



Engraving from William Still's 1872 book *The Underground Railroad Records*, with modern watercolor enhancement. (Image: Shutterstock)

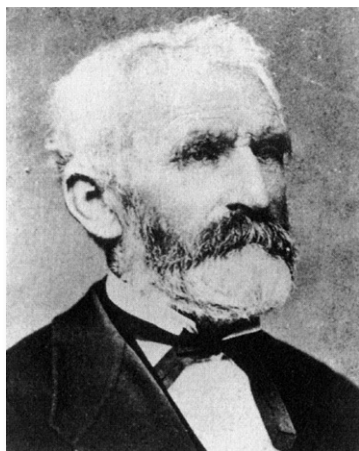


KREKEL & KRIBBEN— DIVERGING VIEWS | | ON THE FUTURE OF SLAVERY

by STEVE EHLMANN

In 1848, Arnold Krekel and Christian Kribben were young, free-thinking lawyers and aspiring Democratic politicians, whose families had emigrated from Prussia to St. Charles County, Missouri, in the 1830s. Like most German-Americans, both initially opposed the spread of slavery into the territories, but neither was an abolitionist. **In 1854 they began moving in opposite directions.**

By July 1863, in the midst of a Civil War that would determine the slavery question, William Tausig, Presiding Judge of St. Louis County, reported to the *Neue Zeit* that President Abraham Lincoln had asked him, "Why don't the Germans of Missouri stand still?" Krekel had not stood still and now favored emancipation in Missouri, while the *Neue Zeit* described Kribben as someone who had stood still but explained he had not "receded more than the times have advanced," but "no longer understood the times; that was all."¹



Arnold Krekel (1815-1888) emigrated from Germany in 1832 at age 17 and moved to St. Charles, Missouri. His lengthy career included editing a newspaper, working as an attorney and a surveyor, serving in the Union Army, presiding over the 1865 Missouri Constitutional Convention, and as a U.S. District judge.
(Image: St. Charles County Archives)

Arnold Krekel, born in 1815, was six years older than Christian Kribben. Each received schooling in Germany before immigrating to Missouri with their families at age seventeen. Both eventually studied the law in St. Charles, where Kribben began his practice in 1843, as did Krekel in 1844, the year Kribben moved to St. Louis.²

Both men joined the Democratic Party to oppose anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic Nativists in the Whig Party. While both came from Catholic families, each became free-thinking anti-clerics. Political opponents would use their German origin and support for "Red Republican doctrines of Europe" against them as the debate over slavery intensified.³

After a rally for Democratic presidential candidate James K. Polk in 1844, the pro-Democrat Missouri Republican reported that Kribben spoke "in a brief, but spirited and eloquent manner, showing the importance of the present contest and the magnitude of the Texas question."⁴ Missouri's U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton, who had opposed the Texas Annexation Treaty, was forced to work hard to win re-election that year. Kribben was nominated for St. Louis city attorney in 1846, but the Whigs nearly swept the municipal elections that year and elected the first nativist mayor of St. Louis.⁵ The following year, Krekel was elected St. Charles County surveyor as a Democrat, receiving 65 percent in the three townships with highest percentages of German voters.⁶

Kribben enlisted as a lieutenant in an all-German artillery unit under the command of General Alexander Donovan after the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846. During the war, the United States House of Representatives passed the Wilmot Proviso, which would have excluded slavery from any new territories gained in the war. When the matter reached the United States Senate, Senator John C. Calhoun offered

resolutions to ensure slaveholders' right to take their slaves into the new territories. Senator Thomas Hart Benton opposed him, insisting the future of the country depended on free soil and free labor and warning that the slavery issue could destroy the Union. In 1848 Claiborne Fox Jackson passed the Jackson Resolutions in the Missouri General Assembly, opposing Benton and asserting Congress had no power to limit or prohibit slavery in the territories.⁷

That year, while both shared Benton's concerns, Kribben went a step further than Krekel. After the New York State Democratic Party refused to endorse the Wilmot Proviso, a faction known as Barnburners opposed the Democratic nominee Lewis Cass and joined with others to form the Free Soil Party, nominating as their candidate former President Martin Van Buren. Kribben signed a Barnburner Call insisting, "He was an enemy of slavery and, if he were able to drive it out of Missouri with a wave of his hand or a nod of his head, he would do so in a second. He drank his hatred for slavery from his mother's breast and inherited it from his forefathers!"⁸

Even though Benton opposed it, passage of the Compromise of 1850 defused somewhat the slavery issue. That year, Kribben was in Europe and Krekel was an unsuccessful candidate for the State Senate. The following year Krekel was elected city attorney for St. Charles, but the legislature denied Benton re-election to the Senate. A month later, Krekel began publishing the *St. Charles Demokrat*, the first German

NEGROES FOR SALE.
 IN pursuance of an order of the St. Charles County Court, obtained on the 25th day of November, 1844, the undersigned will, on Wednesday, the 1st day of January next at the Court House door in the town and county of St. Charles, sell to the highest bidder, THIRTY NINE NEGROES, belonging to the estate of Benjamin Lamasters, dec'd, consisting of men, women and children. A credit of nine months will be given the purchaser giving bond with approved security. The sale will commence at 10 o'clock A. M. on said day, and continue till all shall be sold. The most unexceptionable security will be required.
 T. W. CUNNINGHAM,
 Adm'r of B. Lamasters, dec'd.

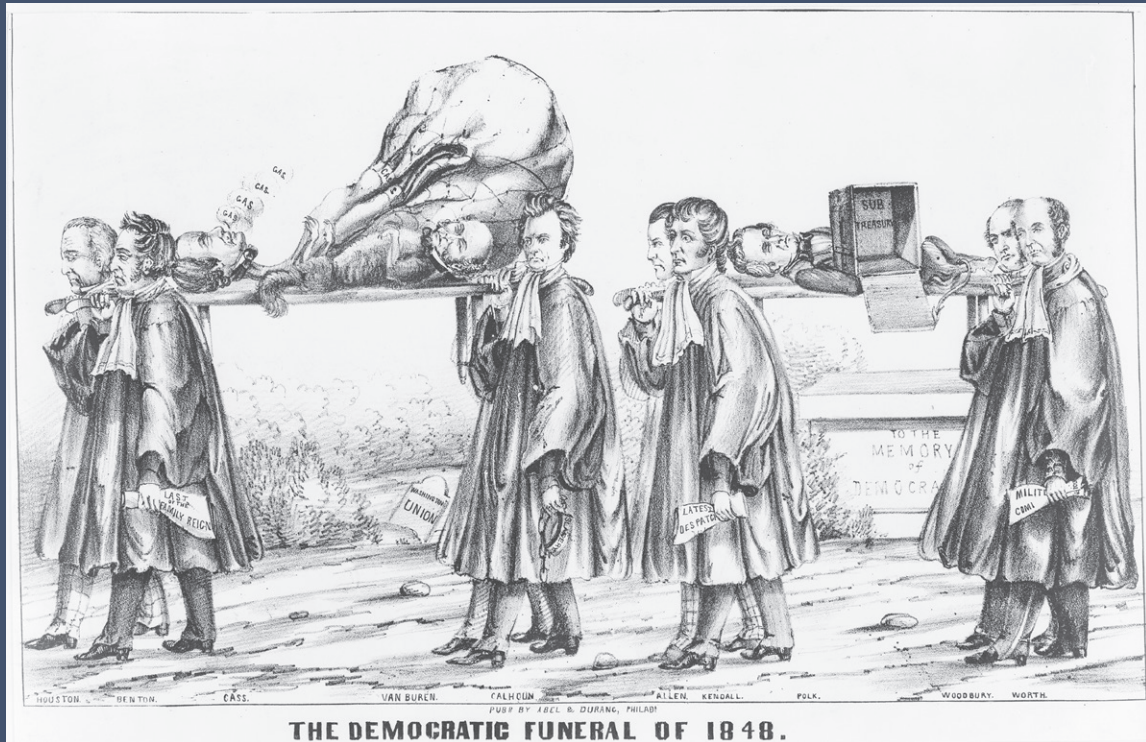
39 NEGROES FOR SALE.



In pursuance of an order of the Saint Charles County Court, obtained on the 28th instant being the November Term of said Court 1844. The undersigned will, on Wednesday the 1st day of January next (1845,) at the Court House door in the Town and County of Saint Charles, sell to the highest bidder thirty-nine negroes belonging to the Estate of Benjamin Lamasters deceased; consisting of men, women and children. A credit of nine months will be given the purchaser giving bond with unexceptionable security. Sale will commence on said day at 10 o'clock A. M.

T. W. CUNNINGHAM,
 Admr. of Benj. Lamasters dec'd.
 November 28, 1844.

Forecasting political death for the Democratic Party, this cartoon imagines a funeral of its standard-bearers with Senators (left to right) Sam Houston, Thomas Hart Benton, carrying a slip of paper with the words, "Last of the Family Reign," and John Calhoun, carrying a manacle labeled "Slavery," serving as pall bearers for the bodies of Martin Van Buren and Lewis Cass. (Image: Library of Congress)



language newspaper in St. Charles County, and praised Benton for his opposition to Calhoun's resolutions, which "contained all of the principles and tenets that the Missouri legislature later passed in the infamous Jackson resolutions." His primary concern was that they "were intended to prepare the split of the union."⁹

Missouri Democrats reconciled in 1852, running an anti-Benton candidate for governor, while pro-Benton men were nominated for down-ticket offices. When Benton ran for Congress against Democrat Lewis Bogy and a Whig candidate, Krekel editorialized, "We hope this split within the party will be completely mended once the outstanding men of both branches, who are partly responsible for the split, will finally, decide to make the small sacrifice of leaving

personalities out of the game."¹⁰ Neither did, and to oppose the Whig candidate for state representative, St. Charles County Democrats were forced to choose between Maj. George W. Huston, "a bitter Anti-Benton man," and Krekel, "a Bentonian," causing one observer to state sarcastically, "This is the kind of 'union and harmony' that prevails all over the state."¹¹

