Mexican War. As presiding officer of the Missouri State Convention in early 1861, Price opposed secession and voted against it, but changed his mind after Gen. Nathaniel Lyon took over the pro-Confederate Camp Jackson encampment in June. After his defeat at Westport, Price retreated to Texas, where he remained until the war's end. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

Scenes of guerrilla warfare such as this were widely published both in and beyond Missouri. In towns like Washington, these engravings fueled fears that Confederate guerrillas would pillage and plunder their communities in a torrent of violence like this; small wonder that so many residents fled the town when they heard that Price's men were coming. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

We were not a little surprised when on Saturday, October 1, our neighbor, Mrs. Henry Bleckmann, evidently in great haste, rang our bell and pale with fear, informed us of the burning down of Franklin and Union by the rebels. They were now already at South Point, two and one half miles from Washington and destroying everything. They would probably be in Washington by nightfall; all the people were packing and getting ready for flight. The lady advised us to do likewise.

As we had neither money nor valuables, packing up and secreting them did not disturb us. What caused us the most agonizing concern were the boarders who were terrified to tears. There was general panic in the town. The men grabbed their weapons; the women and the children were being rowed across the river. We left our girls free to go with them. Without the Sisters, however, they refused to leave. . . In agony we saw night approach during which our beautiful town was to become a victim of fire and flame or the scene of blood and death. All the Sisters and the girls, dressed in warm clothing (in case we had to sleep outside), anxiously awaited the things to come. . . At midnight, we were startled at a noise which made us think the attack was beginning. The town militia who had armed themselves for resistance against the attack, came storming along towards the river where they manned two steamboats for flight across the Missouri, taking with them all available boats. . . The enemy, expecting strong resistance, remained quiet about one and one half miles from the city for some rest. At dawn several of the citizens approached them with a white flag and surrendered the city…Between 6000 to 10,000 strong, they were led by Generals Marmaduke and Cabell. The plundering began. Everything fit for their use was taken. Stores and shops were emptied. The most destruction and theft took place in the homes of those who had fled; they considered these enemies. Those who stayed were looked upon as friends, although they, too, were not treated in too friendly a manner. Strangely, however, when they saw us, they overwhelmed us with compliments and assured us of their general's protection. They called to the girls who stood at the windows, "Don't be afraid, ladies. Our general will protect you."

. . . When the men had finally plundered practically everything, they left towards evening. A Catholic commander in all haste brought us from six to eight hundred dollars worth of materials of all sorts as a gift. He declared almost under oath that he had paid $300 from his own purse for the goods; he had been an orphan boy, Joseph Moore by name, educated by Sisters, and had long wished to repay them to some extent. He begged us to pray for him; he had not been to confession for three and one half years, and had not seen a priest since then. Tears trickled down his cheeks as he looked towards heaven saying, 'There is not a heart on earth that beats for me. I am an orphan!' The gifts were later returned to their rightful owners.

One company of soldiers remained in town far into the night. Before they left, they burned down the depot. . . Had the wind turned ever so little, the fire would undoubtedly have burned the next house. In that case, we too, would have been lost. . . the captain commanded his men, who were leisurely observing the progress of the flames, which were burning still more furiously by the ignition of a number of barrels of petroleum, to get the fire apparatus and to prevent at any cost the destruction of the convent. They dropped their weapons. Some held the horses while others sped to the firehouse to set limits to the fire damage. When at last the raging flames had been checked, this last company of soldiers also left. We continued our watch all through the night, even during the following eight days not venturing to change our clothing.

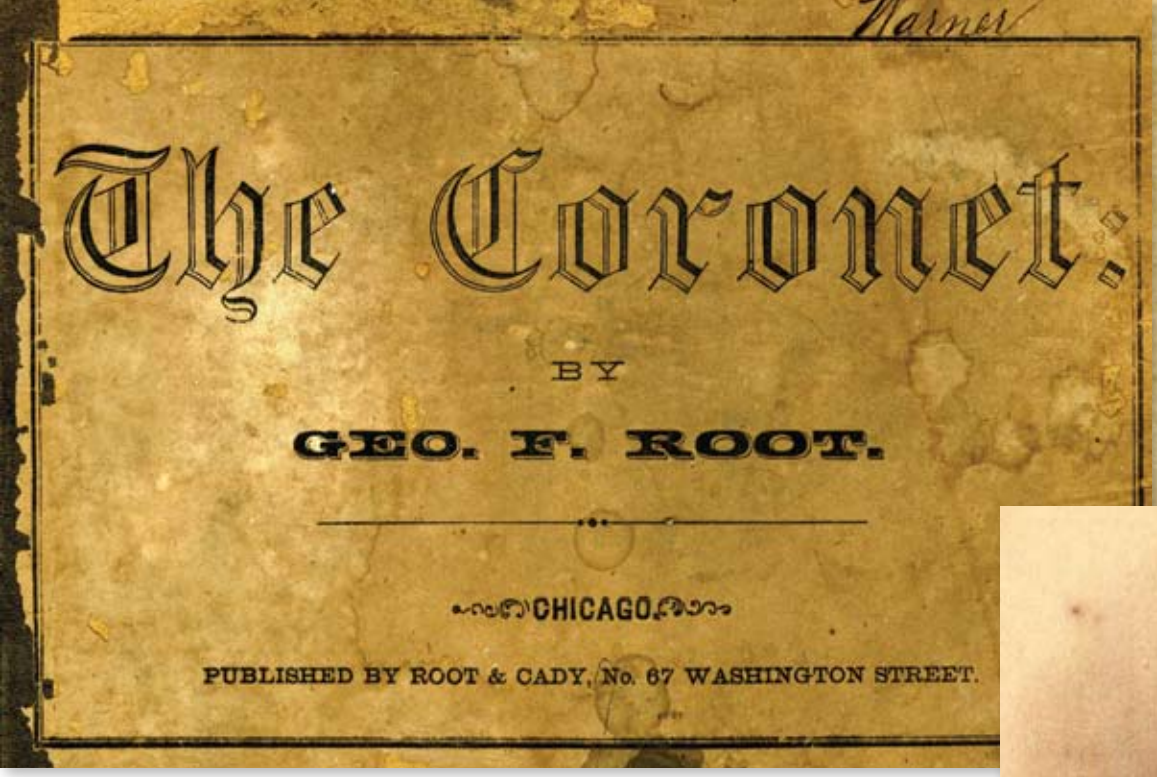
SONGS from the Civil War

In previous periods of United States history, whenever our country was in a military conflict, the attention of the civilian public was fully captivated by the events that required the sweat and blood of its youth. If this were not enough, civilians often had to make sacrifices that imposed on their standards of living.

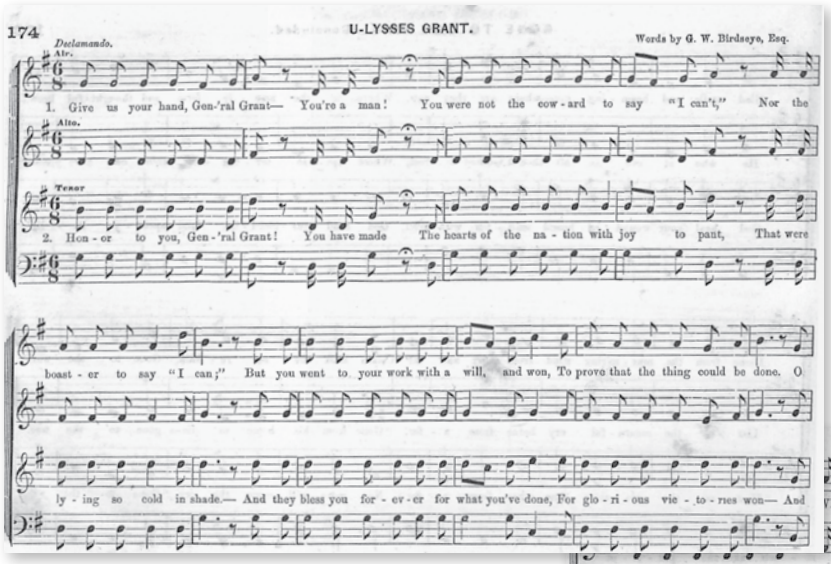
One way that the Civil War permeated everyday life was through entertainment—more specifically, music. This was because by the mid-nineteenth century, any family who had aspirations of moving up the social ladder had a piano. Further, with fewer forms of entertainment available to people, families engaged in home-based entertainment, which included playing and singing music more than merely listening to it, as we do today. Consequently, it was much more common for a family in the 1800s to have at least one family member who played some sort of instrument. Added to this mix were much more lenient copyright laws that enabled multiple sheet music publishing houses to produce the same song as long as they printed their own versions of illustrations. Consequently, some tunes "went viral" nearly as quickly as any modern song does today through the Internet.

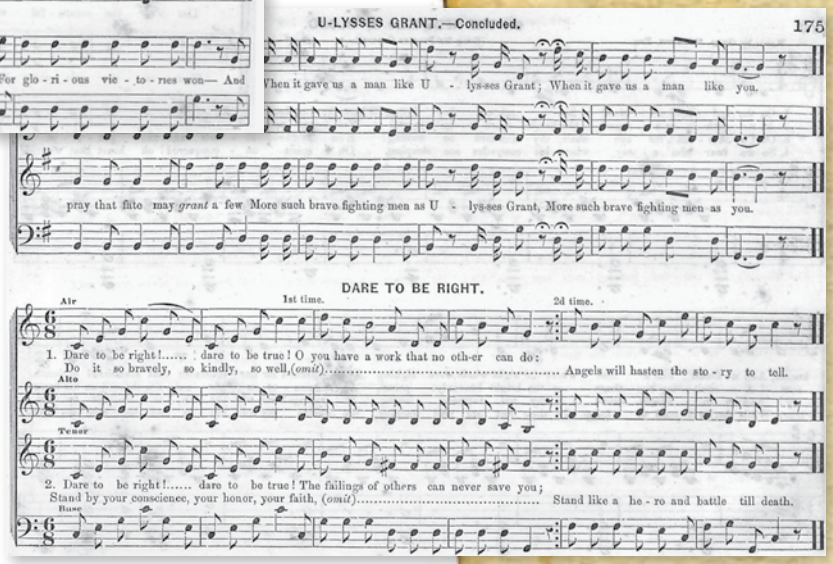
On these pages appear selections from *The Coronet*, a book of music and singing instruction published in the year after the end of the Civil War, now in the collection of the Mary Ambler Archives at Lindenwood University. Included are patriotic songs extolling the achievements of Union generals, celebrating Union victories, and mourning the death of the martyred President Abraham Lincoln. These songs tell another story of Northerners' views of the war and its impact on the lives of individuals who made it what historian Drew Gilpin Faust called "This republic of suffering."

