

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE HISTORICAL ELEMENT  
IN THE CRISIS, BY WINSTON CHURCHILL

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with a view to determining whether  
the accuracy or inaccuracy of that  
use in the historical setting is an  
advantage or disadvantage in getting  
a picture of the period.

By

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION

During the years from 1896 to 1902, a wave of historical romance, amounting almost to a deluge, swept America. This was at least in part due to the zeal for national expansion which attended the war with Spain.

Patriotism and jingoism, altruism and imperialism, passion and sentimentalism, shook the temper which had slowly been stiffening since the Civil War. Now, with a rush of unaccustomed emotions, the national imagination sought out its own past, delighting in it, wallowing in it.<sup>1</sup>

Among the more successful novelists of the period were Mark Twain, Richard Harding Davis, S. Weir Mitchell, Charles Major, Winston Churchill, and Ellen Glasgow. After a brief period of flowering, the type declined rapidly, and even the World War did not arouse any particular interest in the historical novel.

The rise of nationalism, the distrust of each nation for all the others, and the political and economic problems of the world at present are bringing us into another period of patriotism and again we are delighting in our past. Some of our first-class writers are producing very fine historical novels, for example Heinrich Mann's Young Henry of Navarre (1937), Hervy Allen's Action at Aquila (1937), Kenneth Robert's Northwest Passage (1937), and Walter D. Edmond's Drums Along the Mohawk (1936). This interest is reflected also in the theater in such plays as Robert Sherwood's Abe Lincoln in Illinois (1937), Maxwell Anderson's Valley Forge (1934), George S. Kaufman's and Moss Hart's The American Way (1939), and in the motion pictures

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<sup>1</sup>Carl Van Doren, The American Novel, 1900-1920, p. 254

Maid of Salem, Union Pacific, Stagecoach, and Dodge City.

This return of interest and the fact that many people get most of their knowledge of history from literature rather than from a definite study of the subject make it seem worth while to examine the work of one of the early historical novelists from a historical point of view to determine whether or not reading these novels increases the student's knowledge and appreciation of historical background. Winston Churchill's books are still read probably more than any others of this early group, and therefore one of his will be studied. The Crisis has been selected for this study because it has a great mass of historical detail and portraits of Lincoln, Sherman, and Grant. A study of Richard Carvel and of The Crossing shows the same methods, and a detailed discussion here would be just a repetition.

## CHAPTER II.

## WINSTON CHURCHILL

## Biographical Sketch

Winston Churchill was born in St. Louis, Missouri, November 10, 1871, the son of Edwin Spaulding Churchill, of Portland Maine, and Emma Bell Blaine of St. Louis. The first sixteen years of his life he spent in his native city which was in fact his home until 1899. He was educated at Smith Academy in St. Louis and at the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, from which he was graduated in 1894 with a high record, being among the first five in his class.

The study that appealed to him most was American history. Before he had finished his course at the Naval Academy, he had made up his mind to devote his life and energies to American history and American problems, not only through writing but by active participation. Much of the atmosphere and some of the material for Richard Carvel he gathered while still a midshipman at the Naval Academy; and in the brief intervals between scientific studies and drills, he began reading some of the history which he used later in his novels.

Although possessed of a splendid physical equipment, he never served in the Navy, but while a student at Annapolis played on the football and tennis teams, and was captain of the crew. He is still interested in and practices various forms of athletic activity.

He resigned from the Navy on his graduation and began work as editor of the Army and Navy Journal. The next year he became managing editor of the Cosmopolitan Magazine. While he lived at Irvington-on-Hudson, working on the magazine, he experimented with fiction. However, he never tried to publish any of his first work, and it is



not now in existence.

In 1895, he married Mable Harlakenden Hall, resigned from the Cosmopolitan, and moved to Cornish, New Hampshire.

In 1899, he bought a farm and built Harlakenden House, a brick residence in colonial style. In 1913, when Mr. Churchill was in California, President Wilson expressed a desire to rent Harlakenden and liked it so well he afterward used it as his summer residence; Mr. Churchill, on his return from a year of travel in the West, lived in the other house on the place.

The first of Mr. Churchill's historical trilogy, Richard Carvel, appeared in 1899 and soon became almost a classic of the period with which it deals. It was two years before his next book, The Crisis, appeared. Mr. Churchill chose for the background of this story the stirring days of the Civil War. Three years later, in 1904, came The Crossing. Its title refers to the crossing of the Alleghenies by the tide of American immigration after the Revolutionary War.

While Mr. Churchill was writing about America's past, he was also participating in American politics. In 1903, and again in 1905, he represented the town of Cornish in the New Hampshire legislature. In 1906, he became the candidate of the Lincoln Club of New Hampshire for the Republican nomination for Governor of the State on an anti-railroad platform, which stood for elimination of railroad influence from the control of legislative and public affairs.<sup>1</sup> He had just

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<sup>1</sup>Editorial Board, Macmillan Company, "Winston Churchill, A Sketch of His Life and Work" and Editorial, in "Churchill and New Hampshire," in Progress of the World Section, Review of Reviews, XXXIV, 142, 143.

published Coniston, which is essentially a study of the rise of the boss system in American politics and sets forth methods and motives under which consolidated railroad influence in so many states superseded the earlier phase of government by boss and lobby.

After the publication of Richard Carvel, Mr. Churchill's themes move in an orderly sequence from colonial days down almost to the present, each representing the life and atmosphere of a distinct period in American history. Mr. Crewe's Career (1908) is an embodiment of Mr. Churchill's observation and experience among the people of the political whirlpool. A Modern Chronicle (1910), The Inside of the Cup (1913), and A Far Country (1915), deal with social problems. In 1917, he published The Dwelling Place of Light; in 1918, A Traveller in Wartime, and in 1919 a three-act play, Dr. Jonathon.

In answer to a request for personal information he replied:

Now some twelve years ago I made a resolution to keep out of the public eye, and I have had very little difficulty in holding to it. While I feel the compliment which you would do me in including me in living authors, I am really a dead author, and never was much of a living one. So I know you will excuse me. I had great pleasure in what I wrote when I did write, and I am grateful for the pleasure.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Stanley J. Kunitz, Authors Today and Yesterday, p. 157

## CRITICISM

Churchill worked very carefully and slowly, taking two or three years for each novel, reading widely and reinforcing "his story with solid documentation."<sup>3</sup> There is every evidence that he has rewritten each chapter many times, polishing and correcting each statement. Richard Carvel met with immediate success, and he was urged to write another historical tale at once. He refused to be hurried, although he said, "You have no idea of the temptations that are put in the way of a man whose book has been accorded a popular success."<sup>4</sup>

He has taken the memories of his nation and woven them into a broad tapestry which is the background for the story. The main characters are the conventional romantic figures and often seem to have been created to represent a certain political belief. Historical personages appear only as part of the background. He once said of his historical trilogy,

My idea has been to treat of the great forces that went to the making of the United States, rather than to study social conditions as manifested in individuals.<sup>5</sup>

Plot has thus been made secondary to a panoramic background.

