STRANGE CIRCUMSTANCES:

THE STORY OF SLAVERY AND THE CIVIL WAR

IN SOUTHWEST MISSOURI

By

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Abstract: This study looks at slavery and its effect on the development of southwest Missouri and its contribution to the onset of the Civil War. This study starts at the settlement of the region and how slavery developed there up to the Civil War. The focus is on the small-scale slaveholding aspect of the region. The Civil War in southwest Missouri was a story of uncertain loyalties in combination with major battles and guerrilla warfare. Slavery and the Civil War in the region had a major impact on the region, the effects of which can be seen during the Reconstruction era where they rebuilt and shifted to accommodate the post war world. This period of history is vital to the identity of the region and it is important that the institutions whose mission it is to present and preserve that history do so in a meaningful way. The final chapter of this study will analyze those institutions in southwest Missouri whose mission encompasses the history of slavery and the Civil War to determine their effectiveness in preserving, interpreting, and presenting that history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Tables Page

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF SLAVERY IN SOUTHWEST MISSOURI

Slavery and the Civil War had a major impact on the development of southwestern Missouri. While slavery was not a widespread phenomenon in the region, the way it occurred affected its development, loyalties during the Civil War, and the eventual postwar rebuilding of the region. Today the current interpretation of slavery and the Civil War in southwest Missouri reflects little of what actually transpired. Dates and names are given with little to no interpretation provided; interpretation would enable the public to fully understand the importance of these events on the area's history. Museums and historic sites dedicated to the region's history hold the responsibility of interpreting these moments and presenting them to the public. It is important to not only look at the history of settlement, slavery, and the Civil War in Missouri, but also, to examine how historical sites today inform the public.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Missouri and the land west of the Mississippi became the new western frontier for the United States. Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, establishes the frontier as the edge of civilization which the white man moves into and brings civilization to. However, in his thesis he fails to mention the impact of African Americans upon the landscape, an important element in the settlement

of Missouri. In 1803, the Louisiana Purchase expanded that frontier to west of the Mississippi. As early as the 1790s, Americans took advantage of this frontier while it was under the control of Spain and then France. Spain actively recruited American settlers since 1796 to build the economy of the region.[1] In 1798, the Spanish lieutenant governor, Zenon Trudeau, personally invited Daniel Boone to come to Missouri with his family and promised 850 acres.[2] However, with official possession by the United States settlers saw this as the land of new opportunity. Now places like Missouri captured the attention of settlers and drew them by the thousands.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Americans seeking new opportunities and the possibility of land ownership turned towards the land west of the Mississippi and to one region in particular, Missouri. The first settlers congregated around the junction of three major rivers—the Mississippi, Missouri, and the Illinois Rivers—much as Native Americans had at Cahokia. Many of these settlers later moved on to other parts of Missouri or even further west. Contemporary Nicholas Patterson classified the migrants from Kentucky as transient landowners who had little economic resources and owned few slaves. Individuals would work the land alongside family members and the few slaves, thus establishing a close relationship with them. Patterson argues that these transient settlers would eventually move on, but this was not always the case in southwest

[1] Diana Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border: Missouri's Small-Slaveholding Households, 1815-1865* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 22.

[2] R. Douglas Hurt, *Nathan Boone and the American Frontier* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998), 25, 31.

Missouri.[3] Families like the Boones and their slaves set down roots that still survive today.[4]

Land in Missouri also offered an opportunity for foreigners. In his tour of the western regions of America, German born Gottfried Duden spoke in his survey of the west of the advantages found on the frontier. In a letter written in 1826, he told of how that state of Missouri allowed foreign-born settlers to purchase land from the state or private individuals. Also if absent from the land, would be in no danger of losing as long as taxes were paid.[5] While foreigners had no political rights in the new state they along with American born settlers found new opportunities for landownership. Due to accounts like Dudens, thousands of German immigrants made their way to Missouri, settling mainly in central portion.[6] The German settlers that came before the early 1830s were tolerant and accepting of their slave owning neighbors. The same cannot be said for those who settled there in the late 1840s and early 1850s. These later arrivals brought a strong antislavery sentiment that directly countered most of the established population of small-

[3] Burke, *On Slavery's Border* 30-34.

[4] A century farm now owned by Bill Hosman, a descendent of Nathan Boone's youngest daughter Mary and Alfred Hosman, still stands on the southern border of the Nathan Boone Homestead State Historic Site outside of Ash Grove, Missouri and was originally part of Boone's homestead.

[5] Gottfried Duden, *Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years Along the Missouri (During the Years 1824, '25, '26, and 1827)* James W. Goodrich ed. George H. Kellner, Elsa Nagel, Adolf E, Schroeder, and W. M. Senner ed. and trans., (Columbia: University Missouri Press, 1980), 137.

[6] Today there is still a significant population of German descent in central Missouri.

scale land owners.[7] The newcomers would add their voice to other antislavery and abolitionist believers, many of them settled in St. Louis.

Missouri represented a chance at settling in Eden for many Americans who found themselves denied the chance to expand by population growth back east which made access to new farmland difficult. Many of those were small slaveholders from border-states who sought a place where they could go with their slaves and not be caught in the middle of the fanatic abolitionist and 'fire-eater' southern plantation owners. It is important to look at the institution of slavery as it existed in Missouri and to do so on a smaller scale because it has a different history than slavery found in the South.

Greene County, Missouri, which constituted the entire southwest corner of the state at the time, differed from other regions in Missouri in ideology, geography, and demographics. There are a number of similarities to the rest of the state such as large number of settlers from southern border states and small-scale slaveholders. However, the southwest portion saw a significant division among inhabitants in the years leading up to and during the Civil War. Slavery was different in southwestern Missouri from other regions of the country in the structure of the slave society and how it influenced the region during the Civil War. Missouri as a state supported the institution of slavery, but refused to join the Confederacy. The economy was not dependent upon slavery and there were only small scale slave owners, no large plantations. This study seeks to look at the make-up of slavery in Missouri as a small-scaled institute focusing on the Ozarks in the southwest.

[7] Silvana R. Siddali ed., *Missouri's War: The Civil War in Documents* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 3.

As early as 1804, the region that became Missouri enforced laws regarding slaves. The territorial slave code of 1804 was closely modeled after the Virginia constitution in regards to the treatment and punishment of slaves.[8] It established the death penalty for any slave leading or participating in any sort of insurrection or rebellion. Capital punishment also applied to a slave who committed murder or administered any medicine with the intent to harm or if any unintended harm occurred.[9] Arson was also considered a capital crime for blacks, free or slave, because the fear of its use in a rebellion, while the penalty for white arsonists was a seven year prison sentence and one thousand dollar fine.[10] Other statutes in early Missouri law codes applied equally to black or white members of society.

In 1808, the territorial slave code set castration as the punishment for rape, thirty-nine lashes for burglary, forty-nine lashes for stealing livestock, and execution for stealing or enslaving a known freed black. Often, the courts punished slaves physically for crimes, which white offenders received fines or imprisonment.[11] Slaves could not testify in court against a white accusing them of a crime, but could provide supporting testimony corroborating claims made by white witness.[12] Under an 1807 territorial law,

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[8] Burke, *On Slavery's Border* 23.

[9] Harrison Anthony Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri: 1860-1865" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1914), 71.

[10] Harriet C. Frazier, *Slavery and Crime in Missouri 1773-1865* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2001), 42.

[11] Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri: 1860-1865", 71-72.

[12] Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri: 1860-1865", 76. Frazier, *Slavery and Crime in Missouri,* 45.

slaves could sue owners for freedom if they proved they had been wrongfully enslaved. This law became state law in 1824, creating a road to freedom for many slaves. It also provided a precedent which paved the way for Dred Scott's unsuccessful lawsuit in 1852.[13]

Missouri had reached a population of more than 66,000 by that time it organized as a territory in 1818.[14] The years approaching the start of the nineteenth-century marked the unofficial opening of land west of the Mississippi River as the new American frontier. The frontier ideal always contained within it the hope for land and new opportunities. Missouri became the newest prospect for settlers desirous of owning land and starting anew to realize their dreams. With this new terrain added to the land mass of the United States it opened a new vast frontier of opportunity. This new west that eventually became the state of Missouri was a land traversed by two major rivers, enjoyed fertile soil, possessed a decent growing season, and only occasional encountered severe weather. Americans and foreigners quickly took advantage of this chance and made their way over land and by boat to Missouri, many starting their search for a place to settle in St. Louis where the Missouri and Illinois Rivers meet the Mississippi River.

Early on, settlement in Missouri focused on the land on either side of the Missouri River and in the area where the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers meet. The fertile

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[13] Silvana R. Siddali ed., *Missouri's War: The Civil War in Documents* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 8. 1825 Missouri Law 404.
Dred Scott v. Sanford 1857, The Oyez Project at IIT Chicago-Kent College of Law.

[14]Jonathon Fairbanks, *Past and Present of Greene County, Missouri: Early and Recent History and Genealogical Sketches of Many of the Representative Citizen* (Indianapolis: A.W. Bowen Publishing, 1915), 129; Silvana R. Siddali ed., *Missouri's War: Civil War in Documents* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 6.

farmland of the region drew large numbers of small slaveholders and yeomen farmers, most coming from southern border states such as Tennessee, Virginia, and Kentucky.[15] The soil conditions were not conducive to growing vast amounts of plantation type crops such as cotton it was enough for settlers to establish a Little Dixie. Slave owners built their own southern culture along the river and the areas was later the stronghold for secessionists. The reasonably priced land drew settlers and its suitability for growing corn, wheat, tobacco, hemp and livestock kept them there.[16] This fertility of the soil and its lack of suitable land for plantation style agriculture allowed for the creation and sustained settlement of small-scale slave owners.

Finally free of the highly politicized atmosphere of the Old South, these small time farmers now had the opportunity to establish and control their society free of planters.[17] As the most fertile land in Callaway, Cole, Boone, Howard, Chariton, Cooper, Saline, Lafayette, Ray, Clay, Jackson, Manitou, and St. Louis counties filled up, settlers looking for more land or a new opportunity spread out to other regions of Missouri including the southwest corner in the heart of the Ozarks. In the decade following statehood, interest in the southwest portion of the state rose and settlers moved on to this sparsely populated region. Waves of settlers from Kentucky and Tennessee headed towards the area and contributed to the swell in the state's population from 140,000 in

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[15] Burke, *On Slavery's Border,* 19.

[16] Burke, *On Slavery's Border,* 27.

[17] John Craig Hammond, *Slavery, Freedom, and Expansion in the Early American West* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 58.

1830 to 383,000 in 1840.[18] Here, settlers from border-states found others from the same geographical region as they, people who often shared a similar ideology on slave ownership.

Overwhelming numbers, of former Southern border-states residents, contributed to the influx of migrants to Missouri. Focusing early on the area either side of the Missouri River, these settlers came predominantly from Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Kentucky. The 1850 Census reveals that two-thirds of Missouri's population had roots in these four Upper South states.[19] Well-known families like the Boones of Kentucky settled in north central Missouri prior to the Louisiana Purchase on prime agricultural land. Daniel, his younger brother Squire, and his sons Nathan and Morgan made a home and name for themselves in the St. Charles County region.[20] They did this with the aid of their slaves who worked right alongside them, but are rarely mentioned in any of their writings. They only casually mention the work of their slaves who helped make them so successful in this new frontier.

Many of these small slaveholders brought their slaves with them from back east. Since most only owned a handful of slaves, an average of three per owner, most slaves had been forced to leave behind family that may have been owned by old neighbors or sold off before the move.[21] Even with the reality of slaves unwillingly leaving family

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[18] James F. Keefe and Lynn Morrow ed., *A Connecticut Yankee in the Frontier Ozarks: The Writings of Theodore Pease Russell* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), 1.

[19] Burke, *On Slavery's Border,* 25; 1850 United States Census Missouri.

[20] Hurt, *Nathan Boone,* 25.

[21] Burke, *On Slavery's Border.*

behind, seeing relatives sold off, and experiencing other hardships of slavery, Missouri slaveholders depicted themselves as benevolent masters who were kind to their slaves, especially as compared to their "evil" Deep South counterparts. Historian Diana Mutti Burke generally agrees with this statement. In comparison to the harsh reality of slavery in the Deep South, Missouri slaves suffered less. That is not to say slaves in Missouri were not physically harmed or mistreated; they were. But mostly due to the close interconnected relationships of slaves with their masters, they received decent treatment and were often loyal to their owners. Some slaves even willingly kept up the homestead for their southern sympathizing masters who fled Missouri during the Civil War.[22] This perception of 'benevolent' masters grew as Missouri became a state and more settlers moved in.

Under the Missouri Compromise of 1820, Missouri entered the Union as a slave state balanced by Maine's admittance as a free state, thereby maintaining the status quo in the Senate. This compromise served as a salve for the hotly debated issue of slavery's spread into western states. Since the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, the North and South fought over allowing slavery to move into this new territory. Missouri was central to the debate over slavery. For those who believed that slavery would eventually die out on its own if not allowed to expand, Missouri posed a threat to that belief. The 36'30' line across the Louisiana Purchase established where slavery could and could not expand to in the West. The compromise was hard won and slave owners soon moved into the prime agricultural land. But the debate was not over. This calm was only temporary and as later, territories and states began to join the Union, the debate of slavery's expansion

[22] The Boone family slaves stayed on the homestead near Ash Grove while Nathan's descendants fled to more southern friendly states during the Civil War.

came up repeatedly with Missouri representing the one 'peaceful' solution to the debate. However, Missouri did become a state and established its own constitution, which allowed how slavery would operate within its borders.

When Missouri attained statehood in 1821 under the Missouri Compromise, its constitution addressed the expected treatment of slaves. The Tallmadge Amendments specifically addressed the issues of slaves. Most important to many Missourians was the prohibition on interference between a slaveholder and his property rights, clearly showing the majority of the population's antagonism towards anti-slavery ideas. There was also the provision that if any amendment to the state constitution was ratified enabling gradual emancipation, in order to be enacted it first had to be accepted by slaveholders. The amendments blatantly stated that no settler would be stopped from bringing their slaves into Missouri. It also made provisions for discouraging free blacks from entering or remaining in the state to pacify staunch Southern settlers, who feared the movements of free blacks. [23] These provisions were not always successful, especially in large urban areas. This firm stand in favor of slavery derailed the federal thought that gradual emancipation would occur if slavery was not able to expand west.[24]

Free blacks concentrated in large urban areas such as St. Louis and Jefferson City. Most were encouraged to move out of the state. For those who decided to stay, the 1845 Free Negro and Mulatto Law stripped them of nearly all their rights.[25] To live in Missouri they had to acquire a license that could cost between $100 and $500, prompting many to

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[23] Hammond, *Slavery, Freedom, and Expansion,* 73-74.

[24] Hammond, *Slavery, Freedom, and Expansion,* 163.