—Paul Huffman



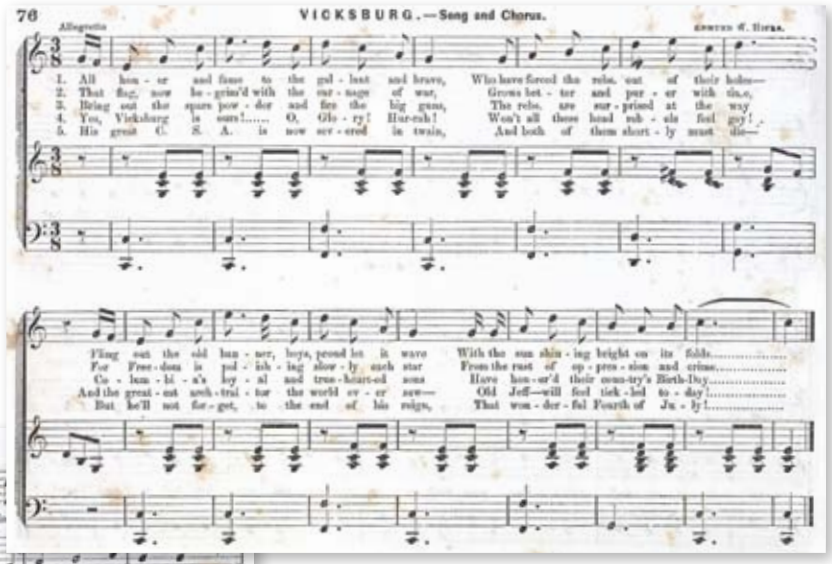
Music books such as *The Coronet*, published immediately following the Civil War, reflected much about people's views of the war. *The Coronet* was published in Chicago and reflects the pro-Union sympathies of the original owner; today, it is in the collections of Lindenwood University. *(Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*

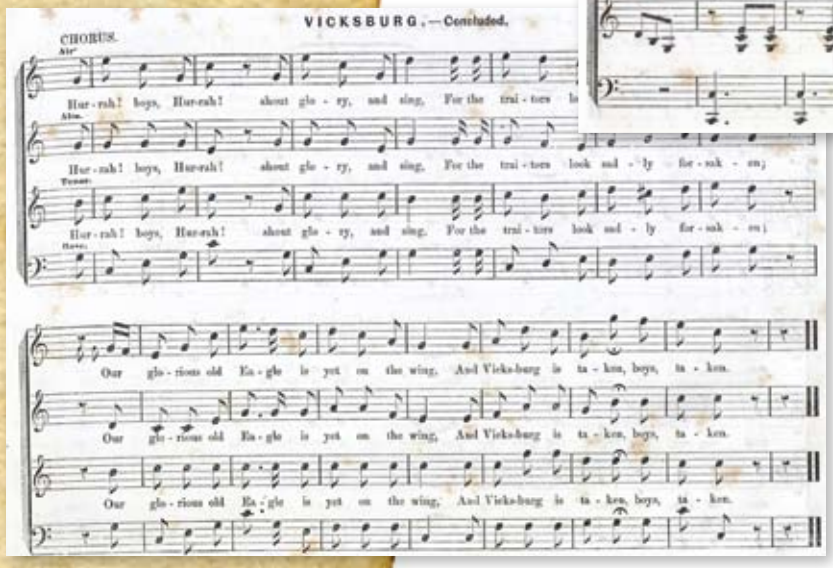




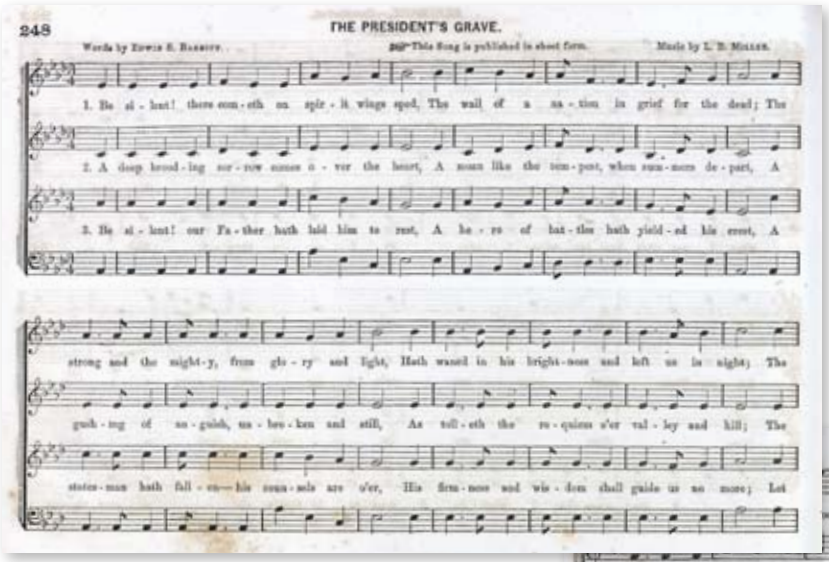
Ulysses Grant (1822-1885) became a war hero after the fall of Vicksburg and his victories in the eastern theater later in the war, fame that catapulted him to win the Republican nomination and election as President in 1868. When the commander at Fort Donelson asked Grant for terms of surrender, Grant replied that, "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted," earning him the nickname "Unconditional Surrender Grant." This portrait of Grant is from *The Most Complete and Authentic History of the Life and Public Services of General U.S. Grant, "The Napoleon of America,"* by Colonel Herman Dieck. *(Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*

"Siege of Vicksburg—13, 15, & 17 Corps, Commanded by Gen. U.S. Grant, Assisted by the Navy Under Admiral Porter–Surrender, July 4, 1863," 1888. *(Image: Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress)*





Vicksburg's surrender to Grant on July 4, 1863, opened the lower Mississippi River to the Union and isolated the western part of the Confederacy from Richmond. As the chorus here states, "the traitors look sadly forsaken." *(Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*



248 THE PRESIDENT'S GRAVE.

Words by Edwin E. Bassett. ☞This Song is published in sheet form. Music by L. B. Miller.

1. Be - hold! there com - eth on swift - ly wings sped, The wail of a na - tion in grief for the dead; The

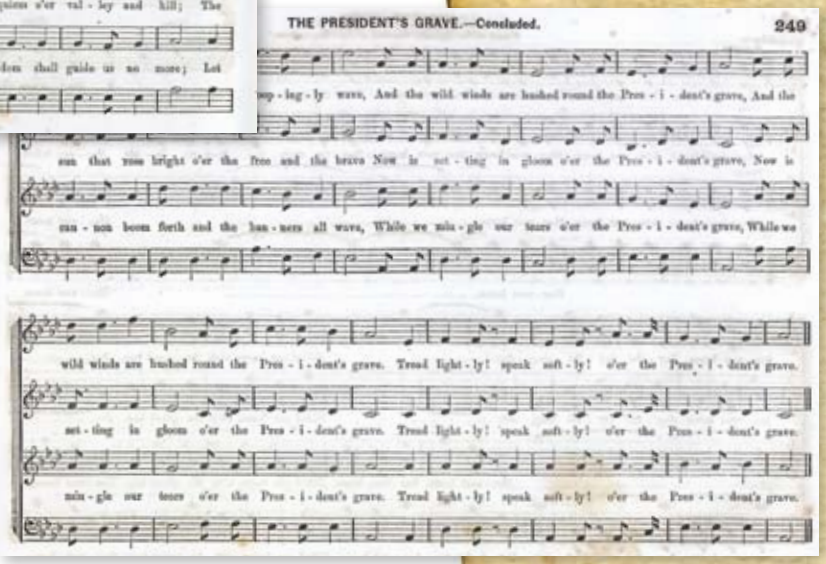
2. A deep hood - ing sor - row comes o - ver the heart, A moan like the tem - pest, when sum - mers de - part, A

3. Be - hold! our Fa - ther hath laid him to rest, A he - ro of bat - tles hath yield - ed his crest, A

strong and the migh - ty, from glo - ry and light, Hath wasted in his bright - ness and left us in night; The

gush - ing of sor - rows, un - bro - ken and still, As toll - eth the re - quiem o'er val - ley and hill; The

states - man hath fall - en—his counsels are o'er, His firm - ness and wis - dom shall guide us no more; Let



THE PRESIDENT'S GRAVE.—Concluded. 249

sun that rose bright o'er the free and the brave Now is set - ting in gloom o'er the Pres - i - dent's grave, Now is

sun - set boom forth and the ban - ners all wave, While we mix - gle our tears o'er the Pres - i - dent's grave, While we

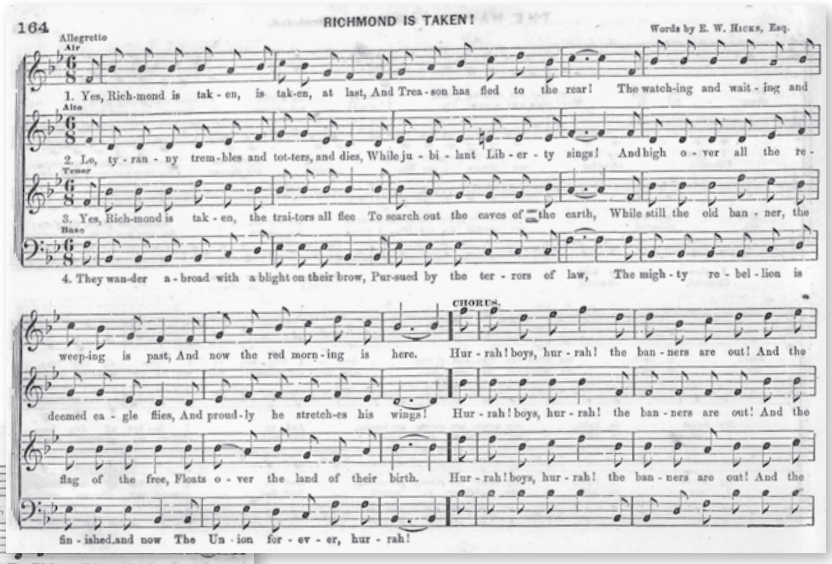
wild winds are hushed round the Pres - i - dent's grave. Tread light - ly! speak soft - ly! o'er the Pres - i - dent's grave.

