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COPE, COOPERATE, COMBAT: CIVILIAN RESPONSES TO UNION OCCUPATION IN SALINE COUNTY, MISSOURI, DURING THE CIVIL WAR

by

ELLE HARVELL

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Department of Political Science and History

Matthew Stith, Ph.D., Thesis Chair

College of Arts and Sciences

The University of Texas at Tyler

June 2012

The University of Texas at Tyler
Tyler, Texas

This is to certify that the Master's Thesis of

ELLE HARVELL

has been approved for the thesis requirement on
June 6, 2012
for the Master of Arts degree

Approvals:

Thesis Chair: Matthew M. Stith, Ph.D.

Member: James L. Newsom, Ph.D.

Chair, Department of Political Science and History

Martin Slann

Dean, College of Arts and Sciences

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ABSTRACT

COPE, COOPERATE, COMBAT: CIVILIAN RESPONSES TO UNION OCCUPATION IN SALINE COUNTY, MISSOURI, DURING THE CIVIL WAR

Elle Harvell
Thesis Chair: Matthew Stith, Ph.D.
The University of Texas at Tyler
June 2012

The Union occupation of Saline County, Missouri, during the Civil War brought many challenges to the civilian population. Civilians responded to the federal presence in a variety of ways: a few citizens coped with the situation, most cooperated in the face of an immediate threat, and others combated the federal incursion ruthlessly. A violent cycle of resistance and retaliation erupted between the pro-Confederate civilians and guerillas and the federals. Federal attempts to punish the Confederate enemy and to stabilize society encouraged more resistance. Faced with increasing defiance, the Union hardened policies. The presence of two rival forces in the county sharply divided the people's sympathies, destroying neutrality. Those who remained loyal to the Union suffered grievously since the Union failed to stabilize the situation and to protect them from guerrilla attacks. Some civilians cooperated with both Union soldiers and guerrillas; however, this ambiguity only made them targets for both sides. Furthermore, Union forces tried to subordinate the pro-Confederate population by seizing local law, disrupting gender norms and

familial structures, and inverting class, racial, and ethnic hierarchies, which initiated a complete dismantling of the antebellum southern social structure. By 1865, the citizens of Saline County, the majority of which had favored moderation and compromise before the war, had had their way of life destroyed by years of Union hostility and guerrilla violence: yet, hope remained.

INTRODUCTION

Compromise Lost

In the fall of 1864, Confederate guerrillas raided Marshall, Missouri. Soon after, Union Col. Bazel F. Lazear grappled with the harsh reality of the conditions in the county. In a letter to his wife, Lazear lamented, "this is the worst rebel county I was ever in nearly all are rebels of the worst kind." "I will make this county so hot fir Rebels," he continued, "that if they stay here it will burn their feet." By late 1864 in Missouri, military decorum had disintegrated. Confederate guerrillas and Union soldiers frequently plundered property, arrested women, and shot men suspected of aiding the enemy. Following the Marshall raid, Lazear and his men had participated in each.[1]

Union officers like Lazear had always viewed Saline County with suspicion due to its southern proclivity. Immigrants in the county came from the upper South in the early nineteenth century and brought with them their southern ideals and customs, including a preference for democratic principles and slave labor. Saline County was one of a cluster of counties along the Missouri River where slave agriculture flourished, which later earned these counties the nickname "Little Dixie." And Little

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[1] Letter from Bazel F. Lazear to wife, August 11, 1864, Bazel F. Lazear Papers, Collection # 1014, Western Historical Manuscript Collection – Columbia.

Dixie, with Saline County at its center, had the strongest southern identity in the state of Missouri.

Missouri also had a strong southern identity within the Union. But Missouri's precarious location made its citizens reluctant to fight a war over the slavery issue. At the time, Missouri's position so far north and west of the traditional slave South, and surrounded on three sides by free states, made it one of the country's most geographically isolated slave states. Missouri's location also made it a natural convergence for northern, southern, and western ideologies, which promoted moderation on the slavery issue. A majority of the people favored the preservation of slavery *and* the Union, a stance combining both southern and northern principles. As war neared, they hoped for another compromise. Indeed, most Missourians urged caution in regard to the slavery issue but because the state lacked a strong sectional identity a relatively small number of radical proslavery supporters defined it.[2]

The majority of the citizens in Saline County had also desired compromise and had hoped to maintain neutrality in the event of a war. During the war, however, their moderate stance would be challenged by their location. Located in the heart of the state, Saline County sat between the western border counties where guerrillas were extremely active and the eastern portion of the state where the Union held control of St. Louis. The county was between extremes, contested by guerrillas and the Union army.

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[2] Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 280-283; 297-299. Hurt made it clear that Missourians, in general, supported the extension of slavery into new territories, arguing that the right to own property and move that property wherever you pleased was a right guaranteed in the Constitution, but they disagreed amongst themselves on the means to achieve this goal. Proslavery Democrats were willing to violently suppress abolitionism, which was threatening the very basis of the southern way of life. And their flaming rhetoric overpowered the voice of the moderate majority. This was especially true in Little Dixie where local radical proslavery elites called for the active defense of slavery. However, the Missourians who were willing to physically resist a threat to slavery were a minority; in fact, the majority of Missourians took a more moderate stance. Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas*, 28-31. Etcheson explains that nearly half the Kansas settlers in the 1850s were Missourians. But not all settlers from Missouri were proslavery. In fact, many moved to the new territory to escape "the economic competition of slavery." But a radical proslavery faction of Missourians made frequent incursions into Kansas to participate in political affairs. These "Border Ruffians" gave Missourians a bad reputation.

Since neither held complete control, civilians were forced to comply with both guerrillas and Union soldiers. Civilians who aided one side were always viewed as disloyal by the other. Neither guerrillas nor federals recognized neutrality. They classified civilians as either Confederate sympathizers or Unionists. The pro-Confederate population, some of whom directly supported guerrillas, outnumbered the relatively small Unionist population. But simply siding firmly with either the Union or Confederacy was far too simplistic and often deadly. For civilians of either political persuasion, survival depended on flexibility.

Whether dealing with guerrillas or Union soldiers, most Saline County residents employed the same method: cooperation. In his important work *Inside War*, Michael Fellman calls such cooperation "survival lying." He recognizes that many civilians cooperated with both sides in order to survive an immediate threat, but he contends that, by doing so, they were lying about their political loyalties and disregarding their honor. [3] Although it is true many civilians with political loyalties were forced to lie in dangerous situations, some civilians who cooperated with both sides did so because they were sympathetic with both sides. Their moderate political stance, which had originated before the war, influenced their cooperation. They sought to retain their southern culture, which they saw as being represented by guerrillas, and they wanted to retain their country, which was represented by the Union. If not for fear of reprisals, they would have had few qualms about helping either side. They did not always have to lie to survive these encounters. They only had to cooperate. In the end, the Federals' failure to recognize Cooperationists led to the misapplication of policies and a more brutal conflict.[4]

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[3] Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri during the American Civil War* (Oxford University Press, 1989), 48-52.

Federals targeted all civilians suspected of aiding guerrillas with harsh military policies. Originally, policies such as confiscations were intended to impede Confederate sympathizers from supplying guerrillas, but eventually, policies like assessment and banishment held civilians financially responsible for the actions of guerrillas. When these measures failed to end resistance, officers resorted to brute force tactics to strike the guerrillas at their heart: the civilian supply base. Mark Grimsley outlines the evolution of military policy toward civilians from conciliation to pragmatic and, finally, "hard war" in his work, *The Hard Hand of War*. Grimsley's study shows that in 1864, in most areas of the South, Federals began resorting to "hard war" policies by destroying property and terrorizing southern civilians. He also points out that these same policies had already been implemented in Missouri by 1861, effectively extending and intensifying the conflict in the state. Grimsley's work has a broad focus, however, and does not address how the intense and complex guerrilla war impacted Union policies and initiatives in Missouri on a local level. [5]

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[4] Margaret M. Storey, *Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 30. Few historians have recognized a third faction of civilians in the Civil War. But, Margaret Storey uses the term "Cooperationists" for Unionists in the South who attempted to cooperate with the secessionist government. Storey mainly examines Unionists in Alabama.

[5] Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2-5; For other works that deal with the guerrilla war and Union policy see: Clay Mountcastle, *Punitive War: Confederate Guerrillas and Union Reprisals* (University Press of Kansas, 2009); Archer Jones, *Civil War Command and Strategy: The Process of Victory and Defeat* (New York: The Free Press, 1992); Robert R. Mackey, *The Uncivil War: Irregular Warfare in the Upper South, 1861-1865* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004); Daniel Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), Jay Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border, 1854-*

Throughout the conflict, frustrated Union forces struggled with how to defeat such an unconventional enemy. They grappled with whether or not to pursue conventional means or adopt the strategies and tactics of guerrilla warfare. Ultimately, Federals at the local level realized the futility of a conventional approach and responded in kind to guerrilla violence. A guerrilla war at its root is a civilian driven conflict, “a people’s war.” As such, the war became a personal one, driven by a cycle of retaliation, in which survival and vengeance, rather than political ideology, determined allegiance.[6]

Stephen V. Ash also traces the development of Union policy from conciliation to “hard” policy in his work, but he recognizes the deeper impact of these policies on the civilian population under Union occupation. He attributes the change in Union tactics to civilian hostility and “guerrillaism.” He casts the Union’s implementation of these policies as the North’s deliberate attempt to destroy southern society and colonize the South, recreating it in the North’s likeness. The destruction of the southern social structure was a typical result of Union occupation. Ash presents a

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1865 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); Edward Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride: The True Story of William Clarke Quantrill and his Confederate Raiders* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998); Thomas Goodrich, *Black Flag: Guerrilla Warfare on the Western Border, 1861-1865* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995); Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (Oxford University Press, 1989); Mark Geiger, *Financial Fraud and Guerrilla Violence in Missouri's Civil War, 1861-1865* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Richard S. Brownlee, *Grey Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958); Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004); Bruce Nichols, *Guerrilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri: 1862* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2004); Bruce Nichols, *Guerrilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri: 1863* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2007); *Guerrillas, Unionists, and Violence on the Confederate Homefront*, ed. by Daniel Sutherland (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999); Stephen V. Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

[6] Daniel Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 19-20, 80, 9, 124.

useful examination of this phenomenon in areas under Union occupation across the South. Although Ash excludes any discussion of the situation in Missouri, a study of Union occupation in other areas in the South is useful to understanding the impact of Union occupation in Saline County.[7]

Ash's work provides a useful framework from which to view the Union occupation of Saline County. The fear that northern invaders would interfere with the southern way of life came true under Union occupation. Southerners viewed military rule as tyranny. Federal methods of subjugating the South threatened the personal honor of males in society and jeopardized their position at the top of the southern hierarchy. By punishing elite members of society, federals undermined the established means of authority and control, which they quickly replaced with martial law. After emancipation, southerners were sometimes treated disrespectfully by a previously enslaved and "inferior" race. While some whites surrendered to their new circumstances, others attempted to reassert their lost power.

In addition, Ash finds that federal policies targeting Confederate civilians in the occupied South also had an adverse effect on the loyal population, leaving them frustrated and disillusioned.[8] Similarly, in Saline County, Union policies hindered Unionists. Federal authorities viewed the county as entirely rebellious and applied policies universally. Ash looks closely at Unionists during occupation and differentiates between their experiences in the countryside and in towns.[9] He creates a paradigm for better understanding Union occupation in which three areas exist: the garrisoned town, the Confederate frontier, and no-man's-land. Ash recognizes that for the most part Unionists flocked to garrisoned towns, where the presence of the Union army offered them a greater degree of protection, and they could openly display their loyalty. However, in Saline County, while Unionists also flocked to towns, they were often left unprotected since Federals failed to adequately defend towns or prevent guerrilla attacks. Since Marshall was Saline County's only garrisoned town, most of the county corresponds to Ash's no-man's-land, what he defines as an "unpacified territory" and "a twilight zone neither Union nor Confederate." Because guerrillas and soldiers passed in and out of the no-man's-land in Saline County, civilian mobility became limited, which severely hindered the normal functions of society. In no-man's land, Unionists often hid their identity in order to avoid violent encounters with guerrillas, who were out to rid the countryside of Unionists. Their silence in the countryside was heavily influenced by the lack of protection from the Union army.[10] This was also true in Saline County where Union men in the countryside often appeared to be rebels to Union officers because they were able to stay in the most dangerous territory without guerrilla reprisals.

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[7] Stephen V. Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 53, 41-51, 48.

[8] Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 15-75, 174, 159, 117-119.

[9] Other works on Unionists in the South include: *Guerrillas, Unionists, and Violence on the Confederate Homefront*, ed. by Daniel Sutherland (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999);

Indeed, such was the case for Col. Lazear who believed the men remaining in the countryside were the most suspicious residents. Since guerrillas destroyed or stole Unionist property and often killed Union supporters, and since these men were not

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Daniel W. Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); William W. Freehling, *The South vs. The South: How Anti-Confederate Southerners Shaped the Course of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[10] Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 76, 111, 114, 76, 99, 106-107, 125, 108.

targeted, Lazear believed they must be “on some kind of terms or *compromise* with guerrillas or their friends to get to stay at Home.” Following the guerrilla raid on Marshall, Lazear had acted on his assumption that “nearly all” Saline County residents were rebellious. He defended his actions and justified his conduct to his superior by claiming that he was forced to pursue brutal measures in Saline County because the federal policies implemented before his arrival had “almost entirely rid the country of Union men.” Lazear explained further: “there is . . . a reign of terror existing in Lafayette and Saline Counties . . . it exists among Bushwhackers their friends and Sympathizers and it was caused simply *by they being made to understand* that they were held responsible for the conduct of the Guerrillas toward Union men.”[11]

Lazear felt justified in applying such tactics in Saline County due to the county’s rebellious nature and the violent precedent established there by federal control. By 1864, Saline County had, in fact, taken on a more rebellious character. But, as Lazear recognized, this had been caused by Union policy. By largely ignoring the cooperationist population and focusing on the radicals, Federals had succeeded in transforming the population’s moderate stance into outright hostility.

Finally, most residents who remained in Saline County during the conflict had been women. They frequently remained at home when their husbands joined the army or fled the county. While men were absent, women took over the roles previously filled by men. They became the defenders, protectors, and managers of the home and the family. Most women became both victims and participants in the war. In their encounters with guerrillas and soldiers they experienced a breach of their previously privileged status. Sometimes women resisted this breach through verbal assaults. For Confederate women, resistance to federal soldiers led to a divergence from acceptable womanly behavior. Often this hostile behavior provoked harsher treatment or resulted in their arrest.[12]

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[11] Bazel F. Lazear Papers, WHMC-Columbia, Letter dated September 13, 1864; emphasis added.

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to examine how Saline County residents reacted to such Union occupation and how federal policies helped transform the population's stance. The first chapter provides perspective on Missouri and Saline County as it relates to the political discussion of slavery's expansion before the war. Saline County residents held a moderate stance regarding the issue of slavery's expansion, favoring compromise and the political process to outright resistance. Union aggressions against the people of Missouri and the southern states leading up to the war had angered and infuriated Saline County residents but, even when the war came to the county, many still maintained a moderate stance.

The second chapter focuses on the Unionist population that represented a minority of Saline County residents. Although threatened by guerrillas, this loyal faction attempted to aid the Union. However, Unionists struggled in an environment in which Federals, focused on punishing pro-Confederate sympathizers and, in doing so, inadvertently punished the loyal population and neglected their needs. The best most Unionists could do was to leave or to cope.

Chapter three focuses on Cooperationists. Most of the pro-Confederate population desired peace and sought compromise. However, as the war dragged on, neither the Union army nor guerrillas recognized neutrality. Those who cooperated with the enemy, whether by force or by choice, were treated as the enemy. As a result, Cooperationists received the brunt of both Union and guerrilla terror.

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[12] Victoria E. Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South*. (University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 132; Rebekah Weber, "'It is for you that we fight': Gender and the Civil War in Saline County, Missouri" (M.A. thesis, University of Missouri, 2000), 86-88; Fellman, *Inside War*, 193-214; Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 41-42.

Chapter four examines the pro-Confederate sympathizers who resisted the incursion of the Union army into the county and encouraged the Union's hardening of policies and brutal tactics that eventually subverted the southern social structure. Union occupation destroyed the established legal, familial, class, and racial and ethnic social structures of southern society. Threatened with the prospect of losing their community connections and traditional social structure, and more often than not their elite status, these civilians openly resisted Union occupation.

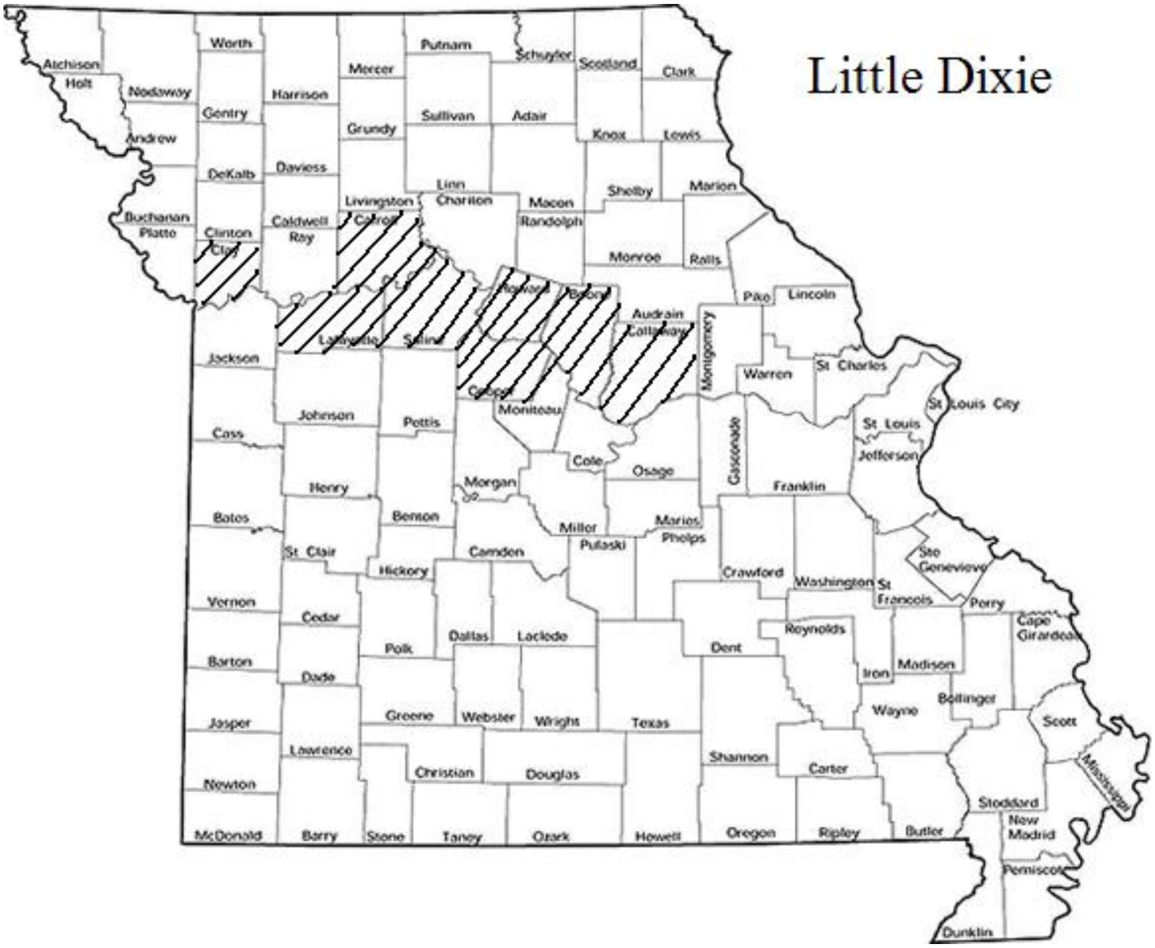
Little Dixie
Atchison
Holt
Nodaway
Worth
Gentry
Harrison
Mercer
Putnam
Schuyler
Scotland
Clark
Andrew
Grundy
Sullivan
Adair
Knox
Lewis
DeKalb
Daviess
Linn
Shelby
Marion
Buchanan
Platte
Clinton
Clay
Caldwell
Ray
Livingston
Carroll
Chariton
Macon
Randolph
Monroe
Ralls
Pike
Lincoln
Howard
Boone
Audrain
Callaway
Montgomery
Lafayette
Saline
Jackson
Warren
St Charles
Cooper
Moniteau
St Louis City
Johnson
Pettis
St Louis
Jefferson
Cass
Cole
Osage
Gasconade
Franklin
Henry
Morgan
Benton
Bates
Miller
Maries
Phelps
Pulaski
St Clair
Camden
Ste Genevieve
Hickory
Crawford
Washington
St Francois
Vernon
Perry
Cedar
Cape Girardeau
Reynolds
Dallas
Laclede
Polk
Dent
Iron
Madison
Barton
Dade
Bollinger
Wayne
Greene
Webster
Wright
Texas
Scott
Jasper
Lawrence
Shannon
Carter
Christian
Douglas
Mississippi
Newton
Stoddard
McDonald
Barry
Stone
Taney
Ozark
Howell
Oregon
Ripley
Butler
New Madrid
Pemiscot
Dunklin

FIGURE 1. Map of Little Dixie, Missouri. *Source:* Map obtained from Southwest Baptist University website: http://www.sbuniv.edu/prospectivestudents/admission_reps/map/Missouri.html. Accessed 4/1/12. Little Dixie as designated by Douglas Hurt in *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie*, ix. The lines designating the counties of Little Dixie were added by the author.