[25] 1847 Missouri Laws 103.

move out of the state. However, for those who remained, some were able to build decent lives in urban areas, even owned property and testified against whites in court under Missouri law.[26] It was much easier for any free (or escaped slaves) to move further west, take up with an Indian tribe, or move on to a free state. There, they encountered greater opportunity and less discrimination.

The decade of 1830 in southwest Missouri saw a significant rise in settlers. Appendix 1.1 is a map of Missouri that shows the county lines in 1830 as opposed to present day. Men, like Nathan Boone, moved from other regions of the state following their 'rootless' tendencies to find the newest prime location.[27] Nathan sent two of his sons and a few slaves down to Greene County, just north of the town of Ash Grove that was incorporated in 1853. In 1835, Nathan moved his family into a two-room wooden clapboard house and began working the land alongside his sons and slaves. Many more moved in from other states, mainly those border states that contributed to the population farther north. In the Ozarks, they found a terrain and climate similar to what they left behind. Many of these new settlers also brought their slaves with them but others came alone looking for land. According to 1830 Greene County resident John D. Berry, a large wave of Union sympathizers from Tennessee also relocated to the county.[28]

Land in the southwestern Ozarks of Missouri was sparsely populated prior to the 1830s, and even after the push of many into the region, it remained primarily rural.

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[26] Siddali ed., *Missouri's War: Civil War in Documents,* 9.

[27] Christopher Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West: Claiborne Fox Jackson* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 13-22.

[28] Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri 1860-1865"*,* 10.

Squatters with little to no money settled there and improved on the land often in the hopes of later purchasing it or making enough to move on to new areas. Land ran between 12.5 cents to $1.25 an acre. Land that farmers had improved, which typically meant the land had been cleared and readied for farming, sold for $3 an acre. Along with readily available fertile land and numerous flowing creeks, southwest Missouri offered some copper deposits and sites for quarrying building materials like limestone.[29] Any one of these assets provided incentive for settlers looking to establish themselves and together they drew migrants.

Greene County did not exist at statehood but organized on January 2, 1833. Originally, it encompassed the entire area of southwest Missouri until the population increase in other areas led to it being subdivided into eleven different counties: Polk (1835), Dade (1841), Barton (1857), Jasper (1838), Newton (1838), McDonald (1849), Lawrence (1845), Barry (1835), Christian (1859), Taney (1837), and Stone (1851).[30] Appendix 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 show maps of Missouri from 1830, 1834, and 1855 show the shift in county lines. There was sparse traffic through the region, mostly by fur traders and soldiers moving from fort to fort. The first white settlers established themselves in southwest Missouri as early as the 1820s, after the majority of the Osage Indians that called that region home had moved further onto the plains.[31] Many prominent families

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[29] Duane G. Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri*, third edition (Springfield, MO: Emden Press, 1998), 237.

[30] R.M. Shep, *History of Greene County, Missouri, Parts 1 and 2* (St. Louis, MO: Western Historical Company, 1883), 34, 42.
These counties include Dade, Barton, Cedar, Polk, Webster, Christian, Taney, Stone, Barry, McDonald, Newton, Jasper, and Lawrence counties.

[31] Shep, *History of Greene County, Missouri,* 130.

firmly established themselves and greatly influenced the formation of settlements in this new frontier.

John Polk Campbell, along with other young male family members, was one of the first white settlers to establish themselves in Greene County. Different historical accounts put him in southwest Missouri in either 1829 or 1830 while family records have him there as early as 1825. His brother-in-law John Miller brought his wife, two children and 'six darkies' to help establish themselves in this new frontier while Campbell later returned to Tennessee where he met and married his wife Louisa.[32] Like many later settlers of the region, Campbell left Tennessee for Missouri looking for land of his own. He settled along the James River where the town of Springfield would spring up. The commonly told story goes that upon reaching the James River, the settler encountered a tribe of Kickapoo with sick young boy. Campbell gave the boy some medicinal herbs that helped alleviate his fever. After the boy recovered, the Kickapoo chieftain gave Campbell a track of land north of their village as a sign of gratitude.[33] This act established the Campbell family in the soon to be Greene County.

The Campbell family was instrumental in the settlement and establishment of Springfield, Missouri and, by extension, Greene County as a whole.[34] John P. Campbell served as the first county clerk of Greene County and designed the original layout of Springfield, the largest urban center in the region. He modeled it after his home town of

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[32] Fairbanks, *Past and Present of Greene County, Missouri*, 55; Charles Sheppard, "Watch Out! The Campbell's are Coming," John Polk Campbell vertical file, Springfield-Greene County Library Center, 1-5.

[33] Sheppard, "Watch Out! The Campbell's are Coming," 1-5.

[34] Ibid.

Columbia, Tennessee.[35] By 1838, the population of Springfield reached 250 inhabitants.[36] Springfield became the main hub for all commerce and trade including slave sales. In the district surrounding Springfield 108 individuals owned the 567 slaves. Of those owners, sixty-nine owned less than three slaves.[37]

Most Greene County residents were similar to the rest of the state by owning, at the most, three slaves. However, there were those who could afford more. One of the largest slaveholders in Greene County, Daniel Dorsey Berry, owned approximately thirty slaves at any given time. The wealthiest man of the county, his net worth in 1856 amounted to $58,580.[38] Only the wealthiest elite could afford more than a handful of slaves. Another large slaveholder, Tom Evanson, owned approximately sixty slaves who worked his large hog and cattle stock ranch just outside of Springfield.[39] Even though these men were the largest slaveholders in their area, their operations were by no means close to the size of plantation slave owners in the South.

Slavery in Missouri was more of a domestic institution than a commercial venture.[40] Labor divided along traditional middle class gender roles. Slave women worked alongside the mistress of the home caring for children, cooking, cleaning, and

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[35] Shep, *History of Greene County, Missouri, 45.*

[36] Fairbanks, *Past and Present of Greene County, Missouri.*

[37] Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri 1860-1865", 18. From 1858 Tax book, at time when Greene County encompassed more area.

[38] "Quinine and Courage" *Springfield's Urban,* 18. *Opening of the Ozarks,* 166.

[39] Ellaine Wright, "Ellaine Wright. Ex-slave" *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938* Vol. 10. Library of Congress, 378.

[40] Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri: 1860-1865", 19.

performing other domestic chores. Male slaves worked with their master and what male relatives there would be establishing the homestead, all working the land, and caring for the livestock. Due to the relatively small of homesteads in the area, women often joined the men in the fields during planting and harvest. Through farm work, slaves, mostly males, were afforded a degree of freedom in their movements. Male slaves moved about locally on farm business, but the women, black and white, were more often tied to the homestead due to cooking and childcare duties. Another way to gain mobility was when owners hired out slaves whose work was not currently needed. This offered a form of income for widows unable to work the land for a living or anyone needing extra cash.[41]

Southwest Missouri, although fertile and largely uninhabited farmland it never developed large plantation style agriculture. This was in part due to the mentality of those who came there to settle If slave owners, they sought a place where they and their handful of slaves could work the land themselves. In addition, the geography of the region placed limits on the level of agriculture and trade that was possible. While farmers grew cotton and tobacco, the lack of extensive river systems or railroads made it impractical to grow these crops as a cash enterprise as access to markets was limited. Instead, they farmed crops more for individual and local use. Instead of staple cash crops, Missouri farmers practiced subsistence agriculture and sold any excess locally. This type of farming limited the number slaves that owners could afford or required to work the land. When owners did not currently need the labor of their slaves, they did not always sell them off. Instead, they often 'hired' them out to others. This provided needed

[41] Burke, *On Slavery's Border,* 128-134; *Black Families in the Ozark* Greene County Archives Bulletin Number 45. County Clerk Richard Struckhoff, 132.

supplemental income for settlers in their first year while waiting for their crop to come in and also for widows or dependents who do not have men to provide for them.[42] People hired slaves for a variety of reasons, such as farm hands, domestic help, and in some cases as nurses or caretakers. The hiring out of slaves allowed for more mobility of those slaves as they were able to travel from farm to farm.

The selling of slaves provided the quickest and most lucrative way of gaining ready cash. In 1830, in southwest Missouri, a healthy male slave sold for on average $500.[43] That amount greatly increased in the decades leading up to the Civil War and reached its peak in the 1850s. During that time, healthy male slaves could sell for over $1000.[44] Kindred Rose of Greene County bought a male slave named Henry, in 1856, for $2,025. On his bill of sale, Henry's former owner described him as "sound, sensible, healthy, and a slave for life."[45] Young, healthy female slaves sold on average for $800. In an auction in Springfield in January 1857, two female slaves, 26 and 30 years of age, sold for $830 and $715 respectively.[46] Later that year in March, a 40-year-old woman and her two children sold for $900, while a 30-year-old woman and her two-year-old son sold for $860. This last sale shows that at least on occasion owners sold mothers with their

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[42] Fairbanks, *Past and Present of Greene County, Missouri, 45.; Black Families of the Ozarks*. Greene County Archives Bulletin Number 45. County Clerk Richard Struckhoff.
[43] Today this amount would equal approximately $12,500.

[44] Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 121.
Today this amount would approximately equal $29,000.

[45] John McMahan, *Bill of Sale for Slave – 1856* Wright County Probate Court. Box 5 Folder 1. History Museum for Springfield-Greene County Missouri.
Today the sale of Henry would have approximately equaled nearly $56,000.

[46] Today these amounts would approximately equal $22,000 and $19,000 respectively.

children.[47] At the estate sale of Nathan Boone, eleven slaves were sold. A girl in her late teens sold for $875, a slave described as 'boy' sold for $1,615, and a 'small boy' sold for $1,000 at the auction.[48] Closer to and at the onset of the Civil War, prices dropped as numerous owners quickly cut their losses and sold their slaves south and often then moved on to another state or further west. They did this to ensure they did not lose money at the threat of war over the issue of slavery. Ellaine Wright, a child slave at the time, was moved along with the rest of the Evanson slaves deeper south at the onset of the war.[49]

Documents of the time show the diversity of slaves that chose to run away rather than suffer the injustices of slavery and the lengths that owners would go to in order to reacquire their property. The 1863 slave schedule for Cass Township, Greene County included forty slaves, at least ten of whom were listed as runaways. They ranged from a "girl runaway" to a "child man runaway" and a "woman and two children runaway[s]."[50] A reward poster from 1856 lists two runaways from twelve miles outside of Springfield. Archa belonging to James Alexander was described as "a molatto *sic* man, some 21 years old…and plays the fiddle well." John belonging to John Miller is described as "rather a dark complected man, some 28 years old…[and] has rather a positive way of affirming or denying." For the capture and return of these slaves, the owners originally offered $1000,

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[47] Shep, *History of Greene County, 246.*
Today the sale amounts for these slaves would approximately equal $24,000 and $23,000 respectively.
[48]Ibid*.,* 247.

[49] Wright, *Born in Slavery*, 378.; Today these amounts would approximately equal $43,000 and $26,000 respectively.

[50] Greene County Tax Assessor. *Slave Schedule for Cass Township, Greene County, Missouri – 1863.* Archives #2356. Greene County Archives and Records Center.

which was scratched out and increased to $1500.[51] The poster also included a warning and threat of imprisonment and $500[52] fine for any person(s) aiding the runaways by giving them shelter or providing free papers to them.[53]

The institution of slavery in Missouri is not commonly told in the history books. The stereotypical slave society included a grand plantation home, white southern aristocracy, a cruel overseer, and hundreds of slaves working the house and fields while true Southern society contained both large plantations and yeoman farmers. This picture does not exist in Missouri where slaveholders most often owned less than five slaves. There were no large plantations like those found in the Deep South. Owners worked in close intimate contact with their slaves that created unique bonds not often found in the institution of slavery. Missouri was surrounded by three free states to the north, east, and west along with the Indian Territory to the southwest, making it strategically placed geographically for runaways. This created a dilemma for owners who enacted legislation to prevent such events. The easy accessibility to free land may have also tempered some slave owners' treatment of their slaves to do nothing so vicious or life threatening as to push them into running away. These small-scale slaveholders could rarely afford to replace a lost slave.

Slavery had a distinct impact on the society of southwestern Missouri. They experienced slavery, the Civil War, and the Reconstruction period differently than other parts of the country. The unique combination of being a slave state that contained only

[51] Today this would equal approximately $18,000 and $27,000 respectively.

[52] Today this would equal approximately $9,000.

[53] 1856 "One Thousand Dollar Reward" for runaway slaves. Courtesy of Greene County Archives and Records Center.

small slave operations that created close relationships between many masters and their slaves made the state a highly divided region at the approach of the Civil War. There was a geographical boundary of North against the South within the state. The established pro-slavery families found themselves increasingly integrated with anti-slavery settlers further exacerbating the tension. Historian Lew Larkin describes Missouri as a 'child of the storm' that was neither North nor South.[54] Missouri created its own slave society that influenced them differently than other states in the Union.

[54] Lew Larkin, *Missouri Heritage* (Columbia, MO: American Press, 1968), 80.

CHAPTER II

UNCERTAIN LOYALTIES: THE END OF NEUTRALITY

Road Scene in S.W. Missouri

(1st soldier) "Well old lady are you a Union woman?"

(Woman)' No sir I ain't!'

(2nd soldier) "Are you a secessionist?"

(Woman) 'No Sir! I'm not that neither!'

(1st soldier) "Then what the H_ll are you? I'd like to know!"

(Woman) 'Well I'd have you's know I'm Baptist![1]

During the Civil War, Missouri was a deeply divided state. The issue was not a clear-cut pro-North or pro-South division but an incremental controversy where loyalty differed from one person to the next. This division traced back as far as the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and violently manifested itself after the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. Much of this dissension focused on the western border and along the Missouri River, where the overwhelming majority of slave owners lived. It can also be seen in the southwest region of the state. For the purpose of this study, the southwestern counties encompass Vernon, Cedar, Polk, Dallas, Greene, Christian, Taney, Stone, Barry,

[1] St. Louis cartoonist, Robert O. Sweeney portrays two Yankee soldiers with a poor southern Missouri woman. 1864.

Lawrence, Dade, Barton, Jasper, Newton, and McDonald counties. Appendix 2.1 shows a map of 1860 Missouri that indicates these counties. Settlers from the Upper South, mostly Tennessee and Kentucky, who had their own divisions before and during the war, populated southwestern Missouri. Most residents of the region harbored ill feelings towards the elite slaveholding plantation owners that controlled southern politics, but were equally distrustful of abolitionists and northern interests that sought to exert federal power over them. Many Missourians, especially those in the southwest, were southern in heritage while a large abolitionist's German population settled in the north and St. Louis region. Southwest Missouri was largely an agriculturally based economy, but due to the relatively small slave population and a growing railway system in Missouri the state had a markedly northern outlook in regards to the greater state economy in that it had a significant number of factories and industry.[2]

The history of slavery and the Civil War east of the Mississippi River have received extensive attention. In Missouri, major engagements and events, such Bleeding Kansas, have been thorough researched. However, few works examine the war in Missouri comprehensively. There is no emphasis on the affect of slavery or the war itself on the Missouri Ozarks. The largest and most important battle to take place in Missouri, Wilson's Creek, does not lack for historical attention. Works on the Battle of Wilson's Creek are mostly limited to the events leading up to and during the battle. There are works covering the war that also give glimpses into the societal effects of the war on the region.