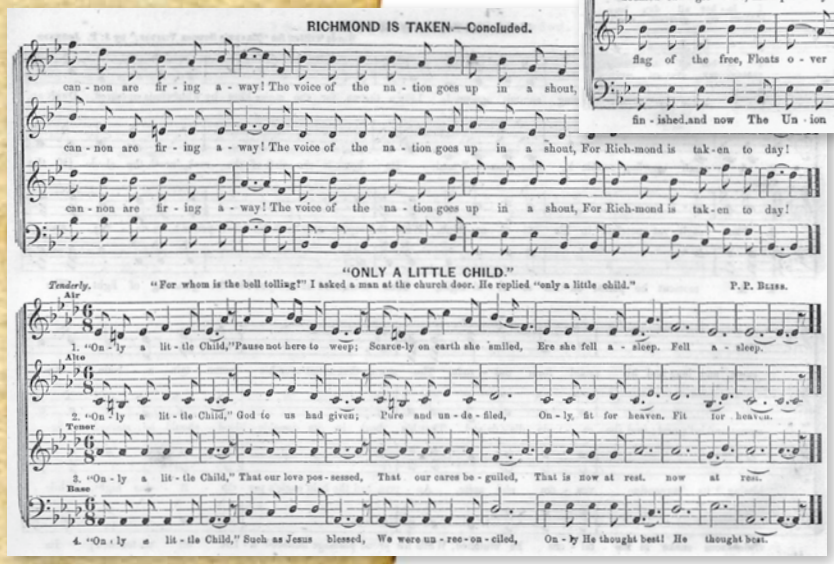
set - ting in gloom o'er the Pres - i - dent's grave. Tread light - ly! speak soft - ly! o'er the Pres - i - dent's grave.

mix - gle our tears o'er the Pres - i - dent's grave. Tread light - ly! speak soft - ly! o'er the Pres - i - dent's grave.

Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) was the first President to be assassinated. His death and funeral created not only the image of Lincoln as national martyr, but also reflected Victorian views about death and mourning, as reflected in both this romanticized view of Lincoln's final moments, as well as this music. (Image top: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection. Images below: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)

Fall of Richmond, May 6, 1865, *Harper's Weekly*. *(Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*





When the Confederate government evacuated its capital, Richmond, Virginia, and Union forces took control of it on April 2, 1865, regaining control of the city was a symbol to many that the Civil War was nearly over, as this song suggests. *(Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*

Lyrics to the Songs

Want to hear the how these songs really sounded? All of these have been recorded by "Voices Only," the a cappella singing group at Lindenwood University. You can hear them by going to our website and clicking on the "Hear the Music" icon at http://www.lindenwood.edu/confluence

The President's Grave

Be Silent! There cometh on spirit wings sped,
The wail of a nation in grief for the dead;
The strong and the mighty, from glory and light,
Hath waned in his brightness and left us in the night;
The proud eagle banners all droopingly wave,
And the wild winds are hushed round the President's grave,
And the wild winds are hushed round the President's grave.
Tread lightly! Speak softly! O'er the President's grave.

A deep brooding sorrow comes over the heart,
A moan like the tempest, when summers depart,
A gushing of anguish, unbroken and still,
As tolleth the requiem o'er valley and hill;
The dun that rose bright o'er the free and the brave
Now is setting in gloom o'er the President's grave,
Now is setting in gloom o'er the President's grave.
Tread lightly! Speak softly! O'er the President's grave.

Be silent! Our Father hath laid him to rest,
A hero of battles hath yielded his crest,
A states man hath fallen his counsels are o'er,
His firmness and wisdom shall guide us no more;
Let cannon boom forth and then banners all wave,
While we mingle our tears o'er the President's grave,
While we mingle our tears o'er the President's grave.
Tread lightly! Speak softly! O'er the President's grave.

Richmond is Taken!

Yes, Richmond is taken, is taken, at last,
And Treason has fled to the rear!
The watching and waiting and weeping is past,
And now the red morning is here.

Chorus:
Hurrah! Boys, hurrah! The banners are out!
And The cannon are firing away!
The voice of the nation goes up in a shout,
For Richmond is taken to day!

Lo, tyranny trembles and totters, and dies,
While jubilant liberty sings!
And high over all the redeemed eagle flies,
And proudly he stretches his wings!

Yes, Richmond is taken the traitors all flee
To search out the caves of the earth,
While still the old banner, the flag of the free,
Floats over the land of their birth.

The wander abroad with a blight on their brow,
Pursued by the terrors of law,
The mighty rebellion is finished and now
The Union forever hurrah!

Vicksburg

All honor and fame to the gallant and brave,
Who have forced the rebs. Out of their holes
Fling out the old banner, boys, proud let it wave
With the sun shining bright on its folds

Chorus:
Hurrah! Boys, Hurrah! Shout glory and sing,
for the traitors look sadly forsaken;
Our glorious old Eagle is yet on the wing,
And Vicksburg is taken, boys, taken.

That flag, now begrim'd with the carnage of war,
Grows better and purer with time,
For Freedom is polishing slowly each star
From the rust of oppression and crime

Bring out the spar powder and fire the big guns,
The rebs are surprised at the way
Columbia's loyal and true hearted sons
Have honor'd their country's Birth Day

Yes, Vicksburg is ours! O, Glory! Hurrah!
Won't all these head rebels feel gay!
And the greatest arch traitor the world ever saw
Old Jeff will feel tickled today!

His great C. S. A. is now severed in twain,
And both of them shortly must die
But he'll no forget, to the end of his reign,
That wonderful Fourth of July!

U-lysses Grant

Give us your hand, Gen'ral Grant You're a man!
You were not the coward to say "I can't,"
Nor the boaster to say "I can;"
But you went to your work with a will, and won,
To prove that the thing could be done.
O fortune was most kind and true
When it gave us a man like Ulysses Grant;
When it gave us a man like you.

Honor to you, Gen'ral Grant! You have made
The hearts of the nation with joy to pant,
That were lying so cold in shade.
And they bless you forever for what you've done,
For glorious victories won
And pray that fate may grant a few
More such brave fighting men as Ulysses Grant,
More such brave fighting men as you.

"Shall we be one strong united people..."

BY MIRANDA RECTENWALD AND SONYA ROONEY

Eliot's study at 2660 Washington Avenue as it appeared just after the Civil War. The correspondence and diary entries here were mostly likely written here. *(Image: Washington University Library Special Collections)*

Born in 1811 in New Bedford, Massachusetts, William Greenleaf Eliot trained at Cambridge Divinity School and was ordained a Unitarian minister in 1834. That same year he traveled to St. Louis as a missionary and became the first Unitarian minister west of the Mississippi. Soon followed by his wife Abby, Eliot spent the remainder of his life in St. Louis, raising a family and becoming one of the city's most influential and respected citizens. He worked tirelessly to better society until his death in 1887. Before the Civil War, Eliot helped found and shape Washington University, strengthened the St. Louis Public School System, and advocated for temperance and women's education.

Eliot was a moderate abolitionist and as the Civil War began he spoke out strongly in favor of the Union. Yet Eliot always insisted that charity, education, and especially relief work such as the Western Sanitary Commission remain non-partisan.

Below are selections from Eliot's personal journals, written during the spring and summer of 1861 as the war's presence progressively increased in St. Louis. These journal entries are part of the William Greenleaf Eliot Personal Papers which are housed at University Archives, Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries (online finding aid: http://library.wustl.edu/units/spec/archives/guides/pdf/wgeliot.pdf).

William Greenleaf Eliot (1811-1887) came to St. Louis soon after his ordination as a Unitarian minister in 1834, founding the Church of the Messiah (now First Unitarian Church of St. Louis), the first Unitarian church west of the Mississippi. At the start of Civil War, Eliot was among a small group who helped keep Missouri in the Union. Eliot co-founded Washington University in 1853. *(Image: Washington University Library Special Collections)*

Eliot's copy of his letter to St. Louis Public Schools President Edward Wyman. Soon after moving to St. Louis, Eliot was one of the founders of St. Louis Public Schools, and held a life-long commitment to education. *(Image: Washington University Library Special Collections)*

May 1861, Eliot drafts a letter to Edward Wyman, President of the Board of Directors for the St. Louis public schools, on the need for education despite the war (Notebook 6, page 15)

Mr. Wyman, President Public Schools –

Dear Sir, In common with all citizens of St. Louis who feel an interest in the welfare of children, I am much gratified to see that the PS [public schools] will be open as usual in September, and that for doing this you place confidence in the well known ability of our fellow citizens. The greatest evils (of war, especially) of Civil War, consist in the demoralization of Society, especially of the young, and those who labor to prevent this by sustaining Schools & Institutions of learning, are doing the work of patriotism in the most effective manner. Whatever may be the differences of opinion among us as to current events, we can all agree upon the necessity of educating the rising generation. The Divine Savior said, "Lovest thou me more than these? Feed my lambs." So do we say to all who are proven superior Patriots, Take care of the child! Keep them out of harm's way. Shelter them from the storm & teach them how to become good citizens.

Having these views, permit me to add that several years ago two of my sons were scholars in the PS [public schools] for a year or more, and in part consider it the [*illegible*] they received from an Institution ever in difficulty. You may expect from me on 1st Oct. if the Sch[ools] are re-opened, the [sum?] of $50 in answer to your appeal. I do this the more readily, because altho the sum is in itself insignificant, I think that small contributions from many persons, will be the best method of supplying your need.

Eliot's original notes for a sermon entitled "Loyalty and Religion" delivered at the Church of the Messiah, August 18, 1861 (Notebook 6, page 36)

Nothing surprises me more than the sluggishness of this country–the slowest to awake to the immensity of intents involved. I hear the matter treated as if one of local or party intent: "For or against the administration." Lincoln or anti-Lincoln. Every little side-issue is sought. Every mistake in policy, street-outrage, technical violation of law, etc. Seized upon, & made ground of angry words & treasonable action, - as if the subject of country were one of minor interests, of temporary loss or gain.

Not so. It is the existence or non-existence of our country. The permanence or dismemberment of a Nation. Shall we be one strong united people, the leading nation of the world, or scattered into, no one can tell how many communities, at strife among ourselves, to the scorn and contempt of all nations!

Look back less than 12 months, & what were we then? These United States of America! & True, there had been party conflicts & strifes; rights infringed—wrongs unadjusted—bad laws in existence, good laws unenforced—criminations & recriminations, mobs & violence, threats & denunciations—fanatics at the North declared that any Slave State was worse than a pandemonium. Fanatics at the South declaring that Eden / Paradise itself would be an imperfect abode, without the Peculiar Institution. We were not a perfect Nation, but with stains enough upon our escutcheon, weakness & sins enough; with too much boasting, too little self-respect.