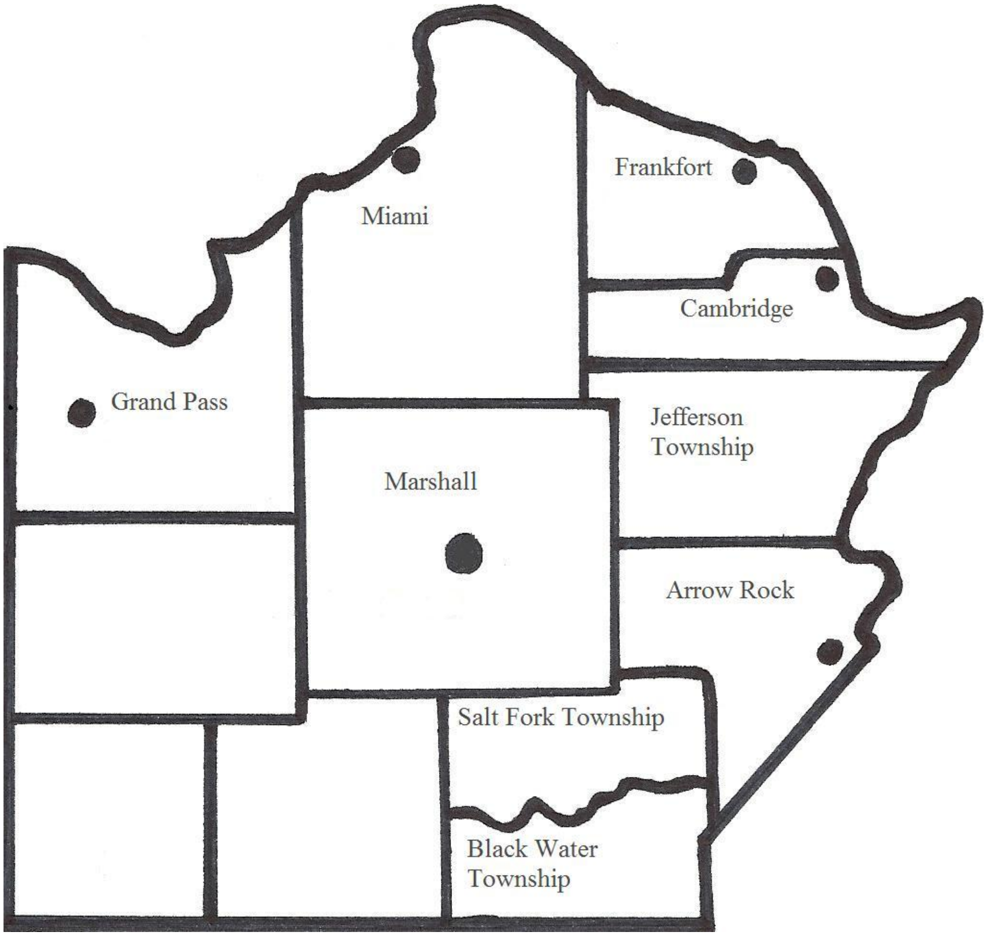
Frankfort
Miami
Cambridge
Grand Pass
Jefferson Township
Marshall
Arrow Rock
Salt Fork Township
Black Water Township

FIGURE 1. Map of Saline County, Missouri in 1860. *Source:* Map outline, township outlines, and town locations obtained from *Illustrated Atlas Map of Saline County, MO, 1876: Fully Compiled from Personal Examinations and Surveys* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Company, 1876), 3. The map was redrawn and labeled by the author.

TABLE 1. Population of Saline County Villages in 1860

Village Name	Population
Arrow Rock	2,742
Miami	2,643
Jefferson	2,319
Grand Pass	1,865
Salt Pond	1,780
Marshall	1,779
Black Water	1,253
Cambridge	318

Source: The table content was obtained from the Manuscript Census Schedules, Population, 1860, Saline County, Missouri, 297.

CHAPTER 1

Unraveling Compromise

Saline County is located at the heart of Missouri, a place of convergence for all things northern and southern, as well as eastern and western. Nestled comfortably along the Missouri River's south bank, Saline County borders the northernmost bend of the river. The county was established on November 25, 1820, and with the solidification of its final boundaries, it came to comprise approximately 750 square miles of land. Because of its location along the Missouri, Saline County possesses a rich alluvial soil, ideal for farming. Fertile soil extends throughout the various geographical features in the county, especially the bottoms and the prairies. Although fresh water and mineral springs are prominent natural features, Saline County gets its name from the prevalence of salt springs in the area.[1]

Throughout the early nineteenth century, Saline County and a cluster of counties along the Missouri River were popular destinations for settlers. This area became known as the "Boon's Lick," named after two of the early settlers to the region, Daniel and Nathan Boone. However, by the 1940s, historians had nicknamed the area "Little Dixie" due to its high percentage of slaves. Although scholars differ on what counties comprise Little Dixie, Saline County always finds a place on the list. Immigrants began flocking to the Boon's Lick in the first decades of the 1800s. They hailed from the states of the upper South, primarily Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The families settling in the county had moved west seeking cheap, fertile land. They hoped this recently opened "promised land" would provide opportunities for a better life.[2]

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[1] *Illustrated Atlas Map of Saline County, MO, 1876* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Company, 1876), 18.

Although the first settlers to Saline County were southerners, by the eve of the Civil War the demographic character was more diverse. The county had a total population of 14,699 people, of which 9,800 were free whites. The white majority included ethnic minorities, and the demography was dotted with a small population of racial minorities. Germans represented the most considerable foreign born population in the area, making up a large percentage of Saline County's 653 total foreign born citizens. Free blacks and mulattos were also living in the county, yet they were few in number. In fact, only twenty-three individuals of color were free in 1860. African American slaves were the largest represented minority in the population by far with a total of 4,876 individuals, the fourth largest slave population in Little Dixie.[3]

Settlers had transplanted the institution of enslaved labor from the upper South to the extent that forty percent of the families in Saline County owned slaves. Slave labor and cash crops afforded these families the opportunity to attain economic prominence in the area. Saline County farmers used slave labor to produce such labor intensive crops as tobacco and hemp for commercial purposes. Hemp was Saline County's most important crop. Primarily used for rope to bind cotton bales in the deep South, hemp was intimately connected to the supply and demand of cotton. In 1860, Lafayette and Saline Counties produced forty-three percent of Missouri's hemp. In the years between 1850 and 1860, farmers in the county, both planters and yeoman, saw an overall increase in slaves, acreage, and crop production. On the eve of the Civil War, Saline County was the third most agriculturally prosperous county in Little Dixie—and fifth in the state—with a cash value of farms worth over five million dollars.[4]

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[2] Douglas Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 2, ix, 4,52,6.

[3] Manuscript Census Schedules, Population, 1860, Saline County, Missouri, 287, 300.

The county's economic prominence was due to a diversified commercial economy, another legacy of the upper South. Cash crop production was supplemented by subsistence crops and livestock. Many residents raised cattle, hogs, and sheep and planted corn, wheat, flax, and clover. Unlike areas in the deep South, slavery in Saline County did not stunt manufacturing. In 1860, the county had twenty-eight manufacturing establishments, of which the most profitable were the companies that processed flour and meal and sawed lumber. Because of the county's proximity to the Missouri River, two of its most prominent villages, Miami and Arrow Rock, became bustling centers for goods transportation.[5]

Even though many farmers in the area produced cash crops and used slave labor, the typical Saline County farmer differed from the typical southern planter. In 1860, there were only forty-five farmers in Saline County who had holdings of twenty or more slaves, which made them worthy of the title of planter. But, the largest slave owner in Little Dixie, Saline County resident Cynthia E. Smith owned 106 slaves through her inheritance. With an average of seven slaves per slave owner, the majority of farmers had holdings similar to those of a small-scale or yeoman farmer in the South. Nevertheless, in a nineteenth-century rural county, slave ownership and success in commercial agricultural pursuits equaled economic as well as social and political prominence.[6]

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[4] Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 101-123; Robert W. Duffner, "Slavery in Missouri River Counties, 1820-1865" Ph.D. diss. (University of Missouri-Columbia, 1974), 16, 34; Manuscript Census Schedules, Agriculture, 1860, Saline County, Missouri, 88, 92.

[5] Manuscript Census Schedules, Agriculture, 1860, Saline County, Missouri, 93-95; Manuscript Census Schedules, Manufacturing, 1860, Saline County, Missouri, 312; Duffner, "Slavery in Missouri River Counties, 1820-1860," 42; William B. Napton, Jr., *Past and Present of Saline County, Missouri* (Indianapolis, Indiana: B.F. Bowen and Company, Publ., 1910), 134.

Since the prominence of these men rested on slavery, they fought for slavery's expansion. For Missouri, this fight began with the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which permitted its entrance to the Union as a slave state but prohibited slavery north of the 36˚30´. Throughout the 1840s, the "Boon's Lick Democrats," or "Central Clique," comprised mainly of slaveholding elites from Little Dixie, controlled state politics and advocated slavery's expansion. Two of the most prominent Democrats were William Barclay Napton and Claiborne Fox Jackson, both residents of Saline County. These two men created the "Jackson Resolutions" that asserted Congress had no right to limit slavery in the territories and upheld the doctrine of popular sovereignty. Senator Stephen A. Douglas applied the idea of popular sovereignty in the Kansas-Nebraska Act. However, popular sovereignty was overthrown by squatter sovereignty and conflicts between northern abolitionist settlers and proslavery Missourians in the territory led to the establishment of two state governments and a bitter retaliatory guerrilla conflict.[7]

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[6] Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 220-222; Duffner, "Slavery in Missouri River Counties, 1820-1860," 24.

[7] Michael Fellman, Daniel Sutherland, and Leslie J.Gordon, *This Terrible War: The Civil War and its Aftermath*, 2nd ed. (Pearson Education, Inc., 2008), 31-33; Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*, 78-79; Phillips, *The Making of a Southerner*, 60; Lawrence O. Christensen, William E. Foley, Gary R. Kremer, and Kenneth H. Winn, ed. *Dictionary of Missouri Biography* (Columbia: University of

However, not all Little Dixie residents wanted the violent suppression of abolitionism. Many Little Dixie residents who possessed a considerable amount of property called for a more cautious approach to the issue. They believed maintaining the Union better served their interests and seceding would only endanger their property as well as their lives. Therefore, rather than favoring radical proslavery Democrats, they preferred the moderate candidates of the proslavery Whig faction, who promoted the preservation of the Union and opposed secession.[8]

Still, a small group of powerful professional men and wealthy farmers in Saline County tried to establish the limits of moderation for the entire county. On September 15, 1859, they called a meeting in Marshall in the aftermath of John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. The meeting's resolutions claimed southerners had a right to demand that the North pass laws, especially fugitive slave laws, to protect them against the "abolitionist harangues." These men also declared that if a Republican was elected to the presidency in 1860, it would mean the "dissolution of the Union" and that the state of Missouri would "unite with the other southern states . . . as may be necessary for the maintenance of their rights under the Constitution."[9]

Nevertheless, the voice of the moderate majority came through in the political process. The 1860 elections reveal the citizens of Saline County were still looking for a compromise on the slavery issue in order to preserve the institution of slavery, the Constitution, and the Union. Residents consistently voted for moderate candidates. In

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Missouri Press, 1999), 423.Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested liberty in the Civil War era* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004), 31-189.

[8] Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 280-283; 297-299.

[9] Napton, *Past and Present*, 138.

the gubernatorial election, they supported Sample Orr of the Whig party with 1,004 votes, while the southern Democratic candidate only received nineteen votes. In the presidential election, they supported John Bell of the Constitutional Union party, as did their upper South neighbors in Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee. The supporters of the Constitutional Union party wanted to conserve the Union under the Constitution, which they believed guaranteed them the right to own slaves.[10] Ultimately, Northern Democrats held the state. Missourians had elected Claiborne Fox Jackson, from Saline County, to the governorship under the Northern Democratic ticket, and Stephen Douglas, also a Northern Democrat, and the great compromiser on the slavery issue, carried the state for the national election with 58,501 votes. Saline County residents did not cast a single vote for Abraham Lincoln.[11] Lincoln was elected president in November, however, and the nation braced for war.

For Saline County residents, Lincoln as president, who they claimed to be a “Black Republican,” was a worrisome culmination to a decade-long struggle for slavery. Following the election, seven states seceded in the deep South, and Missourians questioned the position their state would take. Again, prominent men from the county met in Marshall, this time with the newly elected Gov. Jackson in attendance. This meeting took place in December 1860 to discuss “the disturbed conditions of the country.” The meeting resolved that the bonds between government and citizen must be preserved “until the evils become such as to justify revolution,” and that the Constitution was the basis for the Union, and if the laws of the

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[10] Napton, *Past and Present*, 141-144.

[11] Mark Lause, *Price’s Lost Campaign: The 1864 Invasion of Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011), 10.

Constitution were disregarded, the Union could not stand. The members further resolved that in order to mend the sectional conflict, the southerner must stand to maintain his constitutional rights, and the northern states must stop interfering with the institution of slavery. The assembly hoped to “preserve the union if it can be done,” but if it could not, they resolved to unite “in a Southern confederacy.”[12]

But when the Missouri state convention assembled in February 1861, they definitively decided against secession. Anti-secessionist candidates to the convention overwhelmingly outweighed secessionist candidates. The delegate from Saline County, Vincent Marmaduke, and the delegates from surrounding counties were all strong Union men. By March, they had rejected the proposition for Missouri’s secession, claiming the “grievances” could be “more peacefully remedied.” They strongly urged the Union not to “employ force against the seceding states” and the seceded states not to “assail the Government.”[13]

Nevertheless, the first acts of the war inspired strong southern sentiment in the state. In April, Confederate forces opened fire on Fort Sumter, and the conflict over slavery erupted into war. Although they sympathized with the South, Missourians still hoped their state would remain neutral in the conflict. However, Lincoln’s call for 75,000 troops caused four more states to secede. Governor Jackson claimed the requisition was “illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary, in its object inhuman and diabolical” and he mobilized the Missouri state militia for the support of the

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[12] Napton, *Past and Present*, 144; 146.

[13] Ibid., 144-145; Albert Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 10-11; Thomas L. Snead, *The Fight for Missouri: From the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1886), 81.

Confederacy.[14] However, on May 10, Union Gen. Nathaniel Lyon surrounded Jackson's troops, forced their surrender near Camp Jackson, and marched them through St. Louis. A large crowd of southern sympathizers began to verbally abuse and throw rocks at the, mostly German American, Union soldiers. One shot was fired from the mob and mortally wounded a soldier; an enraged officer commanded his men to open fire. In the aftermath, twenty-eight civilians lay dead, including two women and a small child.[15]

The Camp Jackson affair and Lincoln's call for troops caused unrest in Saline County as the events had in most of the state. Governor Jackson was especially infuriated and he issued a proclamation to the people of Missouri asking them to rise and "drive out the invaders who have dared to desecrate the soil which your labors have made fruitful, and which is consecrated by your homes!"[16] Some residents were equally enraged and rallied together to answer the governor's call for volunteers. In May, prominent men in the county held a meeting in Marshall and determined to oppose the federal incursion by establishing a military committee to prepare for war. The pro-Confederates formed several military companies. On May 13, Marshall held a parade for the Jackson Guard, which had grown to over one hundred men. On the day prior to the company's departure, the ladies of Marshall presented the troops a flag. One young lady spoke, expressing her hope that the flag "may be to you in the hour of trial and of battle an evidence of the interest that will ever be manifested by the ladies of your county in the glorious cause you have so nobly espoused." Gaines assured the women, "It is for you that we fight," and he promised to never let the flag "trail in disgrace."[17]

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[14] Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West*, 12; Sutherland, *This Terrible War*, 84-85; Letter from C.F. Jackson to Simon Cameron dated April 17, 1861, Arrow Rock Tavern Collection # 3087, Western Historical Manuscript Collection-University of Missouri, Columbia; Napton, *Past and Present*, 147.

[15] Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West*, 12-13.

[16] Marshall (Mo.) *Marshall Democrat*, June 19, 1861.

Saline County residents' initial support for the Confederate cause was neither unanimous nor permanent. In fact, upon federal occupation of the county, several of the men who participated in the Marshall meeting and the military commission converted to Unionism. For example, William A. Wilson, the vice president of the meeting, became a Union militia colonel after federals entered the county. Also, in June, Union men gathered in the village of Brownsville to condemn the actions of Jackson and support Union troops in the state for the protection of loyal men.[18]

Despite Confederate victories at Wilson's Creek and Lexington, the Federals retained control of the Missouri River, and with the disappearance of conventional Confederate troops from the area, Union patrols set out to end any resistance. The army scoured Saline County for straggling rebel soldiers and companies. On the Blackwater river in mid-December, Union Gen. Jeff C. Davis surprised and captured a Confederate company under Col. Frank Robertson on their way to join Price. Union forces marched this company, comprised of "the flower of Saline County," to Sedalia where they were loaded onto a train destined for Gratiot Street Prison in St. Louis. Ultimately, Confederate Gen. Sterling Price failed to solidify control of the Missouri

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[17] Napton, *Past and Present*, 148-150. The companies that formed in Saline County included the Jackson Guard, named after the Governor, and commanded by John Sappington Marmaduke; the Saline Mounted Rifles commanded by Thomas W.B Crews; and another company commanded by Captain William B. Brown. Marshall (Mo.) *Marshall Democrat*, June 19, 1861; Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West*, 24-27. These Saline County companies participated in the battle of Boonville on June 17, 1861. During this battle, Lyon routed Col. Marmaduke's force of seven hundred men.

[18] Ibid., 148; St. Louis (Mo.) *Daily Missouri Republican*, July 1, 1861.

River due to a lack of unified, resolute resistance on the part of the people of Little Dixie. Years later, after being trampled by the hardships of war, one civilian daydreamed about what the outcome might have been: “When General Price made his eloquent appeal for 50,000 men, if they had taken up arms and gone then, things would have been very different.”[19] Nevertheless, by the end of 1861, the initial efforts of Saline County residents to organize a conventional form of resistance disintegrated.