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[2] Earl J. Hess, Richard W. Hatcher III, William Garrett Piston, and William L. Shea, *Wilson's Creek, Pea Ridge, and Prairie Grove* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 3.

This study will not dwell on any one battle, but will include the broader spectrum of engagements that took place in southwest Missouri during the Civil War as this provides a more complete look at just how the war affected this region of the state. Works such as *The Second Battle of the Civil War and the Men Who Fought it: Wilson's Creek* by William Piston and Richard Hatcher III discussed in detail the events leading up to and during the battle. Even primary sources focus on the battle itself and contain little about the region. E.F. Ware a private in the 1st Iowa Infantry, retells his movements following Lyon in his pursuit of Gen. Price and the Missouri State Guard culminating in their retreat from Springfield after Wilson's Creek. Written over forty years after the battle, the details are not always accurate, but he does provide a sense of what the predominantly inexperienced Union troops felt and dealt with on a daily basis during those first months of the Civil War. His accounting of Wilson's Creek provide only his remembrance of the event and what he remembers as happening which is not only accurate but gives a first-hand account of the events of that day.

Unlike the eastern front, the lines between enemy and friend were not clearly defined within the borders of Missouri. While officially remaining a state in the Union, many favored the Confederate cause. Violence between abolitionist and slave owners had raged for years along the Kansas-Missouri border, making for a population that at times simply wanted peace and cared not about which side they supported. Others fell into more clear-cut categories: slaveholding secessionist; steadfast Unionists; or slaveholding Unionists. The unique institution of slavery in Missouri determined the level of dissension in southwest Missouri during the Civil War. It aided in creating a stark division between neighbors, pitting brother against brother, and generated a violent and

often times confusing experience. This study examines the complex issue of loyalty in southwest Missouri as the war made neutrality difficult.

By 1860, the grip of slavery on parts of Missouri had lessened. While slavery never had the widespread hold on Missouri as it did in Southern states, in southwest Missouri it was a moderately important institution. However, slavery was not the economic backbone of the region as in Southern states. At the onset of the Civil War only one in eight families owned slaves.[3] In the 1860 Federal Census of Missouri, Greene County slaves only represented 12.6 percent of the population, the highest out of all the southwestern counties. Most had five percent or less. Of those approximately 1700 slaves living in Greene County in 1860, there were only 337 slave owners out of a population approximately 13,000 inhabitants.[4] Missouri contained a population prevalent in settlers from the Upper south, German immigrants, and a smaller group from various northern states. Those from the Upper south brought slaves in small numbers so that while the number of slaves increased in Missouri over the years their percentage of the population steadily decreased from 1830 to 1860.[5] This made the state of Missouri's loyalty towards preservation of the Union in the coming conflict uncertain.

Missouri played a key role for the Union by providing manpower, strategic positioning, and influence on other border states. Missouri being situated in the midst of

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[3] Phil Gottschalk, *In Deadly Earnest: The History of the First Missouri Brigade, CSA* (Columbia, MO: Missouri River Press, 1991), 1.

[4] Edwin Leigh, *Bird's-Eye view of Slavery in Missouri* (Saint Louis, 1862). Clerk's Office of U.S. District Court for Eastern District of Missouri.

[5] Diane Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border: Missouri's Small-Slaveholding Households, 1815-1865* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 309.

free states to the north, east and west made it a key location for maintaining Union dominance in the west. Only Virginia and Tennessee exceeded Missouri in men available for military service and, along with Kentucky, in number of factories.[6] Along with its agricultural strength, this made Missouri a unique blend of northern industry and southern yeoman agriculture. Southwestern Missouri contributed men to Confederate and Union forces, both enlisted and militia.[7] Also, traffic along the Missouri River was a major connection to the west for transportation. With the coming war, Missouri was a wildcard as to which side it would choose in the coming conflict.

The elections of 1860 for President and governor further revealed the division amongst Missourians and their overall desire to remain neutral. In both elections, the vast majority of Missourians voted for those candidates that campaigned the middle path between secession and abolition. Convention delegates from southwestern counties were typically Unconditional Unionists or Conditional Unionists. Christian County voted 2,396 unconditional to the 314 conditional. A similar scenario happened in Stone County with 605 votes unconditional and 50 votes conditional. More western counties such as Vernon, strongly voted for secessionists.[8] In the presidential election, seventy-one percent of Missourians voted for either Stephen Douglas or John Bell, whose conservative platforms promised compromise on slavery and the preservation of the Union. In the end, the electoral votes went to Douglas. For governor the majority of votes

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[6] Gottschalk, *In Deadly Earnest,* 2-3.

[7] *John Mack Collection* Springfield-Greene County Library. Missouri State Archives. 1862-1865.

[8] Elmo Ingenthron, "The Civil War in the Upper White River Valley" *White River Valley Historical Quarterly,* (Spring 1962): 2.

went to Claiborne Fox Jackson who ran as a Douglas Democrat and also promised peace and exemption of Missouri from the perceived north-south conflict over slavery.[9] Governor Jackson would later show his staunch southern and secessionist leanings, which would clash with the overall sentiments of Missouri legislators.

With war drawing near, the question of Missouri's stance came to the forefront. On March 9, 1861, the Missouri State Convention, by a vote of 89 to 1, adopted a resolution that declared that Missouri at present had no just cause for seceding from the Union and instead would seek to find an amicable solution between the North and South. On March 22, the convention adjourned without addressing whether or not to take the decision of secession to the Missouri people.[10] Missouri now found itself divided into staunch secessionists, conditional Unionists, and unconditional Unionists. Each group had degrees of pro-slavery sentiments, but such individuals dominated the secessionist and conditional Unionist camps. The conditional Unionist were willing to remain with the Union if slavery was not abolished. President Lincoln took the stance of placating border-states by not attacking slavery to ensure they remained in the Union. However, slavery was not the only factor to determine what side a Missourian took. The use of federal power against state governments and perceived state rights also influenced many. Missouri was unique from deep southern states in that it was not completely dependent upon slave labor for its economy. This made the issue of secession more complicated as opinions were diverse. Although the Missouri state legislature at this time refused to secede from the Union, the state legislation did form the Missouri State Guard under

[9] Gottschalk, *In Deadly Earnest,* 2. Thomas L. Snead, *The Fight for Missouri* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886), iv.

[10] Gottschalk, *In Deadly Earnest,* 5, 8.

General Sterling Price, a former governor of the state and a staunch southern supporter.[11] Regardless of the state convention's official stance on secession, problems soon arose between the southern sympathizing governor and President Lincoln.

President Lincoln called for Missouri to provide four regiments, which amounted to approximately 3200 men, to support the Union in the coming war, but Governor Claiborne Jackson refused the request.[12] The governor responded to Lincoln's request that "no doubt that the men are intended to form a part of the President's army to make war upon the people of the seceded States…[Jackson saw this as] illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its objects, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade."[13] This reply clearly outlined Jackson's true stance on the matter and would set the tone for the rest of his actions throughout the remainder of the war. John Phelps, a well-known southwestern politician countered Jackson's actions with his own. Although he was a slave owner, Phelps was a staunch Unionist who resigned his position in Congress to return home and serve as in a home guard, local pro-Union militia groups, in

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[11] Jeffrey L. Patrick, *Campaign for Wilson's Creek: The Fight for Missouri Begins* (Buffalo Gap, Texas: McWhiney Foundation Press), 2011, 18-19. Ira Berlin, Barbara J. Fields, Thavolia Glymph, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867* Series 1 Vol. 1, 1985, 396. Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1989, 65.

[12] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series 3, Vol. 1, 67-69.

[13] Gottschalk, 9. *The War of the Rebellion,* Series 3, Vol. 1, 82-83.

the southwest.[14] These actions demonstrated that for white Missourians there was great conflict over the matter of loyalty but for Missouri slaves it was a moment of opportunity.

When federal troops entered Missouri in early 1861, the military authorities' policies on slaves varied affecting the mostly small-scale slave owners in southwest Missouri. General William Harney, head of the Western Army, promised slave owners federal protection. But he was replaced in July 1861 by General John C. Frémont who negated that offer. He deemed all slaveholders Confederates who would pay for their disloyalty. He proclaimed martial law over the citizens of Missouri in August of 1861. However, this move tested the tenuous nature of Missouri's neutrality and enraged many slave owning Unionists. Upon hearing these complaints, Lincoln requested that Frémont limit his emancipation provisions to the First Confiscation Act[15] and upon Frémont's refusing, demanded that he do so. Lincoln's action and refusal to support Frémont's bid to end slavery angered antislavery Missourians and made Frémont's continued commanding of the Western army a source of contention.[16]

In an attempt to remove military officers from being embroiled in the issue of runaway slaves and owners who demanded their return, General Henry Halleck, commander of the Department of Missouri, issued General Order 3 that decreed the "unconditional exclusion of all unauthorized persons, particularly fugitive slaves, from army camps." However, slaves that fell under the First Confiscation Act, slaves taken

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[14] *John S. Phelps Collection.*

[15] Passed August 6, 1861 this act authorized the seizure of rebel property and mandated that all slaves that worked with or fought for the Confederacy were freed of further obligation to their owners.

[16] Ira Berlin, et al., 396-399.

from Confederate troops or who provided information to Union troops, were often exempt from General Order 3 and freed by the military.[17] This made for confusion when it came to slaves and their encounters with Union troops. Actions taken by the soldiers differed from commander to commander.

The Second Confiscation Act, passed July 1862, freed fugitive slaves of disloyal masters and effectively escalated the war against slavery nationwide as well as within Missouri. However, the key portion of this act only freed slaves whose masters were proven to be disloyal to the Union, an incredibly difficult thing to do within Missouri since it never officially seceded from the Union, especially in cases such as John Phelps, a politician and lawyer in southwest Missouri who was a slave owner and staunch Union supporter. Different parties, Union and Confederate soldiers, and bushwhackers of questionable allegiance, all demanded loyalty oaths of citizens throughout the war. Unless a slave-owner was known to be fighting for the Confederacy, it was hard to state definitively that he was disloyal. In the summer of 1862, General Order 35 was issued instructing provost marshals to give certificates to slaves who were entitled to freedom under the Second Confiscation Act. This provided slaves the ability to escape their masters deemed disloyal, often stretching the truth, effectively circumventing the need to determine loyalty.[18] By 1862, federal troops freed nearly all slaves from the four most southwestern counties. Only a few slaves who could not care for themselves, the elderly and orphaned, remained with their owners.[19]

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[17] Ira Berlin, et al., 399.

[18] Ira Berlin, et al., 403.

[19] *Goodspeed's Newton, Lawrence, Barry, and McDonald Counties Histories* (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1888), 81.

These orders affected some well-known founding families in Springfield, and throughout the southwest. The Campbell family, one of the first families to settle in area and a founding family of Springfield, had their slaves, home and property confiscated in the fall of 1862. Union forces took an elderly slave woman from the widow Campbell and put her to work in a Union hospital while the Campbell house was set up as another hospital. Even though Mrs. Campbell appealed these actions, authorities granted her no compensation for the confiscation and use of her property. The Campbell family were staunch Confederates and slave owners who gave aid to the "enemies" of Missouri; consequently, they were closely watched throughout the war.[20] This was common practice in the Border South toward Confederate sympathizers and the Campbell's were well established in their loyalties.

While the loyalty of most Missourians remained uncertain, troops on both sides soon brought southwest Missouri directly into the path of war. When the time came that Union and Confederate forces engaged one another Missouri's allegiance was tested. All of this controversy over how the military would deal with slaves became reality. The loyalties of southwest citizens would be tested many times over the course of the next five years. Some union sympathizers in the southwestern part of the state felt it safer to leave the region during the Civil War. The women of the Mack family are one such example. Although the men stayed behind, some even serving in the Union army, it was deemed prudent for the rest of the family to go to Iowa where loyalties were less

[20] Craig A. Meyer, Casey D. White, Adam C. Veile, and Amber V. Luce eds., *Confederate Girlhood: A Women's History of Early Springfield, Missouri* (Springfield, MO: Moon City Press, 2010), 327-334.

divided.[21] Once the Union regained official control of the region by taking Springfield in February 1862, Union supporters like the John Mack family were able to return to the area and live in relative safety.[22]

The first official conflict of the Civil War set in motion the events that would bring war to the Missouri Ozarks. In early May 1861, General Nathaniel Lyon, commander of the Army of the West, attacked Camp Jackson a military training camp established by Governor Jackson at Lindell's Grove just west of St. Louis. During the engagement, 90 to 100 people were wounded, 28 were killed, 2 of whom were women in the crowd that had gathered to watch the confrontation. This event pushed several Missourians off the fence as to which side to support. Many were outraged that federal troops had interfered in what they saw as a state matter and had forced their military might upon Missouri. Citizens of Vernon County believed the fight at Camp Jackson was a true massacre and pushed many off the 'conditional' Unionist off the fence straight into the secessionist camp. This led to a number of Union families in the county having to voluntarily leave the county for fear of violence from their neighbors. Others were forced to leave by secessionist or remained behind and keep quiet.[23] Governor Jackson quickly passed a military bill through the legislature that authorized Jackson to arm and equip state troops.[24] In reaction to the engagement at Camp Jackson and Governor Jackson's

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[21] Letter to Rowan, February 23, 1862, John A. Mack Collection, Springfield-Greene County Library. Missouri State Archives.
[22] Letter to Rowan, August 25, 1863, John A. Mack Collection, Springfield-Greene County Library. Missouri State Archives.

[23] *History of Vernon County Missouri, Written and Compiled from the most authentic official and private sources* (St. Louis: Brown & Co., 1887), 272.

[24] Gottschalk, 11-12. Snead, *The Fight,* 171. James Denny and John Bradbury, *The Civil War's First Blood: Missouri, 1854-1861* (Boonville, MO: Missouri*Life*, 2007), 22-23.

call, southern sympathizers volunteered for the Missouri State Guard, a number of whom came from the southwestern counties.

In response, General Harney took command of federal troops in St. Louis and was determined to maintain federal authority in Missouri. To keep the peace, negotiations between Harney and General Sterling Price of the Missouri State Guard took place in St. Louis. This resulted in the Price-Harney Agreement that stipulated federal troops would stay out of the region as long as the state guard took no aggressive action toward the federal government.[25] While some were unsatisfied with this unresolved stance on the matter, it showed Missouri's determination to stay out of a conflict that they saw as not involving Missouri. This truce was shattered by the onslaught of fighting in central Missouri.