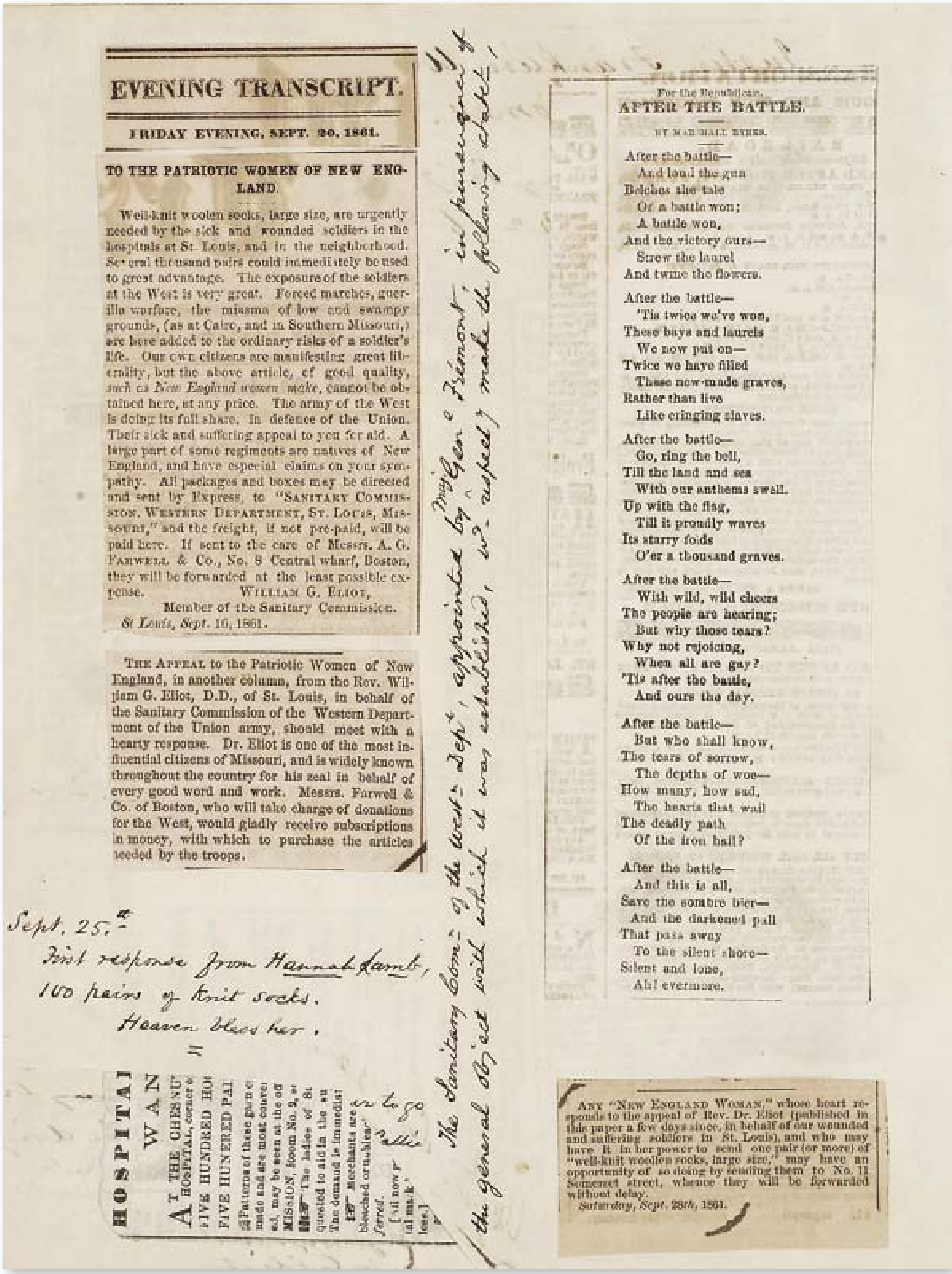
Jessie Benton Fremont (1824-1902) had long St. Louis roots. Her father was Missouri Sen. Thomas Hart Benton, so she also spent much of her time in Washington, D.C., where she met her future husband, western explorer John Charles Fremont. Jessie Fremont had great influence on her husband, who was at the time commander of the Department of the West. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

Mid-August 1861, Eliot pens a letter to Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont, regarding the morale of troops under her husband's command (Notebook 6, page 55)

Mrs. Fremont,

Dear Madam. May I take the very great liberty of calling your attention, & thru you, the attention of General F[rémont] to another subject closely connected with sanitary reform & well-regulated hospitals: - in as much as cleanliness is one step to Godliness, & the health of the body is in a great degree dependent upon that of the mind.

I have frequently visited the Camps, both in this state & Illinois, and the troops at the Arsenal, & the Hospitals, and it seems to me that the principal thing wanting in our Army, at this time, is Elevation of moral tone. They [soldiers] need to be inspirited, inspired with true sentiments of Patriotism & Loyalty. They do not comprehend or feel the grandeur of the work, the Sacredness of the Cause, in which they are engaged. They need singleness of purpose, without which no man can be the soldier of liberty. Some of them are 'on a frolic'; some are serving for pay; some are led by spirit of adoration;



EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

FRIDAY EVENING, SEPT. 20, 1861.

TO THE PATRIOTIC WOMEN OF NEW ENGLAND.

Well-knit woolen socks, large size, are urgently needed by the sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals at St. Louis, and in the neighborhood. Several thousand pairs could immediately be used to great advantage. The exposure of the soldiers at the West is very great. Forced marches, guerilla warfare, the miasma of low and swampy grounds, (as at Cairo, and in Southern Missouri,) are here added to the ordinary risks of a soldier's life. Our own citizens are manifesting great liberality, but the above article, of good quality, such as *New England women make*, cannot be obtained here, at any price. The army of the West is doing its full share, in defence of the Union. Their sick and suffering appeal to you for aid. A large part of some regiments are natives of New England, and have especial claims on your sympathy. All packages and boxes may be directed and sent by Express, to "SANITARY COMMISSION, WESTERN DEPARTMENT, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI," and the freight, if not pre-paid, will be paid here. If sent to the care of Messrs. A. G. FARWELL & Co., No. 8 Central wharf, Boston, they will be forwarded at the least possible expense.

WILLIAM G. ELIOT,
Member of the Sanitary Commission.

St Louis, Sept. 16, 1861.

THE APPEAL to the Patriotic Women of New England, in another column, from the Rev. William G. Eliot, D.D., of St. Louis, in behalf of the Sanitary Commission of the Western Department of the Union army, should meet with a hearty response. Dr. Eliot is one of the most influential citizens of Missouri, and is widely known throughout the country for his zeal in behalf of every good word and work. Messrs. Farwell & Co. of Boston, who will take charge of donations for the West, would gladly receive subscriptions in money, with which to purchase the articles needed by the troops.

Sept. 25th
First response from Hannah Lamb,
100 pairs of knit socks.
Heaven bless her.

The Sanitary Com. of the West, Sept. appointed by Maj. Gen. Fremont, in pursuance of the general object with which it was established, w. respectfully make the following statement,

For the Republican.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

BY MARSHALL EYRES.

After the battle—
And loud the gun
Belches the tale
Of a battle won;
A battle won,
And the victory ours—
Strew the laurel
And twine the flowers.

After the battle—
'Tis twice we've won,
These bays and laurels
We now put on—
Twice we have filled
These new-made graves,
Rather than live
Like cringing slaves.

After the battle—
Go, ring the bell,
Till the land and sea
With our anthems swell.
Up with the flag,
Till it proudly waves
Its starry folds
O'er a thousand graves.

After the battle—
With wild, wild cheers
The people are hearing;
But why those tears?
Why not rejoicing,
When all are gay?
'Tis after the battle,
And ours the day.

After the battle—
But who shall know,
The tears of sorrow,
The depths of woe—
How many, how sad,
The hearts that wail
The deadly path
Of the iron hail?

After the battle—
And this is all,
Save the sombre bier—
And the darkened pall
That pass away
To the silent shore—
Silent and lone,
Ah! evermore.

ANY "NEW ENGLAND WOMAN," whose heart responds to the appeal of Rev. Dr. Eliot (published in this paper a few days since, in behalf of our wounded and suffering soldiers in St. Louis), and who may have it in her power to send one pair (or more) of "well-knit woollen socks, large size," may have an opportunity of so doing by sending them to No. 11 Somerset street, whence they will be forwarded without delay.

Saturday, Sept. 28th, 1861.

Congress created the United States Sanitary Commission in June 1861 to coordinate women volunteering to aid in the war effort in the Civil War; in Missouri, it was officially authorized by regional commander General John Charles Fremont in September, just weeks before Eliot's letter (pictured here) appeared. One function of women involved in local USSC chapters was to raise money through "Sanitary Fairs," including the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair held in St. Louis in April 1864. As this page from his scrapbooks attests, Eliot was a supporter of such efforts from the start of the program. *(Image: Washington University Library Special Collections)*

some by pure love of fighting; some must go with the current. Those who have an inward conviction of duty, to govern & direct them, are the rare exception. The majority of them are very young men, & are terribly exposed to temptation, in danger of utter ruin by the influences of camp life. What is true of the men is also true, to a part[ial] extent, of the officers, the greater of whom are inexperienced ~~& untrained~~ & will be incompetent (incapable) for a long time to come, to explain that strict military discipline, which (in some degree) takes the place of higher principles [following marked out by Eliot]] {& which, in connection with those higher principles of morality & religion, can alone make the thorough soldier & the accomplished officer.} …

After the opportunity to speak with Miss Dorothea Dix during her visit to St. Louis in August 1861, Eliot drafted a proposal creating a Sanitary Commission for the West, mirroring the U.S. Sanitary Commission established in the Northeast. (Notebook 6, page 59-60)

Suggestions submitted Sept. 3, 1861, Sanitary Commission for the Department of the West. With a view to the health & comfort of the Volunteer Troops in and near the City of St. Louis, ~~the appointment of~~ a Sanitary Commission is hereby appointed to consist of Five gentlemen, citizens of St. Louis, who will serve voluntarily & for subject to removal at pleasure. The general duty shall be to suggest & carry out, (under the properly constituted military authorities & in compliance with their orders,) such sanitary regulations & reforms in the Camps and Hospitals as the welfare of the Soldiery may ~~from time request~~ demand. This commission shall have authority, under the direction of the Medical Director, to select, fit up & ~~properly~~ furnish suitable buildings for Hospital use, & also for Brigade Hospitals, in such places & under such conditions as circumstances demand ~~may require~~. It ~~shall~~ will attend to the selection & appointment of women nurses, under the authority & by the direction of Miss. D.L. Dix, (General Superintendent of the Nurses of Military Hospitals in the U.S.) It ~~shall~~ will cooperate with the Surgeons of the General Hospitals, in providing male nurses, and in whatever manner practicably, by their consent. It shall have authority to visit the different camps, to consult with the Commissioning officers, the Colonels & ~~Med.~~ other officers of the General regiments, with regard to the {best methods of improving the} Sanitary & general condition of the troops, by providing proper means for the preservation of health & the prevention of sickness, by proper management of the culinary department in the camps, by establishing systems of drainage, and whatever other means practicable. It will obtain from the Community at large, such additional means of increasing the comfort & promoting the moral & social well being of the men, in Camp & Hospital, as may be needed & ~~are~~ can not be furnished by Government Regulations. It will from time to time report directly to the Commander in Chief of the Department, the condition of Camps & Hospitals, with such suggestions as may properly be made by a Sanitary Board. … The above was copied & adopted by General Frémont, Signed – Sept. 5. 1861. Appointed – James E. Yeatman, George Partridge, J.B. Johnson – M.D., Carlos C. Greely, W.G. Eliot. First Meeting, 3 p.m. at McCreery's Building, Fifth & Chestnut.