The following excerpts from a letter from Mr. Churchill to the writer of this thesis show his method of gathering information.

I picked up for the historical novels anything I could get hold of to give me color and fact, but chiefly color. I read the files of the newspapers during the time of the Civil War for the material in The Crisis. I got hold of old books

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<sup>3</sup>Carl Van Doran, Contemporary American Novelists, 1900-1920, p. 50

<sup>4</sup>Annie Russell Marble, A Study of The Modern Novel, British and American, p. 227.

<sup>5</sup>Edgar W. Burrill, "Winston Churchill," The Warner Library, University Edition, VI, 3664b.

on Kentucky history for The Crossing, and old books on London and England for the English scenes in Richard Carvel. I read biographies, and talked to old men of the times. . . . In the political novels I wrote from my own experience. . . . For my idea of Lincoln in The Crisis, I recall that Herndon's Biography was particularly helpful, but I got most of my ideas from talking with people who had been in the Civil War. I read biographies of the historical characters for the older books, but I do not think any of them were particularly noteworthy books. They were such as existed at the time.

Even making allowance for the fact that he always seems timid about placing a very high rating on his work, we can see that he has worked carefully and conscientiously, using as many sources and the best sources available to him.

CHAPTER III.

THE CRISIS

The setting for this novel of the Civil War was St. Louis from 1857 to 1865. The author chose St. Louis for the scene because Grant and Sherman were living there before the war, and Lincoln was in the neighboring state, Illinois. It was one of the aims of the book to show the contrasts in the lives of these men. This old city was also the "principal meeting-place of two great streams of emigration which had been separated, more or less, since Cromwell's day."<sup>1</sup> Early American life in the southern states had been characterized by the liberal tinge of the Royalists, and in the northern by the asceticism of the Roundheads. As population moved westward across the Blue Ridge Mountains and over the plains of Ohio and Indiana, the two streams met at St. Louis. There was also a large German element there which played an important part in the war.<sup>2</sup>

As early as 1857, Frank Blair and Abraham Lincoln had agreed that the fight against the extension of slavery should be centered in the border states. Missouri and Illinois were to become the first battle ground. At the convention in Charleston in 1860, the Democratic party split, the northern Democrats standing firmly behind Douglas and his principle, "Sacred right of self-government." The convention was unable to elect Douglas by a two-thirds majority and adjourned to meet in Baltimore June 18, at which time Douglas was nominated. The Fire-eaters nominated John C. Breckenridge at Richmond, June 11. The

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<sup>1</sup>Winston Churchill, The Crisis, p. 521

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

Constitutional Union Party, composed of Old Line Whigs, a few Know-nothings, and some Democrats, met in Baltimore, May 9, and nominated John Bell of Tennessee. They pledged themselves to support the Constitution and "maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly," the Union of the States and the enforcement of the laws of the Union.<sup>3</sup>

At the Republican convention in Chicago, May 16, Lincoln was nominated. There are many details of this convention in The Crisis, all of which may be verified in history.<sup>4</sup>

All of these parties had large representation in St. Louis, and by creating characters belonging to each of these and setting down their conversations and arguments, Churchill has given us a good political background for his story.<sup>5</sup> The conservative group is represented by Calvin Brinsmade, who was a Bell Democrat, the Republicans, by the cantankerous abolitionist, old Judge Whipple, who believed the nation was going to the dogs and could never prosper until the curse of slavery was wiped out in blood and by the virtuous Yankee Stephen Brice, who looked upon the rebels as gallant and noble, though misguided men. Colonel Carvel and his daughter, Virginia, loyal Southerners and slave owners, who believed that the welfare of the whole South depended upon slavery and that the sons of Ham were in subjection by an act of God, belonged to the Southern Rights party of

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<sup>3</sup>W. E. Smith, Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics, I, 415, 416, 472, and

John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Abraham Lincoln, A History, II, 225, ff.

<sup>4</sup>Churchill, op. cit., pp. 195, 196, and James F. Rhodes, History of The United States, II, 457, and Smith, op. cit., pp. 473-483, and William E. Dodd, Lincoln or Lee, pp. 23, 24

<sup>5</sup>Churchill, op. cit., pp. 76-193

Breckenridge.

The bitter arguments between the judge and the colonel are a clear picture of the importance of politics in the city before elections, and the break in their friendship immediately after is typical of many such relationships.

Throughout the Union the political conflict was fierce, but in Missouri, and in its great commercial city, St. Louis, it was unusually hot and acrimonious. African slavery was the distracting problem. None attempted to disguise it. Men on every hand spoke plainly and boldly. . . . After the election, all those in St. Louis, who had hoped against hope that the Republican party might be defeated, seemed to settle down into sullen, silent, blank despair. Under the circumstances, no one cared to talk openly. Those whose hearts were full of joy over the outcome of the battle of ballots gave little or no public expression of their gladness, lest they might unduly vex their disappointed and downhearted neighbors, while most of the latter rigidly refrained from openly proclaiming their bitter chagrin over their defeat, lest they might augment the elation of the victors. . . . Underneath this surface calm there were clandestine, but energetic, movements that portended armed conflict. There were two formidable political clubs in the city. The one was the Wide-awakes. This was Republican in politics. . . . The other was the Minute Men. They were mostly young but conservative Democrats. They had supported Douglas for the Presidency.<sup>6</sup>

At this time the German element became very important. Through Carl Richter, Churchill gives a good picture of the settlement. The total population of St. Louis in 1860 was 190,500. Of this number, over fifty percent were foreign born. There were more than 5,500 Germans, and the most of them lived in the settlement south of Market Street. The first of this group arrived in St. Louis in 1839 and were Saxon Lutherans who had come under the leadership of their bishop, Martin Stephen. They maintained the customs of the homeland, built Lutheran Churches, and Turner Halls, where their children were taught

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<sup>6</sup>Galusha Anderson, The Story of A Border City During the Civil War, pp. 14-21

the German language.<sup>7</sup>

The strong German population of Missouri was not embarrassed by inherited ideas of a dutiful allegiance to the state of their residences, in preference to loyalty to the national government. They made their influence felt, and under the leadership of Blair, took the initiative in saving Missouri for the Union.<sup>8</sup>

When Jackson sent his reply to Lincoln, refusing to supply men for the Union, the Wide-awakes<sup>9</sup> were already organized and drilling in many parts of the city.