Although conventional Confederate resistance had collapsed, the Union continued to alienate the population. By 1861, the Union army had employed “Red Legs” in volunteer service. These men were former Jayhawkers in the “Bleeding Kansas” conflict. In return, Missourians began to associate the contentious relationship they had with northerners during “Bleeding Kansas” with the Union army. And true to their reputation, the Red Legs continued to commit depredations against Missourians, but this time, they did so under the Union banner. Often, Red Legs murdered and plundered for their own gain, with no regard for the loyalties of the people. The violent attacks of Red Legs drove Missourians to seek revenge, leading even moderates and Unionists to join the resistance. Eventually, the Union army grew to regard the lawless Red Legs as depraved enemies, just as worthy of extermination as the Confederate guerrillas.[20]

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[19] Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West*, 25-28; Diary of Elvira Ascenith Weir Scott, Collection # 1053, Western Historical Manuscript Collection–Columbia, 95-97; Napton, *Past and Present*, 154-155; Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 140.

[20] Daniel E. Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 130.

The antagonistic actions of the federal army, such as the occupation of Missouri without authorization, the removal of the state government, the seizure of state troops at Camp Jackson, and the employment of Red Legs, were together viewed as tyrannical and inspired many men to join guerrilla ranks. While some men joined the guerrillas because they feared abolitionism and emancipation, others were simply searching for a little excitement and adventure.[21] Rather than join the conventional Confederate army, guerrillas chose to fight in their own communities where they could protect their families, friends, and homes. Guerrilla warfare allowed men to fight the Union army on their own terms.

To end guerrilla resistance, Union military authorities in Missouri issued harsh proclamations and orders from the beginning, but these initiatives only encouraged further resistance. One of the harshest and most shocking proclamations was issued by Major General John C. Frémont on August 30, 1861. This proclamation established martial law, without the suspension of *habeas corpus*, which was intended “to suppress disorder” and “to give security and protection to the persons and property of loyal citizens.” It also established that those who took up arms against the Union were to be tried by court martial, and if found guilty, shot. Furthermore, the property of these rebellious citizens would be confiscated and their slaves emancipated.[22] By making the worst fears of pro-Confederate citizens a reality, Frémont, ultimately, drove more men to guerrilla bands. His orders were quickly countermanded by Lincoln, and he was removed in November, but the repercussions of his proclamation resonated in Missouri for the remainder of the war.

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[21] Bruce Nichols, *Guerrilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri, 1862* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2004), 41-44.

[22] St. Louis (Mo.) *Daily Missouri Republican*, August 31, 1861.

Frémont set a deadly precedent for Union policy in Missouri, but following his removal, guerrilla warfare continued to intensify and officers and soldiers continued to pursue harsh policies against guerrillas and their civilian allies. Wealthy pro-Confederate sympathizers were held responsible for the actions of guerrillas and punished with assessments. Monetary punishments fueled the degeneration of the conflict until, eventually, Union soldiers began attacking the persons and property of civilians suspected of aiding or harboring guerrillas. Although Frémont had intended to preserve "the ordinary tribunals of the country," martial law eventually superseded civil authority in the counties of the state. The provost marshal offices developed as a means to identify and punish those aiding guerrillas. They were established throughout the military districts as a police force to enforce military law by implementing military orders, issuing passes, and administering the loyalty oath.[23] Often, the provost marshals were corrupt. It became increasingly difficult for officials to discern who was loyal, so many acted on their own interests in carrying out punishments.

Within this framework, the Union occupation of Saline County began in March 1862. Saline County was part of the Central District of Missouri under the command of Gen. Egbert B. Brown. Local means of defense, like the Enrolled Missouri Militia and home guards, were established in the county seats and other major villages.[24] Due to the nature of the guerrilla war and the lack of Union men, Union soldiers were constantly moving around the area for scouting and defense, and the various home guard units throughout the county were called together and disbanded based on the threat of guerrillas.

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[23] Robert R. Mackey, *The Uncivil War: Irregular Warfare in the Upper South, 1861-1865* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 58.

The number of white males from Saline County that fought on either side during the war reveals the divided nature of the county's loyalties. Out of the roughly 2,715 fighting age white males, 686 men fought for the Confederacy and 372 men fought for the Union. The remaining 1,672 men either joined guerrilla ranks or stayed home as non-combatants.[25] The number of men who fought for the guerrillas is hard to determine, but one historian has only been able to identified seventeen guerrillas who came from Saline County.[26] The majority of eligible men most likely remained noncombatants.

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[24] Lause, *Price's Lost Campaign*, 24.

[25] Rebekah Weber, "'It is for you that we fight': Gender and Civil War in Saline County, Missouri" (M.A. thesis, University of Missouri, 2000), 88; Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Population, 1860, Saline County, Missouri. Weber originally suggested 1,043 for enrolled men from Saline County. She subtracted fifteen men from the original number of 1,058 because 15 men served on both sides. I added the total population of men from ages fifteen to fifty in the 1860 census to get the total eligible male population for service in Saline County: 2,715. After subtracting enrolled men from eligible men, I came up with the estimate 1,672 eligible non-combatants.

[26] Mark Geiger, *Financial Fraud and Guerrilla Violence in Missouri's Civil War, 1861-1865* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010) Appendix G.

CHAPTER 2

UNIONISTS

“It seems that we are doomed to have nothing but bad luck
but we will try and bear it the best we can”[1]

A. J. and Mollie McRoberts were Saline County residents on the eve of the war. However, sometime between the spring of 1861 and the fall of 1862, Mollie fled the county for Ohio while A. J. stayed behind to work on the farm. On May 23, 1863, Mollie wrote to A. J. lamenting her family’s repeated bad luck. Surrendering to her fate, Mollie stated, “we will try and bear it the best we can.” Mollie would have to bear more misfortune as life was becoming increasingly difficult for Unionists during the Civil War. Confederate guerrillas targeted A. J. because he was a Unionist and a member of the local militia. He worked on the farm during the day but had resorted to hiding in the woods at night in order to avoid bushwhackers. A. J. reassured Mollie by saying, “the bushwhackers have not succeeded in getting my scalp yet.” However, in his next letter, A. J. informed Mollie of the rumor circulating that he had been murdered. In response, Mollie begged him to leave.[2]

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[1] Letter from Mollie McRoberts to A.J. McRoberts, May 23, 1863, A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, Collection #375 (Western Historical Manuscript Collection-University of Missouri, Columbia; hereinafter WHMC-Columbia).

[2] A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC-Columbia, May 23, 1863; July 5, 1863.

Although Missouri was under Union occupation, Unionists, like A. J., were unable to rely on federal protection. The Union army failed to protect loyal citizens and end guerrilla activity in Saline County not only because they lacked the manpower needed but also because the county contained a high concentration of pro-Confederate sympathizers and therefore Federals perceived the county as overly rebellious. Union officials found it increasingly difficult to distinguish between loyal and disloyal citizens. As a result, the policies and procedures that restricted transportation and allowed for the confiscation of property intended to target guerrillas and isolate pro-Confederate sympathizers, had been universally applied. These policies should have stabilized society for Unionist, but, in actuality, they made life more difficult and dangerous. Disillusioned by the ineffectiveness of the Union army's counter-guerrilla policies, and struggling to cope as minorities in a predominately pro-Confederate area, Union civilians themselves inadvertently became combatants.

Once Union occupation was established in Missouri, guerrilla warfare intensified, and Unionists found themselves in a precarious position. Union initiatives grew increasingly harsh, but these efforts to suppress lawlessness threatened the personal security of all civilians and led to the loss of basic privileges and rights. However, Union occupation was not the only problem Unionists faced. Compounding the chaos, they were surrounded by pro-Confederate sympathizers, and lived in constant fear of guerrilla attacks. Many Saline County residents opposed secession and the war. Cooperation with both sides became the strategy for noncombatants who wanted to avoid conflict and survive. Although the majority of the population attempted to remain neutral, a small portion openly proclaimed their support for the Union. In fact, a total of 372 Saline County men fought in the federal army.[3] By openly showing their support, these men, and their families, became targets for guerrillas. Even under Union occupation, guerrillas frequently attacked Unionists and plundered their property.

Unionists in the countryside, an area far outside the scope of Union control and protection, were at particular risk of guerilla attacks. Francis and Harriet Audsley lived in Saline County at the beginning of the Civil War. But in 1862, Francis left home to serve in the Union army, leaving Harriet in Saline County to manage the family and property. Harriet moved across the Missouri River in 1864, and settled only a few miles away in Carroll County. Not long after the family moved, Harriet experienced a horrifying encounter with guerrillas. "Bloody Bill" Anderson's band descended on the Audsley's newly established farmhouse. The men demanded Harriet's money but appeared to know exactly where to find it since one of them marched directly to the baby's crib where Harriet had hidden twenty dollars. The family later claimed the guerrillas learned of the hiding place from a neighbor. While Anderson went upstairs to take a nap, crawling into Harriet's bed "boots and all," the rest of the band began riding by and snatching up the "the very pregnant" Harriet, galloping to and fro with her hanging on the side of their horses. Before the "ruffians" departed, they determined to burn down the house, but the sound of horses galloping in their direction diverted them, and they fled.[4]

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[3] Rebekah Weber, "'It is for you that we fight': Gender and Civil War in Saline County, Missouri" (M.A. thesis, University of Missouri, 2000), 88.

Although Union troops could not always protect families like the Audsleys who lived in the countryside, some citizens living in the country successfully defended themselves. Service in the Enrolled State Militia and home guard gave men the experience they needed to respond to the intimidation meted out by guerrillas. In the summer of 1863, a man was disbanded from home guard service in the nearby town of Arrow Rock. On the night he returned, bushwhackers raided his home and attempted to rob him. Determined to stop the robbery, the man picked up his pistol and shot one of the guerrillas through the neck-tie, which according to a neighbor, "was left on the floor with much blood." Following this event, the man tried to gather a posse to join him "in hunt of the scoundrels," but he could not garner enough support.[5]

Not everyone was willing to shoot guerrillas, though. Much like Unionists throughout Missouri and northern Arkansas, those in Saline County often sought refuge in towns due to their perceived security. Marshall, the Saline County seat, drew most of the rural refugees due to its status as the only garrisoned town in the area. To be sure, according to one Unionist, "[t]he feds hold Marshal and the bushwhackers the country." Indeed, Union officers believed towns provided some semblance of security. Union militia Col. John F. Philips observed that the "few loyal men" in the area gather around the county seats where "a few troops . . . give security to this class and afford a place of refuge."[6] Yet, guerrillas often targeted places with

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[4] Audsley Papers, Collection #2374, WHMC-Columbia, Biographical Information; Weber, "It is for you that we fight", 98.

[5] *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols. in 128; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, vol. 34, Pt. IV, 471 [hereinafter cited as OR; All references to Series I unless otherwise noted.]

high concentrations of Unionists, destroying towns with little resistance when federal troops were absent, but even when troops were present, guerrillas sometimes overpowered them.

Occasionally, invading Confederate forces also threatened Unionist strongholds. In the days preceding Confederate general Joseph Shelby's raid in 1863, one resident expressed fear for the safety of his father and others staying at the Union post in Marshall. Civilians were right to be afraid. News reached the village that Shelby and his cavalry force was approaching with "a bout 3000 men and 2 peaces of artillery." To make matters worse, the Union force consisted of only about 150 men. They had no artillery and no expectation for reinforcements. A council gathered in the village and decided to evacuate. However, in front of the village, on October 12, a Union force of 1,020 men under Col. Lazear met Shelby's raiders, which, in fact, only numbered 1,350 men. Lazear forced Shelby to fight an exhaustive, drawn out, and pitched battle that ultimately resulted in the division of Shelby's force. A.J. McRoberts, who was staying outside the village, reported hearing "artilery thundering" for hours. So, he was shocked to find "so small a loss of life" when he visited Marshall in the aftermath of the battle. The battle had resulted in close to one hundred casualties, but McRoberts thought "for the tremendes amount of shooting they was doing they shurley would kill at least 1000 men."[7]

Although conventional Confederate forces occasionally destroyed towns, the guerrilla raid represented the true danger facing Unionists. Guerrillas roamed in and

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[6] A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC-Columbia, July 5, 1863; *OR*, vol. 41, Pt. IV, 598.

[7] Sean McLachlan, *Ride Around Missouri and Shelby's Great Raid 1863* (Osprey Publishing Co., 2011), 52-56; A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC-Columbia, October 16, 1863.

out of Saline County during the war, frequently seeking provisions in the towns of Arrow Rock and Miami. These raids often resulted in mass destruction, and more often than not, the murder of Unionists. When a guerrilla band with over one hundred men led by Capt. Yeager entered Arrow Rock on July 20, 1864, a skirmish ensued between the guerrillas and the twenty-five Union soldiers stationed in the town. After the guerrillas set fire to a building they believed was a Union headquarters, Union soldiers, concealed within another building, shot at the unsuspecting guerrillas, striking the captain through the head. Nevertheless, the guerrillas overpowered the militia and wreaked havoc. They plundered safes, robbed stores, and terrorized civilians. They threatened a store clerk's life and accidently shot a woman in the ankle. Finally, before leaving town, the guerrillas torched many of the buildings.[8]

In their raids, guerrillas targeted citizens who had served in the Union army or militia often with vengeful motives. One instance occurred in Miami in the summer of 1863 when guerrillas entered the town with the intention of punishing Union men for the death of Judge Robert Smart. Bob Myers, their primary target, was characterized as being an "Independent Federal," a man who had been discharged from service in the Union army but continued to dress in a Union uniform and torment civilians with his pistol. The guerrillas captured Myer along with another man by the name of James Elson. Myer broke free from his restraints and attempted to escape, but guerrillas pursued and killed him with a few shots. Elson was taken away and held hostage until one day, as he bent over to get a drink of water from the river, one of his captors shot him and pushed his body into the water.[9]

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[8] *OR*, vol. 41, Pt. I, 51; Boonville (Mo.) *Boonville Monitor*, July 23, 1864.

Guerrillas sometimes committed murder simply on impulse. On a separate occasion, after gathering supplies and provisions in Miami, the guerrillas rode east toward the towns of Frankfort and Cambridge where they destroyed property and terrorized local civilians. On their way, the guerrillas encountered an elderly man and his son. Mistaking the men for federal soldiers, the elderly man proudly announced that his son was going to join the Union army. The guerrillas shot both men down. They also killed another man that they encountered on the way, whom they knew had prosecuted southern men.[10]

Former slaves were also unsafe in this environment, as they rarely escaped encounters with pro-Confederate citizens and guerrillas without being intimidated, injured, or killed. African Americans were easy targets for frustrated Confederates, and if they were caught in the act of aiding the Union army, a severe beating, or worse, would follow. When William O. Maupin encountered a slave he believed was on his way to tell Gen. Loan about a conflict in the area between local men and fugitive slaves, Maupin whipped the man while shouting, "you'll tell the damned feds will you." However, many African American encounters with guerrillas resulted in death on the spot. When guerrillas raided Marshall in 1864, they randomly shot five African Americans in town and four more a few miles outside of town.[11]

German Americans were also targeted by guerrillas because of their support for the Union. Saline County residents were already upset that Union occupation had

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[9] Diary of Elvira Scott, Collection # 1053, WHMC-Columbia, 202; *History of Saline County, Missouri* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Company, 1881), 321; Napton *Past and Present*, 199.

[10] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 214.

[11] A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC-Columbia, April 19, 1863; *OR*, vol. 41, Pt. I, 219-220.

usurped their local right to rule independently, but the German character of Union soldiers in the area, in their minds, transformed this occupation into a foreign invasion. German Americans were already a despised minority since the sharp rise in immigration from Germany and Ireland had inspired Anglo Saxon Americans to celebrate and promote their own concepts of Americanism, or nativism, and reject that of the foreigner.[12] The association of Germans with the invading army made this hatred worse. The "Dutch" flooded the Union ranks in Little Dixie to the extent that local pro-Confederate residents characterized Union troops as a force of "foreign hirelings" and viewed Union occupation as "a military despotism before which that of Russia pales," a military despotism brutally enforced by "these Dutch hirelings."[13]

Motivated by these engrained feelings, guerrillas raided Frankfort, a completely German settlement, and Saline County's most loyal town, multiple times over the course of the war. In July 1863, most likely on the insistence of David Poole, a guerrilla who led attacks on neighboring German settlements in Lafayette County, Confederate guerrillas under Captain Blunt rode from Miami to Frankfort, shooting down a uniformed Union soldier on their way. Once in the village, the raiders stole goods and supplies and threatened the inhabitants. The guerrillas momentarily disregarded their traditional honor code that forbade the harassment of women and searched a few of the local women for money.[14] In the fall of 1864, before Price's final raid into Missouri, guerrillas stepped up their activity in order to distract and divide Union forces from the real threat marching up from the south. On August 5, 1864, a band of twenty guerrillas stormed Frankfort. They burned twelve houses and robbed and killed a discharged soldier. The guerrilla captain left Frankfort citizens with a stark warning. He threatened to murder "every woman and child" and "burn the last house" if the residents failed to evacuate the village within ten days.[15]

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[12] Fellman, *Inside War*, 39; Immanuel Ness, ed., Conservative, Nativist, and Right-Wing Movements, vol. 4 of *Encyclopedia of American Social Movements* (M.E. Sharpe Inc., 2004), 1414.

[13] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 106, 107; Fellman, *Inside War*, 89-90.

[14] Bruce Nichols, *Guerrilla warfare in Missouri, 1863* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2007), 196-197.

Joining the Union army offered minorities some semblance of protection, and German Americans joined the Union cause en masse. In Missouri, German Americans were visible in society not only because of their ethnic differences but also because of their overwhelming support for the Republican party. Germans were enthusiastic supporters of the Union cause once the war broke out, and they quickly became the "most overrepresented" group in the Union army. Overall, Missouri Germans comprised eighteen Union military units, second only to New York in quantity of German troops. The motivations of Germans for supporting the Union cause stemmed from their unrelenting desire for democracy lingering from the European revolutions of the late-1840s. But also, German Americans hoped they could gain entrance and acceptance into American society through their participation in the war.[16] In March 1864, Col. Philips recognized the village of Frankfort for its loyalty. He stated "Frankfort is a German settlement, all loyal, from which some 70 men have enlisted in our army. These people, therefore, have special claims upon our sympathy and support." In fact, the Ninth Cavalry Missouri State Militia was predominately comprised of Frankfort men. After several petitions for federal protection, the army stationed some troops in the town, but they ultimately failed to effectively defend the village from attack.[17]

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[15] *OR,* vol. 34, Pt. II, 486; *OR,* , vol. 34, Part I, 987; *OR,* vol. 41, Pt. II, 609.

[16] Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War: the letters they wrote home,* trans., Susan Carter Vogel (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 7-8; Susannah J. Ural ed., *Civil War citizens: race, ethnicity, and identity in America's bloodiest conflict* (New York University Press, 2010), 16.

After years of tumultuous encounters with guerrillas, citizens and soldiers demanded to have Union troops stationed in Frankfort for protection. This most recent horrific incident stirred the soldiers of the Ninth Cavalry, mostly Germans from Frankfort, to petition their commander, Albert Brackman, to send troops to protect their families. Brackman responded to the request by writing to Gen. William Rosecrans about the soldiers' concerns.[18] The citizens of the town also wrote a petition for protection. In a September 2 letter, one resident requested protection for the town's citizenry since they had suffered fifteen raids and the citizens were mostly "old men, discharged Soldiers and Soldierwifes."[19] By the late September, Union officials decided to station one company of soldiers in Frankfort and three at Marshall.[20]

Residents throughout the rest of Saline County had also requested Union protection. In November 1864, citizens "strongly" petitioned Col. Philips "to station troops at their county seats," of which Marshall and Lexington had the most urgent petitioners.[21] Officers typically answered these petitions by sending troops, but the small number of troops was ineffective and temporary.