That same month, after Krekel had seen the new *Demokratische Presse* edited by Kribben, he again called for reconciliation, commenting, "We hope that Mr. Kribben, a good advocate/lawyer who grew up in this area, will not use his talents for personal squabbling, but to vigorously and jointly represent the interests of the Democracy, particularly in view of the upcoming election

campaign."¹² But Kribben, having changed his mind while in Europe, parted ways with Benton and Krekel on the slavery issue, and supported Bogy.¹³ Heinrich Boernstein, editor of the pro-Benton *Anzeiger*, decried the pro-Whig *Republican* for supporting Bogy, suggesting it "has a particular inclination and tenderness for the most regular [Democrat] Christian Kribben and for the more than regular '*Democratic Press*.'" Indeed, Boernstein charged, "Mr. Kribben is opposed to Benton," and "Bogy is the representative of the Southern nullifiers — the ultra-slave-holders — the faction that would destroy this glorious Union. . . ."¹⁴

On Election Day, Benton was elected to Congress and Krekel was elected to the House by six



Founded in 1852, the *Demokrat* was published by Krekel for four years, after which it was edited by his political allies. (Image: Steve Ehlmann)

votes, becoming the first German immigrant elected to the Missouri General Assembly and an opponent of the Jackson Resolutions. While the legislature had passed a statute requiring observance of the Puritan Sunday practiced by English-speaking Protestants, closing theaters, concerts, beer halls, and wine gardens — all significant to Germans, who observed the “Continental Sunday,” during which even religious Germans enjoyed beer, wine, music, and the theater on Sunday — Krekel did not attack the Sunday, or any other existing law, “regarded with sacredness by the American people.”¹⁵

Kribben married Edith Delafield in St. Louis in February 1854. Edith, a non-German, had been born in Ohio, and the Kribbens did not own slaves. Krekel and his wife, Ida, also a German immigrant, owned two slaves. They, like most Missouri Germans, had reached an accommodation with slavery where it existed, but they feared its spread could lead to disunion. They were reassured that the Missouri Compromise, which prohibited slavery in territories north of Missouri’s southern border, would stop the spread of slavery into new territories.¹⁶

However, in early 1854, Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois, hoping to ease sectional tensions, proposed legislation to establish the territories of Kansas and

Nebraska and guarantee “popular sovereignty,” whereby the people of each territory would decide whether to allow slavery. Shortly thereafter, Representative Krekel attended a meeting allegedly “composed of the confidential friends and mouth-pieces of Benton,” opposing what became known as the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The abrogation of the Missouri Compromise provoked a strong reaction from opponents of slavery.¹⁷

Anti-slavery Germans were further alarmed when Congressmen from slaveholding states, including Senator John B. Thompson, a Whig from Kentucky, attempted to amend the Homestead Bill by confining benefits to “heads of families” and to “citizens of the United States.” Many German men, who had left their families in Germany until they could pay their passage, would not have the right to homestead prior to naturalization.¹⁸

Benton announced his candidacy for the Senate seat to be filled by the legislature after the election. The *Anzeiger’s* pages bristled with editorials assailing Douglas, with whom Kribben clearly had cast his lot. Kribben spoke in favor of Senator Douglas and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, urging Germans not to go like a “herd of sheep to vote for

Benton,” causing the pro-Benton *Neue Zeit* to editorialize:

When a German tramples under foot all the traditions of his native land, all the achievements of philosophy, of enlightenment and humanity, which he has brought with him from his old home — when a German obtrudes himself to be the advocate and representative of slavery and all its consequences — when he degrades himself to a Thompson German, and becomes the servile hod-carrier of slavocrats, then there is an end to all mercy, and such an exemplary exception of a German must be placed before public opinion in his entire nudity, to serve as a horrid example to others.¹⁹

About the same time, a Krekel critic, citing the German Progressive Party’s support for several “Red Republican doctrines of Europe,” as well as opposition to the extension of slavery and support for the Homestead Bill, charged him with “anti-American sentiments” and “exciting the Germans against American institutions,” whether it involved Sunday or slavery. Krekel, who had repudiated the party, alleged “deliberate villainy” and accused his critic of attempting “to excite the religious feeling of Catholics by charging that I am opposed to them.”²⁰

While Krekel was mentioned as a possible pro-Benton candidate for Congress that year, after

**We would much
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vote to a** TRUE DEMOCRAT.

stating, “We would much rather give our vote to a true Democrat,” he endorsed the Whig candidate because he opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act.²¹ Regarding Benton, Krekel assured readers of the *Demokrat*, “We are warm friends of the old hero, and do not feel ourselves at liberty to strike him down, either for his vote on the Nebraska or Texas question.” As to Benton’s detractors, Krekel pointed out that Benton had passed the Homestead bill in the House of Representatives and asked, “Is it for this you bloodhounds howl upon his track, and seek to dabble your thirsty jaws in the old man’s gore, and riot on the carcass of him under whose fostering care the Democracy have acquired all their glory and renown.”²²

Benton was not sent back to the Senate, and his forces were not even seated at the 1856 Democratic National Convention. When Benton ran for governor that year, Krekel ran as the pro-Benton candidate for attorney general, opposing those who became known as “National Democrats.” After Kribben spoke in German, the *Republican* noted, “the Germans of Quincy still maintained their proud position upon the old national Democratic platform.”²³ However, when he spoke in English across the river in Hannibal, a nativist identified Kribben as a “Red-Republican Dutchman” and advised, “The democracy had better let such men as Kribben stay at home for American citizens cannot learn the duty they owe their country on advice from a foreigner.”²⁴

While National Democrats swept the state offices in

Missouri, Benton supporters, now called Free Democrats, continued to work for free soil. In 1857 State Representative Gratz Brown, editor of the *Missouri Democrat*, called for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, citing economic rather than humanitarian reasons. When declining health forced Benton to retire from public life, many of his supporters joined Francis P. Blair, who had been elected to Congress and announced a plan in 1858 to emancipate the slaves and remove them from the country. After Free Democrats joined other anti-slavery factions in opposition to the National Democrats, they could not agree on a name and became known simply as “The Opposition.”²⁵

Meanwhile, another split was developing between those who wanted the Democratic Party to remain a national party and those who wanted it to protect the sectional interest of the South. The issue was especially intense in Missouri, given its proximity to “bleeding Kansas,” where the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution was approved at an election boycotted by anti-slavery voters. The *Columbia Democrat* asked, “Are our Pro-Slavery, and as they claim, National ‘Americans,’ prepared to cooperate with Blair, Brown, Boernstein, Krekel and company, in their efforts to ‘demonstrate to the Union’ that the subject of emancipation will be agitated in Missouri until she has become a free state?”²⁶

Kribben announced his candidacy to fill a vacancy in the St. Louis delegation to the Missouri House at a special

election in August 1857. After National Democrat Robert Stewart, a native of New York State, announced his candidacy to be elected governor on the same day, the *Glasgow Weekly Times* explained, “Black Republicans prefer Northern men. They know their love of slavery is lip-love, whereas a southerner stands by the cause of the south, upon principle. Kayser and Kribben know what they are about. . . . They are all against slavery, and they know if Stewart is elected, they will have an approachable person ‘at court.’”²⁷ The same paper later complained about “Van Burenites like Kribben — that supports such abolition papers as the *German Chronicle*, which supports the New York Yankee for governor, because ‘he was not a slaveholder’ and would be the ‘first to lend his hand’ toward its abolishment.”²⁸

Proponents of slavery reminded German audiences that many abolitionists were also nativists. When a jury quickly acquitted Kribben after a Grand Jury indicted him for “false pretense,” even though the supposed victim stated he had no complaint against him, the *Republican* called it “Failure of the Free-soil Know-Nothings to Reduce a Political Opponent to their Own Level.”²⁹ In St. Louis on Election Day, Stewart lost by 1,500 votes and Kribben, whom one newspaper described as “Bob Stewart’s Major General,” lost by 444 votes. Stewart, however, won statewide by less than 300 votes over Opposition candidate James Rollins and, in January, appointed Kribben Division Inspector for the 1st Military District of the Militia in St. Louis, with the rank of colonel.³⁰



To promote a northern route for the transcontinental railroad that would benefit his Illinois constituents Senator Stephen A. Douglas wanted to organize the territory of Nebraska, which would have become a free state under the Missouri Compromise. Douglas proposed creating Kansas and Nebraska to gain Southern support, leaving it up to the settlers and providing an opportunity for Kansas to be the complimentary slave state, thus preserving the balance in the Senate.
(Image: Library of Congress)

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

BY J. H. WELLS & COMPANY,
CHICAGO, ILL.

A prominent jurist later wrote, “Few lawyers were better known in his day than Kribben and he exercised a large influence with the German population.”³¹ Members of the German Peters family hired Kribben to defend them after they were indicted for beating their slave Lucy nearly to death. With increasing concern in the German community over the plight of slaves, the *Anzeiger* had assured its readers the Peters family had agreed to manumit Lucy, and the German community could stop raising money to buy her freedom. The paper was outraged when the family, on the advice of their lawyer, changed its mind and noted “a remarkable fact that a *German* family that so cruelly mistreated a poor defenseless negro woman that even in a slave state the law intervened. . . . and it is a German who as lawyer for the family resisted the single step that could have redeemed in the eyes of their fellow citizens and make right again the injustice committed on humanity.”³²

After Colonel Kribben became a candidate for one of the ten St. Louis County seats in the Missouri House in 1858, he informed the governor of complaints by “the German Companies” of the militia, writing, “I wish you to remind them of their duty as military men and officers,” and to inform them that their behavior “is not only reprehensible and unmilitary, but renders them subject to Court Martial.”³³

When Kribben spoke in Jefferson City in favor of the National Democrat candidate Enos B. Cordell, he reminded

the Germans in his audience that James B. Gardenhire, his opponent for the legislature, had been a Know-Nothing. A reviewer called his performance “one of the most logical and powerful arguments in behalf of Democratic principles and policy, and against the conglomeration of Know-Nothingism and Black Republicanism, here denominated [by] the Union Party.”³⁴ He took the position that, if the Constitution allowed a slaveholder to be divested of his slave property, no one’s property was safe, arguing:

A man’s abstract notion as to whether slavery, which had been entailed upon us by the mother country, was right or wrong, had nothing to do with the question now agitating the public mind. It was among us, and it was not merely a matter of dollars and cents, but a question of good faith involving personal and inalienable rights — rights that cannot be disregarded without endangering our whole social and political fabric.³⁵