The best appointed and led was the movement at Turner Hall where over 300 members of the St. Louis Turner Society took an active part and were joined by a number of men outside the society. The body was diligently drilled by Captain Learned, a former United States officer, by General Sigel, and others. The Turner Hall group were Unconditional Unionists. On the 15th of March, three boxes of arms were brought to Turner Hall from Woodward and Company, in a manner to obviate suspicion. They had been sent via Alton by Governor Yates of Illinois.<sup>10</sup>

When the stampede came on May 12, it was the Germans whom the secessionists most feared. There are other elements embodied in the novel; for instance, the contemptible trader, Eliphalet Hopper, who appears wherever and whenever there is an opportunity to make money. Clarence Colfax represents another of these elements. Born a slave holder, he believed in the divine right of his class to rule and would fight for his belief. This class made good soldiers. Sherman described this

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<sup>7</sup>Smith, op. cit., p. 31, and  
Rhodes, op. cit., III, p. 393

<sup>8</sup>Albert B. Faust, The German Element in the United States, I, p. 529

<sup>9</sup>Anderson, op. cit., pp. 19-21. There were two powerful political clubs in St. Louis. One was the Wide-awakes who were Republican in politics; the other was the Minute Men who had supported Douglas for the Presidency, but after his defeat had drifted into the rank of secessionists. During the winter of 1860-61, the clubs changed into military units and drilled regularly. The Wide-awakes became the Home Guards.

<sup>10</sup>R. J. Rombauer, The Union Cause in St. Louis in 1861, p. 192



group as:

The young bloods...who never did work and never will. War suits them; the rascals are brave, fine riders, bold to rashness, and dangerous in every sense.<sup>11</sup>

In the "Afterword" to The Crisis, Churchill tells us that the scope of his book does not permit him to introduce all the other groups who were of importance in St. Louis at the time. He also says in the "Afterword":

The breach that threatened our countries is healed now. There is no side but Lincoln's side. And this side, with <sup>12</sup> all reverence and patriotism, the author has tried to take.

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<sup>11</sup>Lloyd Lewis, Sherman, Fighting Prophet, p. 307

<sup>12</sup> Churchill, op. cit., pp. 521, 522

### Characters

Following the great tradition of Scott in the historical novel, Churchill has made the central figures of the romance fictitious, but many of the incidents in the life of Calvin Brinsmade and Stephen Brice have been drawn directly from the lives of real people. All the characteristics of Calvin Brinsmade agree with the career and personality of James E. Yeatman<sup>13</sup> who died in July, 1901, and in honor of whom a bust was placed in the vestibule of the Mercantile Club of which he was First President.

Mr. Yeatman was cashier and later President of the Merchants' (National) Bank of St. Louis and owned property on Olive Street. As early as 1861 he became President of the Western Sanitary Commission and gave almost all of his time to the work. There was a central hospital at St. Louis where hospital steamers were fitted out for war on the river. Mr. Yeatman was a staunch Unionist and "Black Republican," and was "personally acquainted with Lincoln, who in 1865 offered him the commissionship of the Refugee and Freedman's Bureau."<sup>14</sup> His exact political views are stated by Churchill in his description of Mr. Brinsmade as a man of peace but one who loved the Union. He was looked upon as a friend by all; "Yankee and Rebel alike sought his help and counsel in time of perplexity or trouble, rather than hot-headed advice from their own leaders."<sup>15</sup>

Mr. Yeatman was forty-three when the war began, while the

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<sup>13</sup>J. M. Dixon, "Some Real Persons and Places in The Crisis," in The Bookman, XIV, 17-20

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

Mr. Brinsmade of The Crisis seems to be an old man, the Mr. Yeatman whom Churchill knew forty years later.<sup>16</sup> That he admired Mr. Yeatman a great deal is shown by the fact that he dedicated Richard Carvel to him, saying of him, "an American gentleman whose life is an example to his countrymen."<sup>17</sup>

Many of the details of the life of Stephen Drice are taken from that of Henry Hitchcock who went to St. Louis in the early fifties. He studied law, did some work as a journalist, and

made quite a reputation by an address he delivered in favor of Lincoln's candidacy. He marched with Sherman to the sea as judge advocate, and was sent to President Lincoln with dispatches after the historic meeting of Sherman and Johnson at Greensboro."<sup>18</sup>

A great many historical personages enter into the background of The Crisis, and we shall study carefully the personality and career ascribed to three of them: Grant, Sherman, and Lincoln, to determine whether or not the author has been accurate in his portrayal.

Grant appears several times in the story.<sup>19</sup> We see him first as a strange, silent man, delivering wood which he has brought in from Cravois to customers in St. Louis.

He wore a close-cropped beard, an old blue army overcoat, and his trousers were tucked into a pair of muddy cowhide boots.<sup>20</sup>

He is next seen outside the arsenal, Friday, May 10, 1861, as he introduced himself to Colonel Frank Blair and told him he had been in

<sup>16</sup>Precedent for this kind of literary license was established by Shakespeare who depicted Hal and Hotspur as youths of the same age in Henry IV. History informs us that Hal was fifteen and Hotspur thirty-nine at the battle of Shrewsbury.

<sup>17</sup>Churchill, Richard Carvel, Dedication page

<sup>18</sup>Dixon, loc. cit.

<sup>19</sup>Churchill, The Crisis, pp. 21, 278, 396, 397, 417, 427, 488

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 21

the leather business in Galena and had gone to Springfield where he had been a clerk in the Adjutant-General's office. He said he was now a state mustering officer and had been sent to Belleville to muster in a regiment but found it was not ready and had come to St. Louis to see what was being done. He also said he had served nine years in the army and felt that he could not afford to go in now as a captain of volunteers, but that he would go as commander of a regiment. Grant is referred to as the one who had taken Belmont. In telling the story of Vicksburg, Churchill says,

...a self-contained man, with a brown beard arrived from Memphis, and took command. This was General U. S. Grant. He smoked incessantly in his cabin. He listened. He spoke but seldom. He had a look in his face that boded ill to any that might oppose him. Time and labor he counted as nothing, compared with the accomplishment of an object.<sup>21</sup>

All the credit for the capture of Vicksburg is given to him. In a letter to his mother, Stephen describes a meeting of Grant, Sherman, and Lincoln on Board the President's boat at City Point, Virginia, March 28, 1865. Grant is still described as silent and constantly smoking. All of these incidents are accurate and are recorded in great detail by historians.

Hesseltine describes the first forty years of Grant's life as years of dismal failure, and says he was "a person devoid of dramatic characteristics, of dynamic force, and of any definite direction.

. . . Ambition was foreign to his make-up."<sup>22</sup>

Grant attended West Point and served in the Mexican War. He was ordered to the Pacific Coast in 1857. In 1853, he was made a captain

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<sup>21</sup>Churchill, The Crisis, p. 413

<sup>22</sup>W. B. Hesseltine, Ulysses S. Grant, Politician, p. 1-15

and sent to Fort Humbolt in California. He had only financial failure and disappointment in California and was reported to the commander of the fort for drinking. To avoid court martial, he resigned and went home.