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[17] *OR*, vol. 41, Pt. II, 609.

[18] *OR*, vol. 41, Pt. II, 609.

[19] *Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Two or More Civilians* (Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri; hereinafter cited UPM), F1622-11974.

[20] *OR*, vol. 41, Pt. III, 166.

Unionists sought compensation when federal protection failed, but they rarely found success—even when it had been the Union army who had "requisitioned" their property. Brownsville resident Jacob Bright suffered a common fate among Unionists when he lost property to both his federal protectors and Confederate guerrillas. When a federal patrol camped on his land, they took one of his horses and killed eleven of his hogs. Later, Confederate guerrillas stole his saddle and bridle. Bright asked Union Gen. E.B. Brown for compensation. According to Bright, Brown made it clear that he believed he deserved to be compensated, but he "had no means of doing so."[22]

Although Unionists usually sought aid in vain, they received compensation for their losses in rare circumstances. The assessments policy outlined in general Henry Halleck's Order No. 3 held Confederate sympathizers responsible for guerrilla activity. It was designed not only to punish them for aiding guerrillas but also to compensate Unionists. Early in the war, an assessment of Confederate sympathizers throughout Saline County had benefitted the families of men in the local militia. However, later in the war, the army's view of those who deserved aid had diminished because, as Col. Philips described, Saline and Lafayette counties were considered "strongholds of treason in this district." So, while citizens in Arrow Rock, Cambridge, and Miami received no federal aid following destructive guerrilla raids, citizens in Frankfort received $16,000 after the guerrilla raid in 1864. This amount had been collected from known pro-Confederate sympathizers in the area because the Union army believed "[p]rominent secessionists living south of that place certainly

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[21] Ibid., Pt. IV, 597-598.

[22] UPM, F1283.

directed this piece of devilment." The money collected was distributed to those Frankfort residents who suffered losses.[23] For some, like the widow of the man murdered in the raid who received $1,400 for her husband's death, reparations would never replace the losses they incurred. The fact they received any compensation at all was most likely due to Union officers' view of Frankfort as "entirely loyal, and the only one so in Saline."[24]

Even if the Federals had more of an interest in defending Saline County as a whole, they lacked the manpower. By 1862, large military actions in the East drew soldiers from Missouri. With fewer troops, distributing soldiers across a large area was impractical. Col. Philips believed that small forces were ineffective because they could "only act on the defensive." The army also struggled with recruitment in the area. Many Unionists refused to join the army because they feared leaving their families and homes behind in such dangerous circumstances. Describing the army's struggle with recruitment in Arrow Rock, Francis Audsley, a Saline County resident and an officer in the Missouri Militia, stated, "[W]e lose faster than we gain. . . . [S]everal of the men have dodged off already. . . . [I]t is nearly as hard a task to catch our own men, as it would be as many bushwhackers."[25] Attempting to overcome insufficient troops, the army established several means of local defense, including stockades and home guards.

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[23] *OR,* vol. 41, Pt. II, 654.

[24] *OR,* vol. 13, 316-317; UPM, F1621-11640; *OR,* vol. 41, Pt. II, 541.

[25] *OR,* vol. 41, Pt. IV, 597-598; Letter from Francis Audsley to Harriet Audsley, June 9, 1863, Audsley Papers, Collection #2374, WHMC–Columbia.

The home guard system offered men the opportunity to serve the Union by defending their own communities, but this system was also hindered by the small Unionist population. Unionists like P.W. Thompson became discouraged about the desperate situation. In a letter to Gen. William Rosecrans, Thompson complained that the home guard was “an entire failure. Men are called from their farms to guard the little villages, whilst their homes are plundered by the bushwhackers.” He blamed the county’s too “few strictly loyal men” and the Union’s lack of effort in ridding “the country of these scoundrels.”[26]

In order to bolster the ranks, Union conscription took effect in Missouri in the summer of 1862, forcing every “able-bodied man” into military service. For Saline County, conscription was also used to determine loyalty. A. J. McRoberts found himself pressured into the service along with many of his acquaintances. He lamented to his wife: “they are taking evry man subject to militery duty and the late order of the secretary of war makes us liable to be arrested at any time and compelled to perform militery duty unless we enrole our selves in the militia, so I do not see any chance to escape.” In his next letter, A. J. told his wife he had joined the “rag tag malitia” along with his friends and that his acquaintances who failed to enroll would be “treated as rebels.” To Unionists, military service demonstrated their allegiance. However, service became an unreliable indicator of loyalty because the majority of those enrolling were men of Confederate sympathy. Col. W.A. Wilson enrolled former Confederates at Marshall, but he did not know what to do with them. Confused,

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[26] *OR*, vol. 34, Pt. IV, 471.

Wilson wrote to provost marshal Major F. J. White asking if he was to "force the Secesh between the age of 18 and 45 into the ranks."[27]

With the establishment of conscription and the home guard system, service became mandatory and the majority of Saline County's eligible male population was forced to join the Union ranks or leave the county. Once a part of the military, soldiers quickly discovered that army life was full of hardships. Deficiencies in supplies and living conditions demoralized soldiers, while the absence of large, effective military actions contributed to boredom and restlessness. Corruption and incompetence among the officers encouraged further discontent and corruption among the troops.

In fact, corruption ran rampant among Union officers, and military authorities investigated the questionable behavior of officers accused of committing war crimes. In September 1864, Union officials probed Col. Bazel Lazear about his actions and the depredations committed by soldiers under his command in Marshall. After guerrillas burned down the Saline County courthouse, Lazear arrested several local women and put two men to death for aiding the guerrillas. In addition, men under his command had plundered several homes in the county seat. Lazear insisted his innocence and requested an official military investigation. He maintained that although soldiers sometimes committed "petty" crimes, they often went unpunished since the perpetrators could not be identified. He argued that when criminals *were* identified, they were punished. Although Lazear's accusations did not result in his termination, often, accusations of corruption against federal officials resulted in their replacement. A year before Lazear's questioning, a Union Captain stationed at Marshall was arrested for killing guerrillas. An act applauded by one civilian who then followed his praise with a condemnation of the "peace policy" of the "old Copperhead Governor," which was "[d]on't hurt any of them [guerrillas]."[28]

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[27] *Missouri Troops in service during the Civil War* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 48; A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC–Columbia, August 10, 1862; A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC–Columbia, September 6, 1862; *UPM*, F1652-19510.

Problems within the high command also arose in the interactions between officers of rank. Col. Lazear appeared to be in constant conflict with his superiors, frequently butting heads with Col. Henry Neill in Lexington. But his most significant incident occurred after the battle of Marshall in 1863. Lazear condemned the strategy of Gen. Ben Loan. He believed that Loan ignored his suggestion for pursuing Shelby's men because he "did not like to act on the suggestion of a Lt. Col" and that had Loan and other officers listened to his suggestion, "there would not have been any of them got away."[29]

Many times unhappiness with superiors contributed to the weakening of the Union men's "good spirits." However, the lack of large-scale, effective military maneuvers had a similar impact.[30] Soldiers and militiamen in Saline County rarely faced another force in battle. Occasional skirmishes with guerrillas were the order of the day. Military men grew desirous of encounters with the enemy and longed for the opportunity to punish guerrillas. A.J. McRoberts enviously recorded that his superior "had the pleasure of shouting at a rebel." Because of restlessness, officers struggled to keep their men content and productive. Captain E.J. Crandall grappled with this problem on a scouting mission into Saline County in the fall of 1864. After he received news that guerrillas were amassing a large force, he worried because the soldiers were "anxious for a muss," but he hoped to keep his men "in good discipline and straight."[31]

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[28] A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC–Columbia, July 5, 1863.

[29] Bazel F. Lazear Papers, WHMC-Columbia, October 22, 1863.

[30] A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC-Columbia, August 10, 1862.

Restlessness often triggered an increase in bad behavior. Indeed, such restlessness caused a quarter of the men stationed at Arrow Rock to have "dodged off."[32] Some of these deserters took matters into their own hands and began terrorizing and murdering pro-Confederate citizens. These "Independent Federals," who had been discharged or who absconded from the Union army, haunted the villages and the brush much like their guerrilla counterparts. Disgruntled with the Union effort, they were eager to personally punish guerrillas and pro-Confederate civilians.

Even restless regular soldiers terrorized local civilians. Such was the case when a drunken Union soldier rode up to the home of a local man and threatened to shoot him in front of his wife and son.[33] One militiaman actually succeeded in murdering a pro-Confederate citizen in Arrow Rock in late 1862. The militiaman promptly admitted his guilt to his superior, who in turn insisted he be tried in the Saline County circuit court. The judge convicted the militiaman of murder and sentenced him to imprisonment in Boonville. He never served his sentence, however, because Union forces from Boonville freed him from confinement.[34] Soldiers also stole the property of local civilians, especially horses and slaves. This activity continued despite orders from headquarters forbidding it. Soldiers accused of horse stealing faced military trial for their crimes. This occurred in the case of two soldiers from Marshall who had also been accused of stealing horses on a scout in Lafayette County.[35]

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[31] *OR*, vol. 41, Pt. IV, 607.

[32] Audsley Papers, WHMC-Columbia, June 9, 1863.

[33] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 202; *UPM*, F1655-20703.

The morale of the army was weakened further by supply deficiencies and poor living conditions. Due to the relative lack of manpower, soldiers rarely received temporary reprieve from military life. Visits home were few and far between. The Union army lacked not only sufficient numbers of men but also sufficient supplies. Militiamen often wore a yellow ribbon around one of their arms as the only indication of their membership in a Union force. Even regular Union soldiers struggled to find new uniforms. For Francis Audsley, receiving new uniforms, however exciting, only led him to reflect on deficiencies in other areas. For Francis, the men needed more comforts to be content. If the army "would pay off the men, and send them in their own county, they ought to be satisfied, and probably would be, if they had good officers."[36] Other supplies were equally scarce. The Union army could not afford to provision every cavalryman with a horse, and even food was sometimes hard to come by. Often soldiers acquired horses from guerrillas and food from civilians. According to A.J. McRoberts, all of his friends were mounted, but all of the horses were contraband of war. On scouting missions, army rations rarely matched the demand for

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[34] State v. William H. Chase, et all, November 1863, box 23, file 4, Circuit Court Records, Saline County, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City; UPM F1236; Napton, *Past and Present*, 320.

[35] UPM, 1602-6458.

[36] Audsley Papers, WHMC-Columbia, July 25, 1863.

food, and occasionally, soldiers went three to four days with only one meal. Amid the lack of supplies, disease loomed over army camps where large masses of soldiers and refugees were crowded into small areas with poor living conditions.[37]

To make matters worse, when the Union army passed through an area, it was followed by a mass of runaway slaves. These newly freed African Americans lived in the shadow of the Union army, in the army camp or in their own racially segregated camp. Camps flooded with African American males and their families, who no longer had masters to feed and care for them. As a result, African American camps took on a dilapidated appearance; in many instances, African Americans were "naked and starving," and diseases such as smallpox flourished among them. The Union army could not afford to support such a large mass of people and, at times, attempted to reinforce the institution of slavery in order to end the burden presented by these camp followers. However, the Union army frequently used African American men as a free labor force, useful for building defenses.[38]

Many runaways aided the Union army by either joining their ranks or becoming informants. In fact, many of the incidents of Union depredations begin with a tip from an anonymous African American, as in the aftermath of the guerrilla raid on Marshall in 1864. After the raid, "some women and negroes" told Union soldiers that Lucy Sheridan had a large rebel flag flying from her house. Believing this information was true, federals prosecuted Sheridan and other ladies in Marshall as a result.[39]

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[37] A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC-Columbia, September 12, 1862; Bazel F. Lazear Papers, WHMC-Columbia, October 22, 1863; Bazel F. Lazear Papers, WHMC-Columbia, August 11, 1864; Audsley Papers, WHMC-Columbia, June 9, 1863.

[38] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 160, 169-170; Fellman, *Inside War*, 66.

Other civilians attempted to prove their loyalty to the Union by accusing neighbors of war crimes or testifying against those accused. By accusing someone of aiding guerrillas, civilians performed their sworn duty as recited in the oath of allegiance. In Saline County, civilians accused others in an attempt to purge their community of impurity similar to “witch hunts.” In the summer of 1862, two Union soldiers who had previously been in the Confederate army accused a prominent man in Miami of aiding guerrillas in an attempt to prove their loyalty to the Union. Members of the company to which the men belonged rode to his home. When he tried to escape, they shot him to death.[40]

Civilians also attempted to prove their loyalty by taking the oath of allegiance, but it proved an unreliable gauge. Some Unionists, although willing adherents to the oath, failed to comply with Union orders in a timely manner and, as a result, found themselves in difficult situations. For instance, Saline County Clerk John Sheridan failed to take the oath within the prescribed time because he was absent from his home at the time it was administered. Failure to meet these requirements meant the potential loss of his job and loyal reputation.[41]

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[39] Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 107; Bazel F. Lazear Papers, WHMC-Columbia, Letter dated September 13, 1864.

[40] Fellman, *Inside War*, 47; Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 196-210; Bruce Nichols, *Guerrilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri: 1863* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2007), 183-184.

[41] Letter from John Sheridan Marshall to Hamilton Rowan Gamble, March 21, 1862, Missouri Digital Heritage, Missouri State Archives Online.

Since there was no reliable way to determine a person's loyalty, Federals applied policies universally. For instance, in 1862, Gen. Ben Loan issued an order requiring a special permit from the Union provost marshal for the transporting goods. These permits were granted to loyal citizens only. However, since it became more and more difficult for the provost marshal to distinguish between loyal and rebel citizens, Unionists were often denied permits. But loyalty was not the only determinate. Provost marshals often pursued their own interest in administering permits, and Unionists were forced to maneuver around this order. This was true for one Saline County family who, in the spring of 1863, felt compelled to keep their departure a secret in order to take their stock with them to Illinois.[42]

The Union army implemented harsher measures when these policies failed to stop guerrillas and the civilians aiding them. By confiscating civilians' firearms and property, the Federals intended to abate civilian resistance and hinder guerrilla's access to supplies. In July 1862, Gen. John M. Schofield's Order No. 19 called for the confiscation of "all arms and ammunition … not in the hands of the loyal militia." According to one Saline County resident, this was promptly executed that month when the Union army took "every shotgun from citizens" until "every man not in the service of the Federal government [had] been disarmed." This policy left Unionists unable to protect themselves. Unarmed and defenseless, they lived at the behest of Union and guerrilla forces. In August, military forces were commanded to use civilian property, but they could only issue vouchers to loyal citizens. Many were repeatedly called upon for provisions, and they diligently recorded their losses. One resident recorded in his account book that on at least seven occasions throughout

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[42] *OR*, vol. 22, Pt. II, 79; A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC–Columbia, April 19, 1863.

1862 and 1863 he had provided dinner for soldiers and feed for horses. On one of these occasions, not satisfied with food alone, the army took two mules and one bay mare as well.[43]

Another policy that created discomfort for Unionists in Saline County was the federal censorship of newspapers. Military authorities suspended the *Marshall Democrat*, *Saline County Herald*, and *Saline Standard*. The suspension of all Saline County newspapers presented problems for civilians. Residents not only craved updates on the whereabouts and experiences of the members of their family but also on the progress of the wider war. In response to these suspensions, the editor of the *Liberty Tribune* commented that "[i]t's a shame that a rich and populous county like Saline, won't sustain one paper."[44]

The policies restricting river transportation aimed at curtailing guerrilla activity proved further inconvenient for Unionists. In a letter to his wife detailing his travels from St. Louis, A.J. McRoberts noted that Brig. Gen. Schofield had prohibited river transportation west of Jefferson City because of the frequency of guerrilla attacks against boats. As a result, McRoberts was forced to walk thirty-five miles home from Sedalia. Once in Saline County, he was unable to visit his wife in Ohio until the blockade had been removed. Since the river was closed, mail service became slow and irregular. The sporadic nature of communication heightened feelings of fear and loneliness for separated couples.[45]

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[43] *Missouri Troops in service during the Civil War* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 48; Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC–Columbia, 139, 151; *Missouri Troops in Service during the Civil War*, 57; *OR*, vol. 34, Pt. IV, 432; Van Meter Papers, Collection # 3242, Account Book, WHMC–Columbia.

[44] Liberty (Mo.) *Liberty Tribune*, July 14, 1861; Liberty (Mo.) *Liberty Tribune*, April 12, 1861.

For Francis Audsley, the sporadic nature of communication heightened his feelings of fear and loneliness living without his family. Women and men worried when they failed to receive letters from loved ones. However, optimistically, they often passed it off as a problem with the mail system. Over the course of his service in the military, Audsley appeared anxious if he did not hear from Harriet for long periods of time. After learning of his daughter's illness, Francis lamented that it would be a long time before he heard of her condition. "[I]f there was only a telegraph line down there," he complained, "I could soon learn." Francis' hardships were intensified by the fact that service in the army afforded him few opportunities to visit home. He dreamed of the day he would be able to go home or get a commission so that his family could come with him.[46]

Both Audsley and McRoberts repeatedly voiced their desire to have their wives with them, but the circumstances made that impossible. For A.J. and Mollie, the dangers of Saline County forced them apart and fostered Mollie's fears for the safety of her husband. Mollie said she would return to Saline if A.J. wanted her to, but she said that she "would rather be dead" than "live together in constant fear." Mollie's anxiety over her husband's safety originated from the dangers he faced from guerrillas while working on his farm. Mollie advised him not to work anymore because she feared his death, proclaiming she "would much rather go out and wash by the day than have you expose yourself the way you are doing."[47] When Mollie received the news that A.J. was considering taking a commission in the army, she did not hold back her true feelings. Mollie made clear that she was "tired of being alone and of being dependent on the charities of other people." She went on to say that if he joined the army, she would "abandon all hopes of ever having you with me again."[48]

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[45] A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC–Columbia, Letter dated September 6, 1862.

[46] Audsley Papers, WHMC-Columbia, August 16, 1863; September 15, 1863; June 9, 1863.

Regardless of the grounds for separation, men often believed the course they chose to pursue during the war was merely a continuation, although in a different manner, of their roles as providers. In the letters Francis wrote home to his wife, Harriet, he made clear his reason for serving in the army: he saw service as a means to make a living in a time of war. He stated "if there was any chance for me to do anything at home, I would like to be relieved from service." A. J. remained in Saline County in order to farm his land and sell his yield for profit while promising his wife, Mollie, he would leave as soon as he sold his hogs and cattle and had gotten his "crop layed by."[49]

Men were not alone in their efforts to provide for the family since women were usually left behind to maintain the farmstead in their husbands' absence. Harriet Audsley was one of these women. When Francis left to join the militia in 1862, Harriet took over the role of provider and protector of the family and property. In his letters home, Francis guided Harriet through her responsibilities. In the fall of 1863, Francis wrote home several times asking Harriet to sell the rest of their stock. It was

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[47] A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC-Columbia, July 17, 1863.

[48] Ibid., September 27, 1863.

[49] Ibid., July 5, 1863.

Harriet's responsibility to make sure she sold the right items and received cash in return. Francis wrote to Harriet asking her "to do the best at home as I am doing abroad."[50] By the winter of 1864, Harriet had moved to Carroll County where she continued to maintain the farm in her husbands' absence.