After the 'Camp Jackson Massacre,' General Lyon believed the secession of Missouri to be only a matter of time, and in a preemptive strike he moved on the capitol at Jefferson City. Arriving on June 15, he found Jackson and most of legislature had already fled. Lyon them pursued them. He took 1,700 troops down river toward Boonville where on June 17 he encountered Colonel John Sappington Marmaduke and his 450 man Missouri State Guard. The ensuing engagement took only 30 minutes during which the State Guard swiftly fled under Lyon's artillery fire.[26] With the victory at Boonville and the subsequent continued fleeing of Jackson's secessionist government towards the southwest, Lyon effectively created a formidable barrier between Price and possible volunteers from the 'Little Dixie' region along the Missouri River. Also, the

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[25] Gottshalk, *In Deadly Earnest,* 14-16.

[26] Gottschalk, *In Deadly Earnest,* 21-22.

majority of Missouri's agriculture, industry, and commerce were located along the river, giving the Union an added asset in controlling the entire state. Lyon forced out Jackson's pro-secessionist government causing Jackson, his secessionist legislators, and Missouri State Guard to flee to the Ozark region in the southwest.[27]

After fleeing, the now deposed governor Claiborne Fox Jackson established a government in exile in Neosho in the southwestern region of the state. Back in Jefferson City the remaining Missouri legislature left behind established a provisional government to replace Jackson. This further divided the state, as the question of loyalty to a government was closer to home. Even after the Missouri Constitutional Convention replaced Jackson as governor with Hamilton Gamble, Jackson maintained the title of governor and wrote a proclamation on September 26, 1861 that urged his exiled State Assembly in Neosho to secede from the Union.[28] Even though knowing it lacked a quorum of state representatives, the Neosho government proceeded to convene under the leadership of 'Governor' Jackson and voted to secede.[29] Regardless of Jackson's decisions, the new Governor of Missouri, Hamilton R. Gamble, maintained a policy of neutrality by remaining in the Union while also placating slave owners about the continuance of slavery. Many Unionist slave owners applauded this move, but several staunch secessionists either followed Jackson and his government or moved to other

[27] Hess, et. al., 4.

[28] Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Missouri. October 21, 1861. Missouri Historical Society, 9-10.

[29] Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Missouri. October 21, 1861. Missouri Historical Society, 12.

Southern states.[30] Jackson and his ousted government continued to flee southward and General Lyon pursued him, determined to eliminate the Missouri State Guard, remove Jackson's influence from the Ozarks, and solidify Missouri as a Union state.

In his pursuit of Jackson and Price, Union forces briefly engaged the State Guard throughout the southwest. This placed the locals in direct conflict with their convictions and loyalties. At Carthage, in Jasper County, the two sides meet on July 5. After a Union artillery bombardment, the Union forces retreated to higher ground in the face of the State Guard's attacks. Finally forced from that position, they eventually retreated into the city of Carthage. The State Guard pursued them and the fighting continued through the city streets. Nightfall allowed the Federal troops to retreat towards Sarcoxie to the southeast and eventually to Springfield. Hoping to engage and eliminate the Missouri State Guard after the battle of Boonville, Lyon convened all his troops in Springfield[31] in July of 1861. Disobeying an order from the Union commander Major General John C. Frémont to retreat to Rolla, northeast of Springfield and the nearest railhead for supplies, Lyon instead continued southwest in pursuit of Price.[32] Upon Union forces entering Springfield, Federal sympathizers from the surrounding area flocked into the city looking for protection on their flight north.[33] Henry Voelkner, a German soldier that endured the

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[30] Ira Berlin et al., 396.

[31] Springfield is located in Greene County and is the major metropolitan center of the southwest region of the state.

[32] Hess, et al., *Wilson's Creek, Pea Ridge, and Prairie Grove*, 4. Thomas L. Snead, *The Fight for Missouri.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886), 226-227.

[33] E.F. Ware, *The Lyon Campaign in Missouri: Being the History of the First Iowa Infantry.* (Topeka: Crane & Company, 1902), 297. David C. Hinze and Karen Farnham, *The Battle of Carthage: Border West in Southwest Missouri, July 5, 1861,* 230-243.

forced march to Springfield, described the countryside of southwest Missouri as being destroyed. Confederates and bushwhackers, pro Southern men utilizing guerrilla warfare, destroyed homes and communities along the route to Springfield. Many residents deserted their homes. Upon reaching Springfield, the damage continued. As both sides repeatedly occupied the city, it was always in a state of flux and uncertainty.[34]

On August 2 and 3, Confederate forces under General Ben McCulloch, a former Texas Ranger and a hero of the Mexican American War, engaged General Lyon at Dug Springs in Christian County. The leading elements of each side briefly fought before Lyon retired back towards Springfield. McCulloch cautiously followed, but inclement weather slowed them down. Lyon in Springfield began to grow agitated at Frémont who refused to send reinforcements, and those under Lyon's command with short-term enlistments left daily. Lyon, in desperation, decided to attack the Confederate encampment just outside the city at Wilson's Creek.[35] This would prove to be a fatal miscalculation and afford the Confederacy a major victory in the region.

Wilson's Creek, the major battle of southwestern Missouri, and the second major battle of the entire war, occurred on August 10, 1861 with a second Confederate victory. Appendix 2.2 shows a map of military movements and the Battle of Wilson's Creek. From Springfield Lyon planned his attack against the Missouri State Guard, camped just south of the city. He hoped to eliminate it permanently. He accepted the proposal of German born Col. Franz Sigel, commander of the 3rd Missouri Infantry, and split his forces into two columns in order to strike at Price and McCulloch from different

[34] Henry Voelkner Letter, in *Missouri's War: The Civil War in Documents.* ed. Silvana R. Siddali (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 105-106.

[35] Hess, et al., *Wilson's Creek, Pea Ridge, and Prairie Grove,* 4-6.

directions. Both columns struck the Confederate camp at dawn on August 10 but Lyon encountered heavy resistances at what came to be known as Bloody Hill. The Union force's element of surprise was sufficient to counter the Missouri State Guards two-to-one manpower advantage. Lyon was killed during the second of four assaults by the southern forces, leaving Major Samuel Sturgis who was short on ammunition to retreat. While Sigel's portion of the attack was initially successful, he was unable to repulse McCulloch's counterattack and was forced to retreat. After returning to Springfield with minimal pursuit from the stunned southern troops, the Union forces pulled out of southwest Missouri towards Rolla on August 11. Later that day, Confederate forces entered Springfield and occupied it until February 1862, when the city once again changed hands.[36]

The situation surrounding Wilson Creek after the battle showed just how affected the civilian population would be by the war. Compared to future massive battles during the war, the lives lost at Wilson's Creek were minor. However, when considering the percentage of casualties and comparing the battle's magnitude to past military engagements, Wilson's Creek was a major battle. Union forces suffered heavier losses, a 24.5 percent casualty rate in comparison to McCulloch's force, which had a 12 percent casualty rate. This death rate surpassed six of the major battles during the Spanish American War. The dying and wounded soon filled nearby homes with Union soldiers trailing all the way back to Springfield. Wounded soldiers forced local families to vacate

[36] Hess, et al., *Wilson's Creek, Pea Ridge, and Prairie Grove,* 6-7. William Garrett Piston and Richard W. Hatcher III, *The Second Battle of the Civil War and the Men Who Fought it: Wilson's Creek* (Chapel Hill: university of North Carolina Press, 2000).

their own homes, as they became makeshift hospitals; often soldiers remained for upwards of six weeks recovering from their injuries.[37]

The phrase 'brother against brother' was common in describing the entire Civil War but more so throughout Missouri. During the battle of Wilson's Creek, Joseph Shelby of the Missouri State Guard and his stepbrother, Carey Gratz[38] of the 1st Infantry, U.S., fought on Bloody Hill. Gratz died during the battle but Shelby made it until the end of the war.[39] This battle was hard not only on families but on the morale of Union soldiers. A young soldier from Vermont, serving in the 4th U.S. Cavalry, James H. Wiswell recalled the battle in a letter home. He started the letter on August 9, 1861, the eve before he would march with Lyon to attack the southern forces. The first half of the letter brimmed with optimism and bravado but the second half written two days after the battle was terse and disheartened. He recounted that out of the members of his company forty died or were wounded.[40]

Throughout the war in Missouri, neither side could claim victory over the state. Instead, each side prevented the other from gaining complete control. Appendix 2.3 shows the major engagements that took place in Missouri during the war. The Battle of Pea Ridge, March 7-8, 1862, in northwest Arkansas provided the Union victory needed to insure 'official' Union control of the state. This kept all but small cavalry raids by

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[37] Piston and Hatcher III, *The Second Battle of the Civil War and the Men Who Fought It,* 287, 292-294. Patrick, *Campaign for Wilson's Creek,* 190-191.

[38] Also appears as Carl in some documents.

[39] National Park Service's Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. State Historical Society of Missouri, Soldiers Records.

[40] James H. Wiswell Papers, letter August 9 and 12, 1861. Missouri Digital Heritage.

Confederate troops from entering Missouri again for more than two years.[41] With no more large Confederate strongholds in the southwest, jayhawkers, militant abolitionists from Kansas had freer reign in counties like Vernon where the town of Osceola was burned. Following the ousting of Confederates from the region and the increased violence, many pro-southern families moved farther south.[42] This Union victory did not eliminate the most prolific source of violence and strife in Missouri; bushwhackers and guerilla warfare.

The town of Springfield changed hands several times throughout the war. Starting as a Union post in 1861, Price and the State Guard occupied it after Wilson's Creek. In October of 1861, General Frémont was briefly able to take the city before retreating without a fight, leaving the city once again in the hands of the Confederates. In 1862, Union forces returned to the city. In January 1863, Union troops successfully defended the Federal communication center and supply depot against a Confederate attack.[43] Springfield was a key strategic point in the southern part of the state throughout the war and as such was the focus of several military engagements. After failing to take Springfield in 1863, General Price sought a different entrance into Missouri farther east. As the fighting raged in southwestern Missouri the now deposed Governor Jackson

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[41] Christopher Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Creation of the Southern Identity in the Border West* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 272.

[42] *History of Vernon County Missouri, Written and Compiled from the most authentic official and private sources* (St. Louis: Brown & Co., 1887), 291.

[43] Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 101. *History of Dade County and Her People: From the Date of the Earliest Settlements to the Present Time*. Dade County Historical Society, 87.

sought to establish his secessionist government and to join Missouri with the Confederacy.

The relative safety of the Confederate controlled southwest in 1861 allowed 'Governor' Jackson to convene his secessionist legislature in Neosho in relative safety. On October 28, 1861, the legislature passed "An Act to Dissolve the political connection of the State of Missouri with the United States". All but one member of the Senate approved the bill; it easily passed in the House.[44] According to these men, Missouri was no longer part of the Union. The Confederate States formally accepted the vote to secede and added a star to the Confederate flag for the remainder of the war. Missouri was now considered part of both the Union and the Confederate States of America. This act by the Neosho government, however, was not representative of the entire state of Missouri, and another state legislature in Jefferson City 'officially' replaced the rebel legislature. For those in the southwest, sentiments remained divided. A number of citizens celebrated the secession and considered themselves part of the Confederacy, while others never acknowledged Jackson's government to be legitimate.

Many slaves during this period took advantage of the uproar within Missouri, and some seized the opportunity to escape and others gained freedom through military intervention. During the first two years of the war, thousands of slaves left their masters, further strengthening the resolve of abolitionist Union supporters. In southwestern Missouri, slaves had fewer opportunities to escape due to the nature of the institution in the region. On average, owners in the region had three slaves per household, homesteads in the area were widely dispersed, and the entire region was predominantly rural and

[44] Journal of the Senate. State Historical Society of Missouri, 12-13. Denny and Bradbury. *The Civil War's First Blood,* 115-120.

controlled by southern sympathizers. This prevented escaped slaves from going unnoticed by the locals and made escape significantly more difficult.[45] There came a time, however, when runaway slaves pushed the tenuous nature of Missouri neutrality.[46] The area became increasingly dangerous not only for runaways but for all residents as guerrilla warfare raged.

Although these engagements brought violence and death to the doors of many Missouri citizens, they arguably did not have as great an impact on some regions as did bushwhackers, pro-Confederacy guerrilla soldiers that were at times affiliated with the Confederate Army. Bushwhackers assembled in conjunction with jayhawkers prior to the war. Prior to and in conjunction with official engagements that took place in southwest Missouri during the Civil War, guerilla warfare was rampant throughout the state. Starting as early as the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, Missouri was caught in the middle of a bloody style of combat that heavily effected the civilian population regardless of their loyalties. Guerilla warfare was interchangeably by both Union and Confederate forces, but bushwhackers, at least in Missouri, referred to vigilante Confederate forces.

Guerrilla warfare in Missouri served different purposes before, during, and after the Civil War. Prior to the war, the most common form of guerrilla warfare was connected to the continuation of slavery in Missouri and its spread into western states and

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[45] Leigh, *Bird's-Eye view of Slavery in Missouri.*

[46] One black soldier even took the matter into his own hands by writing to his wife via her owner calling for her release from slavery. Sam Bowman informed his wife's owner that if he were a true Union man he would allow his wife to join him and would provide a written document that states his intention to do so. By invoking his commanding officers name Bowman quite adamantly asks for the end of her enslavement. "Sam Bowman to Dear Wife" May 10, 1864. Ira Berlin, et. al., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation 1861-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 483-484.

territories. During the war, this expanded to supporters on either the Confederacy or Union, but also by those who saw this as an opportunity to further themselves by taking what they wanted. The goals of guerillas varied from revenge, terror, eliminating sympathizers of the opposition, gathering information, and procuring necessary staples. Commonly, horse and livestock were taken along with any valuables or money that could be found. There were cases of bushwhackers torturing individuals for information as was the case in Barry County when bushwhacker, Asa Wormington, reportedly 'roasted' old man Whittington's feet.[47] This style of warfare brought the war directly to the doors of civilians across Missouri.[48]

Guerrillas spread terror and uncertainty throughout the southwest and western regions. Often they would administer a 'loyalty test' in which a citizen had to prove their loyalty to one side or the other, often without knowing whose side the guerrillas supported. Not all who employed guerilla tactics of terror, harassment, robbery, and threats were civilians. Both Union and Confederate soldiers exhibited the same behaviors towards Missouri citizens.[49] Threats of bodily harm and destruction of property were commonly made and often carried out whether those being threatened complied with the demands or not. To make matters more confusing, guerrillas often posed as the other side to create more confusion, distrust, and terror. In one such case, Raleigh Shipley, a Missouri man serving in the Union army, was taken captive by Kinch West and his band in southwest Missouri. The group took his provisions, ammunitions, gun, horse, and his

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[47] *Goodspeed's Newton, Lawrence, Barry, and McDonald Counties Histories* (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1888), 88.

[48] Fellman, *Inside War,* 23.