I was now to commence, at the age of thirty-two, a new struggle for our support. My wife had a farm near St. Louis, to which we went, but I had no means to stock it. A house had to be built also. I worked very hard, never losing a day because of bad weather, and accomplished the object in a moderate way. If nothing else could be done, I would load a cord of wood on a wagon and take it to the city for sale. . . . In the fall of 1858, I sold out my stock, crops, and farming utensils at auction and gave up farming.<sup>23</sup>

From farming he went into the real estate business in St. Louis. He failed here, too, and after he had tried several other positions, his brothers offered him a clerkship in their store in Galena at fifty dollars a month. He became more silent as he smoked his pipe and pattered about the store. He was not particularly interested in affairs of the nation, but when Lincoln's first call for volunteers came, he drilled a company. When this company went to the State Capitol to be mustered into service, Ulysses S. Grant, "carpet-bag in hand, swung onto the rear of the train en route to fame."<sup>24</sup>

Grant records his appointment by Governor Yates to a place in the Adjutant-General's office. Later he was placed in charge of mustering regiments into State service.<sup>25</sup>

One of these was to assemble at Belleville, some eighteen miles southeast of St. Louis. When I got there, I found that only one or two companies had arrived. There was no probability of the regiment's coming together under five days. This gave me a few idle days which I concluded to spend in St. Louis.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Ulysses S. Grant, Personal Memoirs, I, 210

<sup>24</sup>Hesseltine, op. cit., pp. 17-18

<sup>25</sup>Grant, op. cit., I, 232-234

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

Governor Jackson had planned to have the state militia at Camp Jackson seize the United States Arsenal and the city of St. Louis for the Confederacy. There was a small garrison of probably two companies at the arsenal under General Nathaniel Lyon. Frank Blair was the leader of the Union men in St. Louis, and as the troops marched out of the arsenal into the enclosure, he was there forming them into line.<sup>27</sup>

Preparatory to their march, I introduced myself and had a few moments conversation and expressed my sympathy with his purpose.<sup>28</sup>

Grant returned to Galena and on May 24, 1861, wrote to Colonel L. Thomas, Adjutant-General. U. S. A., Washington, offering his service if he could be given command of a regiment. The letter was never answered. He went to Cincinnati to see McClellan, hoping he would give him a position on his staff, but was unable to see him. While Grant was away from Springfield, Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 men for three years of the war. Yates appointed Grant colonel of the 21st regiment.<sup>29</sup>

All this material is woven into the novel, although in some instances, such as Grant's telling the story of riding out on the field at Belmont alone and having to let his horse slide down the bank of the river, it is given in less detail in The Crisis.<sup>30</sup>

Of Grant's Part in the capture of Vicksburg, Sherman says:

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<sup>27</sup>Lewis, op. cit., pp. 159, 160 and  
War of the Rebellion Record, Series I, Vol. III, 6

<sup>28</sup>Grant, op. cit., I, 235

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 239-243 and  
W. R. R., Series I, Vol. I, 145, 146

<sup>30</sup>Grant, op. cit., 278, 279

The Campaign of Vicksburg, in its conception and execution, belonged exclusively to General Grant, not only in the great whole, but in the thousands of its details.<sup>31</sup>

Stephen refers to Grant several times in his letters to his mother as he went with Sherman on the March to the sea, and from Savannah northward. The accuracy of these letters will be discussed in our study of Sherman.

William Tecumseh Sherman entered West Point in 1836. He was nervous, thin, quick, talkative, . . . conspicuously honest, and sensitive. He was to receive a great many demerits because of his slouchy, untidy dress and careless deportment. However, by the time he reached his fourth year, he had come to like the life of a soldier.<sup>32</sup>

When he finished West Point, he was assigned to duty on the east coast of Florida. Life was dull at this post, so he wrote to Thomas Ewing, his foster father, then Secretary of the Treasury, to ask if he could be transferred to the western plains. In about a year he received promotion to a first lieutenantcy and was stationed at Picolata,

twenty miles from St. Augustine, that beautiful and ancient Spanish town where, among the wealthy southern planters who had migrated there for the climate, he found gay society.<sup>33</sup>

In June, 1842, he was ordered to Fort Moultrie, near Charleston, South Carolina, the social capital of the South. He remained here five years, "finding no quarrel with slavery and growing yearly more enamored of southern culture."<sup>34</sup> The next year was spent in

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<sup>31</sup>William Tecumseh Sherman, Personal Memoirs, I, 362

<sup>32</sup>Lewis, op. cit., pp. 51-148

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

recruiting service which he hated so much that he leaped at a chance to go to California. He was disappointed again because he did not see active service. There followed several years of failure at everything he tried, until in October, 1859, he set off for Louisiana to head a new military school. This was not to last long for, though he had said, "he loved the South and disliked Ohio, in February of '61 was a son of the northwest going home."<sup>35</sup>

Soon his brother John, who had become Senator from Ohio and had a great deal of political influence, sent for him to come to Washington for conference. At the same time he was offered the presidency of a horse-car street railway in St. Louis. He went to Washington thoroughly disgusted with the administration.

In the South, the people were earnest, fierce, and angry, and were evidently organizing for action; whereas, in Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, I saw not the least sign of preparation. It certainly looked to me as though the people of the North would tamely submit to a disruption of the Union, and the orators of the South used openly and constantly the expression that there would be no war, that a lady's thimble would hold all the blood that would be shed.<sup>36</sup>

John took him to see Mr. Lincoln, who asked how people were getting along in Louisiana. He said,

'They think they are getting along swimmingly--they are preparing for war.'

'Oh, well!,' said Lincoln, 'I guess we will manage to keep house.'<sup>37</sup>

Sherman was silenced and soon left, but he broke out on his brother John telling him things were in a "hell of a fix,"<sup>38</sup> and

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Sherman, op. cit., 194

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 196 and

David P. Conyngham, Sherman's March Through the South, p. 369

<sup>38</sup>Sherman, op. cit., 196



that the country was sleeping on a volcano that might burst forth any minute, but that he was going to St. Louis to take the position with the street car company.<sup>39</sup>

These are the incidents of Sherman's life that Judge Whipple related to Stephen Brice when the two were introduced as they rode the fifth street car together on May 9, 1861.<sup>40</sup>

In relating the incidents of the rioting after the surrender of Camp Jackson on May 10, Churchill mentions Sherman and his son, Willie. Sherman says he remembers taking his children with him and riding the street car to the arsenal May 9, where he saw men distributing cartridges and General Lyon running about "with his hair in the wind, his pockets full of papers, wild and irregular."<sup>41</sup> It was Charles Ewing who threw Willie to the ground and covered him with his body until the shooting had stopped and they were able to slide into a gulley and from there get out to Market Street and go to their home between Tenth and Eleventh on Locust.<sup>42</sup>

Sherman had refused to volunteer for the three months' call, but when the three years' call came, he offered his services as an officer, but because of his years in the army, refused to go in as a private. He remained in St. Louis until his brother John sent a telegram notifying him that he had been appointed Colonel of the Thirteenth Regular Infantry and was wanted in Washington at once.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Churchill, The Crisis, p. 270

<sup>41</sup>Sherman, op. cit., I, 200-202 and  
Anderson, op. cit., p. 99

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>W. R. R., Series III, Vol. I, 145, 146 and  
Sherman, op. cit., 202

Stephen met Sherman next as General Sherman in command at Camp Benton. He had quarreled with Secretary of War Cameron and the newspaper reporters, and because he thought it would take an army of two hundred thousand men to expel the rebels from Kentucky, had been set down as crazy. Then he quietly retired to Benton Barracks.<sup>44</sup>