Kribben, owning no slaves, asked the simple question, “If they really intend that the Negro shall be free, why do they not set the example by manumitting their own slaves.”³⁶ That same month Krekel, who still owned a slave, claimed the National Democrats had “sinned against the people and how no man, who was still honest and open about Missouri, could still support this party.”³⁷ On Election Day, Kribben became one of seventy-four National Democrats elected to the Missouri House of Representatives, compared to

fifty-eight for the opposition.³⁸

After Douglas declared the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution was a “fraudulent submission,” Congress rejected it and ordered another election that resulted in a new expression of “popular sovereignty” from a large majority of anti-slavery Kansas voters and seemed to settle the Kansas question. However, Jayhawkers had been crossing the border to free slaves, and Governor Stewart reluctantly sent militia units to Bates and Vernon counties in Missouri. Kribben informed Stewart that he disagreed with his decision, explaining, “The step to send troops there now will make a noise in the world; it may give our enemies a hold again on the Kansas question.”³⁹

After the election, the *Republican* heralded the fact that Representative James O. Sitton from Gasconade County was the only emancipationist elected to the legislature. But ultra-pro-slavery newspapers continued to attack representative-elect Kribben from the right, claiming that while contending abolition was unconstitutional, he had suggested, “if it could be winked out of the state, he would set his eyes to winking quite fast.” One article concluded that such a speech “leaves little room to rejoice over the defeat of black Republicanism in Jefferson City,” while another regretted, “Cordell is endorsed by the National. Kribben is endorsed by them, and Senator Douglas will be shortly.”⁴⁰

Jayhawkers had been crossing the border to free slaves,

AND GOVERNOR STEWART RELUCTANTLY SENT MILITIA UNITS TO BATES AND VERNON COUNTIES IN MISSOURI.

When the House met to organize, Representative Sitton zeroed in on Representative Kribben from the left, citing the same speech and stating sarcastically, "If the National Democratic Party sent such men here he was a National Democrat."⁴¹ Sitton "divested himself of the exclusive proprietary title conferred on him by the *Republican*" and shared it with Kribben. The *Glasgow Weekly Times* now reported the divestiture "created some merriment and a good deal of feeling on the part of Mr. Kribben," who explained that, to keep the Germans from voting for Gardenhire, he had to make a stronger free-soil speech than him and make sure it was "good enough Morgan."⁴²

After Sitton thanked Kribben for his youthful service to Van Buren and nominated him for speaker, Krekel wrote with some sarcasm of his own: "Mr. Kribben is said to be an able gentleman, a good advocate/lawyer, a German whom he, Sitton, largely credits with his election, and Mr. Kribben is sure to make a splendid speaker!"⁴³

Kribben said he was ashamed he had supported van Buren and blamed it on his youth, explaining:

The predilections of most foreign persons who come to this country, not acquainted with the institution of slavery, are adverse to it. I do not deny that such were my first impressions; but on subsequent acquaintance with its workings I discovered its harmony with the Constitution, and my views underwent a transformation.



Some pro-slavery Missourians were suspicious of Governor Robert Stewart, who had been president of the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad, because one of its largest shareholders was the family of Eli Thayer of Boston, a known abolitionist who had argued the 600,000 acres of land along the railroad would be more valuable if Missouri were a free state. (Image: Missouri Historical Society)

Stating he had changed his mind after a two-year stay in Europe, he explained, "When I returned, the change that had taken place in my mind during my absence was the cause of the difference between Mr., Benton and myself, prior to which time I was his personal friend."⁴⁴ Sitton then ended the charade, criticizing the National Democratic Party by claiming no man "can get an office who does not change ground, holler 'Nigger' and commence pulling Negro wool over everybody's eyes."⁴⁵

Kribben would have an opportunity to demonstrate his anti-abolitionist credentials. Governor Stewart sent the General Assembly a special message detailing troubles along the border with the Kansas territory, including the freeing of

slaves in Missouri by abolitionist John Brown. When the Militia Act, appropriating \$30,000 to enable the governor to "suppress and bring to justice the banditti on the western border of the state" came to the floor of the House, Kribben introduced a substitute bill increasing the appropriation to \$50,000. While the substitute was defeated, the original bill passed and expanded the powers of the governor to deal with Jayhawkers.⁴⁶

Like Krekel earlier, Kribben had to battle the "Sunday fanatics" in the legislature, who called Kribben "a low-flung, vulgar Dutchman."⁴⁷ As they had with Krekel, nativists like Representative Charles Drake used his criticism of the Sunday Law to suggest he was no better than an abolitionist:

.....

In January 1860 the legislature considered a “FREE NEGRO BILL” to re-enslave all free blacks.

There was a time, and I hope there will ever be, when the abolitionist who brought his views into this state of Missouri, and attempted to exercise them, was regarded and treated as a traitor. There is not less of treason in a man who comes from a foreign shore to plant in our soil his poisonous seeds to subvert our customs and overturn our institutions, even though it be according to law. We have the institution of slavery and the institution of Sunday, the latter not less dear to us than the former. If we permit meddling hands to exercise their ingenuity upon our institutions, in a few years American liberty will not be worth the paper upon which the word could be written.⁴⁸

Drake reminded everyone that Kribben was an apostate, arguing, “Instead of regarding those great principles promulgated by our fathers, who shed their blood on hard fought ground, we are told to look to Europe, to pattern after the great truths of the French Revolution! Why Sir, the God of Wisdom who superintends the nations is dethroned by that document, and materialism, the God of the French, is to be placed in his stead.”⁴⁹

When Kribben moved to table a bill, awaiting memorials from his constituents, Drake said he had no idea memorials could change Kribben’s mind “unless, indeed, they included every man, woman and child from the fatherland, the German population of St. Louis.” In reporting his reply to Drake, the *Republican* pointed out, “So far from being influenced by the signatures of his countrymen in St. Louis, he [Kribben] had the misfortune of having to contend

against the majority of them. For it is well known that three-fourths of the children of the fatherland, as they have been termed by his friend, belonged to the other side.”⁵⁰ That fact made National Democrats worry about the police in St. Louis, under local control, who greatly outnumbered the local militia, under the governor. In December 1859, Colonel Kribben resolved the dilemma in favor of his constituents when he joined Representative Sitton and spoke against a Metropolitan Police Bill to put the St. Louis police under the governor, which failed to pass.⁵¹

In January 1860 the legislature considered a “Free Negro Bill” to re-enslave all free blacks found in Missouri on September 1, 1861, and Representative Kribben again displeased pro-slavery extremists. Arguing the legislature had no constitutional right to confiscate property of Negroes, he explained, “I do not know of any measure more destructive to the Southern rights than this measure. It is calculated to work destructively to the Democratic Party.”⁵² The bill passed the legislature and the governor vetoed it.

After Governor Stewart called a special session for which Kribben was elected speaker, ultra-pro-slavery newspapers complained Kribben was “not so sound on the nigger,” and called his election an “Abolition Triumph in the Missouri Legislature!”⁵³ When the session opened, an ultra-pro-slavery member argued Kribben’s election was unconstitutional because the

order of succession included the speaker, and the Constitution required the governor be a natural-born citizen. After the swearing in, another labeled him “an avowed infidel,” relating, “We saw him kiss the Bible, which he denounces as a batch of ‘cunningly devised fables.’”⁵⁴ The legislature again passed the Free Negro Bill, and the governor again vetoed it. The attempted override failed by a vote of 58 to 30, just short of the two-thirds required.⁵⁵

In December 1859, Krekel and two others nominated 63 men as delegates to the State Opposition Convention at a meeting in St. Charles County that condemned abolitionism and nullification equally.⁵⁶ By February the *Democrat* was warning its readers, “do not any longer permit yourself to be charmed by the sonorous name ‘Democrat,’” explaining, “Today’s Democratic Party has no national vitality — it is a factional and conceited organization — inwardly deteriorated to the point of spreading one single idea.”⁵⁷

The State Opposition Convention met in Jefferson City during the special session and elected Krekel as a vice president, adopted a platform that opposed “the errant heresies of the so-called National Democratic Party in regard to the subject of slavery in the territories,” and endorsed Edward Bates for president and Krekel for state representative. The Missouri Republican Party also endorsed Bates for president in March, after he wrote a letter agreeing with the Republican National Platform on slavery, causing the *Weekly West* to



Charles D. Drake, a St. Louis attorney, was a Whig during the 1840s before moving to Washington. He returned to St. Louis in 1850, established a successful law practice, and won a special election to the Missouri House of Representatives in 1859 as a Democrat, serving only one term. (Image: Missouri Historical Society)

A former Jacksonian Democrat, Francis Blair (1791-1876) left the party over expanding slavery into the western territories and helped create the new Republican Party in 1854. At the 1860 Republican convention, Blair supported Abraham Lincoln after it became clear that his first choice for the presidency, fellow Missourian Edward Bates, would not be nominated. (Image: Missouri Historical Society)



observe, “The recent Abolition letter of Edward Bates has broken up the Opposition before it has fairly organized, and Bob Stewart’s desertion of the Railroads and Christ. Kribben’s election to the speakership of the House of Representatives, have thrown the Democracy into ‘confusion worse confounded.’”⁵⁸

The controversy over Speaker Kribben’s leadership highlighted the dissatisfaction of the ultra-pro-slavery faction with the National Democrats, causing the *Weekly West* to complain, “This same National Democratic Party openly avows that the election of

Kribben was intended to catch the Free-soil German vote in St. Louis.”⁵⁹ When the Democratic National Convention convened in Charleston, South Carolina, on April 23, 1860, northern Democrats wanted to reaffirm the platform of 1856, promising congressional noninterference with slavery. Extremist delegates from the Deep South demanded federal protection for slavery in the territories, and when they did not get their way, they walked out.