Like Harriet Audsley and Mollie McRoberts, many Unionists fled the county. Mary Wilson, wife of W.A. Wilson, moved with their family to Oxford, Ohio, in 1864. Although W.A. Wilson claimed Mary was unhappy being away from him, he was satisfied knowing that at least she was not "constantly day and night harassed with excitement and dread of life and property. . . . She does not hear the cry, at all hours of the night the 'Bushwhackers are coming.'"[51]

By 1864, the remaining Unionists were voicing their concerns about the horrible conditions to Union officers and began collaborating with the military to eradicate the guerrilla problem and restore peace. Growing tired of constant guerrilla raids and becoming increasingly adamant about ending the guerrilla war, Unionists became determined to rid the county of "all who violate the laws of war and humanity." In July, those desirous of peace assembled in Marshall for a meeting for the "preservation of the public peace." In compliance with Order No. 107, those in attendance appointed a committee to periodically inform the military authorities on the condition of the county. Nevertheless, by the first months of 1865, peace had not been restored, so citizens recommended harsher military measures against wealthy southern sympathizers. Unionists believed "that orders good enough have been issued, but not executed." Therefore, Unionists called for the stringent implementation of policies like assessment and banishment.[52] But by this time in early 1865, "a great many" residents had already left Saline County and "many more" were making arrangements to leave. However, while people often "talk[ed] of leaving in the Spring," it was most likely that they would not as "a greater number cant."[53]

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[50] Audsley Papers, WHMC-Columbia, February 3, 1864.

[51] Letter from W.A. Wilson to Jeanette Leonard, January 1, 1865, Abiel Leonard Papers, Collection #1013, WHMC–Columbia.

Those who stayed attempted to cope with their situations. A.J. McRoberts believed he only had two options: "either leave or turn secesh." He even tried to "play secesh," attempting to ease his burdens, but he could not continue in his ruse because "it went against the grain so much." He did not leave Saline County until his affairs were settled. Wilson was determined not to "abandon Missouri" but rather to stay and defend his interests and property. Believing he was "a creature of circumstances," he surrendered to his fate. Although Francis Audsley stayed in the army, he lamented, "[i]t does not look to me like there is anything worth living for here anymore unless we all turn rebel, we might get along pretty well then as it is." He daydreamed of the day he could leave the county or the state "then the rebels, copperheads, and radicals could just tear the state to pieces, and divide her out." Having lost their property, rights, and security, Saline County Unionists felt "little better off than the niggers." The future in the county looked gloomy at best.[54]

Unionists in Saline County lived in one of the most unique and precarious environments of the Civil War. Surrounded by a pro-Confederate majority and living under Union occupation, Unionists were constantly threatened by guerrilla attacks while often left unprotected by the occupying force. They paid a high price for their loyalty and devotion to the Union. Disillusioned and tired of fighting a war they never wanted, many Unionists saw leaving as their only option. Yet, many either could not or would not abandon the life they had established. The sentiment "we must do the best we can" echoed throughout the county as Unionists persevered.[55]

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[52] *OR,* vol. 41, Pt. I, 256; UPM 1618-10913; *UPM* 1618-10913; *OR,* Series I, vol. 48, Pt. I, 547-548; *OR*, vol. 48, Pt. II, 193.

[53] Abiel Leonard Papers, WHMC–Columbia, January 1, 1865.

[54] A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC–Columbia, July 5, 1863; Abiel Leonard Papers, WHMC–Columbia, January 1, 1865; Audsley Collection, WHMC–Columbia, June 9, 1863; Audsley Collection, WHMC–Columbia, November 4, 1863.

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[55] Audsley Collection, WHMC-Columbia, July 25, 1863.

CHAPTER 3

COOPERATIONISTS

"At least if a man cannot join one or the other party he has no business here; he is between fires."[1]

Allen McReynolds's bullet-ridden, bruised, and lifeless body lay in the road, his blood slowly flowing across the deep mud. The day was Christmas Eve 1864, the location Grand Pass, Saline County. Around noon, McReynolds' wife, Martha, went to town with three of their children, leaving behind their eldest daughter, Elizabeth, and Mr. McReynolds to watch the youngest four children. Within an hour of Martha's departure, soldiers from Union Col. Benjamin H. Wilson's regiment came to the McReynolds' home disguised as bushwhackers and demanded supplies. McReynolds refused, but he did provide them with a meal. Later that day, the disguised soldiers returned and took McReynolds to the edge of his property. Soon, Elizabeth was startled by the sound of pistols firing. Concerned for her father's safety, she ran toward the shots where she soon met a Union soldier who informed her that "her father was lying down there dead." She found him "stretched across the road, in the deepest mud" with seven or eight bullet holes in his body and bruises on his face. Allen McReynolds was buried on Christmas Day.[2]

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[1] Diary of Elvira Scott, Collection # 1053 (Western Historical Manuscript Collection – University of Missouri, Columbia; hereinafter cited WHMC-Columbia), 214.

[2] Martha McReynolds to Editor, January 27, 1863, McReynolds Papers, Collection # 3605, WHMC – Columbia. For more accounts of Allen McReynolds' death see the following documents: Bettie

Although the family account goes on to say McReynolds was an unarmed noncombatant who had recognized the disguised men as federal soldiers, the official Union report indicates the soldiers believed they had successfully carried out their ruse and McReynolds was willingly aiding the enemy. Col. Philips issued an official statement in which he condemned the entire community of Grand Pass as "confirmed secessionists." He believed that "in view of the terrible outrages so recently committed by guerrillas . . . it was deemed a necessity to teach this community and it's like a warning lesson by executing summarily the chief among its citizens."[3] McReynolds' murder exemplifies the dangers facing the citizens of Saline County, Missouri, who attempted to remain neutral but who tried to appease both sides.

A majority of the citizens in Saline County shared southern cultural and economic ideals but disagreed with the act of secession and the war. Missouri resident and southern sympathizer Elvira Scott of Miami stated "almost the entire population is opposed to war, and most are Southern in principles."[4] Although some of these pro-Confederate sympathizers joined the Confederate army or the guerrillas, the majority became Cooperationists who tried to placate both sides. Many of those who initially resisted returned home and attempted to live peacefully. Others attempted to preserve their lives and property by cooperating with the Union army from the beginning. Either way, Cooperationists suffered for their intermediate stance. They were caught

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McReynolds to William McReynolds, December 26, 1864; L. McReynolds to William McReynolds, December 27, 1864; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols. in 128; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, vol. 48, Pt. I, 643-644 [hereinafter cited as *OR*]; Napton, *Past and Present*, 202.

[3] *OR*, vol. 48, Pt. I, 644.

[4] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC – Columbia, 162.

between the lawless bands of guerrillas, who took their food and supplies, and the Union army, who considered them disloyal for cooperating with guerrillas.

The response of Saline County's citizens to the Union occupation of Marshall in the spring of 1862 reveals their Cooperationist tendencies. Annette "Annie" Wilson, a resident of the city, described in detail the events of Union occupation in a note to her cousin. She noted with astonishment how quickly and easily federal forces gained control of the city and its people. Wilson observed that "when the troops came the Citizens were all Union there was not more than two or three Secessionists here that would be candid enough to tell it." And those federal troops, Wilson quipped, were surprised to find so many citizens with Union loyalties.[5]

Similar to the compliance of the citizens of Marshall during the initial stages of Union occupation, Confederate soldiers often renounced their allegiance to the Confederacy when subjugated by federal power. Capture and imprisonment led many prisoners of war to abandon resistance, to take the oath of allegiance, and to return home compliant with Union forces. Thomas Crews was one of these citizens. As a prominent and respected man in antebellum Saline County, Crews became a viable candidate for appointment to the military committee in 1861 and, subsequently, became commander of the Saline Mounted Rifles. In September 1861, Union forces captured Crews while he was at home in Marshall recovering from typhoid fever. After spending time in prison, Crews chose to take the oath and comply with all of the requirements of his parole, including reporting in at St. Louis weekly. In order to meet this requirement, Crews moved to Franklin County, and by 1865, Union officials had "not heard of any disloyal act committed by him."[6]

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[5] Annie to Cousin Martha, March 3, 1862, Abiel Leonard Papers, Collection # 1013, Western Historical Manuscript Collection – Columbia.

Pro-Confederate civilians also complied with the regulations of their oath and parole. Meredith M. Marmaduke and Thomas R.E. Harvey were sons of prominent Union men in Saline County, but in contrast to their fathers, they sympathized with the southern cause and aided the rebels by taking care of horses from the Confederate army.[7] The two men were arrested in 1862 but were quickly released. As free men, they complied with all of the requirements of their parole: they "cheerfully" took the oath and never "hesitated to make the trip" to St. Louis, even though it was an enormous burden.[8] Although Union authorities considered these men "strong and rabid secessionists" for their disloyal acts, a friend vouched for them, arguing that the two men had not taken up arms but rather stayed home and attended their business.[9]

In the same way, John and William Hancock went to great lengths to uphold the terms of their oaths. John Hancock desired to move to Iowa or Nebraska territory late in 1864, but because the terms of his oath required him to stay in Pettis, Johnson, Lafayette, or Saline counties, he asked the provost marshal for permission. William Hancock's oath required him to register with the provost marshal in Lexington on a regular basis accompanied by James Graham. However, when Graham was preoccupied and Hancock fell sick, all parties wrote promptly to the provost marshal informing him of these problems.[10]

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[6] Napton, *Past and Present*, 347-348; *Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Individual Citizens* (Missouri state archives, Jefferson City), *UPM* F1244.

[7] *Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Two or More Civilians* (Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri; hereinafter cited *UPM*), F1585-1383.

[8] *UPM*, F1585-1123.

[9] *UPM*, F1585-1383.

In addition to observing parole terms, Union civilians were expected to meet federal demands for assistance. When Union scouting missions passed through the countryside, they often relied on civilians for subsistence. During one scout from Sedalia in December 1861, Union major G.C. Marshall reported camping on various farms across Saline County. Union forces sought homes of known pro-Confederates, like William T. Gilliam and Claiborne Fox Jackson, the exiled governor of Missouri. At Jackson's home, Union soldiers symbolically "raised the Stars and Stripes over the traitor's house."[11] Another prominent pro-Confederate civilian, Mary Sappington, also aided Union soldiers. In one instance, she recorded having sixty-five federals for dinner, after which they camped in a neighbor's yard.[12]

But, the Union army was not the only force in the county. Pro-Confederate citizens were also besieged by guerrillas demanding supplies, food, and lodging. Cooperationists complied. In the face of an immediate threat, they chose to appease whichever force came to their door. Although cooperation implied loyalty, they were loyal to neither, but they were threatened by both. Cooperationists were exiled in their own country, like Saline County resident Elvira Scott who claimed "I have neither country nor flag to protect me."[13]

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[10] *UPM,* F1338.

[11] *OR*, vol. 8, 35.

[12] Letter from William B. Sappington to Mary Sappington, September 16, 1864, Sappington Family Papers, Collection # WUNP 4954, Western Historical Manuscript Collection – Columbia.

[13] Fellman, *Inside War,* 48; Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC – Columbia, 122.

Popular perception held that guerrillas posed a greater threat to their peace and security than the Union, but Union forces could prove equally deadly. In 1863, William McReynolds' correspondence with his father reflects William's desire for peace rather than the success of either the Union or the Confederacy. He addressed the family's intense fear of guerrillas and spoke about his own trepidation concerning the replacement of officers in Saline, which he hoped "would prove a blessing to the community rather than a curse."[14] Nevertheless, he advised his father not to move from the county.[15] But, by 1864, William was responding to his father's intensified fears of increased guerrilla activity, and he lamented that his father "anticipated such imminent danger from the bushwhackers." He spoke ill of these men who he believed only sought "to acquire spoils for their own pecuniary aid" and by "murdering peaceable and innocent citizens to carry out their selfish and obstinate designs."[16] Ironically, just five months later, Allen McReynolds would meet his violent end, not at the hands of guerrillas, but at the hands of Union soldiers.

Cooperationists who encountered both guerrillas and Union soldiers came to fear them equally. Although both men and women participated in and were victimized by the guerrilla war, for men, in particular, encounters with the enemy often turned deadly. Some men, like William B. Sappington, a prominent and wealthy land owner, attempted to escape this fate. Sappington fled his inherited estate in Arrow Rock after Union soldiers had threatened his life, leaving his wife to maintain the homestead. Nevertheless, in a letter to his wife, William expressed his concerns for her safety living among both Union troops and guerrillas. First and foremost, he hoped she had not been "disturbed or interfered with" by the Union army and that the troops had "behaved with prudence." On the other hand, he hoped the guerrillas had left the county so that "peace and quiet may be so restored" and "that all may soon be able to come home."[17]

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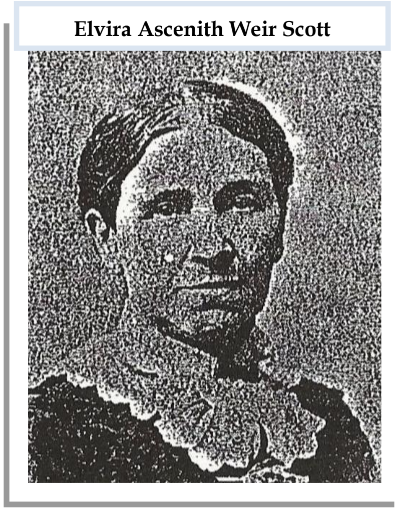
[14] Allen McReynolds Papers, WHMC-Columbia, July 7, 1863.

[15] Ibid., October 20, 1863.

[16] Ibid., August 3, 1864.

Although some, like the Sappingtons, preserved their homes by dividing their families, others preserved their families by abandoning their homes. John and Elvira Scott lived in Miami along with their two daughters. In her diary, Elvira (Figure 3) recorded the incidents that had occurred over the summer of 1863 that eventually convinced her family to flee the area. That summer, the Union army, federal militia, and Confederate bushwhackers descended on the Scott home. The family, like so many others, was caught in the middle of the retaliatory back-and-forth struggle between the warring factions in the area.



Elvira Ascenith Weir Scott

FIGURE 3. Elvira Ascenith Weir Scott. *Source:* This photo was obtained from Weber, "It is for you that we fight", 129.

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[17] Clay Mountcastle, *Punitive War: Confederate Guerrillas and Union Reprisals* (University Press of Kansas, 2009), 27; Fellman, *Inside War*, 195; Sappington Family Papers, WHMC-Columbia, Letter dated October 29, 1864.

The intensity of the retaliatory nature of the conflict is evidenced by the frequency with which soldiers and bushwhackers entered the city of Miami. If bushwhackers came into town they were soon followed by Union soldiers, and any violent act was followed by retribution. In her diary, Elvira frequently mentioned the fear that wrecked the town from the certainty of retaliation. The fear of militant forces invading and uncertainty of when an attack would occur intensified anxiety. One thing was sure: when armed men rode through they were soon to be followed by more. The cycle was unending.

The most terrifying encounter for the Scott family occurred when Union irregulars descended on their home. In June, "Red Legs" came to the Scott home (Figure 4) and demanded food. Elvira claimed she knew them to be Red Legs because they had small bells in their spurs. She characterized these men as "the lowest, most desperate looking specimens of humanity." Although "terribly frightened," Elvira "did not dare to refuse them," as the men appeared to be "ripe for mischief" and all they needed "was the least pretext." Therefore, she quickly provided the men with "the best dinner." She also attempted to "detain them from town as long as possible" since she knew the men would "get drunk and go to cutting up." But even before leaving Elvira's home, the men began their mischief by pulling up most of the roses and strawberries in the yard and threatening to take the old family horse. However, the episode was far from over, and Elvira soon found herself standing between her husband and a loaded gun in the shaky hand of a rough, drunk Red Leg. The drunken soldiers shoved Elvira out of the way, but she bounced right back to her post, once again, the gun pointing directly at her. Elvira, keeping her wits about her, successfully negotiated for her husband's life. Nevertheless, "the crowd of drunken soldiers" took her husband hostage along with several other prominent men, who Elvira claimed were "moderate consistent men with gray heads." John and the others disappeared, their fates unsure. Surprisingly, they returned the next day unharmed. Their capture was retaliation for previous captures committed by guerrillas. [18] Incidences such as these, Elvira made clear, were typical of Union soldiers, who "generally make citizens suffer for what the other party does."[19] The Kansas Red Legs had lived up to their reputation of being boorish toward civilians, including women.

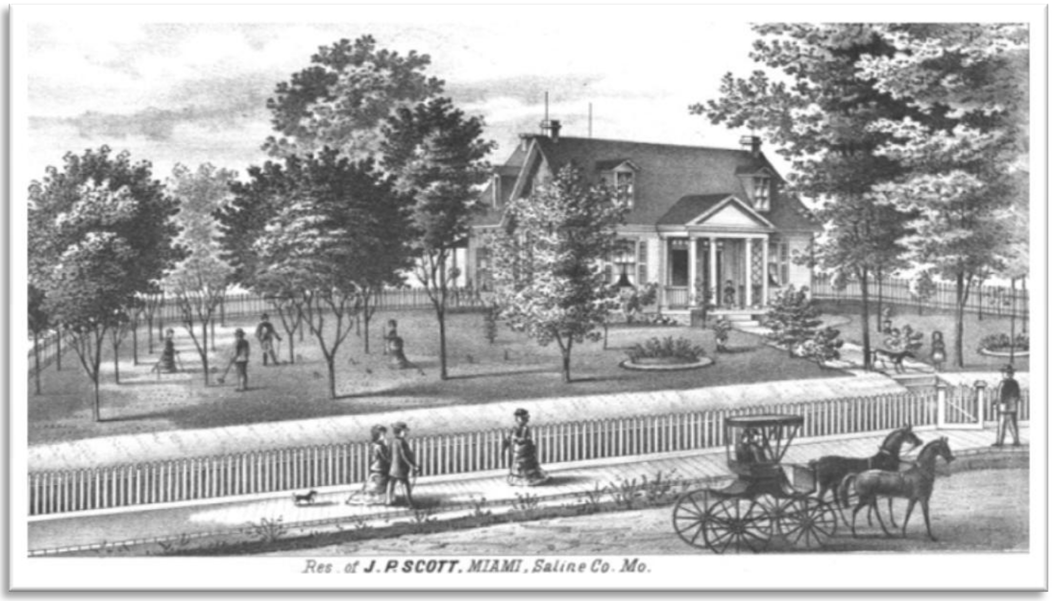
Res. of J. P. SCOTT. MIAMI, Saline Co. Mo.

FIGURE 4. John and Elvira Scott's Home in Miami, Missouri. *Source:* This photo was obtained from the *Illustrated Atlas Map of Saline County, MO, 1876* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Company, 1876), 73.

Guerrillas entered the town after the Red Legs and sought revenge for the actions of the Union force. Elvira, thinking the men were Union soldiers at first became frightened, but when she learned that the men were in fact "Rebels," she claimed it “frightened [her] worse, if anything.” Armed guerrillas gathered all of the men in town in the street and surrounded them. Elvira had the unfortunate experience of witnessing a guerrilla pick up a man by the collar, shake him around, and place a pistol at his head, threatening to kill him. She asked the guerrillas why they had brought “such trouble upon us, knowing what would follow their visit.” The guerrilla responded nonchalantly that they were there to avenge the deaths of “innocent Southern men” and that once the people got used to it “it was nothing.” The men stayed in Miami for several hours. They “got what they wanted at the stores” and publicly declared that they would “come to town when they pleased.” While in town they had killed one Union man and took another hostage. The guerrillas departed, leaving “sadness behind them.” The citizens of Miami braced for Union retaliation.[20]

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[18] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 197-201.

[19] Ibid., 216.

Union soldiers did soon visit Miami, but this time, their behavior was much improved. Elvira characterized her second encounter with the men that had threatened to kill her husband only a few weeks earlier as “civil.” Actually, five of them stay at her home for a few days, and during their stay, the men were “sober” and “polite,” at least “as far as they knew how to be polite.” Some of the men had plundered and abused them on their previous visit, but Elvira maintained her composure, and reveled at her control: “[h]ow little we know what we are capable of bearing.”[21]

Like the federals, when guerrillas were assisted politely, they could interact courteously with pro-Confederate citizens. The generally harsh treatment administered by Union irregulars led Scott to temporarily favor the local Confederate guerrillas, whom she saw as the force best able to counter the Red Legs and other

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[20] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 202-203.