In Chapter VII of Book Three in The Crisis, there are a number of details of Sherman's days in Memphis, his part in the battle of Vicksburg, and the rescue of Porter; all of these have been found to be in every way accurate.<sup>45</sup>

In Book Three, Chapters XIII and XIV are taken up almost entirely by Stephen's letters to his mother as he accompanied Sherman as a member of his staff on the March to the Sea and on the march from Savannah northward. His report of the South Carolina campaign is an almost verbatim reproduction of Sherman's record and of Hitchcock's letters.<sup>46</sup>

Brice's description of the military camp at City Point and the conference of Sherman, Grant, and Lincoln is the same as the descriptions found in Sherman's and Grant's Personal Memoirs.<sup>47</sup>

In many instances, Churchill refers to the friendship between Grant and Sherman and their respect for each other's ability. In his Personal Memoirs, Grant often speaks of Sherman as a superior

<sup>44</sup>Conyningham, op. cit., p. 370

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 77 and  
Lewis, op. cit., pp. 242-297

<sup>46</sup>Henry Hitchcock, Marching with Sherman, Passages from the Letters and Campaign Diary of Henry Hitchcock and Sherman, op. cit., II, 307-314

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 322-328 and  
Grant, op. cit., II, 422, 423 and  
Lewis, op. cit., pp. 521-526

commander. But probably the best illustration of their regard for each other is the conversation between them when Grant was discouraged and asked to be relieved from duty under Halleck and move to Memphis. He was persuaded by Sherman to stay.<sup>48</sup>

Lincoln appears in the story twice, first on his way to Freeport where he debated with Douglas, and again in 1865 on board the steamer "River Queen" in conference with Grant and Sherman. Since the "River Queen" conference was discussed under the section on Sherman, only the details of the first appearance will be examined here. Judge Whipple sent Stephen Brice to Springfield to deliver a message to Lincoln. The description of the law office of Lincoln and Herndon which Stephen visited is the same as that given by Beveridge.

The office consisted of one 'medium-sized room at the rear end of a dark hall on the second floor of a brick building on the public square, across the street from the Court House. . . . Two unwashed windows looked out upon the litter in the yard of the store below.

In the center of the room stood a long table with a shorter one at the end, both covered with green baize.' In one corner was a desk with drawers and pigeonholes, and in this desk were kept the law papers of the firm. Against a wall was a bookcase containing 'about 200 volumes of law as well as miscellaneous books.'<sup>49</sup>

There was no one in the office, so Stephen went to Lincoln's home, which is described as an ugly house surrounded by heavy trees.

Stephen visited the house in 1858, and Beveridge's description is of 1849. He says it was an ugly one and a half story structure with only one shade tree in front and no fruit trees in the back yard.

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<sup>48</sup>Grant, op. cit., p. 385 and  
Sherman, op. cit., p. 283

<sup>49</sup>Albert J. Beveridge, Abraham Lincoln, I, 498, 499

Mrs. Lincoln had this one tree cut down when she had the house raised to two stories in 1857.<sup>50</sup>

Lincoln had left Springfield to go to Freeport, and since Stephen had been instructed to deliver his message into Lincoln's hands, he proceeded to Freeport. He first met Lincoln at a tavern where they spent the night. The next day as they rode the train to Freeport, Lincoln discussed with Joseph Medill the questions which he intended to ask Douglas. Again we refer to Beveridge, who tells us that Lincoln handed his questions to Joseph Medill and that Medill objected to the second one so much that when they reached Freeport he told Elihu B. Washburne and Norman B. Judd about it and they went to Lincoln's room and tried to persuade him not to ask it, but Lincoln refused to change his plan. Other of his friends protested, but without success.<sup>51</sup>

The description of Lincoln and Douglas and the details of the debate on August 27, 1858, at Freeport are the familiar ones recorded in history, but there is some difference of opinion as to the significance of the debate. Lincoln's second question was:

Can the people of a United States Territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?<sup>52</sup>

Douglas answered:

It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 501, 605

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., II, 656

<sup>52</sup>Arthur B. Lapsley, Writings of Abraham Lincoln, III, 249  
Nicolay and Hay, op. cit., 158

into a Territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it, as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave Territory or a free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska Bill.<sup>53</sup>

Churchill says that this answer, called the Freeport Heresy, destroyed the Democratic Party and caused Douglas to lose the support of the South in his candidacy for the Presidency. This opinion is held by such historians as John G. Nicolay<sup>54</sup> and Arthur B. Lapsley. Lapsley says in his Writings of Abraham Lincoln, published in 1888:

We know that Lincoln did put those questions to Douglas; that Douglas answered them in such a manner as to ruin his chances with the South, which was watching this contest with vigilance, and that that answer made his support by the South in 1860 an utter impossibility.<sup>55</sup>

Professor Avery Craven, of the University of Chicago, is of the opinion that the Freeport speech was not nearly so important as it has been pictured. He said in a letter to the writer of this thesis:

Many southern newspapers, including the Richmond Inquirer, heartily approved of Douglas' answer, and it was not until much later that people began saying that Douglas' answer was fatal to his southern influence.

My own impression is that the Harper's articles did Douglas far more damage in the South than did his Freeport answer.

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<sup>53</sup>Lapsley, op. cit., 264  
Nicolay and Hay, op. cit., 160, 161

<sup>54</sup>John G. Nicolay, A Short History of Abraham Lincoln, p. 125

<sup>55</sup>Lapsley, op. cit., VIII, 173

In fact, I am of the opinion that certain speeches in Congress made in 1860 are responsible for the impression that Lincoln ruined Douglas at Freeport.<sup>56</sup>

As evidence for his belief, Professor Craven uses this statement from a speech which Jefferson Davis made at Bangor, Maine, in the fall of 1858:

If the inhabitants of any Territory should refuse to enact such laws and police regulations as would give security to their property or to his, it would be rendered more or less valueless. . . . In the case of property in the labor of man, or what is usually called slavery property, the insecurity would be so great that the owner could not ordinarily retain it. . . . The owner would be practically debarred. . . . So much for the oft-repeated fallacy of forcing slavery upon any community.<sup>57</sup>

Although Professor Craven cites historical data to support his belief, Mr. Churchill's statements are consistent with those made by recognized historians who were writing at the time he wrote The Crisis.

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<sup>56</sup>Excerpt from letter received by the writer of this thesis from Professor Avery Craven, Professor at the University of Chicago.

<sup>57</sup>Quoted in full from Richmond Inquirer, dated October 15, 1858, newspaper of Richmond, Virginia. Note taken and supplied by Professor Avery Craven, Professor at the University of Chicago.