Krekel was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Chicago in May. Illinois delegate Gustave Koerner later explained

that when Krekel appeared before the Pennsylvania delegation along with Blair in support of Bates, he “controverted the idea that Bates could carry Missouri, said that outside of St. Louis and a few German settlements represented by Krekel and Muench no Republican could get a vote; that the state was for Douglas.”⁶⁰

After the Convention nominated Abraham Lincoln, Krekel, citing a “change in the aspects of the political affairs,” declined the nomination of the Opposition for the legislature, formally joined the Republican



Bates wished Krekel had waited until his letter endorsing Lincoln and after the Baltimore Conventions before leaving the Opposition. He believed, "If there be but one Democratic candidate, it (the Union Party) has no possible chance. And if there be two—Douglas and a fire-eater—most of the Southern Union Men (so miscalled) will have to affiliate with the extreme Southern Democrats, and perhaps be absorbed by them." *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866*, June 16, 1860. Howard K. Beale, ed. (Image: Missouri Historical Society)

Party, and became a presidential elector for Lincoln in the First District.⁶¹ The Democratic Convention reconvened in Baltimore, where Stephen Douglas was nominated on the 1856 platform. The extreme pro-slavery delegates met later in Baltimore and nominated John Breckinridge, formally splitting the Democratic Party. For lieutenant governor Missouri Republicans nominated former Whig James B. Gardenhire. For attorney general they nominated Krekel, whose presence on the ticket was significant in that he was still a slaveholder, evidence that the Republicans were not a party of abolitionists.⁶²

When the legislature adjourned, Kribben returned to his militia duties and the Douglas campaign. In June, to meet continued lawlessness by Kansas Jayhawkers, Kribben sent arms to militia in Southwest Missouri, apologizing for the delay and blaming the "miserable management of thing[s] at headquarters."⁶³ When the St. Louis militia paraded in October, Colonel Kribben was reported absent, probably campaigning

for Douglas. Over the previous months he had faced off against Republicans and Breckinridge Democrats. The *Missouri Democrat* reported on "the inevitable Col. Kribben, who made a more stupid speech than usual, which is saying a good deal."⁶⁴ Kribben challenged Carl Schurz, a Lincoln supporter, to a debate at Cooper Union in New York City, but he failed to attend.⁶⁵

In Alton, Illinois, a fight broke out between Breckinridge and Douglas Democrats, causing the *Republican* to report that Kribben "was interrupted in his abuse of the Republicans by the cry of a free fight, and in the twinkling of an eye he was left solitary and alone. . . ." ⁶⁶ A speaker at a Breckinridge rally in St. Louis "directed his remarks against the neophytes Drake, Kribben and others, who had sneaked into the party for office and failed to get it, [and] were now trying to disrupt the party."⁶⁷ After fusion of Lincoln and Douglas supporters in Oregon in October, Breckinridge supporters claimed, "This would exactly suit Mr. Speaker Kribben, Palm, and other free

soil emancipation Douglasites in St. Louis. The Douglas leaders are becoming desperate and we advise they be watched."⁶⁸

That same month, Krekel spoke at a Lincoln rally in St. Charles and another in St. Louis, about which the *Missouri Democrat* reported, "Mr. Krekel's remarks were received with great applause, and as he closed, three cheers were given for 'Honest Old Abe.'" ⁶⁹ While Lincoln won in St. Louis County, with many Germans supporting Douglas in St. Charles County, his 533 votes there were far short of the 1,000 predicted by the *Democrat*. As Douglas won the state, it was clear that Kribben, not Krekel, "understood the times" in Missouri.

After the Deep South states seceded in December, in January 1861 new Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson called for Missouri to secede and appointed a new Division Inspector for the 1st Military District. Those opposed to secession, who became known as "conditional unionists," met at the St. Louis courthouse, and Kribben was one of the speakers.⁷⁰ They opposed, with varying

AFTER THE DEEP SOUTH STATES SECEDED IN DECEMBER,
**in January 1861 new Governor Claiborne
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degrees of enthusiasm, secession by Missouri and the use of force to preserve the Union. The *Republican* became their mouthpiece, and after the legislature called a Convention to decide the issue, Kribben was listed as one who could be “supported by all who endorsed the resolution passed at the late Union meeting at the Courthouse.”⁷¹

By mid-February the Conditional Union Party had adopted a “Declaration of Principles” and appointed a slate of candidates. After Krekel addressed a gathering of mostly German “Unconditional Unionists” in St. Charles County, the *Demokrat* explained that the German population of the county was “through and through for the Union under the Constitution, without any ‘ifs’ or ‘buts.’”⁷² Kribben spoke at a meeting to explain “the vast difference between the Black Republican ‘Unconditional Union ticket’ and the Constitutional Union ticket—the one going the full length of Mr. Lincoln’s doctrine, to apply coercion and whip the seceding states back into the Union: and the other demanding the just rights of all states in the union.”⁷³ In Missouri, delegates were elected, and, when the Convention met, with secessionists in the minority, it decided against secession. In Washington, Lincoln appointed Edward Bates as his Attorney General.

The legislature then passed a Metropolitan Police Bill putting the St. Louis police under the control of the governor who, pursuant to the Militia Act of

1859, ordered the militia to muster in St. Louis. In response, pro-Union Home Guard regiments, composed primarily of Germans, formed in St. Louis under Blair’s leadership. After they were federalized, Captain Nathaniel Lyon launched a successful pre-emptive strike on May 10. When the legislature passed a Military Bill creating a State Guard, outlawing other military organizations, and specifying all spoken commands were to be in English, Krekel wrote Blair complaining it allowed the secessionists, but not the unionists, to organize, and informing him, “We propose drawing together on the Fourth of July our whole Union Guard and I wish you to write fully to me as to your views and wishes in the premises.”⁷⁴

At that meeting, Krekel, who had sold his slaves, was elected to command the St. Charles Home Guard that became known as “Krekel’s Dutch.” Meanwhile, Lyon’s troops proceeded to Jefferson City, causing Governor Jackson and the pro-Confederate legislature to flee. The future of slavery was little discussed until August, when General John C. Frémont declared martial law and ordered the emancipation of slaves of disloyal persons. President Lincoln, at the behest of pro-Union slaveholders, made it clear that slaves, like other property, would be confiscated only if they were being used to aid the rebellion.⁷⁵

The Convention established a provisional government and appointed Hamilton Gamble as governor. While some anti-slavery

Unionists were assisting runaway slaves, Major Krekel, who was appointed provost marshal for St. Charles, Warren, and Lincoln counties in December, followed Gamble’s conservative policies designed to protect slave property. After receiving complaints that Major Hugo Hollan’s command was helping slaves escape from their masters, he sought authority “to dismount and disarm Major Hollan’s battalion and send it to St. Louis.” After several more complaints Hollan’s command was broken up and his men were placed in two different regiments.⁷⁶

Major Krekel admitted Missourians might not yet support emancipation in a letter to Blair in May, suggesting, “In order to do anything with slavery in Missouri, it is necessary to place the separation of the races in the foreground.” He claimed four-fifths of the more than 1,000 interviews he had conducted as provost marshal were with non-slaveholders who “expressed little interest in the institution but did not want to become the equal of the Negro.” He warned against too radical an approach to emancipation when he predicted:

Time and reflection will soon work a vast change in the views of the non-slave-holding portion of our people, and unless some rash, foolish and impracticable scheme shall be set on foot by our overanxious friends, I can see the practical end of slavery in Missouri. But there is danger in our friends overleaping themselves, and this danger, I fear the more on account of the question being made a political hobby by political aspirants.⁷⁷

“WE MUST CAREFULLY DISCRIMINATE and see that we don’t carry our opposition to an extent so as to injure what we seek to uphold.” –Arnold Krekel

That summer, Krekel signed the call for the Missouri State Radical Emancipation Convention in Jefferson City, where delegates from eighteen counties met and chose Krekel as a vice-president. While its very existence evidenced the pace of change, many “Charcoals” still approached emancipation as a war measure; primarily concerned with how it would benefit whites. However, the Convention did create a Radical Party, for which Krekel became Ninth District committeeman. It pledged to oppose the conservative “Claybanks” led by Governor Gamble, and it nominated candidates, planning to make support for emancipation a test of Union loyalty in the November election. Shortly thereafter, General John Schofield, a Conservative, relieved Krekel as provost marshal.⁷⁸

By the end of that summer, Krekel had realized “the times have advanced,” and he could no longer “stand still.” Schofield ordered Krekel’s regiment to active duty. Encouraged when President Lincoln replaced Schofield with the Radical Samuel Curtis in September, Krekel led his men into Callaway County, described as “the headquarters of the *Sisesch* in North Missouri.”⁷⁹ His men did what Krekel had reported Hollan for doing earlier that year — liberating slaves of those suspected of disloyalty. That same month, Attorney General Bates complained about “the extreme wing of the Republican Party — men who, whether from intemperate zeal, or studious cunning, will accept nothing, not even the restoration

of the Union, unless accompanied by & through abolition.”⁸⁰

That fall, unionists were supporting Conservative incumbent Ninth District Congressman James Rollins, whose opponent was thought to have the support of secessionists. However, Rollins came out against Lincoln’s Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in September and predicted, “When the civil power shall be restored by the success of patriot arms, the ‘status’ of the ‘contraband’ will be purely a judicial question, to be determined by the Constitution and laws.” After the opponent pulled out of the race with Rollins “because their opinions were identical,” Krekel announced as a Radical candidate in October.⁸¹

The treatment “Krekel’s Dutch” afforded the slaveholders of Callaway County convinced Governor Gamble to disband the regiment and order the return to the people of “their possessions, horses, and Negroes acquired through a Jayhawker procedure.”⁸² In response, the *Neue Zeit* suggested Gamble sought only to protect slavery and alleged, “We know also that he persecuted every officer with his disgrace who dealt severely with the rebels — thus Loan, Krekel, Penick &c — and that he protected everyone that was at heart a pro-slavery man or traitor. . . .”⁸³

General Curtis’ provost marshal general lamented that past forbearance by the authorities “has led these people to believe that it is their ‘constitutional’ right to speak and conspire together as they may choose,”

and made arrests for mere criticism of federal officials or policies.”⁸⁴ After the State Democratic Convention in October, Barton Able, a Republican who had been a delegate to the National Convention in 1860, complained that Bogy, again a Democratic candidate for Congress, and Kribben, again a candidate for the Missouri House, had made a speech critical of abolitionists, Black Republicans, the costs of the war, and martial law. Kribben took a Loyalty Oath on October 28, and neither he nor Bogy were arrested, charged, or elected.⁸⁵