[49] Ibid., 30.

cavalry jacket. Now Kinch had the costume needed to pose as a Union soldier, and he used it to stop more soldiers on their way to Springfield and relieve them of their provisions and supplies.[50]

Kinch in June 1864, attacked the civilian population at Melville in Dade County. After burning much of the town, Kinch and his men invaded the home of Thomas McConnell as he lay in his sickbed. The men carried McConnell out of the home, forcing his wife and children to follow, and then burned their home. There was no attempt to steal any provisions; it was simply an act of terror and violence upon the civilian population.[51] This story of the McConnell family is a common one throughout the region, where bushwhackers would invade the homes of civilians spreading destruction and terror as they went.

Bushwhackers attacked and raided not just civilian populations, but areas of military occupation as well. For instance, a group of Confederate bushwhackers attacked the town of Greenfield in Dade County where the Union State Militia was encamped, in 1864. The Union forces held the town but a number of civilians were killed in the attack, and several houses of Unionists were burned as the guerrillas fled town. At this time the courthouse in Greenfield was also burned, destroying most of the documents pertaining to the history of the county. Seeing such acts, squads of Union soldiers employed their own guerrilla tactics and attacked several homes harboring bushwhackers, killing southern sympathizing citizens. These incidents, along with similar ones throughout the

[50] *History of Dade County,* 83-85.

[51] Ibid., 89-94.

war, bred dissension among the citizens in Dade County and perpetuated the divided loyalties, common throughout southwestern Missouri.[52]

One Lebanon[53] woman, Elizabeth Vernon, actually knew her attackers. James Robeson and Samuel Stewart both served as privates in the Eighth Cavalry Missouri State Militia. They entered her home with guns drawn claiming to search for ammunitions. In the process, they 'confiscated' valuable items such as a gold pocket watch, a black silk shawl, and twenty-five dollars in greenbacks. The men then proceeded to demand hard money from the widow or else they would burn her house down. The widow vehemently denied having any hard money and the men left.[54] Not all encounters with these men ended so well. Often they would carry through with their threats and burn the house or commit violence against the homeowners.

The most well known instance of bushwhacking and guerrilla warfare involved the prolonged and incredibly violent altercations that took place between William Quantrill's border ruffians and the Unionist Kansas jayhawkers. These conflicts and raids generally occurred in Kansas, western Missouri, and central Missouri, but did on occasion spill into the southwestern part of the state. Many citizens fled from the western border counties towards the southwest in an attempt to avoid the worst of the violence. The bushwhackers themselves would also venture to other parts of the state when the pursuit of Union soldiers became too dangerous. They often roamed the countryside of

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[52] Ibid., 95-96.

[53] Lebanon, Missouri is a town in Laclede County approximately 50 miles northeast of Springfield, Missouri.

[54] Fellman, *Inside War,* 30. Deposition of Elizabeth Vernon, Lebanon, Nov 26, 1863, Provost Marshal Statements of Property Stolen File 2798, Record Group 393, NA.

southwestern Missouri making it dangerous for small bands of Union soldiers.[55] Bushwhackers were a problem before the onset of war and continued to be during and after the war.

Guerrilla tactics were not limited to the Confederacy but also committed by the Union. While the Confederates instigated the use of guerrilla warfare and are certainly the most remembered, Union soldiers used such tactics against Confederate bushwhackers and suspected southern sympathizers. Commanding officers feared their local militia units would disband and turn to guerrilla tactics in response to low pay, poor leadership, and bad organization. In Springfield, Brigadier General John B. Sanborn, in early 1864, voiced his concerns with fellow officers over the low morale of the militia units. He feared they would cross the line between anti-guerilla soldiering and employ guerrilla warfare in retaliation. Often his fears were well-founded as men saw their homes attacked and destroyed by southern guerillas. At times, Union militia morphed into roving armed bands.[56] No longer were these men fighting for the larger maintenance of the Union but were instead armed vigilantes seeking justice for acts committed against their communities by bushwhackers.

With Confederates posing as Union soldiers and Federals impersonating Confederates, Missourians soon became hesitant to trust strangers regardless of their affiliation. It was difficult to ascertain the allegiance of a guerrilla as well as that of the ill-equipped soldiers. Missouri Union militia often dressed in civilian clothing and guerillas were known to don both Confederate and Union uniforms, making identification

[55] Carrie Childers letter to Captain Rowan Mack, September 15, 1863, John Mack Collection, Springfield-Greene County Library, Missouri State Archives.

[56] Felman, *Inside War,* 168.

nearly impossible.[57] Guerrilla tactics and the resulting violence more than other factors of the war instilled a disregard for taking sides and kindled a desire for peace among southwest Missourians. Confusion reigned and guerrilla violence was rampant, especially in the western counties along the Kansas border, including the southwestern counties of Vernon and Barton.

General Order 11 of 1863 was the infamous decree that depopulated five western counties and part of a southwestern county in an attempt to curb the violence and prevalence of bushwhackers in the region. Stemming mainly from the conflicts between the jayhawkers and Missouri border ruffians, this order detrimentally affected Missouri civilians despite their allegiances. Those who swore loyalty oaths to the Union were allowed to remain in the affected counties but had to relocate to nearby military outposts. The southwestern counties of Vernon, Jasper, and Bates were directly impacted while other counties in the region saw an influx of refugees moving to the southwest. In Jasper County, the population dropped to eighty people and to only six in Bates County.[58] This mass exodus of people, while diminishing violence between bushwhackers and civilians, left farms and homesteads vulnerable to looting and pillaging. After the implementation of General Order 11, some officers made the effort to ensure the safety of property of known Unionists from looting bushwhackers by continuing to patrol the area.[59]

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[57] Ibid., 32.

[58] Carolyn M. Bartels, eds. *Bitter Tears: Missouri Women and Civil War Their Stories* (Independence, Missouri: Two Trails Press, 2002), 146-147. Siddali ed., *Missouri's War,* 155-156.
Jasper County was not included in General Order 11 for forceful eviction of the population but still most left the region entirely.

[59] Siddali, ed., "General Scholfield Diary, August 1863" *Missouri's War*, 160-161.

Bushwhackers continued their reign of terror in Missouri even after the war had ended. Some like the James brothers and Jim Younger went on to larger things, but many bushwhackers and disbanded Confederate soldiers roamed the countryside armed and looking for likely targets. "Bushwhackers, redhanded [sic] marauders and robbers" were a scourge that remained to be dealt with even if on a smaller scale, in most areas including the southwestern counties.[60] While bushwhackers were still active, however, Missouri had reached a crossroads on the subject of slavery and its continuation within the state.

Towards the end of the war, the issue of slavery and emancipation took center stage. The Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 by President Lincoln, freeing all the slaves in rebellious states, left slaves in Missouri who had not been emancipated or who had not escaped still under the control of their masters. It was not until January 11, 1865, when the Missouri legislature in Jefferson City voted to end slavery, that freedom truly come to Missouri slaves. With this act coming months before the 13th Amendment to the United State Constitution, Missouri once again exerted itself as a state with the right to determine its own fate, especially with the growing talks of the 13th Amendment's imminent ratification. The Missouri legislature decided to preempt the federal government and make statewide emancipation their choice rather than have it forced upon them.

Discussion of statewide emancipation began in 1863. Under provisional governor, Hamilton Rowan Gamble the debate over the future of slavery ensued, and various

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[60] *Missouri's Jubilee. Speech of Thomas C. Fletcher, Governor of Missouri, On the Occasion of the Reception by the Legislature of the news of the Passage of the Convention Ordinance Abolishing Slavery in Missouri,* State Historical Society of Missouri, 1865.

schemes were proposed. They included liberating slaves between the age of twenty-three and forty by 1874 and reducing the number of years of servitude slaves would have to work. None of these gained approval until the Ordinance Abolishing Slavery was passed under Governor Thomas Fletcher in 1865 and pushed through by Charles Drake, a Radical Republican who was key in rewriting the postwar Missouri Constitution.[61] This was backed by the promise of military force to ensure adherence to the Ordinance. Missouri now belonged "to the loyal men of Missouri and to them alone;" those who sided with the Confederacy during the war would be subject to loyalty oaths and were closely watched.[62]

The Missouri Loyalty Oath of 1865 mandated the loyalty of former confederates. Eighty-six different transgressions required loyalty oaths including taking up arms, providing food or money for the enemy and abetting guerrillas. Many of those forced to take these oaths viewed them as "an extreme and vindictive attempt to exclude any but the staunchest Unionist from public life in Missouri after the war."[63] This is probably an overstatement as many Confederates managed to return to their lives in Missouri and settle down. One Confederate captain, Daniel McIntry, who served at Wilson' Creek, later became the state attorney general. Former affiliation with the Confederacy did cause problems for some as the case of Evaline Roberts, a teacher in Greene County illustrates. Authorities discovered in the summer of 1866 that as a former Confederate sympathizer

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[61] Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865", 232-240.

[62] *Missouri's Jubilee. Speech of Thomas C. Fletcher, Governor of Missouri, On the Occasion of the Reception by the Legislature of the news of the Passage of the Convention Ordinance Abolishing Slavery in Missouri.* State Historical Society of Missouri. 1865.

[63] Galusha Anderson, *The Story of a Border City During the Civil War*, 1861.

she had failed to submit her oath of loyalty and yet continued to teach within the county. She was tried in July 1866 and found guilty. The verdict could result in a substantial fine or imprisonment."[64] While the outcome of her trial is unknown, the fact that she was tried demonstrated that although the war was over and slaves were now free, long-held sentiments in Missouri still prevailed.

Ultimately, the echoes of the Civil War resonated throughout Missouri for years to come. The combination of the settlers from the upper south who supported slavery but despised elite white southerners and abolitionist German settlers alike made for a diverse population that at the start of the war held a variety of stances on the subject of secession. Through the military engagements and violence of guerrilla warfare, some loyalties were solidified and others became even more uncertain. Bushwhackers still roamed to countryside, although in smaller numbers, but their ranks now included a number of defeated Confederate soldiers. Towns and homesteads across southwest Missouri had to rebuild, often without the aid of now deceased men of the family. The dissension over slavery and loyalty that made Missouri such a violent and uncertain place during the war extended into Reconstruction as the state rebuilt and dealt with the lingering effects of the war.

[64] "State of Missouri v. Evaline Roberts" 1866, State Historical Society of Missouri. Greene County Archives.

CHAPTER III

CONTINUED UNCERTAINTY: MISSOURI RECOVERS FROM WAR

In the years after the Civil War, the legacy of slavery impacted southwestern Missouri in a variety of indirect ways. While the economy was not as drastically altered most southern states, the loss of slaves in the largely rural region changed the demographics of each county. Other than Greene County, the black population of southwestern counties decreased as free blacks moved to major metropolitan areas looking for work. As most of the counties were overwhelming rural, there were few opportunities for employment and most farms were small family run operations that did not lend themselves to the sharecropping arrangements that emerged in much of the cotton South.

The literature concerning the Reconstruction era in Missouri focuses on the state as a whole, often with an emphasis on politics and the economy. This shifts primary attention to central Missouri and the area along the Missouri River and St. Louis, as these were the major hubs of politics and economy. William Parrish touches on each of these subjects extensively in his book *Missouri Under Radical Rule* and in his contribution to *A History of Missouri.* No work takes a comprehensive look at the effects of slavery and the

aftermath of the Civil War on southwest Missouri. Aaron Astor's *Rebels on the Border* discusses the lingering violence in south central and western Missouri, while Parrish's *Turbulent Partnership* and R. Douglas Hurt's *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie* looks at the changed economy of 'Little Dixie'[1] along the Missouri River as well as Missouri's altered political atmosphere. There is no local history pertaining to southwest Missouri that covers slavery, the Civil War, or the war's aftermath in the region. No literature looks specifically into how the region dealt with the effects of the war and how it was changed by the conflict.

While the war did not decimate the economy and political arena in southwestern Missouri as it did throughout the Confederate South, during the Reconstruction period the region suffered its own set of upheavals. In years after the Civil War, violence continued for many residents. Guerrillas and disenfranchised Confederates often roamed the countryside eliciting terror and perpetuating the violence. The devastation of war left many counties severely depopulated, effecting the economy, while the inhabitants in the region had to deal with a shifting political scene and altering demographics. In the decades following the war, the region saw the lasting effects of slavery and the Civil War.

As with the rest of the country, Missouri faced a long road back to normality after the Civil War. Much of southwestern Missouri lay scarred by skirmishes, battles, and guerrilla violence. Along with the devastation left by the war, the region still dealt with lingering violence. Soldiers returning home often times found themselves under attack,

[1] Little Dixie counties include: Platte, Clay, Ray, Carroll, Chariton, Randolph, Monroe, Ralls, Pike, Audrain, Callaway, Lincoln, Boone, Howard, Saline, Cooper, Cole, Moniteau, Lafayette, and Jackson.

Union veterans by lingering bushwhackers and Confederate veterans by their Unionist neighbors.[2] Many of those that returned found their homes destroyed, farms deserted, and neighbors gone. The war decimated places like Vernon County. General Order 13 forcefully depopulated the northern portion of the county during the war to try to mitigate the problem with guerrillas in the area. At the end of the war, there were reportedly less than a hundred families left in the county and no discernible towns remained populated. Citizens and soldiers returning came across a county that they had to resettle, as there were no stores, courts, law enforcement, or civil authority.[3] Residents were left to fend for themselves with not only rebuilding their lives, but also dealt with bushwhackers, guerrillas, and returning ex-Confederate soldiers who continued to take advantage of the ill-protected citizens of the region.

While violence and hostilities nearly vanished in other parts of the Union with the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox, the violence in Missouri continued unchecked. Guerrillas raided the state with more freedom as federal troops were recalled from the region during the spring and summer of 1865.[4] The western portion of the state, including the Ozark region saw pronounced violence. Citizens of McDonald County petitioned the state for a new army post to maintain a military presence in the region in an attempt to

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[2] T.J. Stiles, "The Border of Memory: The Divided Legacy of the Civil War." *Civil War on the Western Border: The Missouri-Kansas Conflict, 1854-1865*, The Kansas City Public Library.

[3] *History of Vernon county, Missouri : written and compiled from the most authentic official and private sources,* Missouri County Histories Collection. Missouri State Library (St. Louis: Brown & Co., 1887), 343.

[4] Fred DeArmond, "Reconstruction in Missouri." *Missouri Historical Review,* 88.

quell the violence.[5] The petition went to the governor but never resulted in any post or increased military presences, once again leaving the citizens of the southwest to fend for themselves. Consequently, lingering bushwhackers, guerrillas, and displaced ex-Confederate soldiers commonly maintained their wartime activities of eliciting terror, robbing individuals, destroying property, and killing. Depending on their background, they often targeted known Unionist, returning Confederates, and free blacks that remained in the region. Some guerrillas from the war changed their ways and created a new lifestyle.

While some guerrillas continued to spread fear much as they did during the war, men like the James brothers continued their lawless lifestyles after the war by turning to robbery. No longer a military tactic and way of seeking personal vengeance, Frank and Jesse James and their gang made life outside of the law a livelihood. Like many Missourians, the James' came from a slave owning heritage in the Upper South before moving to Missouri. Frank initially joined the secessionist Missouri State Guard and fought at the battle of Wilson's Creek. He contracted measles, forcing his unit to leave him behind and the Union forces captured him. After promising not to fight anymore, he left for home and promptly broke his promise. He and his brother Jesse joined bushwhackers who traversed much of Missouri in their raids. After the war, the James brothers formed their own band and turned to robbery, expanding their reach from

[5] Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 234.