## Historical Incidents

The winter of 1860-61 was a period of gloom and despair in St. Louis. Both Governor Claiborne Jackson and Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds supported the rebellion. Enthusiastic secessionists were drilling daily for future warfare, and a confederate flag floated over their headquarters at Berthhold Mansion on the northwest corner of Fifth and Pine. Under the leadership of Frank Blair, Jr., the loyal unionists were also organized and were

meeting and training with greatest secrecy in old foundries, breweries, and halls, with pickets out to prevent surprise, sawdust on the floors to drown the sound of their feet, and blankets at the windows to arrest the light and the words of command.<sup>58</sup>

When South Carolina seceded from the Union, the southern people expected Missouri to follow. It was the unconditional loyal men and the conservative pro-slavery group under the leadership of Frank Blair who saved the state for the Union.<sup>59</sup>

Churchill has gone into great detail in relating the events from April 15 to the declaration of Martial Law, August 30. How great this detail is may be seen by following comparative statements from the novel and the historical records.

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<sup>58</sup>Smith, op. cit., II, 31  
Anderson, op. cit., pp. 19-21

<sup>59</sup>Smith, op. cit., 25-30  
Thomas L. Snead, The Fight for Missouri, pp. 55-57

## Comparison

The NovelHistorical Record

On Monday came the call of President Lincoln for volunteers. Missouri was asked for her quota.<sup>60</sup>

On April 15, Lincoln called for 75,000 militia men to repossess the forts, places and property seized from the Union. This call was followed by instructions from Secretary of War Cameron to the governors of the states to detach from the militia of the states their quota as designated to serve for a period of three months unless sooner discharged. The quota for Missouri was from regiments.<sup>60a</sup>

Governor Jackson said Missouri would never furnish troops to invade her sister states.<sup>61</sup>

Jackson replied that the men were undoubtedly intending to make war upon the seceded states and refused to furnish one man.<sup>61a</sup>

The noise of preparation was in the city. The Germans began drilling every night.<sup>62</sup>

Organization and preparation for arsenal activity went on in various parts of the city. The best appointed was the Turner Hall group.<sup>62a</sup>

Some weeks later, five regiments were mustered into the service of the United States. The leader was in command of one.<sup>63</sup>

By May 4, five regiments were mustered in. Blair commanded them. The First Regiment Volunteer Infantry of Missouri organized April 27, 1861 by electing Francis P. Blair Colonel.<sup>63a</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Churchill, The Crisis, p. 254

<sup>60a</sup>James Daniel Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, VI, 13

<sup>61</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 257

<sup>61a</sup>W. R. R., Series III, Vol. I, 82, 83

<sup>62</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 257

<sup>62a</sup>Rombauer, op. cit., p. 192

Anderson, op. cit., p. 75

<sup>63</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 259

<sup>63a</sup>Rombauer, op. cit., p. 198



Through the efforts of Blair, Captain Nathaniel Lyon had been given supreme command in Missouri.<sup>64</sup>

On March 19, 1861, all command and responsibility of the post, not appertaining to the commanding officer of the arsenal and his duties as an officer of ordinance, were turned over to Lyon by General Harvey. This left Major Hagner in charge of buildings and arms. Lyon wrote to Blair that he could not get supplies and recommended that the one in command of men should also have the means to arm them. On April 21, Harvey was removed from command of the Department of the West and Lyon assigned the post.<sup>64a</sup>

The secessionists were organized as Minute Men to maintain the honor and dignity of the State of Missouri.<sup>65</sup>

Their (the Minute Men) first step in protecting the state would be to seize the arsenal, to prevent its arms being used to coerce the people.<sup>65a</sup>

On Monday morning, May 6, 1861, the militia of the Sovereign State of Missouri gathered at Twelfth and Market. By order of the Governor they were to march to Camp Jackson for a week of drill and instruction.<sup>66</sup>

On April 22, Claiborne Jackson issued a proclamation summoning the legislature to meet in the State Capital on the 2d of May in extraordinary session. Accompanying the proclamation, he also issued an order for the militia of the state to assemble in their respective military districts on the 3d of May and go into encampment for the period of six days, as provided by law.<sup>66a</sup>

The militia pitched tents in Lindell Grove.<sup>67</sup>

On Friday, May 3, several militia organizations of St. Louis

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<sup>64</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 259

<sup>64a</sup>James Peckham, General Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861, pp. 68-71

<sup>65</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 260

<sup>65a</sup>John McElroy, The Struggle for Missouri, p. 38

<sup>66</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 261

<sup>66a</sup>Peckham, op. cit., pp. 114, 115

U. R. R., Series I, Vol. I, 673

<sup>67</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 263

as well as the recent companies sworn into the State service, repaired to Lindell Grove at the western end of Olive Street, in obedience to the order of Brigadier General of State Militia, D. M. Frost, and there established a camp which was named by the commander Camp Jackson, in honor of the Governor of Missouri.<sup>67a</sup>

It was the purpose of the militia to drive Captain Lyon and his Yankees and Hessians out of the arsenal.<sup>68</sup>

Jefferson Davis wrote to Governor Jackson April 23, 1861, concurring with him as to the importance of taking the arsenal and securing its supplies.<sup>68a</sup>

On Thursday, May 9, Mr. Hopper observed that there were a few more mortars and howitzers at Camp Jackson than there had been the day before and said, "I suppose that is the stuff...which came on the 'Swon' marked 'marble.' They say Jeff Davis sent the stuff to 'em from the Government arsenal the Secesh captured at Baton Rouge."<sup>69</sup>

On Wednesday night, May 8, the steamer "J. C. Swon" just from New Orleans loaded with arms, cannon, and ammunition, from the arsenal at Baton Rouge, Louisiana (which the traitors had surprised and captured from the United States Government), discharged her freight at the levee at St. Louis. Lyon knew of this procedure but was advised by Blair to let the materials be removed to the camp as additional evidence of treason. They planned to capture the whole camp.<sup>69a</sup>

The mother-in-law of the stalwart Union leader of the city appeared at Camp Jackson. She was blind and it was her custom to drive out every day dressed

Captain Lyon disguised himself as Mrs. Alexander, took two revolvers, entered a barouche belonging to F. A. Dick, Esquire, and with Mr. Dick's colored

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<sup>67a</sup>Peckham, op. cit., pp. 114, 115

<sup>68</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 264

<sup>68a</sup>Peckham, op. cit., p. 135  
W. R. R., Series I, Vol I, 688

<sup>69</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 267

<sup>69a</sup>Peckham, op. cit., p. 136  
W. R. R., Series, Vol. III, 386-387

in black and heavily veiled. Her appearance at the camp was not surprising.<sup>70</sup>

servant drove out to Camp Jackson and into the camp itself. He noted its exact location, read the names of the streets, as Beauregard Avenue and Davis Avenue and then withdrew. He summoned the Safety Committee to meet at once at the arsenal.<sup>70a</sup>

"They are serving out cartridges and uniforms to the regiments at the arsenal... . . . Captain Lyon is not the man to sit still and let the Governor take the first trick."<sup>71</sup>

I remember going to the arsenal on the 9th of May, taking my children with me in the street cars. Within the arsenal wall drawn up in parallel lines were four regiments of the "Home Guards," and I saw men distributing cartridges. I also saw General Lyon running about with his hair in the wind, his pockets full of papers, wild and irregular, but I knew him to be a man of vehement purpose and of determined action.<sup>71a</sup>