However, William Kribben, brother of Christian, who had taken the loyalty oath the previous year, asked his brother for assistance after the provost marshal arrested him for attempting to convey letters to the enemy on the steamboat he was piloting.⁸⁶ At Christian’s request, Henry A. Clover wrote the provost marshal that he had known William Kribben for years and was “surprised to think that he could have done anything to make him susceptible to military charges.”⁸⁷ Similarly, Barton Able, who had complained about Christian’s speech four months earlier, wrote that he believed William was falsely accused. These letters and evidentiary problems at the hearing led to William’s acquittal in May.⁸⁸

After Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863 (which did not apply to slave states like Missouri not “in rebellion”) Governor Gamble proposed gradual emancipation with compensation. While the



Kribben spoke at a meeting of Conditional Unionists at the St. Louis courthouse as Missouri considered secession. Dred Scott, with his wife Harriet, sued for, and were granted, their freedom after a trial there in 1847 in a case that was overruled by the Supreme Court ten years later when it decided slaves were property and had no right to sue. (Image: Missouri Historical Society)

legislature debated the issue, the *Demokrat* suggested Germans opposed slavery “because it stands in direct contrast to their feelings of justice and morality.”⁸⁹ In fact, many Germans realized that land being cultivated by slaves, whose owners had purchased the best land before the Germans arrived, would be for sale after emancipation.⁹⁰ Krekel admitted slavery “stands in the way of full enjoyment of the freedom of white men” and argued that the economic future depended on free soil and free labor, concluding that if the negro obtains his freedom in the process, “the blame, if blame it be, attaches to those who are disposed to complain, who have staked their all on slavery, and are seeking to make it the cornerstone of the new civilization.”⁹¹

After the legislature failed to act, Gamble called the Convention into session in June to consider gradual emancipation. Krekel was still willing to accept

an irrevocable ordinance of freedom within one year, with a limited apprenticeship, and compensation to truly loyal owners. Equally important, Krekel still cautioned, “We must carefully discriminate and see that we don’t carry our opposition to an extent so as to injure what we seek to uphold.”⁹²

After an ordinance passed granting freedom to certain slaves in 1876, following a six-year apprenticeship, the *Demokrat* complained, “The entire ordinance is a network of contradictions and lies and would never have gotten the people’s sanction.”⁹³ Men like Blair, Gamble, and Bates, who had led the effort to limit the spread of slavery and preserve the Union, were now severely criticized by Krekel and other Radicals.⁹⁴

While Krekel was not standing still on the emancipation issue, neither was Kribben, though he was moving in the opposite

direction. Congressman Clement Vallandigham was convicted in a military court after an anti-war speech in May 1863. He was sent through the enemy lines to the Confederacy, from which he made his way to Canada. After Vallandigham won the Democratic nomination for governor of Ohio in absentia in 1863, Kribben met with him in Canada and concluded:

Vallandigham is the representative man of the great West. If elected governor of Ohio in the fall, he could become a powerful ally of those who schemed to pull the state’s troops out of the war and create a Northwest confederacy, although he insisted he sought to only to end the war and bring the southern States back into the Union. As Governor, he could also become a prospect for the presidency, challenging the eastern politicians and the money men who had their hearts set on electing General McClelland.⁹⁵



When the war caused a decline in enrollment, St. Charles College suspended operation in the summer of 1861. After Provost Marshall Krekel evicted the family of the college president, the building was converted into a prison in December 1862. When some members of the Board of Curators failed to take the Convention oath, the legislature passed a bill in 1863 declaring all their positions vacated and appointing a new board that included Krekel and Charles Drake. (Image: courtesy of St. Charles County Historical Society)

In September Krekel attended the Missouri Radical Emancipation and Union Convention that called for a new State Convention to pass an emancipation ordinance and replace the Gamble provisional government. Krekel was one of three men it nominated for the Missouri Supreme Court.⁹⁶ It also appointed a committee, led by Charles Drake and including Krekel, to present grievances against Conservatives to President Lincoln in Washington. When Secretary of the Treasury Salmon Chase invited them to his home, Attorney General Bates refused to join them, explaining, "I refuse flatly to hold social, friendly intercourse with men, who daily denounce me and all my friends, as traitors."⁹⁷ Lincoln later wrote a letter denying the delegation's requests.

Some of the delegates proceeded to New York where they were hosted by the German National Club at the Cooper Institute. In his speech, Krekel suggested that Lincoln, like him,

had not been standing still. He pointed out the president "says that the Radicals in Missouri, are too fast in their desire to overturn slavery in that state, when they are only attempting to do in a slower way what he, by the one single act of his proclamation, has done suddenly through all the states in rebellion."⁹⁸

As Election Day neared, the *Missouri Democrat* reported efforts by Conservatives to persuade "unbought" Democrats to oppose the Radicals, but it suggested some of them, including Kribben, "seemed disposed, therefore, to preserve their Democratic integrity, even though it be on short rations, rather than take up their bed and board with the *Republican* and the Claybank leaders."⁹⁹ The *Republican* claimed Krekel was "imbued with all the abominable Red Republican doctrines of Europe." It further argued a vote for the Conservative candidates was "an endorsement of the truth of President Lincoln's letter to Drake & Co. As he did right

in writing that letter, so well calculated to give quiet to the State, every good and loyal man should give him the benefit of his endorsement at the polls, by voting the anti-Jacobin ticket."¹⁰⁰ Vallandigham lost on Election Day, and so did Krekel.

Despite the war effort, nativism remained. Reporting on a Radical meeting in St. Charles early in 1864, the *Republican* suggested, "It would be impossible for me to give you even a synopsis of Colonel Krekel's speech: so interlarded was it with Teutonic phrases, that one who is a native-born citizen finds difficulty in comprehending his meaning. Suffice it that he talked much, as a matter of course, about the nigger. . . ." The reporter added, "The meeting then adjourned, and a major portion of the 'freedom shriekers' repaired to the nearest beer saloon to finish up the night in drinking."¹⁰¹

The *Missouri Democrat* was kinder to "Kribben & Co." and

... compared to Conservatives, “Kribben and associates has the ADVANTAGE OF BEING HONEST.”

—*Missouri Democrat*

their belief that Lincoln “entertains an undue partiality for Cuffy and is disposed to push him forward entirely too rapidly, when he puts a bayonet in his hand,” and concluded that, compared to Conservatives, “Kribben and associates has the advantage of being honest.”¹⁰²

Krekel, also unhappy with President Lincoln and refusing to “stand still,” was one of seventy Missouri delegates to the Slave State Freedom Convention held in Louisville, Kentucky. There, Krekel passed a resolution calling for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution “to secure freedom to every human being within its jurisdiction.”¹⁰³ When he passed another limiting the president to a single term, the *Anzeiger* insisted, “The passage of this resolution was by no means a victory of the ultra-Radicals, for Col. Krekel repudiated the charge that it was an indirect declaration against Mr. Lincoln.”¹⁰⁴

Martial law remained an important intimidation tool in the hands of the Radicals and its abuses an equally important public relations tool in the hands of Democrats and Conservative Unionists. After Kribben authored resolutions at a Democratic meeting in St. Louis, a colleague suggested, “I say I don’t know but the brakes may be put on tomorrow, and that Chris. Kribben, for the resolutions he has promulgated here, and I, humble as I am, for endorsing them, may be ordered down South — or somewhere else (laughter) — or ordered to answer at headquarters for what we have chanced to say upon

this occasion. Well sir, so be it.”¹⁰⁵ A month later, Kribben, with two young children, had to deal with the death of his wife, Edith, at the age of 28. He did not, however, have to deal with the new provost marshal general, Colonel John Sanderson.

James Judge did. In April, a deputy provost marshal arrested him in St. Louis on the evening of his divorce trial, at which Krekel represented Judge’s wife, after he stated in a saloon that he wanted to see the Confederacy recognized. He was convicted of violating his oath and ordered to pay a fine of \$10,000. After Krekel reported to Sanderson that, after paying the judgment awarded his wife, Judge had only \$6,000, he was imprisoned and, with no notice of the proceedings, the sheriff sold at auction his property for half of what it was worth, and the government paid Krekel for collection of the fine.¹⁰⁶

In June, the Democratic State convention met in St. Louis “to resurrect and reorganize the Democratic Party in Missouri,” which according to the *Missouri Democrat*, “has of late years been submerged in the weight of treason which clung to it.”¹⁰⁷ When Democrats, united in their opposition to emancipation, split again on continuation of the war, Kribben now did not “stand still,” but he became a “Peace Democrat,” calling for an immediate cessation of hostilities and a negotiated settlement with the Confederacy.¹⁰⁸

The following month, Krekel wrote a letter to the *Missouri Democrat* explaining the need for

a convention to “put Missouri on its road to freedom and greatness,” stating it was more important now “than any personal preference as to the presidency can possibly be!”¹⁰⁹ By the end of July, Radical support for Fremont had nearly disappeared. Identifying only three exceptions, the Radical *Neue Zeit* reported, “In Missouri, nobody appears to be willing to make Fremont speeches,” and “Arnold Krekel and Frederick Muench are really opposed.”¹¹⁰

A provost marshal had intercepted a letter from Kribben to Colonel Robert Renick suggesting he also attend the meeting in Canada with other peace-at-any-price Democrats. Sanderson used it as evidence of a conspiracy by a secret organization called the Order of American Knights to inaugurate another rebellion in the loyal states of the West.¹¹¹ He claimed Vallandigham had conferred with “conspirators,” including Kribben, who “met in conclave, upon foreign soil, to confer with him and aid him in the organization of this secret league of sworn traitors.”¹¹² While many, including President Lincoln, questioned the accuracy and political motivation of the report, the *Missouri Democrat* published it in its entirety. Another paper insisted evidence was “at hand” concerning the motives of the conferees, “which in due time, no doubt, will reach the public eye.”¹¹³ The *Republican* criticized Sanderson’s “extremely bungling style, full of contradictions and inconsistencies,” and regretting that those implicated had “all channels of denial closed to them.”¹¹⁴

MARTIAL LAW WAS INEFFECTIVE against bushwhackers in St. Charles.