September 8, 1861, Eliot writes to Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase (Notebook 6, Pages 61-62, 64)

Hon. S. P. Chase –

Dear Sir, Will you permit me again to address you upon public affairs, and to request you to ~~lay~~ place my letter before the President, if you consider it worthy of such regard. My desire is to call your attention to the critical condition of Missouri, and the necessity of a vigorous policy & strong measures to save it from complete utter devastation. The great difficulty is that two thirds of the State are disloyal, and a large part of the remainder inactive. A moral paralysis is on the Union men, and the most diabolical zeal animates the Rebels. They seem determined to force Missouri from the Union, by first making it impossible for Union men to live here, and they stop short of no villainy or wickedness to gain their end. {They know that it is a matter of life & death with them, for if Missouri is made loyal, it will be the same fact be made a free state, and their occupation is gone.} Nothing but a strong army of occupation can hold the state & prevent its social destruction.

A month ago we were at the ~~point of defeat~~ brink of ruin. <u>I have reason to know</u> that an uprising of the Secessionists, aided by large numbers of floating population not belonging to us, in St. Louis, was fully arranged, to welcome the Rebel Armies. The day was fixed, the plans matured. Pillow, Hardee & McCullough, counting confidently on [Union General] Lyon's defeat, expected to march here by the 20th Aug. They knew the utter defenseless condition of St. Louis, that we had neither troops, nor ammunition, & no organization of the Union part of the peoples. They knew, by their spies here, that Gen. Fremont <u>had no means of reinforcing Lyon</u>, & were therefore sure of victory. – On this subject ~~by the way~~, great error has prevailed in this city, and perhaps may have extended to Washington. General F. [Fremont] & Major McK. [Justin McKinstry] are surely blamed for not sending reinforcements to Springfield, - when they had none to send … <u>no one can tell whom to trust</u>. Political, moral & social consideration are so mixed together, that men who ought to be true prove false, and a [*illegible*] necessary [dwells?] upon the Commander in chief to oversee &[inspect?] by this ~~for~~ himself.

Pardon my intrusion. My whole heart is this cause. The war of Barbarism against Civilization, of Slavery against Freedom, is the great event of the 19th C[entury]. May God protect the right. Yrs. truly, --
Copied & Sent Sept. 8th 1861

The Iowa Boys Winter in

By the time Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon (1818-1861) arrived in St. Louis in March 1861, he was already experienced at fighting pro-Southern guerrillas. He came to Missouri from fighting in Kansas, where he had become both an ardent abolitionist and a Republican. Lyon was named commander of the St. Louis arsenal and enlisted the aid of a paramilitary organization called the St. Louis Wide-Awakes to protect it from the pro-secession Missouri State Guard, recently called up by Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson. Thinking the Guard was planning to take the arsenal, Lyon ordered the capture of the Guard on May 10, 1861; rioting broke out as Lyon marched the prisoners through St. Louis, leading to firing (a controversy still exists about which side fired first). Credited with keeping Missouri out of Confederate hands, Lyon was promoted to command the Army of the West July 2. Nathaniel Lyon died in battle at Wilson's Creek in southwest Missouri August 10. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

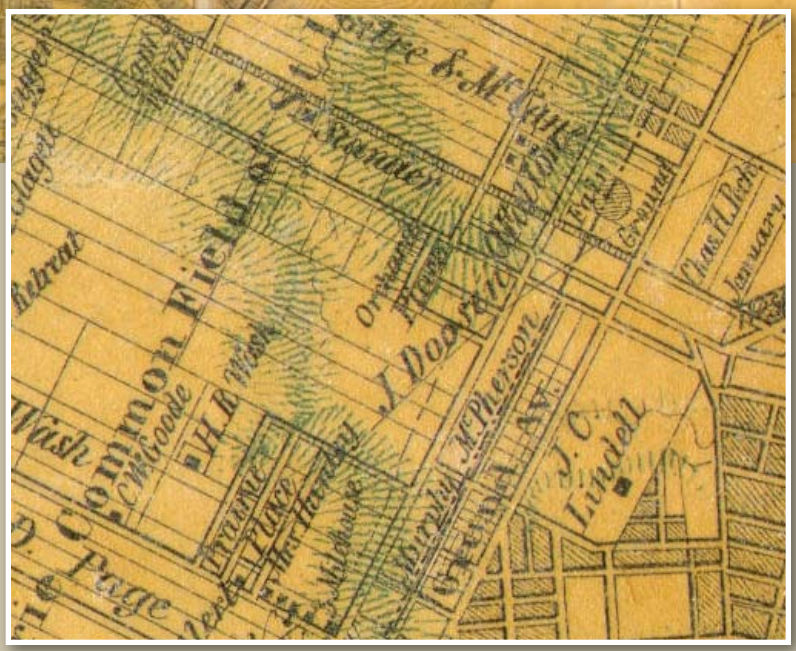
BY DAVID L. STRAIGHT

The day after the Union Army surrendered Fort Sumter in South Carolina, Abraham Lincoln called upon the loyal governors to raise 75,000 volunteer soldiers for ninety days of service under Federal command to put down the rebellion. The response was enthusiastic. In Iowa, twenty times as many volunteers turned out as could be taken into the first regiment.[1] During the summer of 1861, the 1st Iowa Volunteer Infantry, along with volunteers from St. Louis and Kansas, joined General Nathaniel Lyon's Federal troops in pursuing the secessionist Governor Claiborne Jackson and General Sterling Price across the state to keep Missouri in the Union.

As Lyon's force closed on the rebels near Springfield in August, the Iowa volunteers announced that their ninety days were nearly completed, but they were spoiling for a fight and were willing stay another week or so to see some action.[2] Like the Battle of Bull Run, which took place in Virginia the previous month, the lack of training and discipline among the volunteers, and a failure to coordinate the various units, resulted in a Union disaster at Wilson's Creek, near Springfield. Although no one foresaw the ultimate carnage, these early battles foreshadowed a protracted war rather than the summer adventure many young volunteers had imagined.

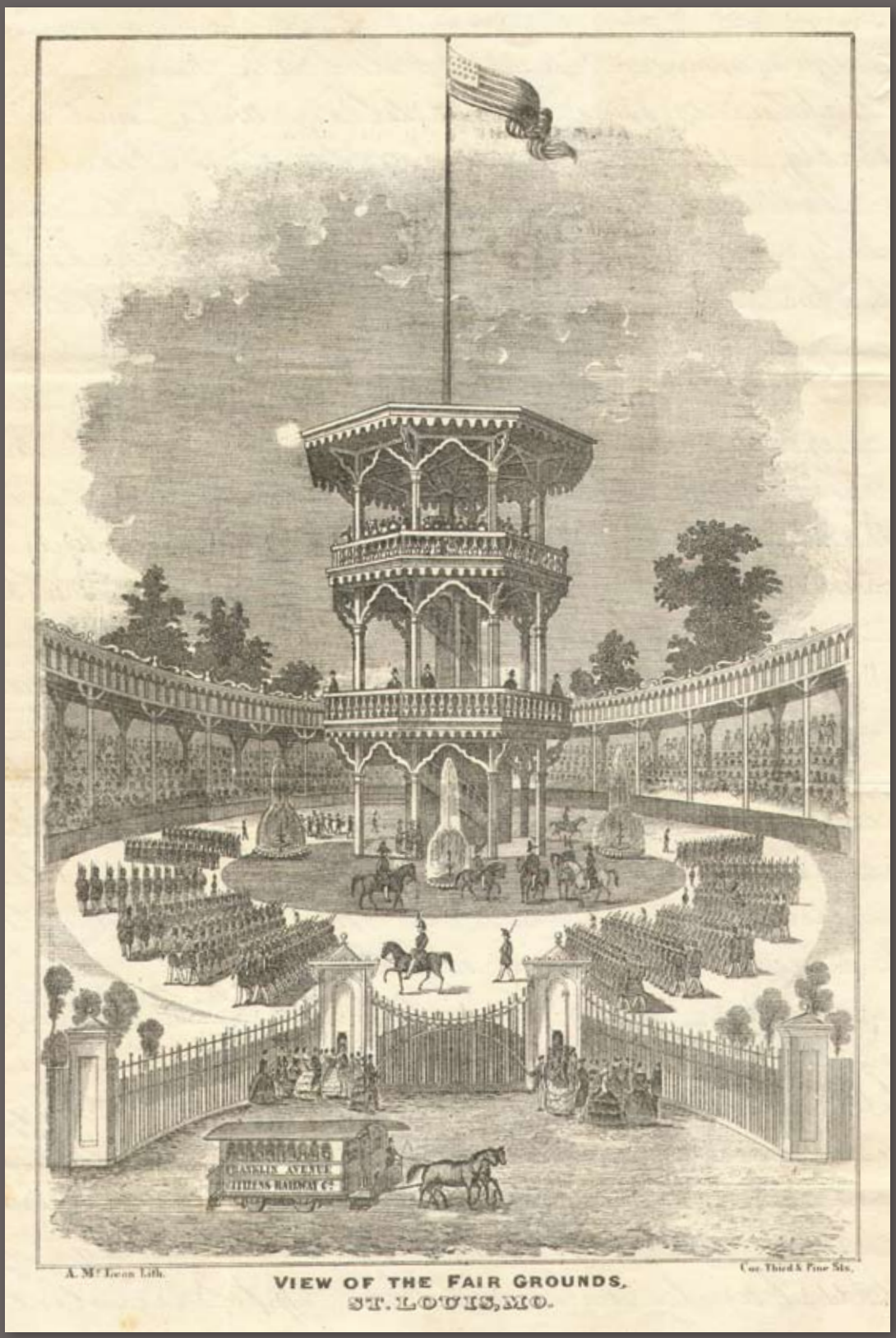
Battles and skirmishes, particularly in Border States like Missouri, continued throughout the summer and fall of 1861. As winter approached and the campaign season ended for the year, some of the Union forces went into camp to rest, heal, train, and prepare for the coming spring campaign. One of these locations was Benton Barracks, five miles northwest of downtown St. Louis. Three letters

St. Louis, 1861-1862



Benton Barracks included the Fair Grounds on Grand Avenue at Natural Bridge Road, and the adjacent land (marked O'Fallon) rented from Col. John O'Fallon. *(Image: New Topographical Map of Saint Louis County Missouri, by Gustavus Waagner (St. Louis: Schaerff & Bro., 1857)).*

Top Left: A matching Camp Benton envelope, although not from any of the three transcribed letters. Soldiers did not have free postage during the Civil War. The stamp is from the set issued in 1861 after the Post Office demonized all the previously issued stamps to prevent stocks remaining in southern post offices from being used to finance the war effort. *(Image: Private Collection)*



Another McLean lettersheet shows soldiers parading on the Fair Grounds adjacent to Camp Benton. The horse-drawn streetcar, in the foreground, has brought spectators out from the city. Except for the Civil War years, Agricultural and Mechanical Fairs were held here annually from 1856 until 1902. *(Image: Private Collection)*

A Camp Benton lettersheet showing the headquarters at the center, behind the soldiers drilling with the barracks running down both sides. The flag in the background is on the adjacent Fair Grounds. Lithographed by A. McLean in his shop at the corner of 3rd and Pine Streets in St. Louis.