Lyon could see through the Governor's ruse of establishing a State Camp at this time. He did not believe that the state troops were there for peace. The Volunteer regiments were ordered to assemble Friday morning prepared to march. Lyon was ready to attack the Camp had Frost not surrendered.<sup>72</sup>

Frost wrote to Lyon from his headquarters at Camp Jackson on May 10, saying: "I am constantly in receipt of information that you contemplate an attack upon my camp, whilst I understand that you are impressed with the idea that an attack upon the arsenal of the United States troops is intended on the part of the militia of Missouri. . . . So far as regards any hostility being intended toward the United States or its property or representatives . . . the idea has never been entertained." Lyon replied to

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<sup>70</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 267

<sup>70a</sup>Peckham, op. cit., pp. 139, 140  
W. R. R., Series I, Vol. III, 386, 387

<sup>71</sup>Churchill, op. cit., pp. 269-270

<sup>71a</sup>Peckham, op. cit., pp. 140-144  
 Sherman, op. cit., I, 200

<sup>72</sup>Churchill, op. cit., pp. 272, 273, 285

Frost:

"Your command is regarded as evidently hostile toward the Government of the United States. . . . You are openly in communication with the so-called Southern Confederacy which is now at war with United States. . . . In view of these considerations, it is my duty to demand...of you an immediate surrender of your command ... ..one-half hour's time... will be allowed for your compliance." Frost replied that he was wholly unprepared to defend his command and should therefore be forced to surrender.<sup>72a</sup>

The Hessian regiments surrounded Camp Jackson and the prisoners were taking their places to march to the arsenal. A seething crowd of men, women, and children gathered, pushing and yelling as if they were looking at a parade, instead of war. Stephen saw Mr. Sherman climb the embankment, pulling a small boy after him with one hand and holding a newspaper in the other. He unfolded the paper, pointed to a paragraph and handed it to Major Saxton to read. While he was reading, a drunken ruffian clambered up the bank and attempted to pass through the lines. The column began to move forward. Mr. Sherman and his boy slid down the bank into the grove with Stephen. A corporal pitched the drunkard over the

At the head of Olive Street, abreast of Lindell's Grove, I found Frank Blair's regiment in the street, with ranks opened and the Camp Jackson prisoners inside. ...a crowd of people was gathered around, calling to the prisoners by name, some hurraing for Jeff Davis and others encouraging the troops. Men, women, and children were in the crowd. . . . .the battalion of regulars was abreast of me, of which Major Rufus Saxton was in command, and I gave him an evening paper, which I had bought of the newsboy on my way out. He was reading from it some piece of news, sitting on his horse, when the column again began to move forward, and he resumed his place at the head of his command. At that part of the road, or street, was an embankment about

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<sup>72a</sup>W. R. R., Series I, Vol. III, 4-7  
 Rombauer, op. cit., pp. 231, 232  
 McElroy, op. cit., p. 89  
 Peckham, op. cit., pp. 145-150

bank and he rolled at Sherman's feet. With a curse, he picked himself up, fumbling in his pocket. There was a flash. He had shot one of the men in the German regiment. The rattle of shots, of stones and bricks against steel, the shrieks of women and children, and the groans and curses of men filled the air. The column moved on; the dead were laid in carriages, and the wounded cared for by physicians who happened to be there.<sup>73</sup>

eight feet high, and a drunken fellow tried to pass over it to the people opposite. One of the regular sergeant file-closers ordered him back, but he attempted to pass through the ranks, when the sergeant barred his progress with his musket a-port. The drunken man seized the musket, when the sergeant threw him off with violence and he rolled over and down the bank. By the time this man had picked himself up and got his hat, which had fallen off, and had again mounted the embankment, the regulars had passed, and the head of Osterhaus' regiment of Home Guards had come up. The man had in his hand a small pistol, which he fired off, and I heard that the ball had struck the leg of one of Osterhaus' staff; the regiment stopped, there was a moment of confusion, when the soldiers of that regiment began to fire over our heads in the grove. . . . Of course, there was a general stampede. . . . A woman and child were killed outright; two or three men were also killed, and several others wounded.<sup>73a</sup>

Colonel Carvel was called to Jefferson City the next day, May 11.<sup>74</sup>

The Legislature was in secret session. As they gathered on May 11, nearly every individual was armed. Members in their seats were surrounded by guns of every description; many had belts strapped around their waists with from one to three pistols fastened to them.<sup>74a</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Churchill, op. cit., pp. 285-290

<sup>73a</sup>Sherman, op. cit., I, 201, 202

Peckham, op. cit., pp. 154-155

W. R. R., Series I, Vol. III, 4, 5

<sup>74</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 297

<sup>74a</sup>Peckham, op. cit., pp. 161-178

Rombauer, op. cit., p. 242

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The City of St. Louis was benumbed. People stood about reading the paper and condemning the Germans.<sup>75</sup>

The hatred against the Germans became so great that Harvey wrote to Secretary Cameron May 15 recommending that a regiment be raised entirely of Irishmen to do away with this prejudice. Blair concurred in this request.<sup>75a</sup>

The men taken prisoner by Lyon and his men were released the next day. Only Clarence Colfax refused allegiance to the United States.<sup>76</sup>

Fifty officers and six hundred thirty-nine men were marched to the arsenal and kept overnight. All the camp equipment was moved into the arsenal. In the morning the prisoners were all released, except one Captain who declined his parole. Men and officers were both on their honor not to fight against the United States.<sup>76a</sup>

A rumor that the Germans were going to sack and loot the city caused a general stampede on Sunday afternoon. General Harvey had superseded Lyon in command in St. Louis and had been asked by some citizens to send the troops away. Blair pointed out to him that the troops had been enlisted for service in St. Louis only and therefore could not be sent away. Harvey, in his proclamation, had said he did not have control over the Home Guards. This had been construed by the secessionists to mean that the troops were out of control. In fear and anger, they fled from the city in any conveyance they could get, carrying with them

On Saturday, May 11, William L. Harvey resumed command of the Department of the West. Excitement because of the taking of Camp Jackson by Lyon was so great that he thought it wise to issue a proclamation which he hoped would tranquilize the public. In this proclamation, he said: "Upon a careful review of my instructions, I find I have no authority to change the location of the Home Guards. To avoid all cause of irritation and excitement, if called upon to aid the local authorities in presuming the public peace, I shall in preference make use of the regular army." Anderson describes the scene which followed the appearance of this proclamation:

<sup>75</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 297

<sup>75a</sup>W. R. R., Series I, Vol. III, 373, 374

<sup>76</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 305

<sup>76a</sup>W. R. R., Series I, Vol. III, 4, 5

Anderson, op. cit., p. 102

Peckham, op. cit., p. 190

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clocks, clothing, jewels, and whatever they prized most. Among those who fled to the river to take a boat was Virginia Carvel.<sup>77</sup>