Minnesota to Texas.[6] While the violence continued in the region, some who were able in southwest Missouri sought restitution for property lost during the war.

Given the interest in restitution, Confederates returning to their homes feared suits against them and biased court proceedings. Cases could rarely be resolved with civil settlements, as cash and valuable property were scarce after years of war. Richard Huston, a former guerrilla residing in Polk County, was perversely satisfied that any who sought to gain restitution from him would be unable to as he was impoverished.[7] These difficulties did not stop some from attempting to sue for restitution. In 1863, the Bowers Mill wool-carding machinery, storage facilities, and three homes were burned in Lawrence County. George, John, and William Bowers, whose property was destroyed, brought to court two separate cases. An 1864 suit against 47 defendants resulted in several being acquitted from involvement in the crime and no restitution for the Bowers. In October 1865, the suit was refiled, but did not see successful results until 1869, when James Barnes confessed to accompanying General Shelby from Arkansas up into Lawrence County. There he and another man, against the general's orders, burned the Bowers property believing it to be the headquarters for the Lawrence County militia. The

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[6] Jesse and Frank James Court Documents from Daviess County Collection. Missouri Digital Heritage. Missouri State Archives.
Another example of bushwhacker turned outlaw was Myra Maebelle Shirley aka Belle Star a Carthage native whose family staunchly supported the Confederacy. Her brother was killed by Union soldiers while riding with bushwhacker William Quantrill prompting Belle into a life of revenge as a criminal.

[7] Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 237.

Bowers eventually gained a confession.[8] The outcome of the case is unknown but with the confession it is likely that the Bowers received payment for their losses. Destruction of property was not the only damages citizens of southwest Missouri sought recompense for; others sought to gain monetary payment for the loss of life due to guerrilla violence.

People affected by the war in the Ozarks sought restitution for not only property and monetary loss, but also for other atrocities committed by guerrillas. John Henry a resident of Van Buren in Newton County filed suit against 26 men whom he claimed imprisoned him for a month during the war. While the outcome of the case is unknown, cases like it were common in the years after the war.[9] Martha Hood of Carthage, Martha Clark, and Mary Rush of Jasper County sued for monetary damages to be paid by the men they accused of having murdered their husbands. Each widow claimed a group of guerrillas unlawfully detained and then killed their husbands during the war. Martha Hood and Martha Clark sued on the grounds of loss to their and their children's' quality

[8] Bowers, William H. et al. vs. Williams, Brown et al. Civil Court Case – 1864. Community and Conflict – The Impact of the Civil War in the Ozarks Collection. Greene County, Missouri Circuit Court, Bowers, William H., George F. Bowers and John J. S. Bowers vs. William, Brown et al., 1864 - 1869, Box 16, Folder CW 69. Greene County Archives and Records Center, Springfield, Missouri.
George F. Bowers, John J. S. Bowers and William H. Bowers vs. Harvey T. McCune Civil Court Case - 1865. Greene County, Missouri Circuit Court, Bowers, George F., John J. S. Bowers and William H. Bowers vs. McCune, Harvey T. and Mary T., 1865 - 1869, Folders CW 65 and CW 71. Greene County Archives and Records Center, Springfield, Missouri.

[9] "John Henry vs. William Gullet, et al. – 1865." John Henry vs. William Gullet, et. al. 1865. CW 21. Greene County Archives and Records Center, Springfield, Missouri.

of life.[10] Some who failed to gain satisfaction through the courts or civil authorities turned to vigilante groups themselves to counter the violence still found in the area.

A vigilante group called the Bald Knobbers organized in Taney County, Christian County, Douglas County, and parts of Greene County. Appendix 3.1 is an illustration of the Bald Knobbers. At the outbreak of the war, these counties had minimal numbers of slaves so emancipation was not as dramatic of an event for the area.[11]

Table 1

1860 Southwest Missouri Slave Population

County	Population	Slaves	Owners
Lawrence	5,000	245	69
Vernon	4,707	140	59
Cedar	6,428	211	66
Polk	10,000	522	152
Barton	1,817	21	11
Dade	6,727	350	105
Jasper	6,548	334	107
Christian	526	229	66
Newton	8,895	497	151
McDonald	3,976	72	23
Barry	7,748	257	54
Stone	2,384	16	8
Taney	3,494	82	20
Greene	13,000	1668	337[12]

[10] "Martha Hood vs. David Rusk, et al. – 1865." Jasper County, Missouri, Hood, Martha vs. Rusk, David et al., 19 June 1865, Box 4, Folder: 38; Jasper County Records, Carthage, Missouri. "Martha Hood vs. Wiley Webb et al – 1865." Jasper County, Missouri, Hood, Martha vs. Webb, Wiley, 13 October 1865, Box 4, Folder: 39; Jasper County Records, Carthage, Missouri. "Martha Clark vs. Wiley Webb et al – 1865." Jasper County, Missouri, Clark, Martha vs. Webb, Wiley et al., 7 July 1865, Box 4, Folder: 40; Jasper County Records, Carthage, Missouri. "Mary Rush vs. John Small, et al. – 1866." Mary Rush vs. John Small et. al. 1866. CW 32. Greene County Archives and Records Center, Springfield, Missouri.

[12] 1860 Federal Census, Edwin Leigh. *Bird's-Eye View of Slavery in Missouri.*

However, the political and economic changes of the region certainly were. Officially organized in 1884 in Forsyth, Missouri, the Bald Knobbers opposed the continued violence that existed in the region. In addition, as new economic ventures entered the remote area, the group took up arms against those they saw as 'invading' their sanctuary. Most men rode with the group as self-appointed lawmen for the area. However, as with most vigilante groups, many took advantage of their position to seek vengeance or a payout. Eventually, an opposition group rallied and gained the support of the state government to roust the Bald Knobbers.[13]

Another group in Greene County that organized in Walnut Grove to counter the vigilante attacks that continued after the war were the "Honest Men's League". Reportedly, its membership boasted both former Confederate and Union soldiers who were determined to rid the region of thieves and robbers by any means necessary. They were implicated in the murders of Captain Green Phillips, John Rush, and Charlie Gorsuch whom they claim were involved in some of the area's thefts, or in the case of Phillips aided those who perpetuated the crimes. It was later shown that all three men had served for the Union and that after the death of Phillips, Rush and Gorsuch publicly condemned the "Regulators."[14] Small groups like these had limited range and effect in

[13]Thomas M. Spencer, "The Bald Knobbers, the Anti-Bald Knobbers, Politics, and the Culture of Violence in the Ozarks, 1860-1890." *The Other Missouri History: Populists, Prostitutes, and Regular Folk* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 32, 42. Darnell, Gerry, "Balk Knobbers: The Ozark Vigilantes" Turmoil and Unrest in the Missouri Hills. *Bittersweet* 6, no 4 (1979), 20-21. David Thelen, *Paths of Resistance: Tradition and Dignity in Industrializing Missouri* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 87.

[14] R.I. Holcombe, ed., *History of Greene County, Missouri 1883,* 497-498.

the years following the war and eventually died out on their own, thus civil authorities regained control of the region.

While the continued violence and destruction from the war marked the area, the Reconstruction era also was a time of change economically for southwestern Missouri. As slavery came to an end, the focus on certain crops changed and urban areas swelled in population. With the Civil War over, southwest Missouri was able to complete its railroad projects and open the region to increased trade. This created a regional boom in mining. With the elimination of slave labor, some state residents of the southwest had to find other ways of sustaining themselves or supplementing their incomes. Those in urban areas looked for new business ventures such as the railroad to augment the loss of slavery, while the rural areas shifted their type of crop production. Slowly, production shifted away from the labor intense slave produced cotton and hemp. What little was produced in the southwest, was corn and wheat. This trend was seen statewide.[15]

Table 2
1878 Missouri Principle Crop Totals

Indian Corn ———— 93,062,000 bushels
Wheat ———— 20,196,000 bushels
Rye ———— 732,000 bushels
Oats ———— 19,584,000 bushels
Buckwheat ———— 46,400 bushels
Potatoes ———— 5,415,000 bushels
Tobacco ———— 23,023,000 pounds
Hay ———— 1,620,000 tons[16]

A major setback in agriculture occurred in 1875 when locust swarmed into western Missouri and devastated the region. This invasion of nature drastically depleted crops,

[15] T.J. Stiles, "The Border of Memory." R.I. Holcombe. ed., *History of Greene 1883,* 59-60.

[16] R.I. Holcombe. ed., *History of Greene 1883.* 60.

gardens, and feed for livestock. They wreaked havoc on the region from May until July. However, with an extended Indian summer, farmers in Vernon County were able to harvest a good crop of corn.[17] Not only did the emphasis on growing certain crops change, but also the emphasis on types of livestock raising shifted.

Prior to the war, cattle ranching was not a large practice in southwestern Missouri. Farmers predominantly raised the animals needed to be self-sufficient. Those animals raised for market in the Ozarks were hogs and the Missouri mule. In 1860, there were nearly 13,000 native cows in Missouri, a number that was severely cut during the war due to guerrillas, two armies, and difficulty in procuring feed for them. It was not until 1866 that the cattle industry took off as cattle were driven through the region by Texas ranchers looking to ship their herds to northern markets. Missouri farmers, short on livestock at the time, were able to profit from selling feed and pasturing to the drovers. However, with the threat of 'Texas Fever," many citizens of southwestern Missouri saw these cattle as a threat and began to thwart their movement through the region. In Vernon County, the sheriff went so far as to retain drovers as the attempted to make their way through the county. It was not until 1870 that the cattle industry in Missouri started to recover.[18] Appendix 3.2 shows an 1875 map of Missouri with the major rail lines that crossed the region as compared to Appendix 3.3 that shows the extension of railroads by 1888. Ranchers, both out of state and local, drove cattle through southwest Missouri to

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[17] *History of Vernon county, Missouri : written and compiled from the most authentic official and private sources* (St. Louis: Brown & Co., 1887). Missouri County Histories Collection. Missouri State Library, 362.

[18] Lyndon Irwin, "Missouri Beef History: After the Civil War" *Agricultural History Series.* Missouri State University. R.I. Holcombe. ed., *History of Greene 1883.* 59-61.

major railheads to be shipped back east. But the trail drives through the region decreased, due to a variety of reasons, including the building of railroads across the area.

The late 1870s and 1880s found Missouri in the middle of a 'railroad mania' and the industry boomed as the rails crisscrossed the region. Appendix 3.2 and 3.3 are maps of railroads in Missouri in 1875 and 1888 respectively. The Ozarks were the last region to experience extensive railroad expansion. Rolla was the nearest railhead and prior to the war planning had been done to extend the rails to Springfield and beyond. Those plans were abandoned during the war. On average, the largely rural southern portion of the state had a population density of five people per square mile in 1870. In comparison, the rest of the state ranged from fifteen to forty people per square mile.[19] The lack of railroads inhibited farmers from growing large quantities of the crops formerly cultivated with the help of slaves such as hemp and tobacco, as was common in central Missouri with its large farms and easy access to transportation. The railroad finally made substantial strides into southwestern Missouri in the 1870s. With this growth, there was a boom in lead and zinc mining in the region.[20]

Missouri predominantly mined lead, zinc, iron, and barite. The lead mines around Neosho, in Newton County, were of keen interest to both North and South during the war. After the war Missouri took advantage of the mining with the railroads coming into the area. In Newton County, the Granby Mining and Smelting Company employed 300

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[19] William E. Parrish, *Missouri Under Radical Rule 1865-1870* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1965), 208-209.
History of Vernon County, Missouri: written and compiled from the most authentic official and private sources. Missouri County Histories Collection. Missouri State Library (St. Louis: Brown & Co., 1887), 376-377.

[20] Parrish, *Missouri Under Radical Rule,* 213.

miners in 1870 in mining lead from the region.[21] Soon boom-towns such as Cary, a zinc mining town, in Dade County cropped up. After the initial boom, most of these towns died out or were incorporated into nearby communities. With the emphasis on lead and zinc mining growing, forges and furnaces cropped up in the Ozark region near the ore deposits.[22] As the economy of the region shifted and made way for new industry in the wake of emancipation, Missouri dealt with their own reconstruction government. While not affected by President Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan or Congressional Reconstruction, as Missouri never officially seceded from the Union, the state government had its share of stout regulations on former Confederates and their sympathizers.

Radicals in Missouri, unlike many of their colleagues in Congress, were driven not by humanitarian efforts on behalf of newly freed blacks but by the need to punish those who supported and fought for the Confederacy. Radicals in Greene County Missouri went so far as to separate themselves from President Johnson's legislature regarding the South, stating that they were proud to be *Missouri* Radicals.[23] They sought to eliminate the secessionists' power by passing emancipation laws to destroy their economic stronghold. However, the conservatives in the state wanted to quickly heal the state and were more hesitant about freeing the slaves. Riding on the emotions from the war Radicals prevailed in the elections in 1864 and pushed through emancipation. The

[21] Ibid., 213.

[22] Ibid.

[23] R.I. Holcombe, ed., *History of Greene County, Missouri 1883,* 497.

new Missouri constitution, drafted by Charles Drake, a Radical from St. Louis, imposed strict restrictions on secessionists.[24]

Southwestern counties voted overwhelmingly in favor of the Drake Constitution; however, this does not take into account those prohibited to vote under Section 6 Article XIII which stated that those who would not meet the qualifications of the test oaths would not be allowed to vote on the matter of the new constitution.[25] Those in Greene County voted in favor of the new Constitution even with its restrictions and infringements on civil liberties. Under the "Drake" Constitution, only approximately 1600 individuals could vote in Greene County.[26]

Table 3

VOTE ON THE "DRAKE" CONSTITUTION, JUNE 6, 1865.[27]

Townships and Military Company	For	Against
Campbell, 1st Precinct	174	31
Campbell 2d Precinct	272	94
Boone	69	5
Cass	76	2
Clay	54	1

[24] T.J. Stiles, "The Border of Memory: The Divided Legacy of the Civil War." *Civil War on the Western Border: The Missouri-Kansas Conflict, 1854-1865*, The Kansas City Public Library.

[25] Parrish, *Missouri Under Radical Rule*, 47.

[26] R.I. Holcombe, ed., *History of Greene County, Missouri 1883,* 486-487, 496.

[27] R.I. Holcombe, *History of Greene County, Missouri 1883* (Perkins & Horne, Publishers, 1883), 487.