President Lincoln was renominated, and the Democrats nominated George McClellan, a “War Democrat,” who supported continuation of the war and restoration of the Union. However, the party platform was written by Vallandigham and other “Peace Democrats,” including Kribben. After McClellan repudiated the platform in his acceptance letter, the *Chicago Tribune* reported, “Chris Kribben, another peace apostle, and one of the electors at large in this State, declares that unless some explanation of this letter is made, satisfactorily to the peace wing of the party, he and his friends will fly the track. In the rank and file, this revolt is open and violent.”¹¹⁵

Nevertheless, Kribben became an at-large McClellan presidential elector in Missouri. Reporting on a rally in Springfield, Illinois, the *Daily Dispatch* suggested, “The speech of Chris. Kribben was a violent secession one, such as the Honorable Chris would find unhealthy to deliver at his home in St. Louis,” which was still under Martial Law.¹¹⁶

Martial law was ineffective against bushwhackers in St. Charles, where Kribben spoke at a McClellan rally on October first. A few days later, fifty volunteers, mostly Germans, joined Colonel Krekel after he reportedly warned, “It was no longer a time to speak, the present demanded action; he had come with his boys ready to fight the bushwhackers.”¹¹⁷ A week later the *Missouri Democrat* reported Kribben had moderated his views on the war, supporting “fighting the rebels with the olive branch in one hand and the sword in the other.”¹¹⁸

Kribben continued to denounce Lincoln in two languages. His claim that there was “no more vilely treacherous man” than Lincoln did not go over well in the president’s home town, and a second speech by Kribben in German was cancelled in Springfield.¹¹⁹ On Election Day it became clear that now Kribben “no longer understood the times.”¹²⁰ Lincoln was reelected, Missouri voters approved a state constitutional convention by a 68 percent majority, and Krekel was elected as a delegate. When the convention gathered in St. Louis in January 1865, the Radicals were in complete control, electing Krekel, now described as “an extremist of the most pronounced type,” as president and Charles Drake vice-president of the convention.¹²¹ Its first action was to emancipate the remaining slaves in Missouri, and Krekel signed the Ordinance of Emancipation on January 11, 1865.

Congressman Blair had pointed out almost three years earlier that he and Krekel had come to the same conclusion—that “it was the *negro question*, and not the *slavery question* which made the war.”¹²² The unity of the Convention quickly dissolved as, having decided the “slavery question,” the Convention turned to the “Negro question.” Krekel, not yet ready to “stand still,” stated, “In knocking the chains from four million of our people our work has been but half done. We must elevate them in the scale of humanity, for if they were excluded from all political privileges the old spirit of the master would soon assert itself, and the power of the aristocrat would be stronger than ever.”¹²³ Edward Bates called for a halt and

complained about Krekel’s influence: “The Convention seems to be running the same career as the French Legislative Assembly, and the Turners’ Hall begins to assume the powers of the Jacobin Club.”¹²⁴

President Lincoln nominated Krekel as a federal judge on March 6, and the United States Senate confirmed him three days later. Krekel did not take the bench immediately, but campaigned for the new constitution, written under the influence of Charles Drake, who had thoroughly alienated the German community. The new constitution was soundly beaten in St. Louis and St. Charles County, causing Edward Bates to write, “And so, Mr. Drake is plucked bare, and cast down upon his own dunghill. In St. Charles, Krekel fares no better.”¹²⁵ Nevertheless, the new constitution was ratified by the statewide vote. Krekel took the bench, no longer to be part of the continuing political debate over the “negro question.”

Christian Kribben died on June 16, 1865, and would also not be part of the debate. General Alexander Donovan eulogized him as “a profound lawyer, an able advocate, a statesman of profound learning, the able speaker of the popular branch of the Legislature, and the efficient representative.”¹²⁶ Ten days after Kribben’s death, Frank Blair returned to St. Louis to lead opposition to the Radicals. Kribben would have been very comfortable in the postwar Democratic Party, for which Blair became the vice-presidential candidate in 1868.¹²⁷

ENDNOTES

¹ "Spirit of the German Press," *Daily Missouri Republican*, July 31, 1863.

William Taussig was born in 1826 in Prague and educated at the University of Prague before coming to the United States in 1847. He became a judge of the St. Louis County Court as a reform candidate and was reelected in 1863 as presiding judge.

² Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Arnold Krekel: A Republican for Immigrant Rights and Racial Equality," *Boone-Duden Historical Society Newsletter* (April 2015). Krekel attended a school in Mannheim before being apprenticed to a spice merchant in Cologne. By the age of five, Kribben had shown a talent for languages and began to study Latin before attending private school in Cologne. Krekel attended St. Charles College and studied surveying, while Kribben worked as a clerk in his family's grocery in St. Charles. *Ibid.* It was later pointed out, "Christian Kribben had not only mastered by study our laws, but he had fully mastered our language. He spoke it as fluently and correctly as any lawyer at the bar. Besides this, he was . . . logical and forcible in his declarations, at times reaching the domain of impassioned eloquence." *Ibid.* *The History of the Bench and Bar in Missouri: with Reminiscences of the Prominent Lawyers of the Past, and a Record of the Law's Leaders of the Present.* Ed. by J.D. Stewart (St. Louis: The Legal Publishing Company, 1898).

³ Paul C. Nagel, *The German Migration to Missouri, My Family's Story* (Kansas City: Kansas City Star Books, 2002), 61. The pastor of a German Protestant congregation in St. Charles described Kribben as "a disowned member of the Catholic Church disowned for misdemeanors and is an agent for that infidel and infamous newspaper—the *Antipriest*." St. Charles County Circuit Court Records, State v. Heyer, Box 21. Likewise, the thirty-eight members of the Friends of Religious Enlightenment who founded the Association of Rational Christians in 1844 elected Friedrich Muench president and Krekel a director. Anita M. Mallinckrodt, *From Knights to Pioneers: One German Family in Westphalia and Missouri* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1994), 230. A contemporary reported Krekel "embraced liberal views on religious matters at a very early age, and though perhaps not an infidel in the real meaning of that word, he does not believe in the divine origin of the Bible or the biblical account of creation." *History of St. Charles County, 1765-1885* (reprint, St. Louis: Paul V. Cochrane, 1969), 107.

The St. Charles County portion of the *History of St. Charles, Montgomery, and Warren Counties* was reissued in 1997 as the *History of St. Charles County, 1765-1885* by the Partria Press with an introduction by Paul R. Hollrah and an index, referred to hereafter as the "1885 history." All page references are to the 1997 edition.

⁴ *Daily Madisonian*, November 14, 1844.

⁵ 1885 History, 201-3. *Boon's Lick Times*, March 14, 1846. Frederick A. Hodes, *Rising on the River, St. Louis 1822-1850* (Tooele, Utah: Patrice Press, 2009), 634-35.

⁶ *Boon's Lick Times*, August 12, 1847.

⁷ Perry McCandliss, *History of Missouri, 1820-1860, Volume II* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), 243-44. While serving, Kribben published accounts of the Mexican War in the *Republican* and other newspapers around the country and rose to the rank of colonel. He put his linguistic talents to good use, beginning a study of Spanish and, while stationed at Chihuahua, edited a newspaper printed half in Spanish and half in English.

⁸ *Demokrat*, January 6, 1859. Krekel "never had any sympathy with the pro-slavery tendencies and antecedents of his party." 1885 History, 200.

⁹ *Demokrat*, January 31, 1852. Kristen Layne Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016), 32-33.

¹⁰ *Demokrat*, May 29, 1852.

¹¹ *New Albany Daily Tribune*, May 28, 1852.

¹² *Ibid.*, May 22, 1852. When Kribben resigned from his position as editor of the newspaper a week later, Krekel reported, "The reasons for his resignation appear to be differences with the paper's founders and owners. We wish him all the best." *Demokrat*, May 29, 1852.

¹³ "Speech of Col. Lewis V. Bogy" (St. Louis: St. Louis Times office, 1852).

¹⁴ *Republican*, July 31, 1852. The following year the Continental Sunday was under attack after the Grand Jury in St. Louis, packed with "temperance men and Sabbath-bats," began a persecution of German innkeepers for serving alcoholic beverages on Sundays. When a circuit judge held Boernstein in contempt for refusing to answer questions under oath about tavern keepers who advertised in his newspaper, he retained Kribben to represent him.

¹⁵ *Demokrat*, July 31, 1852.

¹⁶ Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 18-19. Edith Delafield was born at Columbus, Ohio, on March 23, 1836. The Kribbens had two children, Bertram D. and Edith Wallace. Germans with non-German wives and who had immigrated early were more likely to be pro-slavery. Harrison Anthony Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press), 1914, 166, n. 112. Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Arnold Krekel: A Republican for Immigrant Rights and Racial Equality," *Boone-Duden Historical Society Newsletter* (April 2015).

¹⁷ *Washington Sentinel*, "Letter by D.R. Atchison," June 17, 1854. Bay, Gratz Brown, Frank Blair, and Alexander Kayser were also at the meeting.

¹⁸ F.I. Herriott, *Senator Stephen Douglas and the Germans in 1854* (Illinois State Historical Society, 1912), 15. Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 47.

¹⁹ *Republican*, July 27, 1854. Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 51-52. The *Republican*, now anti-Benton with the decline of the Whig Party, challenged Alexander Kayser, a leading pro-Benton German in St. Louis, to debate Kribben in English and German. Kayser responded, "I say: I am willing at the times fixed by me, to meet any Whig or enemy of Democracy, be his name Kribben, Stephen Arnold Douglas, or John Cutthroat Richardson of Quincy. Against which, on the other side, I despise the assistance of no Democrat." *Republican*, July 26, 1854.