"Carriages and wagons filled with trunks, valises, hastily-made bundles, and frightened men, women, and children, were fleeing along the streets towards every point of the compass. Some scared souls, unable to secure a vehicle of any kind, were walking or running with breathless haste carrying all sorts of bundles in their hands, under their arms, or on their shoulders." Memphis Packet Company boats were at their service.<sup>77a</sup>

Virginia and her aunt fled from St. Louis in the stampede, but were returned by Captain Brent on the same day, May 12. It was the stillest city in the Union for it was under martial law.<sup>78</sup>

On May 12, Harvey issued a proclamation asking the people to pursue their regular avocations, and to observe the laws, and orders of their local authorities, and to abstain from the excitements of public meetings and heated discussions. Martial law was established in St. Louis by J. C. Fremont, August 14, 1861, and made general over Missouri, August 30.<sup>78a</sup>

Colonel Carvel returned from Jefferson City, where the Legislature was meeting in extra session, with the information that the state had or would have more militia in a day or two and that there was nothing to fear.<sup>79</sup>

On June 12, 1861, Jackson issued a proclamation asking for 50,000 volunteers.<sup>79a</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>Churchill, op. cit., pp. 310, 316

<sup>77a</sup>W. R. R., Series I, Vol. III, 369, 370

McElroy, op. cit., p. 81

Peckham, op. cit., pp. 181-186

Anderson, op. cit., p. 110

<sup>78</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 326

<sup>78a</sup>Peckham, op. cit., p. 185

W. R. R., Series I, Vol. III, 442, 467

<sup>79</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 327

<sup>79a</sup>W. R. R., Series I, Vol. V., 696

Colonel Carvel got a habeas corpus from the United States District Court and went to Lyon to secure Colfax's release from prison. Lyon informed him the arsenal was Government property, not in the state. The Commissioner then attested the affidavit to Colonel Carvel, thus making it legal. To avoid releasing him, Lyon had him sent to Illinois.<sup>80</sup>

On May 14, a writ of habeas corpus was served on William L. Harvey, requiring him to bring Emmett MacDonald, an officer captured at Camp Jackson on May 10, before Judge Treat, Judge of the United States District Court, Eastern District of Missouri. Captain MacDonald refused to give his parole and was therefore held as a prisoner of war and on the 13th transferred to the custody of the officer commanding the Illinois troops at Coseyville, Illinois, some ten miles from St. Louis.<sup>80a</sup>

After the taking of Camp Jackson and the exchange of prisoners, Lyon was put down again. A Mutual agreement was entered into by the Governor and the old Indian fighters in command of the Western Department. Then two gentlemen went to Washington and Lyon became Brigadier-General, Commander of the Department of the West. The Governor came to St. Louis to confer with Lyon. They met at the Planters House, where, after the conference had lasted five hours, Lyon delivered his famous speech and told the Governor his men would escort him out in an hour. His words were preserved by a Confederate colonel.<sup>81</sup>

Harvey resumed command of the Department of the West on May 11. On May 21, Sterling Price, Major-General of the Missouri State Guard, and Harvey, Brigadier-General, Commander, entered into an agreement since they had the common object of restoring peace and good order that all persons should respect each other's rights, making no attempt to exercise unauthorized authority. On May 31, Harvey was replaced by Lyon as commander of the Department of the West. On June 10, the Governor (Jackson) went to St. Louis, accompanied by Major General Price. He submitted his proposition to Blair and Lyon on the 11th. Lyon rejected his plan, and Jackson issued a call for 50,000 militiamen to serve the state.<sup>81a</sup>

In less than two months, Lyon was killed at Wilson's Creek.<sup>82</sup>

Lyon was killed at Wilson's Creek, August 10, 1861.<sup>82a</sup>

<sup>80</sup>Churchill, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-335

<sup>80a</sup>*W. R. R.*, Series II, Vol. I, 114

<sup>81</sup>Churchill, *op. cit.*, pp. 340, 341

<sup>81a</sup>*W. R. R.*, Series I, Vol III, 375, 381

Snead, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200

<sup>82</sup>Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 367

<sup>82a</sup>*W. R. R.*, Series I, Vol. III, 92, 93, 439



Wretched families whose homes had been destroyed by war began pouring into St. Louis. The new general called a council of citizens and issued Orders No. 24: "Inasmuch as the Secession army had driven these people from their homes, Secession sympathizers should be made to support them." Sixty prominent secessionists were to be chosen and assessed to make up ten thousand dollars. In the case of those who refused to pay, property was to be seized and sold at auction to the amount of their assessment.<sup>83</sup>

The proclamation of martial law provided that all who were convicted by a court-martial of being rebels were to have property confiscated and slaves set free. An oath had to be taken by all who did not wish to have guardians appointed.<sup>84</sup>

General Halleck made an order that released a man from enrolling on payment of ten dollars and one could pay a substitute if he were drafted.<sup>85</sup>

In compliance with General Orders No. 97, Halleck took command of the Department of the West November 19, 1861. General Orders No. 24 were issued December 12, 1861. There was a great deal of protest and some difficulty in carrying out the order because the first list was not fairly made and the members of the new board declined to serve unless their names be kept secret.<sup>83a</sup>

Martial law was extended over all the State of Missouri August 30, 1861.<sup>84a</sup>

Drafted men were permitted to pay substitutes. The practice became so common that it was necessary to make regulations controlling substitute brokers.<sup>85a</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 378

<sup>83a</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 242

W. R. R., Series I, Vol. VIII, 369, 431, 490, 823

<sup>84</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 401

<sup>84a</sup>W. R. R., Series I, Vol. III, 466

<sup>85</sup>Churchill, op. cit., p. 406

<sup>85a</sup>W. R. R., Series III, Vol. II, 881, and Vol. IV, 1224

The remainder of the historical references in the novel have to do with the activities of Sherman and Grant and have been found to be accurate in every detail.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Sherman, op. cit., I, 293-331, 332-359, II, 274-307, 327-331  
Grant, op. cit., I, 422-563  
Lewis, op. cit., p. 240  
W. R. R., Series I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, 330, 337, 421, 424,  
Vol. XIV, Pt. 1, 9  
Conyningham, op. cit., p. 77

## CHAPTER IV.

## CONCLUSION

It is evident that The Crisis was written with a background of sound historical scholarship. The major interest of the novel is undoubtedly in the movement of historical events and in social background, which also is a part of the history of the period, and the actual fiction has been made subordinate.

I have shown what a conscientious and accurate study Churchill has made of documents, biographies, and memoirs. He also reinforced his work by talking with a great many people who had gone through the period.

The historical novel in the hands of a man like Churchill who has a scholarly interest in history may be of real value in the study of history, at least if for nothing more than to make a preparation for more scholarly work. Its importance may be summed up in the statement of George Meredith in the Tragic Comedians:

I have learned as much from noble fiction as from heavier work--as much, that is, from the picture of our human blood in motion as from the clever assortment of forefatherly heaps of bones... Our blood runs through it; it is our history in the quick.

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