On January 12,1862, George W. Round was sufficiently recovered from illness to write his parents. He was a private in the 1st Independent Battery of the Iowa Light Artillery. George, age 18, was living with his parents in Cedar Falls, Blackhawk County, when he enlisted. The unit organized in Burlington in August 1861 and moved to Benton Barracks in early December where they received their full equipment, including six guns, with caissons. A few days after his letter, the Battery traveled to Rolla, the terminus for the southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad. They first saw combat at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, in March 1862. George was discharged in St. Louis with a disability on November 28, 1863. *(Image: Private Collection)*

January 12, 1862
Benton Barracks, St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Parents,

I received your letter on Christmas Eve. It was a very welcome Christmas Gift – but I could not answer it as soon as I would like to have done on account of a severe fit of sickness, which kept me in the hospital for more than a week. But I am now enjoying as good health as ever. The disease that I suffered with was intermittent fever brought on by a severe cold. I was well taken care of in the hospital and I will ever remember the kindness of Doctor Dyer and the nurses Charles Howard and Dutch August. The above is a pretty representation of Benton Barracks. Now imagine a row of buildings down by this tree standing alone and running in the opposite direction. One end commencing about the tree and the other end running down just opposite Headquarter, which is the large building in the center. This is the guard house. Now then, at the end opposite Headquarters, a row of buildings starts running in the same direction as those you see on the side. This is barracks no. five. Quarters no. 5 is where I am stationed. In my next, I shall send you a picture of the fairground. Or rather, I will send it by express & tomorrow I intend to send you twenty-five dollars by express. You will get it at Mr. Bishop's the latter part of the week. There is no more news. I forgot to tell you that I had got a letter from Elizabeth. She says she has not got a letter from you in three months. Give my love to all enquiring friends. I remain your affectionate son.
George W. Round

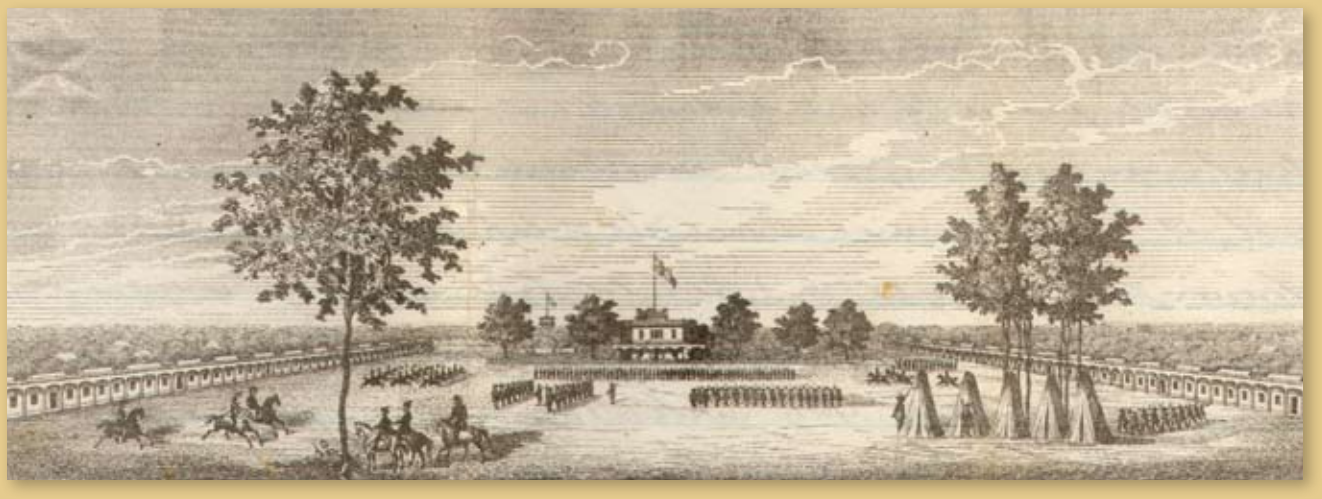
(from a private collection) written by Iowa volunteers posted to Benton Barracks provide glimpses of a Union soldier's life during the first winter of the Civil War.

Recognizing the need for a camp where enthusiastic farm boys and store clerks coming to St. Louis with the volunteer regiments could be turned into soldiers, General John C. Fremont ordered a survey of various sites west of the city. In August, he selected the 150 acres owned by Col. John O'Fallon, a nephew of William and George Rogers Clark. O'Fallon offered the government use of his land for one year for the patriotic price of $150, and construction began immediately. Historian J. Thomas Scharf writing two decades later described Camp Benton as follows:

> The site chosen was admirably adapted for a military camp, being level, free from obstruction, and covered with a beautiful greensward. It was immediately graded to a perfect plane, and an effective system of underground sewerage was constructed, so that after a rain the water was speedily carried off, and the ground thereby kept in excellent condition for parade purposes. A large number of mechanics were employed in the erection of barracks for men and stables for horses. The barracks were constructed in five rows, each seven hundred and forty feet in length, extending from east to west. Each row of barracks was about forty feet in width, exclusive of covered walks on each side, which extended six of eight feet from the main building. The interior was divided into compartments of convenient size, and these were lined on all sides with bunks for sleeping. Good provision was made for ventilation by means of openings in the walls, and there were sleeping accommodations for one hundred men in each seventy feet of the barrack building.[3]

The construction also included kitchen sheds, warehouses, and a two-story headquarters building. Water was piped into the camp from the nearby city reservoir.[4] Named in honor of Fremont's father-in-law, the late Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Benton Barracks also incorporated the acreage and buildings of the adjacent St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Fair at the corner of Grand Avenue and Natural Bridge Road. Saloons, restaurants, and photography studios sprang up quickly around the camp.[5] General Samuel R. Curtis, who assumed command on September 18, 1861, was given authority over all civilian and military facilities within a one-mile radius of Benton Barracks and ordered all civilian residents within that radius to move out. In the summer of 1863, General William Kerley Strong stopped all liquor sales within one mile of the camp.[6]

Our three letters from Iowa volunteers (transcribed left, and following this article) were written on Camp Benton lettersheets and, most likely, mailed in matching illustrated envelopes. The soldiers write as if these are



In a letter to his brother on December 15, 1861, William Robinson refers to other soldiers from Dubuque, suggesting that he was part of an Iowa unit. *The Roster of Union Soldiers* lists 20 men with that name who served in various Iowa units during the Civil War. Five of them should have been in St. Louis on that date; three with the 2nd Iowa Infantry (the same regiment as Charles Albright) and one each with 2nd Iowa Cavalry and the 3rd Iowa Cavalry.

December 15, 1861
Dear Brother

I received yours last nite and was glad to hear from you. I got one from home today. They was all well and doing well. I am well, fat, sassy, and dirty and up to any thing that comes along. We have fun hunting the Secesh here.

This picture represents the camp that we stay at in St. Louis. The white house is headquarters and the flag you see beyond that is on the fairgrounds and it contains 82 acres and is as level as a floor. The tents that you see is the guard's tents and the trees is persimmon trees. They was full of fruit. There is lots of extra work behind them rows of barracks. There is a cook shed and three long tables to eat at. And, an eve all round that a man can walk in the shelter when it rains. The men you see is going out to dress parade. There is only about half you can see.

There is two or 3 hundred acres in all. There was about 13 thousand soldiers there when I was. I tell you it looks nice to stand and look at them and to have the music and to see them step off. It makes one think he never seen anything. If you could see them some Sunday evening come to church, you would think you never seen any thing. For there is 8 or 9 band of music. Turns out, we have the German band from Dubuque with our regiment. They make good music and you ought to be here some of these moon shiny nites to see the boys waltz and dance. There will be sometimes 4 or 5 hundred dancers all at once and then you can hear them holler and scream for 5 miles. And, at 9 o'clock every thing has to be still and all the lites blowed out and the roll called and every one accounted for. If they ain't they get on double duty.

I can't describe things as well as I could tell you. But I tell what kind of men we have to deal with. They are a one set of galas [sic] critters. They don't know anything and don't try to learn anything. There is some that don't know as much as the Negros they possess, and they all talk the same language that they do. And when we talk about the constitution, they don't know what we mean and they will stare and gaze at us like idiots. They never seen the constitution nor heard it read and don't know what we mean when we talk about the constitution. They are the ____ of creation and I think that when they was made the man's metal had run out and they mixed a rite _____ of yellow dog metal and alligator and skunk from the way they smell. And when they got it run up they called them Secesh. I think that is the way they got in this world. There is some lived here two years in two miles and a half of the rail road and never seen it. We can show them a trick or two that they never knew. There has been several of our boys shot at them but hadn't hit any of them yet. But, I think we have the pleasure of trying. Some now for we have some that we have to shoot soon.

We have took about 80 prisoners since we have been here. Our two companies we have done more them the balance of the regiment. We have 23 here now. We have to send them on as soon as they get ready to lend to ___. We have our horses yet and wagons and have to keep them till we leave here. We have cleaned them out for 50 miles around here.

I don't know that I can write anything very interesting, so I quit. Write as soon as you get this and I will try to answer all you write in the last two or three weeks. There has been several deaths. There has been 16 died and there is several more that ain't expected to live at present.