ENDNOTES continued

- ²⁰ Heinrich H. Maurer, "Early German Nationalism in America," *American Journal of Sociology* 22, No. 4 (January 1917), 530–31. *Demokrat*, July 22, 1854. Krekel responded that he had been "brought up in the Catholic Church myself, with an aged father, sisters, and brothers now worshipping at its altars in our very midst. . . ." Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 77.
- ²¹ *Demokrat*, June 24 and July 29, 1854.
- ²² *Ibid.*, July 22, 1854.
- ²³ *Republican*, September 26, 1856.
- ²⁴ *Hannibal Messenger*, July 29, 1856. Krekel condemned those who called for an "America ruled by Americans." Mallinckrodt, *Knights to Pioneers*, 289. Kribben also spoke to Democrats of German birth at Tammany Hall in New York City. *Brooklyn Eagle*, October 7, 1856.
- ²⁵ McClure, "A Century of Missouri Politics," 321.
- ²⁶ *National Era*, May 7, 1857.
- ²⁷ *Glasgow Weekly Times*, July 23, 1857.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, August 27, 1857. Pro-slavery feelings had led the citizens to change the name of Van Buren County, just south of Jackson County, to Cass County in 1848.
- ²⁹ *Republican*, July 21, 1857.
- ³⁰ *Lexington Express*, reprinted in the *Liberty Tribune*, September 3, 1858; *Republican*, January 7, 1858. Kribben was under the command of General Daniel M. Frost. State statute allowed the governor to appoint one inspector for each district in the state, who "shall regard himself as acting on behalf of the State, for the preservation of its military honor, as well as its arms and munitions, and he shall prefer and prosecute charges against any and all officers and soldiers whose conduct shall be prejudicial to the interest of either." 1857 Missouri the Session Laws, 36.
- ³¹ Bay, *Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar of Missouri*, 352–53.
- ³² Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 52–55.
- ³³ Chr. Kribben to Robert Marcellus Stewart, June 9, 1858, Robert Marcellus Stewart Collection, Missouri State Archives.
- ³⁴ *Missouri Republican*, July 28, 1858.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ³⁷ "Mass Union Meeting at Cottleville," *Demokrat*, July 8, 1858, in Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta, Missouri and its Area 1:41, 1:26*.
- ³⁸ *Demokrat*, July 29, 1858. *St. Louis Evening News*, August 3, 1858. *Demokrat*, August 5, 1858. Allison Clark Efford, "Race Should be as Unimportant as Ancestry: German Radicals and African American Citizenship in the Missouri Constitution of 1865," *Missouri Historical Review* (hereafter, MHR), Vol. 104, No. 3 (April 2010): 148.
- ³⁹ See Ch. Kribben to Robert M. Stewart, August 25, 1858, MSA, where Kribben expressed his lack of confidence in General Frost. See also Pearl T. Ponce, "The Noise of Democracy: The Lecompton Constitution in Congress and Kansas," in Jonathan Earle and Diane Mutti Burke, eds., *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2013), 85–92.
- ⁴⁰ *Glasgow Weekly Journal*, October 7, 1858. *Lexington Express*, reprinted in *Liberty Tribune*, September 3, 1858.
- ⁴¹ *Missouri Democrat*, December 30, 1858.
- ⁴² *Glasgow Weekly Times*, January 6, 1859. "Good enough Morgan" was a talking point used to influence voters temporarily in the period preceding an election.
- ⁴³ *Demokrat*, January 6, 1859.
- ⁴⁴ *New York Daily Tribune*, January 10, 1859.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶ *Randolph Citizen*, January 28, 1859. Harriet C. Frazier, *Runaway and Freed Missouri Slaves and Those Who Helped Them, 1763–1865* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2004), 150. In April the governor dispatched troops to the border with orders not to cross into Kansas Territory. Tony R. Mullis, "The Illusion of Security: The Government's Response to the Jayhawker Threat of Late 1860," in Earle and Burke, eds., *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri*, 110.
- ⁴⁷ *Randolph Citizen*, February 5, 1859. Sunday fanatics called the delegation from St. Louis "Beer House and Whiskey Shop politicians striving only to pass such local bills as would propitiate the Dutch, including Sunday sales and a County (Court) Bill." *Liberty Tribune*, April 1, 1859.
- ⁴⁸ *Republican*, February 5, 1859. See Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 74–75. When Kribben argued that coercive measures by the legislature could never make individuals moral, Drake responded by quoting the findings of a Grand Jury on the evil effects of Sunday amusements, including Sunday theatricals. After moving to St. Louis, Christian Kribben and his younger brother, William, became active in the German theater; Christian also played in a symphony orchestra. Heinrich Boernstein, a prominent stage manager, described Christian Kribben as one of the two "best romantic leads I was able to raise." Heinrich Boernstein, *Memoirs of a Nobody: the Missouri years of an Austrian Radical, 1849–1866*, edited by Steven Rowan (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997), 241.
- ⁴⁹ *New York Daily Tribune*, January 10, 1859. An ultra-pro-slavery newspaper wrote, "Mr. Kribben hails from St. Louis—is a foreigner—a national Democrat with anti-slavery, anti-Sunday, Red Republican proclivities." *Glasgow Weekly Times*, February 29, 1859.

⁵⁰ *New York Daily Tribune*, December 16, 1959. Bay, *Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar of Missouri*, 352-53. The same political fact created a dilemma for National Democrats when it came to governance issues in St. Louis, a political subdivision of the state, whose legislature they controlled. In December 1858, Blair's newspaper, the *Missouri Democrat*, criticized the three-member St. Louis County Court, on which anti-slavery city residents were grossly underrepresented. After the legislature passed a bill replacing the existing county court with a seven-member (five from the city and two from the county) commission elected on a general ticket, Governor Stewart vetoed it, claiming it was unconstitutional. After an unsuccessful attempt to override, Kribben introduced a compromise bill addressing the constitutional concerns but replacing the county court, but with five commissioners (three elected in the city and two in the county). The governor signed the bill, but Blair later described Kribben as "the author of the odious county court bill, authorizing the governor to impose officers upon us not of our choosing," *Democrat*, July 16, 1860. *Hannibal Messenger*, March 8, 1859. Thomas S. Barclay, *The Movement for Municipal Home Rule in St. Louis* (Columbia: University of Missouri Studies, 1943), 24-26.

⁵¹ *Liberty Tribune*, December 23, 1859.

⁵² *Missouri Democrat*, January 13, 1860. Louis Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 312-13. The bill also banned manumission without a \$2,000 bond that the freedman will leave and not return to the state, and freedmen under 18 were to be apprenticed until they turned 21. *Janesville Morning Gazette*, December 28, 1859.

⁵³ *Glasgow Weekly Times*, March 15, 1860. *Lexington Express*, reprinted in the *Liberty Tribune*, March 23, 1860.

⁵⁴ *Liberty Tribune*, March 23, 1860.

⁵⁵ "St. Louis News," in *Madison Wisconsin State Journal*, March 22, 1860. The special session was called to address the unfinished railroads in Missouri. The election of Kribben as speaker led one political observer to explain, "The so-called Anti Railroad men, the Coffee men, and the enemies of Drake, are said to have combined on him, and thus secured the nomination." Corwin to Snyder, February 29, 1860, Dr. John F. Snyder Collection, Missouri History Museum (hereafter, MHM). Railroad men called Kribben "a captious and partial presiding officer," and they complained about the "factious efforts of half a dozen ruthless politicians, whose efforts seconded by a speaker who has shown himself incompetent for his duties." *Republican*, March 12, 1860, reprinted in the *Liberty Tribune*, March 16, 1860. The bill passed, and the governor vetoed it. The House had passed a resolution to adjourn, and many members had gone home. When the Senate did not concur, the House ordered the sergeant-at-arms to go after the absentees, but Speaker Kribben countermanded the order and the legislature adjourned sine die without considering an override of the veto. *Glasgow Weekly Times*, March 22, 1860. *St. Joseph Weekly Free Democrat*, March 24, 1860.

⁵⁶ "Procedures of the Opposition Meeting," *Demokrat*, December 29, 1859, in Mallinckrodt, *History of Augusta*, 1:31.

⁵⁷ "Preparation for Struggle," *Demokrat*, February 2, 1860, in Mallinckrodt, *History of Augusta*, 1:38.

⁵⁸ *Republican*, March 6, 1860. The letter made it impossible for him to be the candidate of the Opposition, "which failed to perfect their organization in Missouri." C.H. McClure, "A Century of Missouri Politics," *MHR*, Vol. 15, No. 321. *Republican*, March 28, 1860.

⁵⁹ *Weekly West*, March 24, 1860.

⁶⁰ *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, 1809-1866, 2:88-89, cited in "The Republican Party in the 'Border-Slave' States," 159.

⁶¹ *Anzeiger*, June 15, 1860. Edward Bates wished Krekel had waited until his "Lincoln letter and after the Baltimore Conventions," in *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866*, June 16, 1860, edited by Howard K. Beale (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933), 135.

⁶² Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis*, 76.

⁶³ Ch. Kribben to Capt. J.F. Snyder, June 25, 1860, Dr. John F. Snyder Collection, MHM. After the request from Col. John F. Snyder, Kribben agreed to comply "by the time General Frost returned from Washington." Jas. S. Hackney to Col. J.F. Snyder, May 16, 1860; B.F. Massey to Snyder, June 4, 1860; Jas. S. Hackney to Col. J.F. Snyder, June 11, 1860; Patrick Gorman to Col. J.F. Snyder, June 15, 1860, Dr. John F. Snyder Collection, MHM. Receipt of the 45 muskets, however, prompted a complaint that "the arms, though perfectly clean and in order, are very indifferent and unfit for service." J.F. Snyder to G.A. Parsons, *Journal of the House of the State of Missouri*, 1860, 656.

⁶⁴ *Missouri Democrat*, August 25, 1860.

⁶⁵ *North Iowa Times*, October 10, 1860.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, July 25, 1860. *Press and Tribune*, July 25, 1860.

⁶⁷ *Press and Tribune*, September 26, 1860. *Ibid.*, August 25, 1860.

⁶⁸ *Glasgow Weekly Times*, October 4, 1860.

⁶⁹ *Missouri Democrat*, November 2, 1860. "The Republican Meeting in Augusta," *Demokrat*, October 7, 1860, in Mallinckrodt, *History of Augusta*, 1:47.

⁷⁰ *Republican*, January 13, 1861.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² "The Union Meeting in Cottleville," *Demokrat*, February 14, 1861, in Mallinckrodt, *History of Augusta*, 1:55.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, February 15, 1861.