Center	42	9
Jackson	82	29
Pond Creek	62	3
Robberson	114	20
Taylor	92	0
Wilson	22	14
Second Battalion 14th Mo. Cavalry	12	0
TOTAL	**1,071**	**208**

The new Constitution also removed officials elected in 1863 under an 'ousting ordinance' due to their known or perceived Confederate leanings. Radicals then replaced a number of these individuals who were Democrats. Those ousted in Greene County went peacefully and eighty-seven office holders took the oath.[28] Eventually, the heavy-handed use of the Iron Clad Oaths by Radicals on residents to advance their agendas pushed the conservative Unionists into an alliance with secessionists as they sought to rebuild and bring peace to Missouri.[29]

Democrats, both secessionist and Unionists alike, suffered intimidation tactics in the years after the Civil War and were often prevented from voting. This, added to the large shift to Republican support during the war, aided in maintaining Republican

[28] R.I. Holcombe, ed., *History of Greene County, Missouri 1883* (Perkins & Horne, Publishers, 1883), 484.

[29] T.J. Stiles, "The Border of Memory: The Divided Legacy of the Civil War." *Civil War on the Western Border: The Missouri-Kansas Conflict, 1854-1865*. The Kansas City Public Library.

dominance in Missouri politics. Republican power, specifically Radical Republicans, rose in Missouri during the Civil War and remained in control until 1870 when a Liberal Republican, B. Gratz Brown was elected governor with the aid of Democrats in the state. Under Brown, a bill allowing Confederates to vote easily passed enlarging the oppositions to the Radicals.[30] This allowed for a shift in election trends across the state, including the southwest.

The 1870 elections in Greene County revealed that the Republican party was still in control. However, Radicals were now evenly dispersed with Liberal Republicans in state and local representation showing a shift away from overwhemling Radical support. While the Republican party remained dominant, the voters also passed an amendment to the state's constitution that abolished the "oath of loyalty" for voters and jurors, and another amendment removed certain prohibitions based on race, color, previous condition of servitude, or former acts of disloyalty. This was a progressive step forward for blacks in the state and for former Confederates who up to this point were barred from voting or holding a leadership position without first giving an oath of loyalty. This quickly changed the dynamics of elections, which was demonstrated in the 1872 elections when a number of Democrats were elected at the local level. [31] The tide slowly turned as secessionist and former Confederate gained power in the state. By 1879, both U.S. Senators were former secessionists as were a number of Representatives. In 1884, Missouri elected ex-Confederate general John Sappington Marmaduke as governor. While southwest

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[30] Ibid.

[31] R.I. Holcombe ed., *History of Greene County, Missouri, 1883* (Perkins & Horne, Publishers, 1883), 530-531, 539.

Missouri followed the rest of the state's trend by supporting Radical Republicans during and immediately after the war, the community esteemed one prominent Democrat from Springfield, who epitomized the complexity of slavery and loyalty in the region.

John S. Phelps, a well-respected Springfield lawyer, personified the conundrum that was Civil War era Missouri. A slave owner, Phelps remained a staunch Unionist before and throughout the war. He served in Congress from 1845 to 1863 when he resigned to accept the position of military governor of Arkansas. However, as a Democrat his role in politics waned as Radical Republicans took control. In the predominantly Radical Republican supporting southwest, Phelps had the background and following in the region to make him a likely candidate for Democrats in the gubernatorial election in 1868, but he ultimately lost as the Radicals maintained their power throughout the state.[32] In 1876, the power of the Radical Republicans in Missouri waned and Phelps was elected governor.[33] He maintained a large supporting constituency in the southwestern region including Vernon County where he received 1,861 votes to his opponent's 765.[34] His election to governor was aided by the nullification of loyalty oaths and the end to the disenfranchisement of former Confederates.

Confederate soldiers and any who aided them in Missouri, as in most of the Union, were punished after the war. Under Missouri law, they were disenfranchised,

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[32] Parrish, *A History of Missouri.* Vol III 243-250.

[33] "John S. Phelps Papers," *Community and Conflict: The Impact of the Civil War on the Ozarks,* Springfield Greene County Library District.

[34] *History of Vernon county, Missouri : written and compiled from the most authentic official and private sources.* St. Louis: Brown & Co., 1887. Missouri County Histories Collection. Missouri State Library. 363.

unable to run for office, or to hold a position of influence within a community such as a pastor, lawyer, government official, or teacher. Civilians accused by Radicals of being Confederate sympathizers could swear a loyalty oath in order to remove these restrictions. The new state constitution required loyalty oaths from anyone who participated in a number of 'disloyal' activities. These, according to the "Drake" Constitution, consisted of serving the Confederacy as a soldier or official, aiding or abetting Confederates in any way, participating or aiding those who participated in guerrilla warfare, personally desiring a Confederate victory, or crossing the border into a Confederate state. All citizens were required to take an oath of loyalty to the state of Missouri and the Union regardless of their loyalties during the war. To refuse to take the oath, especially for those in public positions, would cast suspicion upon them. Without taking an oath, ex-Confederates and their sympathizers were not allowed to hold positions of authority. Those found to hold one of these offices without adhering to the loyalty oath faced a fine of up to $500 or a six-month prison sentence. [35]

Even church leaders were subject to loyalty oaths and found themselves penalized for preaching without one. In August 1866, Reverend Hadlee of Webster County had returned to his home in Missouri after fleeing south during the war. Refusing to take a loyalty oath, he nonetheless continued to preach even when denied entry to his old church. He left with his followers towards his own land when he was shot dead.[36] Officials removed other church leaders from around the state from their pulpits, arrested

[35] Thomas S. Barclay, "The Test Oath For the Clergy in Missouri." *Missouri Historical Review* 18, no 3 (April 1924), 345-381.

[36] Michael Fellman, *Inside War,* 239-240.

them, and fined them for continuing to preach without taking a loyalty oath. While many former Confederates faced difficulties with the new state constitution and authorities, others found trouble from soldiers of opposing sides who had come to Missouri after the war.

Some soldiers who returned home were able deal amicably with those who served on the opposing side. Such was the case initially for former Confederate soldier Davis K. Tutt and a former Union scout and spy named William Butler Hickok. Noted friends and gamblers, the two managed to play cards and interact amicably until the summer of 1865 when Tutt won Hickok's prized pocket watch. Tutt then taunted Hickok by flaunting the watch around the square in Springfield. Hickok warned Tutt not to cross the street at which point Tutt then drew and fired at Hickok. Hickok returned fire, killing Tutt. Hickok was later tried and represented by John Phelps of Springfield. He was found not guilty by reason of self-defense.[37]Others feared even to return home having heard the stories of continued violence in the region.[38]The shift in Confederate population out of the area was not the only demographic change to occur in the Ozarks. Now, freed blacks were also on the move.

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[37] "Warrant for Arrest for William Hickok for the Murder of Davis Tutt – 1866." Greene County Circuit Court. State of Missouri vs. Hickok, January 18, 1866. Folder 8. Greene County Archives and Records Center, Springfield, Missouri. "State of Missouri vs. William Hickok – 1865 Coroner's Report." Circuit Court A State of Missouri vs. Hickok, July 21, 1865.Â Folder 3.Â Greene County Archives and Records Center, Springfield, Missouri. "State of Missouri vs. William Hickok – 1865." Greene County Circuit Court. State of Missouri vs. Hickok, Aug 4 1865. Folder 3.Â Greene County Archives and Records Center, Springfield, Missouri.

[38] Michael Fellman, *Inside War.* Missouri 1865 Constitution. Christopher Phillips. "Shadow War: Federal Military Authority and Loyalty Oaths in Civil War Missouri." *Civil War on the Western Border: The Missouri-Kansas Conflict, 1854-1865*. The Kansas City Public Library. 2.

By 1870, there were fewer blacks in Missouri than there had been prior to the war.[39]Those blacks who remained in the southwest gravitated towards urban areas such as Springfield in order to find work. In 1880, blacks in Springfield held jobs in variety of places, most involving physical labor. By the age of fourteen, most blacks, both male and female, were listed as working. The majority of black men held jobs in fields of hard labor such as well digger, brick carrier, teamster, servant, or factory worker, with only a handful listed as minister, teacher, or carpenter. Overwhelmingly, women worked as servants, cooks, seamstresses, or laundresses.[40] There were a few exceptions to the rule of urban migration, as some chose instead to stay in rural areas and work the land.

Ruben, a slave previously owned by Howard Boone, son of Nathan Boone, continued to live and work his former owner's land. Howard Boone left the region prior to the Civil War, travelling to California leaving behind Ruben and his Ellen. Union troops still in the region allowed Ruben to stay on the farm for another year as long as he gave one-third of the harvest to them. During that time, Ruben and Ellen officially married and took the last name of Boone. Eventually, they travelled further north, possibly due to rising tensions in the area in regards to free blacks.[41] Ruben like other free blacks from the region, left the southwest either to avoid racist actions against them or to seek out urban areas having greater opportunities for employment and education.

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[39] Lorenzo J. Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Antonio F. Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage, Revised Edition* (Columbia, Mo: University of Missouri Press, 1993).

[40] William K. Hall, *Springfield, Greene County, Missouri Inhabitants in 1880.*

[41] *Black Families of the Ozarks*. Greene County Archives Bulletin Number 45. County Clerk Richard Struckhoff, 181.

There were government provisions for black education in 1865. The new "Drake" Constitution encouraged the creation of schools for African Americans that under the law required equal funding, establishing the 'separate but equal' in schools early on. There were exceptions for counties with fewer than 20 black children. George Washington Carver, born into slavery in Newton County was only able to attend school by walking ten miles to Locust Grove School, the black school in Neosho, Missouri. Due to the small black population after the war, most counties in the southwest were not required under the new constitution to create schools for free blacks and they were not readily allowed in white schools.

For blacks that remained in the region, racism and inequality was an issue. In Springfield, an issue arose where mullatoes were being afforded more equal rights than darker skinned blacks. Complaints were made to the board of trustees of the school board and the *Springfield Leader* that mullatoes were allowed into white public schools and given more funding for education.[42] As with racism in any region, the prejudices found in southwest Missouri after the war had no pattern and were often unrecorded acts that did not gain much notoriety. This was due in large part to the dwindling number of African Americans in the region.

In Missouri, free blacks encountered a different postwar environment then found in the South or North. They held few of the rights and privileges their northern counterparts enjoyed and were not aided by the Radical Congressional support that blacks

[42] *Springfield Leader* 1870-03-31.

living in the South received.[43] Early on many Radicals worked on their behalf at the state level, following Drake's example, but the advantages gained in southwestern Missouri were limited as the population of blacks after the war significantly diminished. With the strong abolitionist movement concentrated in St. Louis and near the capitol, southwest Missouri saw limited talk of equality and black rights after the war. It was often easier for blacks simply to move to locations that were more progressive to find not only greater chances of equality, but for economic reasons as well. This led to many leaving the state.

As blacks moved from southwestern Missouri to urban areas or states with a higher degree of equality, the overall population of Missouri dramatically increased in the years after the war. The population grew by 600,000 between 1860 and 1870.[44] Immigration into the southwest was limited until the 1870s due to the lack of railway transportation. Some Confederate sympathizers sought to take advantage of those moving into the region by selling their property and moving further south. Sarah Campbell Owen's family were strong supporters of the Confederacy during the war and many left the region for more sympathetic locales. Rather than just leaving, Sarah sought to make money on her land to buy a home near her family in Tennessee.[45]During the course of the war, a number of Missouri citizens left the region seeking more peaceful and like-minded states. Confederates moved south into Arkansas and Texas, Unionists moved further

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[43] Aaron Astor, *Rebels on the Border: Civil War, Emancipation, and the Reconstructions of Kentucky and Missouri* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 166.

[44] Fellman, *Inside War.* 241-243.

[45] Sarah Rush Campbell Owen to Mary Frances Owen (Bryan), 17 June 1866 in *Confederate Girlhoods: A Women's History of Early Springfield, Missouri,* eds. Craig A Meyer, Casey D. White, Adam D. Veile, and Amber V. Luce (Springfield, MO: Moon City Press, 2010), 237-238.

north in the state or to Kansas and Illinois. After the war ended, a number of them remained where they were.

While aided in the settlement of the southwest but the loss of slavery had a limited effect on much of the region. It was indirectly through the Civil War that slavery had its greatest effect on the region. The Civil War was the culmination of the discrepancies between loyalties that existed in the region. These differences manifested themselves in a violent manner that wreaked havoc in the region before, during, and after the war. In many counties, especially rural areas, the memory of slavery practically disappeared by the twentieth century. This is due in large part to the almost non-existent black populations in the area. While traces of racism may have lingered in rural areas; with no black population to incite any sort of recordable history of such prejudices it is difficult to clarify. Lynchings occurred in the regions urban centers such as Springfield, Pierce City, and Joplin just after the turn of the century. Those violent and racist actions that did occur in southwestern Missouri were often overshadowed by the more frequent, and at times more horrific, treatment of blacks in the South.

Small-scale slavery aided in settling southwest Missouri, creating a region of mostly self sufficient farms. Today the Ozark region of Missouri is still dominated by small towns and family owned and operated farms. A few metropolitan areas have built up over the years, but not to any major city size. While slavery in the region impacted the coming of the Civil War, for most residents it was about more than just the issue of owning slaves. Citizens wanted not to be controlled by aristocratic southern plantation owners and the Union federal government alike. That is what prompted many of them to move to Missouri and then to the Ozarks. The style of slavery found in Missouri was not

as significant an economic factor as it was in the Deep South. Southwest Missourian's livelihoods did not solely depend upon the labor of their slaves; instead they were sources of extra income from their 'rented' labor or an extra set of hands on the farm. Slaves meant farmers had the ability to farm and cultivate more land, which meant a shift in production once that labor force was gone. Slaves had a more pronounced role in the early settlement of the region as families struggled to establish themselves and were forced to be more self-sufficient. By the Civil War, residents were more affected by the violence of military skirmishes and guerrilla warfare than the loss of slavery.

CHAPTER IV

REMEMBERING SLAVERY AND THE CIVIL WAR AT HISTORICAL SITES AND MUSEUMS

Memories of the past can often be a greater source for information than the actual events that took place. It is important to understand and to separate that which is memory and that which is fact. It is of utmost importance that institutions such as museums and historic sites establish that which is factual in their historical dialogue. They must also reveal the local, state, or national identity and memory related to the facts.

Gail Anderson, the editor of *Reinventing the Museum,* compiled numerous articles that deal with the world of museums. From the purpose of museums to their infrastructure and leadership, the articles address the evolving world of museums and what the public expects from them. In the article "Savings Bank for the Soul: About Institutions of Memory and Congregant Spaces" the author Elaine Gurian emphasized the importance of historical institutions in a community.[1] They provide the outlet for preserved memory. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's book *Museums and Interpretation of*

[1] Gail Anderson ed., *Reinventing the Museum: The Evolving Conversation on the Paradigm Shift* (New York: AltaMira Press, 2012).