Still remain your affectionate brother,
Wm. Robinson

their first letters from Benton Barracks, so selecting the illustrated lettersheets was a logical choice. George mentions that he will send a picture of the Fair Grounds in his next letter. Among the details each writes about are food, recreation, or the barracks; William notes that the trees in the foreground are persimmons and "they was full of fruit." Both Charles and William mention the nearly continual drilling and parading that was critical in training the new recruits. The soldiers on parade also provided a new entertainment for the citizens of St. Louis, already accustomed to riding out to the Fair Grounds.

Charles and George were both recovering from illness when they wrote. In armies that suffered more casualties from illness than from combat, health care was a major concern with so many men living in such close proximity. Bird Point, Missouri, where Charles recalls four or five deaths a day from illness, was in the swampy lowlands of Mississippi County at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Among the 1,433 soldiers of the 2nd Iowa Infantry, 75 were killed in combat and 24 more died from their wounds, while 121 died of disease.[7] George, who was hospitalized at Benton Barracks, was ultimately discharged with a disability, perhaps brought on by illness.

When George alerts his parents that he would send "twenty five dollars by express," he points out the difficulty soldiers faced when sending money, often their pay, home to their families. Soldiers were paid in cash, frequently with gold coins, which would be too obvious in the mail. There was no national banking system. Many small towns had no bank, and if they did, out-of-town checks were not accepted due to the cost and difficulty in collecting them. Although Registered Mail began in 1855, it was not secure before 1867 and carried no indemnity on the contents until 1898. Attempting to meet the needs of soldiers, the U.S. Post Office introduced money orders at 141 Post Offices in 1864. However, the vast majority of Post Offices were not authorized to pay out money orders until the early twentieth century, effectively limiting their use. This left the express companies, principally Adams, American Express, and Wells Fargo, as the best means for sending money, especially gold coins.

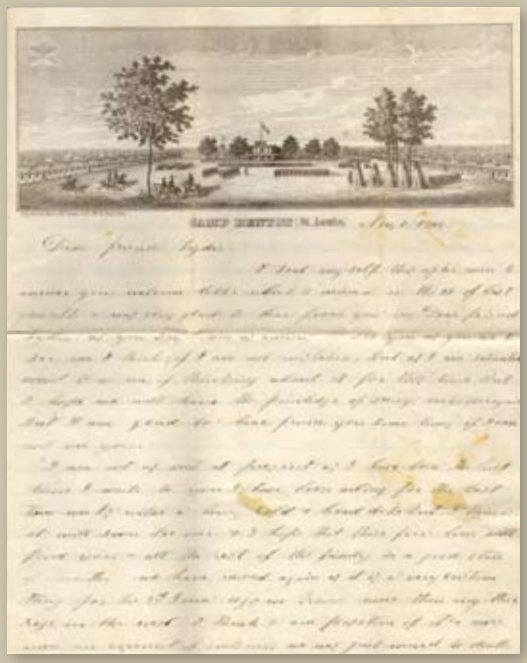
When William writes, "We have fun hunting the Secesh here," he is referring to the secessionists and Confederate sympathizers who remained in Missouri. Because of the divided loyalties in slave-holding Border States such as Missouri, troops guarded strategic points like railroads and bridges to prevent sabotage and were frequently involved with guerrilla actions. William expressed a very low opinion of the rebels, who were fellow citizens, only the year before. Perhaps most telling is his observation that they "don't know as much as the Negros [sic] they possess." That he is particularly appalled by the secessionists' ignorance of the Constitution, but makes no comment about the institution of slavery, indicates that these Iowa volunteers understood the conflict to be primarily about preserving the Union.

Scholars estimate that soldiers, both Union and Confederate, sent or received an average of 180,000 letters each day of the Civil War.[8] This extensive exchange of letters about health, weather, and daily activity was possible because the U.S. Post Office had recently adopted a more efficient business model based upon delivering high volumes of affordable mail. The most prominent features of this nineteenth-century Post Office reform were the prepayment of postage with stamps and a significant reduction in postage rates. Beginning July 1, 1851, the rate for a half-ounce prepaid letter was reduced to only three cents to any point in the United States less than 3,000 miles distant; the distance differential was eliminated in 1863. Prior to the rate reductions that began in 1845, postage on letters from St. Louis to any point in Iowa more than 300 miles distant by post road cost 25 cents per sheet of paper, with the envelope counting as an additional sheet of paper. Having grown up with a communications revolution that made postage affordable for all citizens, Civil War soldiers, while separated from loved ones, did not expect to be out of touch with family and friends.

In September 1865, the Benton Barracks' land was returned to its owners. While nothing from the Civil War remains, the land survives as Fairgrounds Park. With its many functions—training camp, temporary duty station for troops awaiting deployment, cantonment where new regiments were organized and mustered, encampment for troops paroled by the Confederacy, military hospital, and camp for refugee slaves—thousands of soldiers passed through Benton Barracks during the five years of the Civil War.

NOTES

1 Bruce Catton, *This Hallowed Ground* (New York: Doubleday, 1956), 22.
2 Catton, 49.
3 J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County from the Earliest Periods to the Present Day* (Philadelphia: Everts, 1883), 400-401.
4 From F. F. Kiner, *One Years Soldiering* (1863) quoted on the website *Benton Barracks, Missouri* by Scott K. Williams http://www.usgennet.org/usa/mo/county/stlouis/benton.htm.
5 Charles van Ravenswaay, *Saint Louis: An Informal History of the City and its People, 1764-1865* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1991), 498-499.
6 William C. Winter, *The Civil War in St. Louis: A Guide Tour* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1994), 73-75.
7 Iowa, Adjutant General Office, *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines: Government Printing Office, 1908) vol. 1, "Historical Sketch Second Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry" reproduced and formatted for the internet http://iagenweb.org/civilwar/books/logan/mil302.htm
8 David M. Henkin, *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century American* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 137. Henkin discusses Civil War letters within the larger context of American postal communications.



On November 1, 1861, Charles F. Albright, a private in Company C of the 2nd Iowa Volunteer Infantry, wrote to his "Dear friend Lydia," signing the letter "your sincere friend and lover." Mustered in at Keokuk on May 27, 1861, his unit was initially assigned to guard the Northern Missouri Railroad. In July, they moved to Bird Point and served at various locations in southeastern Missouri until moving to Benton Barracks in October. The 2nd Iowa left St. Louis on February 10, 1862, spending the remainder of the year in Tennessee and Mississippi, including action at Fort Donelson, Pittsburg Landing, Shiloh, and Corinth. Charles survived the war. Having served his enlistment, he was discharged May 27, 1864. While no further information was found regarding Lydia Terner, he married a woman named Adeline in 1862. She claimed her widow's pension when he died in 1902.

Camp Benton (St. Louis.)
Nov. 1, 1861
Dear friend Lydia,

I seat myself this afternoon to answer your welcome letter, which I received on the 28 of last month & was very glad to hear from you my Dear friend Lydia. As you say, I am as anxious to see you as you are to see me. I think, if I am not mistaken. But as I am situated now it is no use of thinking about it for this time. But I hope we will have the privilege of seeing each other again. But I am glad to hear from you some times if I can not see you.

I am not as well at present as I have been the last time I wrote to you. I have been ailing for the last two weeks with a heavy cold & head ache. But I think it will soon be over & I hope that these few lines will find you & all the rest of the family in a good state of health. We have moved again as it is a very custom thing for the 2nd Iowa Regiment. We travel more than any other regiment in the west. I think & am positive of it & [we loose] more men on account of sickness. We was just worried to death while we stayed at Bird Point. Our number of deaths in the regiment averaged from 4 to 5 a day. There was two died in one tent in one day. But we have moved to this place & it is a very nice place to stop at. The best place we have found yet. I should like if you was here to see this place the name of this place Benton Barracks (or Camp Benton). You will see the picture of it at the head of this sheet. I think you will say to yourself that it is a very nice sight to behold, to see the cavalry & infantry & all other sorts of soldiers drill. The Parade ground is covered with them this afternoon. Our company is not out today on account of so many being sick. Further, it is getting pretty cool down here on the old Mississippi River. We have followed it up very close this summer.

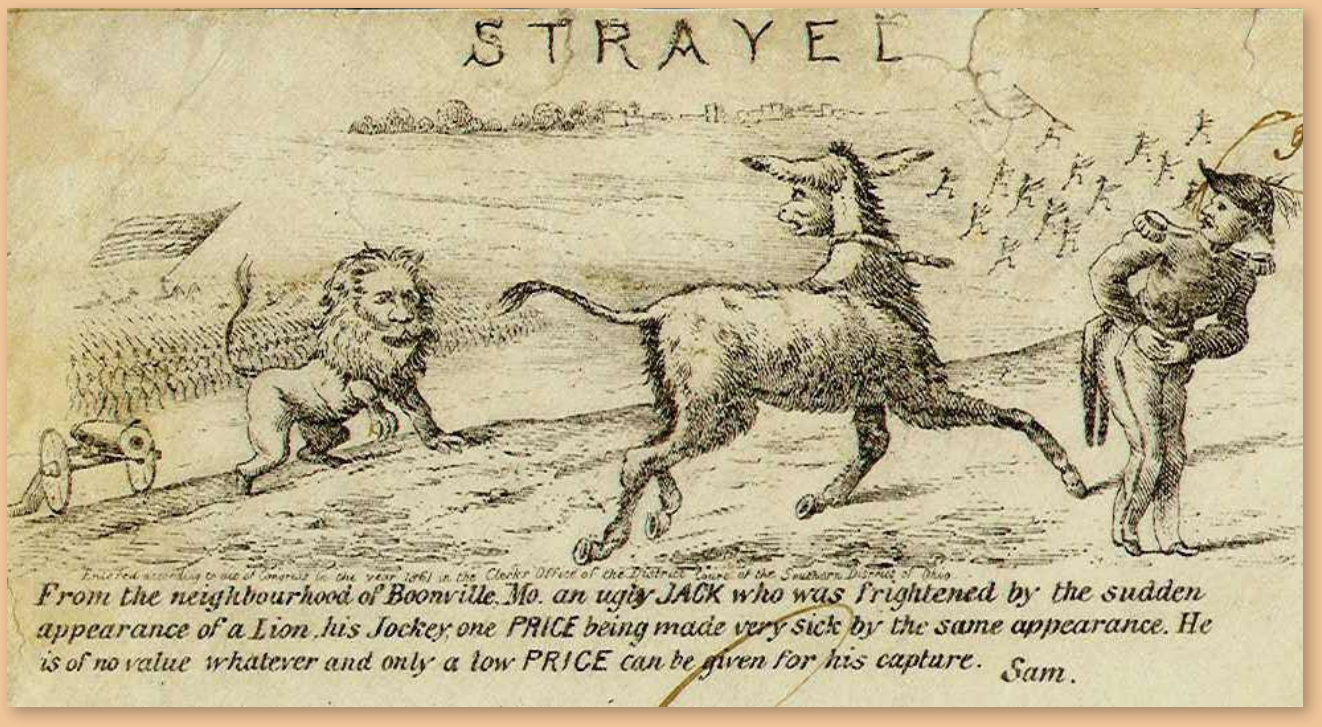
Dear Miss I must pass on for my fingers are getting pretty cold for writing. We sleep warm enough but in day time the doors are open most all the time & its gets very cold in here. But we are clothed very well & warm for soldiers. Some think they could stand most any thing but good living. But they like good meals as well as any body else if they could get them. But that is the issue here. There is nothing served up fit for a person to eat.