⁷⁴ A. Krekel to F.P. Blair, June 1, 1861, in James Peckham, *Gen. Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861* (New York: American News Company, 1866), 215. Former speaker John Coffee, Dr. John F. Snyder and Daniel M. Frost all served as officers in the Confederate Army.

ENDNOTES continued

- ⁷⁵ Phillips, *Damn Yankee*, 215–39. Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis*, 94. Former governor Stewart attempted to join the Union Army, but his health kept him from serving. See also Dennis K. Boman, *Lincoln and Citizens' Rights in Civil War Missouri* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), 44. The standard for emancipating slaves had been established by Congress in the Confiscation Act passed in early August 1861. Boman, *Lincoln and Citizens' Rights*, 56–57.
- ⁷⁶ Boman, *Lincoln and Citizens' Rights*, 117. Under orders to exclude slaves of loyal masters from Union camps, Krekel wrote his commander in March 1862, "A Negro boy gave valuable information in conducting the command, and I would ask for permission to retain him until the war is over, as he cannot safely return." Lieutenant Colonel A. Krekel to General John M. Schofield, St. Charles, March 10, 1862, *OR*, 7:333.
- ⁷⁷ *Missouri Democrat*, June 12, 1862.
- ⁷⁸ Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 100–103.
- ⁷⁹ Walter D. Kamphoefner, *Germans in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006), 345.
- ⁸⁰ Edward Bates to Hamilton Gamble, September 21, 1862, Bates Family Papers, MHM.
- ⁸¹ *Missouri Democrat*, January 20, 1863. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 30, 1862. *Demokrat*, October 30, 1862, in Mallinckrodt, *History of Augusta, Missouri*, 1:81.
- ⁸² *Missouri Democrat*, December 17, 1862. "The Infamy against Krekel and the Germans Becomes Greater," *Demokrat*, December 4, 1862, in Mallinckrodt, *History of Augusta*, 1:84. While his military exploits earned Krekel the vote of almost all voters in uniform and nearly 80 percent in St. Charles County, some in the German press criticized U.S. Senator John Henderson, who tried to get Krekel to reach "an accommodation of principles" with Rollins, and blamed Henderson when Krekel received less than three percent of the combined vote in Audrain, Boone, Monroe, Pike and Ralls counties on Election Day. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 30, 1862. *Demokrat*, October 30, 1862, in Mallinckrodt, *History of Augusta*, 1:81.
- ⁸³ *Neue Zeit*, in *Missouri Republican*, October 15, 1863. Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 140.
- ⁸⁴ Gari Carter, *Troubled State: Civil War Journals of Franklin Archibald Dick* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008), 91, 114, 119.
- ⁸⁵ *Republican*, November 5, 1862. Loyalty oath of Christian Kribben, October 28, 1862. Radical C.P. Johns received 6,386 votes, Conservative S.T. Glover received 5,397 votes, and Kribben received 3,396 votes. *Republican*, November 10, 1862.
- ⁸⁶ William Kribben to Theobald Engel, March 4, 1863, F1638; March 23, 1863, F1638, Provost Marshal's Papers, MSA. William asked Christian to get him a speedy trial or parole and sought permission to travel with a guard to see his brother, who was to act as his counsel.
- ⁸⁷ Clover to Dick, February 26, 1863, F1638, Provost Marshal's Papers, MSA.
- ⁸⁸ Letter from Barton Able to Col. F.A. Dick, March 6, F1638; Parole, Special Order 138: Kribben Acquitted, Released. May 23, 1863, F1359, Provost Marshal's Papers, MSA. William Kribben was piloting a steamboat traveling from Cairo to Memphis when federal officials discovered it was carrying rebel mail, and Kribben was a suspect based on the testimony of a female slave and a free black woman. Provost Marshal Letters Case in Brief, February 20, 1863, F1593; Statement of Charles W. Conklin, February 24, 1863, F1638; Statement of Christine Simmons, February 25, 1863, F1638; Statement of Sarah Grey February 26, 1863, F1638; Statement of Kribben, N.D. F1638; Letter from Allen Blacker to Colonel F.A. Dick, May 14, 1863, F1638; Letters from Allen Blacker, May 14, 1863, F1638. Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA.
- ⁸⁹ "Protest Meeting at Augusta," *Demokrat*, March 26, 1863, in Mallinckrodt, *History of Augusta*, 1:92.
- ⁹⁰ Kamphoefner, *Westphalians*, 131, 134, 123–124. "Germans Increase Land Holdings," *Demokrat*, October 2, 1879, in Mallinckrodt, *History of Augusta*, 2:405.
- ⁹¹ Remarks of Arnold Krekel at Warrenton, June 13, 1863, MHS, 8;
- ⁹² *Ibid.*
- ⁹³ Mallinckrodt, trans., "Missouri Emancipation," *Demokrat*, July 16, 1863, in Mallinckrodt, *History of Augusta*, 1:99.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Remarks of Arnold Krekel at Warrenton, June 13, 1863, MHM, 8; Benjamin Merkel, "The Anti-Slavery Controversy in Missouri, 1819–1865," 32.
- ⁹⁵ Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 50, 99. After meeting with New York Governor Horatio Seymour in Albany in August, Kribben wrote Colonel Robert Renick expressing his frustration. "I sincerely believe that Seymour is infinitely more radical at heart than he can be permitted to express for he is a public officer," he said, accusing him of "cowardice." Frank Van Der Linden, *Dark Intrigue: The True Story of Civil War Conspiracy* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 2007), 88–89.
- ⁹⁶ *Weekly National Intelligencer*, September 10, 1863; Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 135–36.
- ⁹⁷ Edward Bates to Hamilton Gamble, October 10, 1863, Broadhead Papers, MHS, Diary of Edward Bates, September 30, 1863, 308.
- ⁹⁸ *Weekly National Intelligencer*, October 8, 1863; *Missouri Democrat*, October 5, 1863; *New York World*, October 3, 1863; *Washington Evening Star*, September 3, 1863.
- ⁹⁹ *Weekly National Intelligencer*, October 1, 1863; *Missouri Democrat*, October 21, 1863.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Missouri Democrat and Republican*, November 2 and 3, 1863. A strong showing by Radicals in state circuit-judge elections convinced Lincoln that recruiting slaves was politically feasible in Missouri and "all able-bodied colored men, whether free or slave," were received into the service. Blassingame, "The Recruitment on Negro Troops in Missouri during the Civil War," *MHR*, 326–29.
- ¹⁰¹ *Missouri Republican*, February 7, 1864. See also Benjamin Merkel, "The Anti-Slavery Controversy in Missouri, 1819–1865," 43–44.

- ¹⁰² *Missouri Democrat*, March 1, 1864. In "Bidding for the Rebels," the same newspaper identified "a very spirited competition between two enterprising political firms, whose bidding of late has been a most lively character. One of these, Messrs. Kribben & Co., a democratic house, whose principal place of business is at Washington Hall in this city, made the first proposition." *Missouri Democrat*, March 3, 1864.
- ¹⁰³ *Republican*, February 24, 1864.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, February 29, 1864
- ¹⁰⁵ *State Sentinel*, February 27, 1864. In February 1864, the Supreme Court ruled courts had no power to issue a writ of *habeas corpus* to a military commission. *Ex parte Vallandigham*, 1 Wallace, 242.
- ¹⁰⁶ Proceedings of military commission against Judge, May 12, 1864; Letter from Arnold Krekel to Colonel Sanderson, September 24, 1864; Accounting by Sheriff Gatzweiler, F 1353; Accounting by Sheriff Gatzweiler, F 1353; Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, MSA. *Judge v. Booge*, St. Charles County Circuit Court records, 13, 45, 50.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Missouri Democrat*, June 17, 1864.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* The Missouri delegation selected to attend the Democratic National Convention in Chicago was composed entirely of "Peace Democrats."
- ¹⁰⁹ *Missouri Democrat*, July 11, 1864. The *Missouri Democrat* insisted this position conflicted sharply with the express opinions of some of "the more imperious of the German leaders, who wish to subordinate all other questions to the single one of the Presidency."
- ¹¹⁰ *Neue Zeit*, August 1, 1864, from *Missouri Democrat*, August 17, 1864.
- ¹¹¹ Frank L. Klement, *Dark Lanterns: Secret Political Societies, Conspiracies and Treason Trials in the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 177-78. Klement, *Copperheads of the Middle West*, 178.
- ¹¹² *New York Times*, October 19, 1864, from *Missouri Democrat*, July 28, 1864.
- ¹¹³ *Missouri Democrat*, July 31, 1864.
- ¹¹⁴ *Republican*, July 29, 1864. Klement, *Dark Lanterns*, 87-88.
- ¹¹⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, September 14, 1864.
- ¹¹⁶ *Daily Dispatch*, September 3, 1864. Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 140.
- ¹¹⁷ "St. Charles County under Arms," *Demokrat*, October 6, 1864, in Mallinckrodt, *History of Augusta*, 1:118. Liberty Tribune, October 7, 1864.
- ¹¹⁸ *Republican*, October 14, 1864.
- ¹¹⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, October 12, 1864.
- ¹²⁰ "Spirit of the German Press" *Daily Missouri Republican*, July 31, 1863. Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis*, 197. Klement, *Dark Lanterns*, 136-51.
- ¹²¹ Galusha Anderson, *Story of a Border City during the Civil War* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1908), 344.
- ¹²² Donnie D. Bellamy, "The Persistence of Colonization in Missouri," *MHR*, Vol. 72 (October 1977): 13.
- ¹²³ *Gallatin North Missourian*, May 11, 1865.
- ¹²⁴ *The Diary of Edward Bates*, 447. Bates had resigned from Lincoln's cabinet.
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 486. Krekel would be instrumental in the founding of Lincoln Institute in Jefferson City, the predecessor of Lincoln University. He served on its first board of directors, lectured, and raised funds. Barnes-Krekel Hall was the first women's dormitory at Lincoln constructed in 1881. Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Arnold Krekel,"
- ¹²⁶ *Republican*, June 17, 1865.
- ¹²⁷ Mallinckrodt, trans, "Federal Judge Arnold Krekel," *Demokrat*, July 19, 1888, in Mallinckrodt, *History of Augusta*, 3:543. Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 1-2.