[21] Ibid., 206.

Union patrols. On a few occasions, guerrillas shocked Elvira with their polite, gentlemanly, and chivalrous qualities. On their visits, guerrillas never touched whiskey, bowed and tipped their hats to ladies, dressed clean and handsomely, and spoke politely. On one occasion in early August 1863, the captain of a guerrilla band warned the citizens of Miami to lock the doors to their stores in town because "they had bad men among them."[22] It was acts such as these that inspired Elvira to temporarily praise the righteousness of their cause, however desperate and violent its nature. But these largely superfluous qualities did not remain long.

Civilian resistance and guerrillas' desperation for supplies often led guerrillas to shed their gentlemanly qualities. Guerrillas from the same band that had urged civilians to lock up their stores succeeded in raiding the Scott's store, taking away sacks of goods. A few men from this same band visited the Scott home for a meal. The men gathered in front of the fence of Elvira's home, raising their hats, bowing, and calling her by name; in an instant, Elvira recognized the bushwhackers. Nevertheless, she notified them of the certainty of federal retribution if she aided them. When Elvira refused the men, one guerrilla replied: "[W]ell, Madam, if you don't do it we will burn the house. You can take your choice." Elvira, stunned by the statement, simply claimed, "I could say no more." [23]

Elvira reflected on the horrific summer in the first days of the fall of 1863. She lamented, "[s]o a man has nothing left but to choose sides. It seems to be a war of extermination. At least if a man cannot join one or the other party he has no business here; he is between fires."[24] Unwilling to choose sides, the Scotts fled, preferring the loss of property to the loss of their lives.

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[22] Ibid., 213.

[23] Ibid., 212-213.

Men who wanted to stay were forced to *choose* sides. Before 1862, men who were eligible for duty in Saline County could choose to be noncombatants. But in 1862, an act of conscription outlined in Order No. 19 required all men of eligible age to join the Union militia or be considered disloyal and face the loss of their property. Conscription caused a mass exodus from the counties of Little Dixie. Yet, most of the Union recruits were men considered to be "rebels." Many pro-Confederate citizens considered Union conscription the "bitterest degredation," but out of fear for the loss of property, men "dare[d] not disobey the call."[25] However, the prevalence of Confederate recruiters and guerrilla bands in the area made service in Confederate ranks readily accessible also. In the fall and winter of 1862, Confederate recruiters were operating in the northwest portion of Missouri. These recruiters attempted to thwart Union recruitment by persuading men to join their ranks.[26] Apparently, they were successful in Miami in 1863. Elvira Scott recorded that a troop of bushwhackers flooded the town and "got a good many recruits." The captain of this troop told the men of the village that "every man that enrolled and paid his money to the Federal Government they would consider and treat as an enemy."[27]

Neither guerrillas nor Federals acknowledged a neutral stance. Federals ignored that civilians were often coerced to aid guerrillas and that some civilians were willing to end their rebellious activity after being punished. Instead, Federals assumed the duplicity of all civilians who aided guerrillas and targeted them more intensely with hostile policies, attempting to eradicate the guerrillas supply base. The "punitive war policies" of the Union recognized only two types of citizens—rebels and loyalists. Union officials clearly stated their view in General Order No. 3 on June 23, 1862: "These lawless bands could not exist in Missouri a single week but for the aid of influential and wealthy sympathizers, many of whom have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States—only to violate its spirit while they observe its form—so far as to escape punishment." As a result, Union soldiers targeted civilians regardless of whether they had taken the oath; one civilian remarked that "[t]aking the oath does not protect one from continual insult." Eli L. Beeding was one citizen who took the oath but was suspected of violating its spirit and was unable to shed the stigma of disloyalty. According to the loyal citizens of Cambridge, during the initial stages of the war, Beeding aided the Confederate Army by helping them cross the Missouri River, assisting Conf. Gen. Sterling Price capture Lexington. However, in 1863, he took the oath of allegiance, paid a bond of $5,000, provided the army with supplies, and enrolled in the Union militia. Nevertheless, Captain George Bingham held Beeding responsible for the damages of bushwhackers in Cambridge and, subsequently, raided his store house and destroyed his goods.[28]

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[24] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 214.

[25] *OR*, vol. 13, 192; *UPM*, F1652-19510; Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 151; 139.

[26] Bruce Nichols, *Guerrilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri, 1862* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2004), 10.

[27] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 213-214.

The Union army increasingly viewed Saline County residents with suspicion because guerrillas roamed the countryside without impediment. The Union grew more frustrated with the guerrillas and the citizens that cooperated with them, leading men like Gen. Ben Loan to consider banishment as an extreme retaliatory policy. He claimed that the transportation of a few prominent men out of the area "would be worth to this district more than three regiments of soldiers."[29]

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[28] *UPM,* F1586-1824; Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 143; *UPM,* F1228.

Instead, extreme policies like assessment and banishment *increased* guerrilla activity which, in turn, frustrated the Union and increased violent reprisals. Soldiers began arresting and murdering civilians and confiscating and burning their property based solely on suspicion of their having aided the enemy. For instance, on November 10, 1862, State Senator William O. Maupin and his son, both Saline County residents, were involved in an incident of unwarranted Union hostility. An army captain marching from Lexington to Saline County mistook a conflict between local men and fugitive slaves to be a guerrilla rendezvous. The captain, acting impulsively, ordered the farmhouse and outbuildings of the home where the posse of local men had gathered to be burned. In the confusion, one man was shot. Afterwards, the Union army arrested Maupin and other men and confiscated stock. Superior officer, Brig. Gen. Ben Loan, responded to the act with the comment: "I cannot approve of the act, and yet I am not prepared wholly to condemn it."[30]

As violence increased, more citizens made the ultimate sacrifice, like Ed Brown. Early in the war, Brown had served as a captain in the Confederate army, but after his company disbanded, he took the oath of allegiance and remained a noncombatant until his death on July 5, 1863. Neighbor Elvira Scott reported the event of his horrific murder:

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[29] *OR*, vol.13, 792.

[30] Nichols, *Guerrilla Warfare in Missouri, 1862*, 208-209; Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC – Columbia, 160; *OR*, vol.13, 791-792; For other accounts of the burning of John Webb's home see: A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC-Columbia, April 19, 1863.

> "Between 2 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon two men in Federal uniform called at his house. They asked him to walk a piece with them, requesting him to show them the way to Lone Jack. They represented themselves to be bushwhackers. He told them that he could not show them the way, but started to go a little way down the road as they had ordered him to do. His wife, feeling alarmed, followed. When a little way from the house they ordered him to run before them. He refused, saying, 'For God's sake, gentlemen, I hope you won't shoot me,' as he saw their hands on their pistols. Both of them fired at once, inflicting four wounds, two of them slight, two mortal. One took effect in the forehead, between the eyes ranging down, the other in the bowels."[31]

After being shot, Brown lingered on for four agonizing hours, during which time he told his brother that he recognized the two men as federal soldiers from Marshall who had stayed in his home before. Elvira Scott described Brown as "a peaceable, quiet man, faithful to his oath."[32]

Cooperationists, although they often favored neutrality above all, were forced to comply with the demands of the militant forces in the area. Even though these citizens valued their lives and property over their political loyalties, many suffered the ultimate price for their flexibility. In their attempts to eradicate the enemy, the federals failed to recognize the fact that Cooperationists, a significant portion of the population, were trying to remain neutral but were forced to cooperate with guerrillas. In a world where neutrality was no longer an option, Saline County citizens were caught "between fires," and many were scorched by the flames.[33]

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[31] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC – Columbia, 160.

[32] Ibid., 207-208.

[33] Ibid., 214.

CHAPTER 4

CONFEDERATES

"To sacrifice everything rather than their honor."[1]

On a spring day in 1862, Margaret Bryant stood in her front yard in Marshall, Missouri, and watched in anger at the scene before her. Bryant's husband, a prominent circuit court attorney, had been seized by soldiers who were attempting to force him to take the oath of allegiance. She exclaimed her husband "should not take such an Oath." To make matters worse for Bryant, the Federals were German Americans, and she believed her husband "should not be caught walking up strait with such men." Her temper flared, and she grabbed a pistol and threatened to "shoot if he was not released." One soldier responded by pointing his pistol directly at her, declaring that he would just as likely "shoot her."[2]

Before the Civil War, the Bryants held a prominent and respected position in Saline County. As a judge, John Bryant had represented and upheld the law. However, when federal soldiers occupied Marshall, they quickly established military authority and required men in government positions to take the oath of allegiance. Judge Bryant's position was at stake and his civil liberties denied. If he refused to take the oath, he would be removed from office and labeled disloyal. To make matters worse, these "Dutch" soldiers, considered to be of a lower class and generally despised by the population, were now in control.[3] The fact that men of such low social status would have the audacity to seize a man of prominence and render him powerless angered Margaret Bryant to such a degree that she momentarily forgot the reserve expected of a lady in nineteenth-century southern society, and she took up arms to defend her husband. The soldier, disregarding Margaret's previously privileged status as a woman and a prominent member of society, responded to her as to any other combatant. Before the war, such an experience would have been unheard of in Saline County, but after Union occupation, they became all too common as civilians fought to preserve the southern social fabric of their communities.

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[1] Marshall (Mo.) *Marshall Democrat*, June 19, 1861

[2] Annie to Cousin Martha, March 3, 1862, Abiel Leonard Papers, Collection # 1013, Western Historical Manuscript Collection – Columbia.

The Union's subversion of the legal, familial, class, and racial structures of southern society provoked pro-Confederate sympathizers to resist. When the Union army moved into Saline County, Union authorities seized control of local government, and military law soon superseded civil authority. The law was administered inconsistently and ineffectively, however. Originally, federal policies focused on stopping guerrillas, but increasingly, such policies turned to punishing the pro-Confederate citizens suspected of aiding guerrillas and, eventually, allowed Union soldiers to invade private family homes. Such aggression was initially aimed at the men in the home, causing them to flee to safety or to join Confederate forces. In their absence, women became the providers for and defenders of the family. As tensions mounted and interactions between women and soldiers increased, their exchanges became increasingly hostile. Women had little choice but to become combatants, therefore further eroding established gender relations. New federal policies also held wealthy pro-Confederate families financially responsible for guerrilla actions. As a result, many prominent families faced financial ruin and became desperate to maintain their wealth and social position. In addition, the traditional southern racial structure was threatened when the Union army offered African Americans and German Americans positions of power unavailable to them before the war. In an effort to maintain their pre-war authority, pro-Confederate sympathizers reacted violently.

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[3] Mark Lause, *Price's Lost Campaign: The 1864 Invasion of Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011), 9. The term "Dutch" was an inaccurate term adopted by the Anglo Saxon population that referred to émigrés from Deutschland, which included Swiss, Austrians, and Bohemians. Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (Oxford University Press, 1989), 29. Fellman labels the term "Dutch" a nineteenth-century "slang term."

When the Union army officially moved into Saline County in the spring of 1862, they quickly seized control of the local government and established military law. These military officials were often corrupt and inconsistent in the execution of the law, however. At times, they tried soldiers in civil court and civilians in military court. Union officials often overlooked some of the most heinous crimes committed by soldiers while encumbering the legal system with the personal quarrels of civilians. Military authorities focused much of their energy on punishing rebellious pro-Confederate sympathizers, but such attempts were largely ineffective. The Federals were often too lenient with civilians and prisoners of war and too harsh with guerrillas. Civilians and prisoners of war had frequently been paroled early while suspected guerrillas underwent a speedy trial and execution. Parolees would continue to resist, and those guerrillas still in the fight fought with greater ferocity.

Soldiers and civilians who resisted Union authority faced imprisonment but, in most cases, such prison sentences could be avoided by taking the oath of allegiance, paying bond, and serving parole. These terms of release burdened ex-prisoners but did not stop their nefarious activities. Union authorities attempted to convert prisoners into loyal citizens by having them take the oath of allegiance, a promise to "bear true allegiance to the United States and support and sustain the constitution" However, various requirements often accompanied the oath, which, if neglected, would result in the loss of property. These requirements included the promise to pay bond and name securities, to remain in the county unless receiving permission to travel, and to report on hostile movements.[4]

Union authorities expected all oath takers to honor their promise. Nevertheless, the system's natural leniency allowed civilians to outwardly comply with Union demands while they secretly continued to aid guerrillas. One resilient pro-Confederate sympathizer, George Rider, faced federal prosecution for aiding bushwhackers, yet Union reprimands failed to weaken his resolve to aid the rebellion. In 1862, Rider was arrested for continually aiding guerrillas. Rider simply received a Union reprimanded and took the oath. A local man saw Rider soon after his release "under the influence of Spirits" and "very much gratified at the way he got off." The man assumed Rider was released because "he complied with the necessary requirements of the law." Although Rider appeared to be complying with the law, he continued to aid guerrillas. In 1863, several of his closest neighbors provided condemning testimony that brought Rider to trial a second time. Union officials subsequently detained Rider and other prominent men in Miami in order to discourage guerrillas from coming into the area in search of aid.[5]

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[4] *Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Individual Citizens* (Missouri state archives, Jefferson City; hereinafter cited *UPM*), F1391.

Even men caught in the act of being disloyal could be released from prison by claiming they were impressed into Confederate service if they also provided petitions from loyal men. Several of the men caught on the Blackwater river in 1861 claimed to have been forced into the Confederate army. Two petitions, one for the release of Henry Boatright and John Hart and one for the release of Louis Eno, were submitted vouching for the prisoners' loyalty and requesting their release. The provost marshal, Capt. Wesley R. Love, approved the release of Boatright and Hart as a direct result of the loyal petitions provided by known Unionists. In his report, Love claimed they "were almost presed into the Rebel Services." Similarly, in a letter to Gen. Henry Halleck, Louis Eno's supporters argued that a company of secessionists "took him by force and made him go on with them."[6]

Confederate guerrillas, on the other hand, often skillfully eluded capture and trial. The harsh punishment sure to be dealt them had they succumbed to authorities certainly played no small role in such elusion. Col. William Jackson's guerrilla band set fire to the Saline County courthouse, which had also served as Union military quarters. Authorities initiated civil action against three often accused men, but the trial could not be carried out since the guerrillas eluded capture.[7]

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[5] *UPM,* F1391; *Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Two or More Civilians* (Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri; hereinafter cited *UPM*), F1602-6593.

[6] *UPM,* F1585-1096; *UPM,* F1312.

[7] State v. James Taylor, John W. Piper, and Thomas Woodson, et all, May 12, 1865, box 24, file 90, Circuit Court Records, Saline County, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City; *History of Saline County, Missouri* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Company, 1881), 305; Letter from Bazel F. Lazear to

The prevalence of civilian quarrels further encumbered Union officials. Even the most petty arguments sometimes garnered Union attention. In 1862, a heated argument between two men of opposing political loyalties over local military measures exploded into verbal hostilities. The Confederate man ultimately accused his foe of being a “pusillanimous sycophant” for changing sides in the conflict. The accused sycophant then used his status and proclaimed the other man a traitor. As a result, Union soldiers arrested and imprisoned the pro-Confederate man, but he was subsequently released at the insistence of his accuser.[8]

Many personal quarrels that normally would have been handled in civil court became punishable military offenses. Pre-war tensions often became exaggerated when infused with politics, causing personal conflicts to erupt among the local population. In 1864, political tensions caused the already contentious relationship between Eli L. Beeding, a pro-Confederate, and William H. Powel, a Unionist, to become over heated. After enduring incessant verbal insults from Powel, Beeding finally released his frustrations by beating Powel several times with a stick. Beeding and his wife insisted the violence was not a result of political allegiances but, instead, in response to Powel’s ceaseless verbal attacks. In contrast, Powel insisted the beating occurred after Beeding overheard him condemn the bushwhackers by saying, “there would be no peace there until all the dammed rascals were killed.”[9] Although Beeding’s wife and neighbors insisted Beeding was a loyal man and petitioned the

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wife, August 11, 1864, Bazel F. Lazear Papers, Collection # 1014, Western Historical Manuscript Collection – Columbia.

[8] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 124.

[9] *UPM*, F1616-10394.

authorities for a civil trial, Union authorities held a military trial and branded him “a notoriously bad and dangerous man” who was “capable of committing any crime to aid the rebellion.[10]

The Union failure to quell guerrilla warfare in the region compounded their frustrations. In an attempt to adapt to guerrilla tactics, Union forces commenced offensive operations by sending patrols into the countryside to get “the rebels waked up” and to destroy their “haunts.”[11] However, these operations only resulted in dividing troops and leaving towns unguarded. Also, these scouting expeditions resulted in the capture, wounding, or death of Union soldiers. Officer reports frequently mention the losses federal forces sustained after encounters with the enemy. During one skirmish in August 1863, at least three of Union Capt. Peery’s men were mortally wounded, while the guerrilla force only suffered one death.[12]

No matter how much federal patrols tried to adapt to guerrilla warfare, irregulars nearly always remained in control. Aided by the element of surprise and by the lack of Union troops, guerrillas not only successfully raided most of the prominent villages in Saline County where they plundered and burned Unionist property and murdered civilians, but they also ambushed Union troops and raided Unionist strongholds. Guerrillas also surprised and confused civilians and soldiers alike by dressing up in Union blue, but even undisguised in their normal civilian dress, guerrillas were difficult to distinguish from the wider population. In the field, guerrillas often held the advantage. Their small bands comprised of local men could easily maneuver through the familiar hills and brush of the county, and their strong will to survive—since capture meant certain death—compounded their ferocity. Finally, their horsemanship and weaponry skills were generally superior. Furthermore, the tendency of guerrillas to disperse when pursued made capture almost impossible.[13]

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[10] *UPM,* F1228.

[11] *OR*, vol. 13, 98; *OR*, vol. 48, Pt. I, 476.

[12] *OR*, vol. 22, Pt. I, 465.

Union authorities came to believe guerrillas were vile criminals that deserved the death penalty for their crimes. But no matter how heinous the crime, guerrillas were usually given the benefit of a military trial. A guilty verdict was typically the result. Order No. 100 established that a man proven guilty of being a guerrilla in a military court was to receive the death penalty.[14] Such was the case for Dr. John W. Benson of Saline County in August 1863. Although he was captured on his way to turn himself in, he was ultimately tried and convicted of riding with Quantrill in the raid on Lawrence, Kansas. After his conviction, Union soldiers marched the doctor to the graveyard and sat him on top of his own coffin before shooting him. Most citizens were angered by Benson's death, especially guerrillas who "[a]t that time…spared no Federal who fell into their hands."[15]

As Union soldiers grew more frustrated with their inability to capture guerrillas and punish rebellious citizens, their hatred intensified, and their desire for retaliation caused disgruntled soldiers to impart their own brand of justice. Gen. Halleck's no quarter policy excluded any mention of a compulsory court martial but, instead, called for a more direct punishment for guerrillas: they were to be "hung as robbers and murderers." Commander of the Seventh Missouri Cavalry in Marshall, Major David McKee, echoed the opinion of most Union soldiers when he argued that two notorious rebel captains, Johnson and Small, should be "shott publickly."[16] Such rhetoric encouraged soldiers to take justice into their own hands. In July 1863, after a skirmish between Union soldiers and guerrillas, a Union scouting party captured two local men "straggling in the rear" of the band of retreating guerrillas. The two "highly respected and extensively connected" young men claimed they were on their way to join the Confederate army. Union soldiers arrested them, took them to Marshall, and put them under guard. Later that night, Union soldiers removed the prisoners from their confinement, hauled them through the woods, and hanged them from a tree north of town.[17] The death of these men would "make many men bushwhackers."[18]

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[13] Daniel Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 19-20.