Well, I had my supper now. Two or four of us boys bought a can of oysters & we had a good supper once. It contained of an oyster soup and some crackers.

Dear Lydia, give my best respects to all my friends & acquaintances especially to my mother. Tell her that I am pretty well at present & that I would like to see her very much if I could. But as it is, I can not. I wish you was here to see the great city of St. Louis & Arsenal, Fairgrounds & Benton Barracks, all which is worth seeing & talking about. But I must soon come to a close for it is getting late & nearly time for dress parade, as it is customary in the army to have dress Parade every evening at sun down. Please answer me as soon as you receive this & give me all the information you can about matters & things in general & mother, Wm. & Ben went to the army or not? This shall be my close.

From your sincere friend & Lover
Chas. F. Albright

to Miss L. A. Terner
Please write soon if you can



"From the neighborhood of Boonville, Mo. an ugly JACK who was frightened by the sudden appearance of a Lion, his Jockey one PRICE being made very sick by the same appearance. He is of no value whatever and only a low PRICE can be given for his capture."

This caption appears beneath the illustration on an envelope mailed from St. Louis to Boston on July 22, 1861. The figures (left to right) are Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon, Missouri's secessionist Governor Claiborne Jackson, and General Sterling Price, leader of the pro-Confederate militia. In June 1861, Jackson called upon the State Militia to defend Missouri against invasion. When General Lyon marched on Jefferson City with a pro-Union force from St. Louis, Jackson and most of the state legislature, who had ratified the Confederate Constitution, fled. On June 17, 1861, he routed the pro-Confederate militia and captured many of its supplies at Boonville. Less than two months latter, on August 10, trying to salvage a victory from the disaster at Wilson's Creek, Lyon became the first Union general to die in combat.

The notice of copyright filed in the "Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Southern District of Ohio," suggests this envelope was printed in Cincinnati. Allowing time for the news to travel, artwork to be completed, and then for printing and distribution, the availability of this envelope in St. Louis only a month after the skirmish at Boonville shows the extent to which the rest of America was aware of the events unfolding in Missouri.

After the 1851 reduction in postage rates made the use of envelopes affordable, a tradition of illustrated envelopes quickly developed. Envelopes carried not only commercial messages advertising hotels, railroads, and merchants, but also political messages promoting such causes as abolition, temperance, peace, and post office reform. Presidential campaign envelopes were popular by 1856. Against this background, it is not surprising that patriotic themed stationery appeared as soon as conflict began. Dr. Steven Boyd estimates that over 330 Union and Confederate printers produced more than 15,000 different patriotic envelopes by the end of the Civil War.[1] Flags, goddesses, guns, Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, various generals, the Constitution, and camp scenes, such as the Camp Benton stationery used by the Iowa volunteers, were among the most common designs. Not only were these envelopes mailed to make political statements, but they were also collected in albums.

NOTES

[1] Steven R. Boyd, *Patriotic Envelopes of the Civil War: The Iconography of Union and Confederate Covers* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2010) p. 3.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Katharine Bava recently graduated from Lindenwood University with a BA in History. She is particularly interested in nineteenth-century American history, especially concentrating on the Civil War. During her years at Lindenwood, she spent time researching primary source materials on prominent Missouri figures such as Mary and George Sibley and Robert Farris, as well as completing an internship at Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site. She plans on continuing her education in fall of 2011 by studying Library and Information Studies, with an emphasis in Archives and Preservation.

Patrick Burkhardt is currently an Adjunct History Instructor at Forest Park Community College. This paper was written for a class titled, "Regional Civil War History," while he was working on his Master's at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. He would like to thank the Thomas Jefferson Library, St. Louis Public Libraries, the Missouri Historical Society, Dr. Louis Gerteis, and his wife Laura Setchfield.

Thomas F. Curran is the author of *Soldiers of Peace: Civil War Pacifism and the Postwar Radical Peace Movement* (Fordham University Press, 2003). He also has published articles in *Civil War History*, *Journal of Church and State*, *Missouri Historical Review*, and *West Virginia History*. Curran received his doctorate from the University of Notre Dame in 1993, and currently teaches American history at Cor Jesu Academy, a Catholic high school for girls in St. Louis, Missouri. He is now working on a history of Confederate women arrested and imprisoned in the St. Louis region during the Civil War

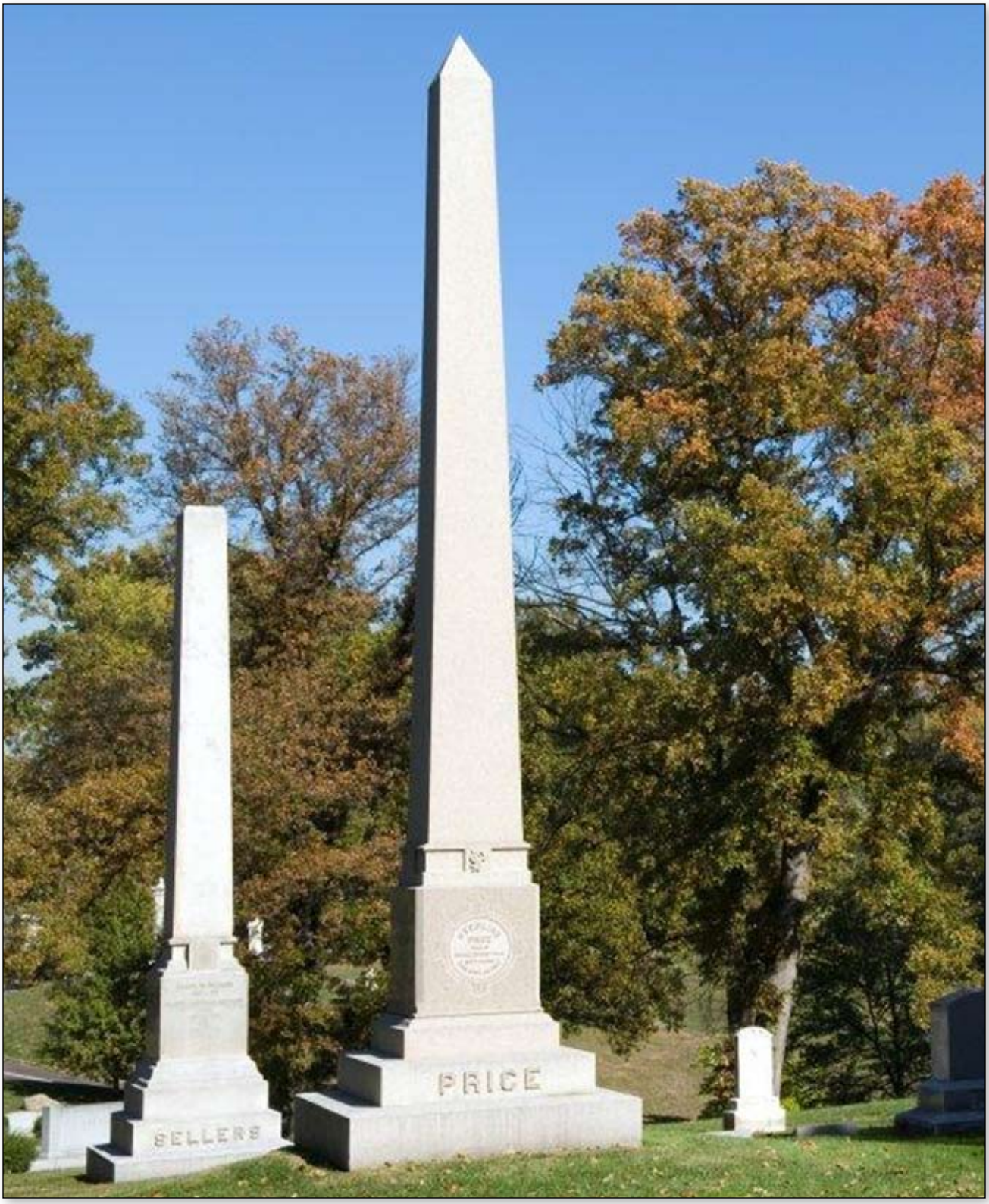
Paul Huffman is the University Archivist for Lindenwood University. He developed a passion for historical preservation and research at an early age when his grandparents frequently towed him along to libraries and historical societies to do family research. He is a life-long resident of Missouri, and has an MLS from the University of Missouri-Columbia.

Miranda Rectenwald holds a MA in History with a concentration in Museum Studies from University of Missouri-St. Louis (2004), and is a Certified Archivist. Currently she is the Archives Assistant at Washington University in St. Louis, and an adjunct instructor of American History at Jefferson College. She is also serving as co-chair for the Association of St. Louis Area Archivists (ASLAA) through 2011.

Sonya Rooney has been University Archivist at Washington University in St. Louis since 2005 and has worked in archives for fourteen years. She received her MA in History with a concentration in Museum Studies from University of Missouri-St. Louis in 2002 and is also a Certified Archivist.

After 32 years with Washington University Libraries, **David Straight** recently retired to devote full time to his postal history research and writing. His article "Cheap Postage: A Tool for Social Reform" was published this fall in *Smithsonian Contributions to History and Technology, No. 55*. He is currently co-chair of the annual Postal History Symposium, a member of the Museum Advisory Council for the Smithsonian National Postal Museum, and vice-president of the Postal History Society.

Sister Carol Marie Wildt was born and raised in Washington, Missouri. She has been archivist for the St. Louis Province of the School Sisters of Notre Dame since 1997. She received a PhD in philosophy and MA in religious studies from St. Louis University. Prior to her present position, she taught math and science on the secondary level for seven years and philosophy on the collegiate level for 25 years.



Confederate General Sterling Price died in St. Louis in 1867 after a period of poor health. His funeral was the largest in St. Louis to date, before his being buried at Bellefontaine Cemetery. For more on the veneration of Confederates like Price, as seen by monuments like this one, see "The Lost Cause Ideology and Civil War Memory at the Semicentennial," starting on page 16. *(Image: Bellefontaine Cemetery)*

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