[14] Robert R. Mackey, *The Uncivil War: Irregular Warfare in the Upper South, 1861-1865* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 32, 60.

[15] William B. Napton, [Jr.], *Past and Present of Saline County* (Indianapolis, Indiana: B.F. Bowen and Company, Publ., 1910), 198.

Indeed, many men became guerrillas, but community connections fostered the guerrilla war and played a significant role in perpetuating the irregular conflict. Consequently, Union authorities shifted their focus to civilians. Union officers recognized that civilian aid to guerrillas had to be stopped. Union authorities began to hold individual citizens as well as entire communities responsible for guerrilla acts. Soldiers began invading private family homes with the approval of federal policies, expanding the theater of war to include the home and family. In their interactions with soldiers, women became increasingly hostile and eventually became combatants as much as victims. This erosion of established gender relations and breakdown of societal norms severely disrupted the established familial structure of society. As families felt increasingly targeted by Union policies, they stepped up their resistance, and the best way to do that was to support guerrillas.[19]

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[16] *UPM*, F1585.

[17] Napton, *Past and Present*, 192-193.

[18] Diary of Elvira Scott, Collection # 1053 (Western Historical Manuscript Collection – University of Missouri, Columbia; hereinafter cited WHMC-Columbia), 215.

Households and community connections fostered the guerrilla war through the utilization of an "informal" pre-war "*supply line*," like that of the Rider family of Saline County and the community in which they lived. Brothers George and James Rider settled near Miami, Saline County in the 1830s and attained prominence by amassing wealth and taking part in established social institutions. The kinship between the Rider family and community networks established before the war allowed them to combine resources to successfully aid local guerrillas. Such family and community based supply lines were invisible to anyone unfamiliar with the area, especially the Union army.[20]

Supply lines proved a strong advantage for guerrillas. For instance, even after George Rider had been apprehended, Jim Rider and his band of guerrillas continued to receive aid from the community. In November, guerrillas received a shipment of clothing and shoes from two local civilians. But, by this time, the extent of the Rider's supply network was becoming apparent to Union authorities. Union Capt. E.J. Crandall noted that the real strength of Rider's force came from his "making headquarters with his father and other rebels in that locality." Even "the Rider girls,"

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[19] Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 124-126; Fellman, *Inside War*, 193; Victoria E. Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 149.

[20] Joseph M. Beilein, "'The presence of these families is the cause of the presence there of the guerrillas': The Influence of Little Dixie Households on the Civil War in Missouri" (M.A. Thesis, University of Missouri, 2006), 13-41.

George Rider's daughters, Lucinda and Mary, were part of the supply line and faced trial in the spring of 1865 for their role in aiding these guerrillas. The Rider family was such a significant threat to Union occupation that they threatened to banish Jim Rider's wife from the area.[21]

In an effort to eradicate the supply base for guerrillas, Union soldiers began invading civilian homes demanding subsistence and searching for evidence of rebellious activity. But determining who provided aid was almost as difficult as trying to capture guerrillas. As the Union became more confused, soldiers began acting solely on suspicion or accusation. They erratically confiscated and destroyed property, arrested civilians, and threatened the lives of men in the community. For pro-Confederate civilians, "Home was no longer a safe asylum, a sacred place" but, instead, a prime target for violent invasions.[22]

These violent invasions often resulted in life threatening situations for noncombatant males within the home. The most prominent men were often the primary recipients of Union brutality. The Sappingtons, one of the most prominent families in Saline County, encountered Union forces frequently due to their relation to former governor, Claiborne Fox Jackson. Early in the war, Union soldiers came to the family's Arrow Rock estate (Figure 5) and attempted to get information on Confederate Col. William Jackson, son of the ex-Governor. William Sappington insisted he did not know the whereabouts of his nephew, yet the soldiers hung a rope from a tree and fastened it around his neck, intending to hang him. William survived the encounter only because his wife negotiated his release. Similarly, when drunken "Red Leg" forces descended on Elvira Scott's family and seized her husband in the front yard, Elvira jumped to her husband's defense. John Scott, like William Sappington, escaped death because of the intervention of his wife.[23]

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[21] *OR*, vol. 41, Pt. IV, 607; *UPM*, F1490.

[22] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 120.

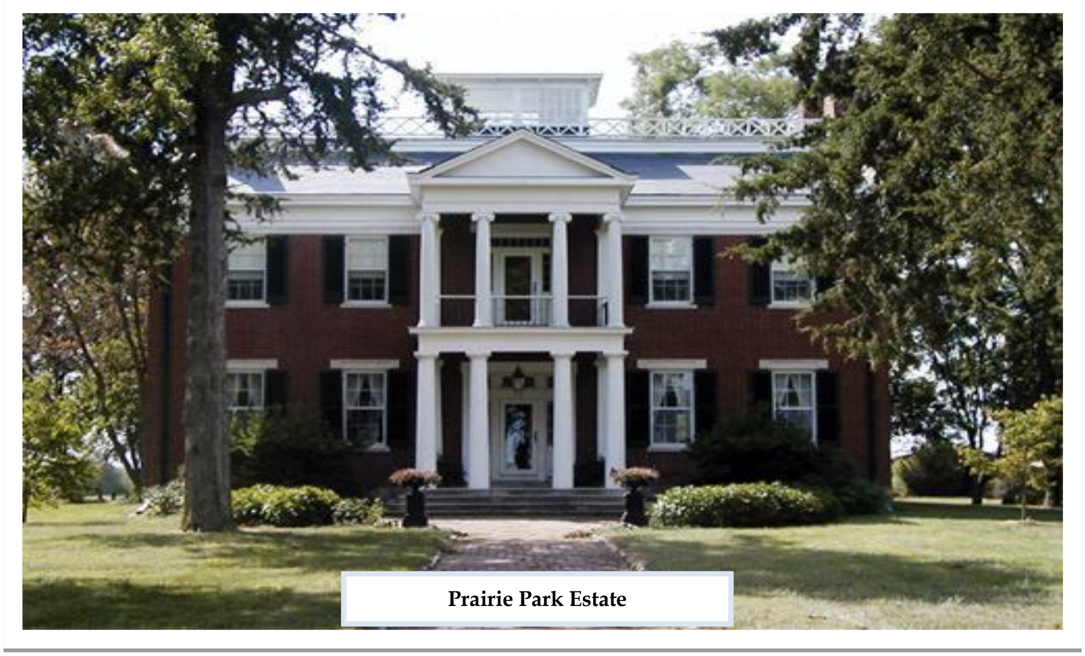

FIGURE 5. Estate of William and Mary Sappington in Arrow Rock, Missouri. *Sources:* This photo was obtained from The Village of Arrow Rock website: http://www.arrowrock.org/drivingtour.php. Accessed 4/1/2012.

In these situations, men were rendered defenseless, and women had to assume the role of primary defender. In their attempts to preserve family and property, women increasingly rejected the norms of nineteenth-century womanly behavior.[24] With their husband's lives in imminent danger, the role of protector came naturally to Mary Sappington and Elvira Scott. Even though Union soldiers had initiated her husband's hanging, Mary stood up bravely and threatened to report the names of the men who would kill her husband (Figure 6) to Col. Jackson, an act that would bring swift retribution.[25] Elvira, on the other hand, jumped directly in between her husband and the armed Union soldier. With the pistol now pointed at her, Elvira attempted to reason with the drunk, angry man now holding the fate of her family in his hand, claiming “The emergency unloosed my tongue. If ever I was gifted with eloquence it was then brought out.”[26]

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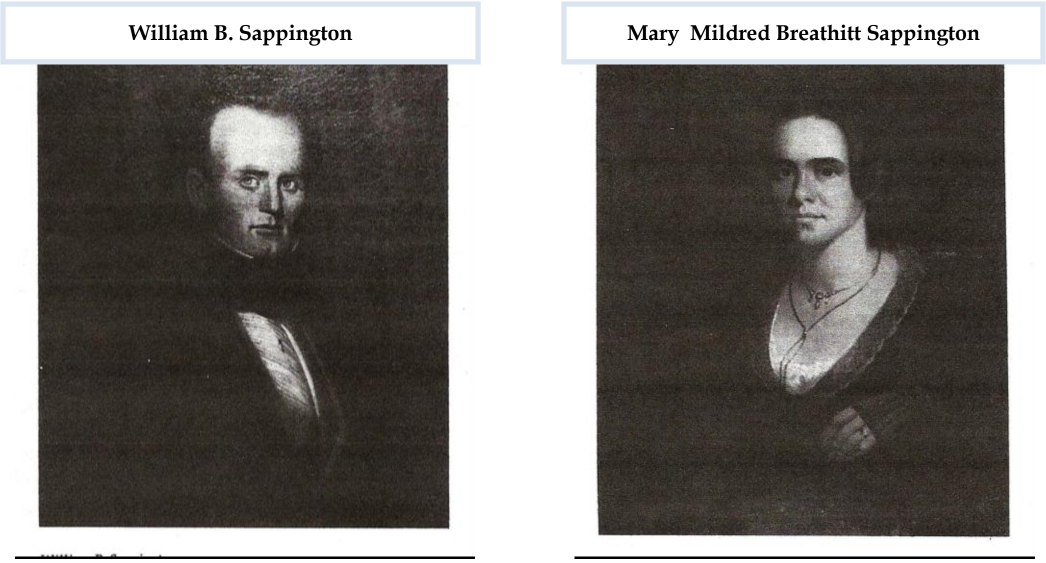
[23] Weber, "'It is for you that we fight': Gender and the Civil War in Saline County, Missouri" (M.A. thesis, University of Missouri, 2000), 105; Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 197-199.

[24] Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 132.



William B. Sappington

Mary Mildred Breathitt Sappington

Figure 6. William Breathitt and Mary Mildred Breathitt Sappington. *Sources:* These photos were obtained from Saline County Historical Society, *History of Saline County, Missouri, 1983,* vol. 1 (Marshall, Missouri: Marshall Publishing Company, 1983), 347.

With men absent from the home, encounters between women and soldiers became more frequent, and tensions between them began to rise. Frequent Union demands led to increased resentment among Confederate women. Elvira Scott endured several incursions from Union soldiers who came into her home. They typically demanded dinner and entertainment and forced her to play the piano, yet she “never failed to treat them politely.” Nevertheless, after repeated unwelcome intrusions, Elvira became “outraged.” Although she maintained her feminine composure in their company, she expressed her indignation in her diary where she labeled the soldiers “an ignorant, degraded class of men, many of them never having seen a piano before.”[27] Although Elvira obediently continued to provide Union soldiers with sustenance, her husband encouraged her not to speak to the soldiers any longer or to play piano for them.[28]

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[25] Weber, “It is for you that we fight,” 105.

[26] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 199.

Over time, interactions between women and soldiers became more contentious, hastening the breakdown of social mores. Rules of gentility and honor dictated that combatants maintain a code of respect in relation to women. But it became evident that Union soldiers were clearly ignoring social decorum, and their verbal insults provoked the defiance of pro-Confederate women.[29] If women felt their family, property, or personal reputation was under attack, they responded with a verbal defense. Sue Bryant, the daughter of J.W. Bryant, challenged the boundaries of acceptable society when eighteen federal soldiers came to her house and demanded a quick meal. When the meal took longer than expected, the soldiers commanded that she help cook, claiming it was now a necessity since the Federals had “set the niggers free.” The soldiers, continuing their taunts, then asked how the work would get done without slaves, to which Bryant responded defiantly, “O, I will send north and hire your wives, sweethearts and sisters, make slaves of them.”[30]

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[27] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 118.

[28] Ibid., 120.

[29] Fellman, *Inside War,* 200-201.

[30] *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri during the sixties* (Missouri Division of United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1913), 275.

Women's previous privileged status further eroded when they were arrested. Arresting women, particularly prominent women, signified a shift in the definition of combatant. With their arrests, these formerly respected members of society were now considered the enemy and viewed as common criminals. In the winter of 1863, Mary, Bettie, and Sue Jackson were arrested and tried in a military court. The women were accused of harboring bushwhackers and "sending victuals to them in the woods." During the trial, Mary swore her innocence, claiming she had been coerced into feeding the guerrillas. In contrast, her two daughters proudly defended their actions and confirmed their devotions to the southern cause. Bettie and Sue were banished from the state for "uttering disloyal sentiments in the presence of U.S. soldiers."[31]

It was not long before Union officers began arresting women for treason based solely on accusation or suspicion. The perceived unjust application of the law emboldened women's responses. In July 1862, Union Capt. Adam Bax arrested several ladies in Miami for "treasonable language." The women arrested included Elvira Scott, Mary Pendleton, and Betsy Bell. The notice explicitly condemned these women for neglecting their traditional role within the home: "A Ladies place is to fulfill her household duties, and not to spread treason and excite men to rebellion." Bax believed that "the women were at the bottom of this devilish rebellion." In the presence of the commander, the women heard the specific charges against them, a few of which included the supposed treasonous language of their children or husbands. Bell, for instance, had been arrested on accusations of "Hurraing for Jeff Davis" and because her children had "insulted" some Union troops. Scott refused to accept such despotism and spoke out in Lt. Bax's presence. She railed about the inconsistency of federal policies, to which Bax responded that she was "talking treason now, blaming the government and speaking against it." Even some federal soldiers disagreed with arresting women. One solider exclaimed, "Jim, don't that get you, arresting women? Lt. Bax must be a damned fool and will get himself in a scrape." But for women like Elvira Scott, "womanly dignity" had now been redefined to include "temerity" and "fearlessness."[32]

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[31] Liberty (Mo.) *Liberty Tribune*, January 1, 1864; Fellman, *Inside War*, 195-196; *UPM*, F1601-6037.

In 1864, following the burning of the courthouse in Marshall, Union officials began arresting citizens en masse, the majority of which were women. Outraged by the recent guerrilla action in Marshall, Col. Bazel Lazear arrested several women after they were accused of celebrating the destruction of the courthouse with displays of loyalty to the Confederacy. In fact, Lucy Sheridan was accused by local citizens of flying a Rebel flag from her home at the time of the attack. During this purge, Sue Bryant was also accused of encouraging "bushwhackers by waving something in imitation of a rebel flag." Bryant claimed, however, that the "flag" in question was, in actuality, a red and white costume she had worn to Sheridan's home in order to reenact a performance she had put on at a seminary school in Boonville.[33] Lazear used these accusations to justify searching the Sheridan's home which caused the women to flee. Their home was plundered soon after. According to Lazear, following this event, the citizens of Marshall claimed his troops were so "loaded down with plunder so as to impede their progress in the pursuit of guerrillas."[34] However, for

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[32] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 119, 129, 128, 120, 129-130.

[33] *History of Saline County*, 306; *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri during the Sixties*, 273.

Lazear, the pro-Confederate tone of a few letters found at Sheridan's home and in Bryant's trunk served as sufficient proof of their association with guerrillas and their guilt in inciting Confederate resistance. Lazear labeled Sheridan "a notorious Rebel" and claimed her home was "a known Rebel headquarters." Sue Bryant served time in a St. Louis jail where she stayed and refused to take the oath.[35]

Influential families were also targeted financially, since they were most capable of aiding guerrillas. Federals set out to confiscate or destroy the property of prominent men. Enraged by such Union offenses, many of these men chose to aid or join Confederate forces. However, these punishments forced an inversion of the traditional class system: the wealthy, elite land and slave owners of antebellum Missouri now became destitute criminals.

Martial law also threatened the civil liberties and the property of wealthy pro-Confederate citizens. Under martial law, civilians lost many of the privileges previously guaranteed to them. One citizen characterized the conditions in Saline County: "Men are shot or hung every few days on the most trivial of pretexts. . . . Freedom of speech and of the press is a thing unheard of now. If a man dares to counter an act of the military or the administration he is made to suffer for it." And men who ignored the military order that demanded civilians relinquish "all arms and ammunition" brought the force of the Union army upon themselves.[36] Since soldiers had been uncovering caches of weapons in the county that had been hidden in civilian

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[34] Bazel F. Lazear Paper, WHMC-Columbia, September 13, 1864.

[35] Ibid.; *History of Saline County,* 306; *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri during the Sixties,* 273.

[36] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 164; *Missouri Troops in service during the Civil War,* 48;

homes by the Confederate Missouri State Guard as they fled the area in the fall of 1861, the Union had become suspicious of civilians.[37] These suspicions drove soldiers to confront local men at their homes. In 1862, soldiers twice descended on the home of ex-Judge William B. Napton, who had four shot guns and one military carbine hidden. On the first visit, Union militia threatened to burn the house if Napton's wife did not surrender the hidden weapons. But after searching and coming up empty handed, the men simply ransacked the house and confiscated provisions. When soldiers approached the Napton home a second time, Napton admitted that he had weapons but insisted they were permitted by the Governor. Nevertheless, he was forced to relinquish them.[38]

By disarming civilians, Federals could more easily provision the army and diminish the supply base of the guerrillas. By 1862, officials began commanding their men to "obtain subsistence from the enemy" as a counter to civilian resistance. Unfortunately, provisioning troops from civilian supply stores frequently resulted in despoilment, and repeated bouts of plunder and destruction inflamed pro-Confederate hatred for the northern foe in their midst. By the end of 1862, it looked as though civil liberties had been totally usurped, as one resident claimed, "military despotism is complete."[39]

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[37] Bruce Nichols, *Guerrilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri, 1862* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2004), 21, 146.

[38] Christopher Phillips, *The Making of a Southerner: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 94-95.

[39] Richard Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), 37-41; *OR*, vol. 34, Part IV, 432; *Missouri Troops in Service during the Civil War*, 57-58; Diary of Elvira Diary, WHMC–Columbia, 164.

Also by 1862, men's civil liberties and property were threatened by the federal order of conscription. For pro-Confederate sympathizers, conscription was just one more federal offense against their civil liberties: "After taking every shotgun from citizens and depriving them of every privilege, even voting, they are ordered to enroll themselves to fight their friends." This presented pro-Confederate men with a hard choice: "to take up arms on the side of their enemies or be driven forth, penniless and exiled from their homes." One night in late 1863, a Miami resident witnessed the forced muster of the local militia at the federal post. She was shocked at the sight: "To think of refined men of nice habits spending the night there was intolerable, forced to fight their friends should they be attacked, and to spend the night among men that would as soon shoot them as so many dogs."[40] If a man failed to join the Union cause, he was branded a rebel and his property was likely to be seized.

Property was also likely to be seized through the assessment policy that attempted to quell resistance by holding wealthy pro-Confederate civilians financially responsible for the damages committed by guerrillas. The proceeds of these assessments were intended to repay Unionists for losses. This policy, which focused on punishing noncombatants, was so controversial that it went through several revisions in Missouri during 1861 and 1862 but, eventually, was implemented successfully in St. Louis by Gen. Henry Halleck. Halleck outlined this policy in Order No.3, and it was approved and adopted in various districts throughout the state.[41]

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[40] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 151, 162, 219.

[41] W. Wayne Smith, "An Experiment in Counterinsurgency: The Assessment of Confederate Sympathizers in Missouri" *The Journal of Southern History* 35, no. 3 (August 1969): 363-369.

Gen. Richard Vaughn first implemented the policy in Saline County in October 1862 after guerrillas staged a surprise attack on his scouting company in which one man was killed and four were wounded. Shifting tactics, Vaughn railed: "I shall not hereafter attempt to wage war against these men [guerrillas]; it is an idle sacrifice of men. Hereafter I shall direct operations exclusively against their wealthy sympathizers and abettors." He levied $15,000 on the "disloyal men of this county;" the money collected went to the families of the militiamen who were in "a state of deplorable destitution."[42] For citizens who were unable to pay, their property was confiscated.

Although the Union army had hoped the assessments policy would be strong enough to end resistance, it failed to live up to their expectations. In fact, historian W. Wayne Smith deemed the policy of assessments in Missouri during the Civil War a complete failure. According to Smith, the misapplication of this policy offers one explanation for its failure. Similar to the military order permitting confiscations, the policy of assessing wealthy pro-Confederate civilians justified plunder in the minds of some Union officers and soldiers. Ultimately, assessments became "an instrument of revenge and abuse" that only encouraged guerrilla activity.[43]

Since assessments failed to quell civilian aid and guerrilla violence, Union officers took it a step further and began to consider banishing prominent Confederate sympathizers from the central district, specifically Saline County. After marching across Saline County in November 1862, Gen. Loan deemed that it was in "a very bad condition," and he suggested implementing harsher measures throughout the central district that would “strike terror into the souls of these craven rebels.” First, he wanted to replace mild military commanders with “more efficient men” to end the guerrilla mockery of the federal government. He claimed that “[t]he rebels in this district have hitherto laughed to scorn the power of the Government, because they have never been made to feel its force.”[44] Second, he suggested transporting disloyal citizens outside of the state. By 1865, Unionist civilians also petitioned for the banishment of all disloyal families from Saline County. The loyal petitioners claimed that the families of “rebels, guerrillas, and outlaws” were “the worst enemies the loyal citizens of Missouri have now to contend with.”[45]

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[42] *OR*, vol.13, 316-317.

[43] Smith, "An Experiment in Counterinsurgency," 380.

Apart from death, banishment was the ultimate penalty for rebelliousness, and it became a viable punishment for continued resistance. In the waning days of the war, soldiers from Marshall captured a notorious guerrilla named Potter when a violent storm collapsed the house in which he was concealed. The persons concealing Potter were members of the Bivins and Harris families, who themselves were refugees from Johnson and Lafayette counties. They had continued to aid bushwhackers even though they had been driven from their own homes. Potter was disabled in the collapse but was promptly transported to Marshall and shot. According to Capt. John S. Crain in a letter to Gen. John McNeil, many of the family members had suffered injuries from the collapse that impeded their arrests, but Crain suggested that the family members should be “arrested and banished from the State” as soon as possible.[46]

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[44] *OR,* vol. 13, 792.

[45] *OR,* vol. 48, Pt. II, 193.

Banishment and assessments crippled many prominent men during the war, but Missouri's financial fraud scandal may be the most influential factor in the aggressive nature of the guerrilla war in Missouri. In the first days of the war, a few prominent secessionists in Missouri organized a transfer of funds from the state bank to leading pro-Confederate citizens across Missouri to be used for the establishment of Confederate militia units. Former governor, Claiborne Fox Jackson, planned to divert the money back into the bank at a later date through state bonds, but by the early summer, Union forces had overturned the elected state government. Union military authorities took over control of banks and sued Missourians to recover on defaulted loans. These lawsuits led to the financial ruin of many wealthy men. Saline County alone had 120 cases of promissory note lawsuits, ranking sixth out of twenty-one counties. Historian Mark Geiger exposed the detail and the impact of this previously unexamined scandal. Geiger points out that this financial crisis crippled the southern aristocracy and caused the redistribution of land in areas with strong southern sympathies. The scandal severely damaged southern society in Missouri. However, this financial crisis also helped foster the widespread and aggressive nature of the guerrilla war. Geiger's argument is supported by the fact that a majority of guerrillas had been prosecuted themselves or were related to those prosecuted for debt. Likewise, the majority of guerrilla activity occurred in ninety percent of the indebted counties. In Saline County there existed an especially strong connection between guerrilla activity and indebtedness. Finally, of seventeen known guerrillas

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[46] *UPM,* F1636.

from Saline County Geiger found that twelve of the seventeen were connected in some way to defendants in debt cases.[47]

Many of the prominent men caught in the fraud scandal continued to run afoul of the Union and to suffer for it. In 1862, William H. Finley, a county judge, farmer, and stock dealer was arrested by Union authorities for transporting “95 head of cattle” to the enemy. In the same year, William O. Maupin, a state senator and landowner, was arrested after Union forces mistook a conflict between local men and fugitive slaves as guerrilla activity. Dr. John W. Benson, a young, prominent physician in Miami, was shot by a Union militia firing squad in Marshall for riding with guerrillas and aiding in the destruction of Lawrence, Kansas. And Richard E. Snelling, a formerly successful farmer, committed suicide as a result of his debt, leaving behind a wife and eight children.[48]

Debt and the potential loss of family fortune drove young men into guerrilla ranks. Historian Don Bowen explains some of the motivations behind guerrilla resistance with his “relative deprivation hypothesis.” This hypothesis suggests that individuals act out in political violence when they are deprived of the potential economic and class prominence to which they feel entitled and their inheritance had previously guaranteed them. Bowen examined the demographic data related to a small group of men and guerrillas from Jackson County, Missouri. He found that guerrillas themselves were not southern born, slave owners, or significant property holders, but their parents were. Since wealthy families had more to lose under Union occupation than other residents, prominent young men were driven to protect their family's wealth and their future prospects.[49]

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[47] Geiger, *Financial Fraud and Guerrilla Violence in Missouri's Civil War, 1861-1865,* 1-6, Appendix D, 123-131, 137, Appendix G.

[48] *UPM*, F1317; Mark Geiger, “Indebtedness and the Origins of Guerrilla Violence in Civil War Missouri” *The Journal of Southern History* 75, no. 1 (February 2009): 49-82; Nichols, *Guerrilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri, 1862,* 209; Napton, *Past and Present*, 198; Geiger, *Financial Fraud*, 131.

Whatever a man's motivation for joining the guerrilla ranks, he often thereafter was motivated by revenge. The murder of a close friend or family member was violently avenged. In July 1862, the ex-judge Robert Smart had been hiding in the woods in order to avoid taking the oath. On the night of July 20, he had just returned home when he heard Federals approaching. Smart fled, but he was pursued by the Union patrol, who eventually had him surrounded. Smart surrendered to the soldiers, but in a fit of excitement, one soldier shot Smart in the arm. When he tried to make his final escape, several soldiers fired at once, killing him instantly.[50] John Dickey, Smart's close friend and a guerrilla captain, subsequently led his men into Miami. Dickey blamed two men for Smart's death: George Walker and Joe Ricehouse. Dickey avenged his friend's death by taking Walker and Ricehouse hostage. While still sitting on their horses, Walker and Ricehouse had ropes tied around their necks with the opposite ends secured to a tree branch so that when the horses were shooed out from under them, they were hanged.[51]

Guerrillas and pro-Confederate civilians grew terrified of an inversion of the traditional southern class system when minorities began to gain prominence in society. Under Union occupation, prominent men were losing their wealth and control, while German Americans and African Americans were gaining more powerful positions and becoming more confident in their social interactions. Fear of minorities gaining greater prominence in society had plagued the antebellum southern elite, and Union occupation made these fears a reality.[52]

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[49] Don R. Bowen, "Guerrilla War in Western Missouri, 1862-1865: Historical Extensions of the Relative Deprivation Hypothesis" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19, no.1 (January 1977): 30-51.

[50] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 134-136.

[51] Napton, *Past and Present*, 195-196.

Slaves were emboldened by the presence of the Union army in Saline County. Assured by an increased sense of protection, more slaves ran away from their masters. During the war, slaves absconded more frequently because the prospect of being captured, returned, and punished had greatly diminished. In November 1862, one Saline County slave ran away from his master. He later returned with a squad of men to take his wife and their two children, but he also took two of his master's horses.[53] Former masters could no longer count on the local authorities for aid in recapturing runaways.

Former masters were the main targets for runaways who needed subsistence, since they were not always supported by the army. In late August 1863, a procession of "two hundred and forty Negro men, besides women and children" flooded Miami, led by a force of Union soldiers carrying an American flag. The force wasted no time in rummaging through the foodstuffs of the local pro-Confederate citizens. A few of the African Americans claimed they had come "to tear up the secesh root and branch and that they were going to do it."[54]

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[52] Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 158-159.

[53] Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 161-162, 153; Willard H. Mendenhall Diary, Collection # 3866, Western Historical Manuscript Collection – University of Missouri, Columbia, November 7, 1862.

[54] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 220; 221.

During the stay of the African American procession in Miami, multiple instances occurred in which African Americans threatened fellow blacks who remained in slavery, for remaining enslaved. The majority of Miami's slaves stayed with their masters, provoking the hatred of the "runaways" who considered them "secesh" and sought to punish them. In one instance, some of the "runaways" fastened a rope around the neck of a slave and threatened to hang him, but the slave escaped the ordeal with only a severe whipping that cut "his back until it was raw."[55]

Many slaves ran away to join the Union army, but pro-Confederate citizens often refused to believe slaves would leave their homes voluntarily or fight their masters. After congress passed a bill to arm African Americans as soldiers, one Saline County resident claimed, "It is just as likely that the Negroes will fight for as against their masters." These feelings stemmed from the fact that a considerable number of African Americans stayed with their masters. As did Margaret, a slave in the Scott home, who stayed by the family matriarch's side through her labors packing the family's belongings and moving to St. Louis to escape the chaos of the guerrilla war.[56] Since many slaves ran away when the Union army was nearby, pro-Confederate citizens believed the Union was stealing their slaves: "If they do not intend to interfere with slavery why have Federal soldiers stolen thousands of slaves from their masters?"[57]

But the large groups of freed African Americans caused pro-Confederate civilians to grow increasingly wary and suspicious. A month before Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, Elvira Scott, a slave owner, expressed that she was "apprehensive of trouble with the Negroes." One night, during the stay of African American forces in Miami, she looked curiously out her window until midnight watching the African Americans dancing around as if they were "possessed." That night she locked up her house and stayed in the seminary out of fear for her safety.[58]

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[55] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 224.

[56] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 224, 226.

[57] Ibid., 133, 102; Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 157.

Similarly, pro-Confederates feared and despised German Americans for their foreign identity and their support for the Union. Elvira Scott's characterization of the men fighting on both sides of the conflict, German American soldiers, or "foreign hirelings," and Confederate irregulars, reveals the antebellum social disparity between these two classes. For Elvira, German American troops were "the offscouring from European nations, the low, vicious, and mostly floating population of this state who have no higher motives than the pay they receive," while the Confederate soldiers were "descendants of the Revolutionary Fathers, men of intelligence and position socially and intellectually, who have thrown their all into the scale of principle without hope of remuneration." Pro-Confederate sympathizers' image of German Americans was that of an indolent class of "the low and shiftless…. Dutch and Irish laborers."[59]

German Americans reciprocated the pro-Confederate's hatred and aggravated them with hostile actions. In her travels home from St. Louis in early 1863, Elvira found herself in a lively conversation with a fellow passenger about the Emancipation Proclamation. She condemned the document. Soon, however, she noticed "a pair of malignant eyes" upon her belonging to a "Dutchman" who retorted "that if he had the power he would imprison every man, woman, and child that dared to condemn the policy of the Administration."[60] And, in their official capacity, German troops were often the main aggressors in many recorded instances of hostility with pro-Confederate sympathizers during the war. Captain Love's Seventh Missouri Cavalry that was responsible for numerous vicious acts in the town of Miami was comprised of mostly German soldiers.[61]

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[58] Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 158; Fellman, *Inside War*, 69-70; Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 169, 222.

[59] Diary of Elvira Scott, WHMC-Columbia, 107, 99.

All civilians lost in this war, no matter their loyalties, but pro-Confederate sympathizers had the most to lose. Most Saline County residents, especially those with a significant amount of property, were well aware that a war against the Union would bring them much loss. But it was not until the Union established occupation and began rooting out resisters with harsh Union initiatives that pro-Confederate civilians came face to face with the loss of their legal system, family structure, hierarchical class and racial structures. When pro-Confederate sympathizers were resisting Union occupation, they were resisting the subversion of their very way of life. The Union struck violently at the core of southern society, attempting to end the war once and for all. In the end, the ties binding a community fell away.

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[60] Ibid., 178.

[61] Ibid., 136.

CONCLUSION

On October 15, 1864, two months after Col. Lazear labeled Saline County "the worst rebel county," Gen. Sterling Price's 12,000-man Confederate Army of Missouri barreled up the eastern border of Missouri in an attempt to regain control of the state for the Confederacy. Although Price failed to capture Jefferson City or St. Louis, he was determined to continue the fight. Price marched west along the Missouri River toward Kansas City.[1]

Before Price arrived, the guerrilla war had stripped Saline County of its antebellum glory. For the previous three years, guerrillas had plagued the county. By late in the summer of 1864, their activity intensified. In August alone, guerrillas raided Marshall, Frankfort, and Arrow Rock with little resistance. After the Arrow Rock raid, an article appeared in the *Boonville Monitor* that branded the county "an unknown land." The article outlined the reasons for such a characterization. First, Saline County had become "the paradise of bushwhackers," with Arrow Rock, in particular, labeled a "place of rendezvous and nightly revel." Second, the mail had been completely halted, and several attempts to transport mail into the county had failed since the drivers "were forced to return." Last, many citizens "of good government" had been driven from their homes. The article did offer some solace to these unfortunate individuals though. It finished by promoting the belief that "a good time . . . is surely coming."[2]

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[1] Bazel F. Lazear Papers, WHMC-Columbia, Letter dated August 11, 1864; Lause, *Price's Lost Campaign*, 30-175.

In September, guerrilla activity increased as word of Price's raid circulated through the state. Union officers frequently reported that guerrilla bands of considerable size were passing through the county. On September 21, 1864, the Assistant Adjutant General James H. Steger reported to the federal commander at Lexington that "[o]ne hundred and sixty guerrillas passed Dug Ford, Saline County at 7 this a.m. moving west."[3] Thus, while the prospect of Price's army raiding through the state struck fear into Union officers and soldiers, it infused guerrillas with renewed vigor for a Confederate campaign.

However, by the time Price finally reached Saline County his campaign was already showing signs of weakness. Confederate morale had been severely shaken since the force had failed to capture two of the most strategic points on their march. Price entered Saline County on October 15 and settled near the Keiser Bridge, which passed over the Salt Fork of the Lamine River.[4] Since many of Price's men had hailed from the pro-Confederate counties of Little Dixie, they took time off to visit their families.[5] Even Price took a break at his headquarters on the Lamine. His respite did not last long. Residents from the area flocked to see him since, as one citizen claimed, he was “greatly admired by all classes of the people of Missouri.”[6] In the end, the county’s remaining citizenry offered Price’s army a short break from fighting. The two days that the army spent resting gave the Federals time to catch up.

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[2] Boonville (Mo.) *Boonville Monitor*, August 6, 1864.

[3] *OR*, vol. 41, Pt. III, 288.

[4] Thomas C. Reynolds, *General Sterling Price and the Confederacy*, Robert G. Schultz, ed. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009), 172; Napton, *Past and Present*, 186.

[5] Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West,* 228; Lause, *Price's Lost Campaign*, 182-183.

Despite his previous defeats, Price demonstrated a willingness to continue the fight for Missouri. He called for volunteers, and men from Saline County joined Price’s army, whether voluntarily or otherwise. Col. W.A. Wilson, the Union commander at Marshall, claimed that around 250 to 300 men left with Price, but Wilson also noted many men had joined Price believing he would “occupy and hold the state” and it would be “best for them to manifest a willingness (though in some cases, reluctant it might be) to give him their services.”[7] One previous resident of Saline County, who had fled to Boonville, noted several of her acquaintances had joined the rebels.[8] Many other men chose to leave the area. By this point in the war, very few men remained in Saline County because they had either “left the county, or were hid in the wood, or gone to Dixie.”[9]

With greatly improved morale, replenished manpower, and weighed down with plunder, the Confederate force headed west. Confederate Col. John Sappington Marmaduke, a native Saline county resident, marched through Marshall on the way to Waverly and left the town in a wake of destruction. Col. Wilson had fled Marshall during Price’s occupation, but upon his return, he beheld a terrible sight. Wilson compiled a letter to a family member in the early days of December describing Marshall in the aftermath of Price's Raid. Wilson stated "the town looked like desolation itself." He claimed "Rebels" had carried off a significant amount of money and property and "broke and destroyed a great many things they could not carry off." Wilson himself lost "some, $800 to $1,200" and had his personal papers scattered in the streets.[10] The army left no horses except those that had been "hid in the Brush." Furthermore, the depopulation of the town was significant: "only 2 or 3 men could be seen in the place" and "occasionally you could see a lone woman moving about or a child." And by the beginning of December, only two stores remained open.[11]

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[6] Napton, *Past and Present*, 188.

[7] Letter from W.A. Wilson to Jeanette Leonard, December 11, 1864, Abiel Leonard Papers, Collection # 101, WHMC-Columbia.

[8] Letter from Lizzie Thompson to Beverly Thompson, November 1, 1864, Missouri State Archives Online Database.

[9] Abiel Leonard Papers, WHMC-Columbia, December 11, 1864.

Meanwhile, Price continued west with the Union army following close behind. The two forces clashed at Westport where Price's force was badly damaged, but they managed to retreat southwest into Kansas. Once in Kansas the Confederates took revenge on Kansans for the acts of Jayhawkers in Missouri. But, the battle of Mine Creek left the Confederates routed; as a result, the army headed south, arriving back in Arkansas in November.[12]

The defeat of Price's Army of Missouri destroyed the last hope of Missouri's Confederate sympathizers. By November, the soldiers who had joined Price in October were flooding back into Saline County. The Federals characterized them as "noted rebels," who had gone with Price because they thought he would conquer the state, and who were "willing to be forgiven," since they knew "their property would be liable to confiscation."[13]

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[10] A.J. McRoberts Family Letters, WHMC-Columbia, July 5, 1863; Audsley Papers, WHMC–Columbia, October 7, 1863; Abiel Leonard Papers, WHMC–Columbia, December 11, 1864.

[11] Abiel Leonard Papers, WHMC-Columbia, December 11, 1864.

[12] Castel, *General Sterling Price*, 222-255.

The county's deplorable condition suggested its future was bleak, but hope remained. The reduced presence of guerrillas in the area contributed to the resident's morale. Wilson noted that sixty guerrillas had been seen moving south at the beginning of December but that "[t]here are not many Bushwhackers in this county, at present, at least, if there are, they keep themselves very quiet." However, for the most part, guerrilla activity slowed during the winter months, and the winter of 1864 had been especially cold. Throughout December and January, the county was "remarkably quiet." The absence of guerrillas infused federal officials with confidence. One general advocated "[n]ow is our time to catch these stragglers from the guerrilla bands and break up their haunts."[14] Wilson hoped "the general aspect of affairs may change for the better before the leaves come out in the spring."[15]

Spring did, in fact, bring good news for the remaining citizens of Saline County, as well as the rest of the country with the war's official conclusion in April 1865. Saline County looked markedly different than it had four years before. Its location in the very heart of Missouri along the Missouri River, a blessing before the war, only fostered more intense irregular warfare during the conflict.

Over the course of the war, Saline County civilians either supported, cooperated, or resisted the federal army. Unionists grew both disappointed and demoralized with the local Union policy that often offered them little consideration.

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[13] *OR*, vol. 41, Pt. IV, 608.

[14] *OR*, vol. 48, Pt. I, 475-477.

[15] Abiel Leonard Papers, WHMC-Columbia, December 11, 1864.

Cooperationists, who desired peace above all, cooperated with the Union but suffered significantly at the hands of Federals and guerrillas alike. Finally, the pro-Confederate citizens who had resisted Union occupation in an attempt to protect their way of life lost everything. The majority's moderate stance had been misunderstood by federal officials, allowing them to brand and treat the county as rebellious. Ultimately, such failed Union policy helped transform moderation to resistance. Union occupation had proved devastating for the residents of Saline County. Unable to cope with the conditions in the county, many Saline County residents had fled. Those who remained after the war faced an unknown future in an unfamiliar land.

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