Visual Culture also relates the importance of museums as having the ability to shape identity and provide depth and substance to that identity through its collections.[2]

In American history, the subjects of slavery and the Civil War remain strong in peoples' memories especially during the 150th anniversary of the war. The memories of those from southwest Missouri differ greatly from those living in the South or North. In the Ozarks, slavery has a long history, but not one that overwhelms its history. While slave labor built the South, it was only a part of the larger picture in Missouri. On the other hand, the Civil War left a lasting, if not always noticeable, imprint on the region. In *Slavery and Public History*[3], the editors James Horton and Lois Horton, compiled articles that deal with how institutions and public memory have dealt with slavery. Each article emphasizes the need for historic sites and museums to address slavery and not just in connection to the Civil War. It is easier to mention slavery as a cause of the Civil War and leave it at that rather than to delve into the power and dynamics of the institution. These articles discuss the difficulty of presenting the whole picture of history while still being respectful to the public. A common theme throughout the articles is the need to tell the whole story even if it might be painful. Slavery was such a major factor in the history of the United States that to ignore it would be negligent on the part of historians.

In southwest Missouri, there are a handful of institutions whose mission centers on the preservation and interpretation of slavery and the Civil War in the area. These

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[2] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

[3]James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton ed., *Slavery and Public History* (New York: The New York Press, 2006).

institutions have the duty to present accurately history to the public. Some focus on specific events or towns while others take a slightly broader view of the topics. In *The Presence of the Past,* the authors discuss the need for public historians to present history to the public in a factual and meaningful way.[4] The authors determined this through an extensive survey conducted on the museum public. In looking for the expectations of the public for museums the public's trust in museums and historic sites was clear. They trust these institutions to provide them with the truth and to do so in a manner that is effective. It is not enough to preserve history; historical institutions must also present that history in a meaningful manner that impacts and aids the collective memory.

The Nathan Boone Homestead State Historic Site, Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, George Washington Carver National Monument, and the Museum on the Square in Springfield each deal with the issues of slavery and the Civil War in southwest Missouri. Wilson's Creek focuses solely on the Civil War. The others have a broader mission that include to some degree a greater history of the area. Wilson's Creek concentrates on the lead up to the battle and the battle itself, while the Civil War Museum provides information on various aspects of the war, guerrilla warfare, slavery, while also discussing the Battle of Carthage. Each of these sites preserve and present to the public a portion of southwest Missouri's early history.

The Nathan Boone Homestead State Historic Site, located a few miles north of Ash Grove, is where Nathan, the youngest son of the frontiersman Daniel Boone, settled in the 1830s. Appendix 4.1 is an image of the dogtrot home of the Boone family. As a

[4] Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 63, 93-94.

young man, Nathan left Kentucky with a couple of his brothers and moved west looking for better opportunities. As the youngest of 16 children, his prospects at home were limited. Nathan moved into the Spanish held Missouri territory where he met and married his wife Olive Van Bibber in 1799. Settling in the St. Charles region Boone thrived, building a large stone house where his father Daniel passed away in September 1820. However, financial troubles hit the Boone family in the early 1830s when Boone cosigned on a loan and then held the bill when his cosigner fled the region. Boone sent his older sons and two slaves to the southwest region of the new state in 1835, a region he had travelled through in the course of a military career first with the Missouri Mounted Rangers and then with the dragoons.[5] In 1837, the whole family left their home at Femme Osage and moved to southwest Missouri to the dogtrot style home Nathan's sons had built at his request while he attended to his duties in the dragoons.[6] Here, Nathan worked the land with his sons and slaves just north of what would become the city of Ash Grove in Greene County.

As of 1850, Nathan Boone claimed ownership of fifteen slaves ranging in age from a two-year-old boy to a thirty-six year old male.[7] Nathan's children and their spouses also owned slaves, usually a couple at a time, who were often family members or

[5] Neal O. Hammon ed., *My Father, Daniel Boone: The Draper Interviews with Nathan Boone* (University Press of Kentucky, 1999). R. Douglas Hurt, *Nathan Boone and the American Frontier* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1998), 30-36.

[6] R.I. Holcombe ed., *History of Greene County, Missouri 1883* (Perkins & Horne, Publishers, 1883), 623. R. Douglas Hurt, *Nathan Boone and the American Frontier* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1998), 184-186.

[7] 1850 Census Slave schedule

spouses of Nathan's slaves.[8] At his death in 1856, there were eleven slaves listed as part of his estate.[9] Owning this number of slaves was uncommon for the region and for most of the state. However, as an owner of so many slaves Nathan did "rent" out slaves to neighbors and family members. As Nathan was often absent and his sons grew up to move on and work their own land, his slaves were an important source of labor on his homestead.

The story of Nathan Boone and his life is a prime example of settlement in southwest Missouri. He came from the Upper South, perhaps earlier than most, but settled in northern Missouri before moving to the southwest in the 1830s. He owned more slaves than was normal but nowhere near the quality seen in the Deep South and his farm was self-sufficient. The farm required limited supplies from outside sources. Although Nathan served in the military for most his life and was often not at home, his farm and time in southwest Missouri was typical for residents of the region. This provides the Nathan Boone Homestead State Historic Site with the prime opportunity of preserving and showcasing for the public what life was like during the early settlement of the region, including slavery and the coming of the Civil War.

The site itself contains a visitor center near the road with the house set back out of view behind a stand of trees. On the tour provided by the park, visitors travel a path through the trees, introducing them to local flora that were indigenous to the region during the 1800s. Breaking through the tree line, visitors encounter a field, depending on the season, in some phase of hay production. Towards the north, lies a small slave

[8] Holcombe. 1850 U.S. Census, slave schedule.

[9] Holcombe. Greene County, Missouri Tax Assessor's List, 1856, 146.

graveyard, nestled amongst some trees. Today, only two slave names are still legible, Preston Boon and Moses Boone. Both of these names are in the historical records of the time. Reportedly, other names were once visible but few rocks mark the graves and not all have distinguishable marks. Moving back south a visitor will encounter the orderly fenced family graveyard where Nathan and Olive Van Bibber lie along with other family members. It also has the three graves belonging to children that belonged to a family of squatters that stayed on the land. Passing the hay field the visitor finally approaches the dogtrot house. Fully enclosed the house consists of two lower level rooms with fireplaces and a breezeway in between. Taking the ladder like stairs to the second level, a visitor encounters the divided attic space, with its pitched roof that served as sleeping quarters for the children.[10]

During the course of the tour the role of slaves on the farm is intermittently mentioned. There is one story told of Olive Boone and a slave women working around the homestead while Nathan was away on military missions. However, there are few stories about the family's slaves and the tour references them in generalities rather than specifics. The site misses the opportunity to inform the public of slavery's role in the settlement of southwest Missouri and provide contextual background for the coming war. The Boone family slaves not only helped to settle the homestead, but farmed the land,

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[10] Sobel, Dr. Elizabeth, Heather Seale and Allison Tiller, "Inventory of Historic Grave Markers in African American Cemetery at the Nathan Boone Homestead State Historic Site at Ash Grove, Missouri." Division of State Parks Missouri Department of Natural Resource. Fall 2011.
Yelton, Jeffery K. and Robert T. Bray, "Archaeological and Historical Investigations at the Nathan Boone Homestead State Historic Site." Archaeological Investigations Conducted for Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Division of State Parks. Center for Archaeological Research Southwest Missouri State University. March 1994.

were rented out to neighbors, and, once free, a few stayed on at the homestead for a year after the war. Their stories could be mentioned throughout the tour. A series of archaeological field schools have searched for the site of the slave quarters, which if reconstructed could provide insight into the lives of slaves in southwestern Missouri.

While the Nathan Boone Homestead tells the story of an early settler from the 1830s through the Civil War, other sites focus on specific events during the war. The Battle of Wilson's Creek took place on August 10, 1861 ten miles outside of Springfield, Missouri. This battle marked the end of General Nathaniel Lyon's pursuit of General Sterling Price and the Missouri State Guard. Skirmishes took place between the two forces all the way from Jefferson City as the deposed Governor Claiborne Jackson and General Price fled with the State Guard. General Ben McCulloch of Texas joined General Price, making their forces number three to one compared to the Union forces at the battle. Despite General Lyon and Colonel Franz Sigel's strategies to split their forces and launch a surprise attack on the camped Confederates, they ultimately retreated. This was due in part to the superior numbers the Confederates enjoyed and confusion on the battlefield caused by the similar uniforms worn on both sides.

The battle took place around Wilson's Creek and in the cornfields of the Ray and Sharpe families. The Ray women, children, and their slaves hid in the cellar under house while John Ray watched from his front porch as the battle raged below in his fields. After the battle, the Ray farmhouse became a makeshift hospital where the injured and dying were brought. John Ray could see the battlefield smoke and hear the cries of the injured from his front porch. During the course of the battle, Gen. Lyon lost his life on what is now called Bloody Hill, the place where the most intense fighting occurred and many

soldiers on both sides died. Soldiers took Lyon's body to the Ray house where it was placed in the family's main bedroom. Gen. Price then took Lyon's body on his march to Springfield where he left him in the safekeeping of John S. Phelps' wife, a prominent Unionist politician.[11] For the most part, the rest of the dead were buried in a mass grave created from a natural sinkhole.[12] The Battle of Wilson's Creek brought home to the residents of the Missouri Ozarks the fact that neutrality was not an option for their state. Organized military violence had come to the region, launching them into the conflict. It was also an indicator that there would be no quick resolution.

The Wilson's Creek National Battlefield is located between the towns of Republic and Springfield in Greene County Missouri. Encompassing several square miles the site has a series of walking, biking, and horse trails in combination with a tour road that intersect at several points. The series of trails and roads take visitors past markers and interpretive signs that clearly marks the various points of importance relating to the battle. The interpretive elements of the site include a thirty minute video at the visitors' center, signage along the trails, the preserved Rays' House, a contemporary cabin at the location of Price's headquarters prior to the battle, and the maintained Ray and Sharp families' corn fields where portions of the battle was fought. Appendix 4.2 shows an image of the Ray farmhouse and the porch where John Ray stood watching the battle.

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[11] James Denny and John Bradbury, *The Civil War's First Blood: Missouri, 1854-1861* (Boonville, Missouri: MissouriLife, 2007), 52.

[12] Jeffrey L. Patrick, *Campaign for Wilson's Creek: The Fight for Missouri Begins* (Buffalo Gap, Texas: McWhiney Foundation Press, 2011), 129-138. James Denny and John Bradbury, *The Civil War's First Blood: Missouri, 1854-1861 (*Boonville, Missouri: MissouriLife, 2007), 45-55.

At the visitors center, a thirty-minute video provides background of Missouri slavery and the conditions leading to the war. It then goes on to a step-by-step, combination reenactment, first person, and narrator account of the actual battle from both Union and Confederate viewpoints. The video provides not only context for the situation in Missouri, but gives information on the key players providing insight into their actions. It is very well done and includes images as well as reenactments of the battle. If not familiar with the particulars of the Wilson's Creek Battle the video is a necessary element for visitors before continuing to the battlefield itself.

The trail system contains interpretive signs placed throughout the site at locations mentioned in the video. There is a virtual tour available on the National Park Service's website that hits all of these points.[13] A visitor has to walk the various trails or drive to each designated spot and then walk a portion of the trail to these signs and the various interpretive locations.[14] At each stop, there are interpretive signs that describe the moment of the battle that took place there. Visitors also have the option to use their cell phones to access the Park Ranger Audio Tour, which provides a guided tour of the trail system. The signs themselves present little interpretation but do a good job of describing different aspects of the battle. The trail system also includes a number of trails leading to overlooks that provides visitors with a broad view of where the battle.

The Wilson's Creek Battlefield does a thorough job of covering the battle itself and the causes leading up to the battle; however, there is little information provided on slavery and the impact of the battle on the region. Slavery is given as a cause for the war,

[13] Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. "Virtual Tour" http://www.nps.gov/wicr/photosmultimedia/virtual-tour-stop-1.htm

but the site fails to detail what slavery looked like in southwest Missouri and how that affected the populace during the war. The video touches on how the army used the Ray farm as a field hospital after the battle and that Springfield became a refuge for wounded and dying soldiers, both Union and Confederate, for weeks and months to come. There is no mention of what became of the Ray or Sharpe family and their slaves after the battle. This is where the site could show the story of slavery before, during, and after the war by following the story of the Ray family and their slaves. During the tour the family's slaves are mentioned in that they took cover in the cellar with the rest of the family, but little else is known about their life or what became of them after the war. Also, not mentioned was the fact that after the battle the dead were buried in a mass grave in a sinkhole at the site. It was not until years after the war that the people of Springfield reburied all of the soldiers, Union and Confederate alike, in what was to become the Springfield National Cemetery.

The battlefield site is an educational and beneficial experience for visitors. It is well laid out and provides detailed information on the battle and the key players that participated. The site provides some information in regards to events leading up to the battle in the video but there is little contextualization for how this battle fit into the overall war and how this battle ultimately effected the region and the people living there. The Wilson's Creek National Battlefield focuses on one major battle in the Civil War and its impact on the war in Missouri with little consideration to what occurred in the region after the war was over. This is understandable as the site's mission concerns the battle and the historical recorded regarding slavery is limited. Other sites cover these issues

peripherally to provide context for the primary focus of their mission; for instance the George Washington Carver National Monument outside Diamond, Missouri.

George Washington Carver was born into slavery in 1864[15] near Diamond, Missouri in Newton County. Moses Carver purchased his mother Mary at the age of thirteen in 1855 and settled just outside of Diamond. George was listed as the child of Mary and a slave owned by a neighboring farmer, while other records listed his brother Jim as mulatto born around 1860. Moses Carver was one of only five other slaveholders listed in Marion Township in Newton County in the 1860 Census. Appendix 4.3 is a map of Newton County, Missouri that shows where Diamond is located in relation to Neosho. As a baby, guerrillas kidnapped George and his mother. Moses Carver hired a man to go after the men to retrieve them, but he was only successful in retrieving George. After failing to regain Mary, Moses took George and his brother Jim into his home where he and his wife raised them as if he were their own.[16]

The early life of George Washington Carver exemplifies what the end of slavery and the Reconstruction era looked like for African Americans in southwest Missouri. The small sized slave operations, the impact of the war, the danger of guerrillas, and the struggle for equality and education after the war all illustrates what slavery and the Civil War looked like in southwest Missouri. While his days as a slave were few, George Washington Carver experienced the hardships that resulted from slavery and the Civil War. He experienced trials like discrimination by those outside his relatively protected world on the Carver farm and his inability to gain an education. Lack of any significant

[15] Different sources place his date of birth between 1861-1865, but this paper goes with the date as provided by the George Washington Carver National Monument.

[16] John Perry, *George Washington Carver* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Inc., 2011), 1-5.

black population in the region after the war meant there was little to no push for rurally based schools for African American children. This forced him to travel to the nearest city of any size, Neosho, to gain schooling.

The George Washington Carver National Monument, located west of Diamond includes a visitor center with a museum, interactive displays, and a replica of Carver's laboratory. The museum covers Carver's life from birth to death. While the primary focus was on his achievements in gaining an education and his subsequent work as an inventor and scientist, the museum includes information on his birth into slavery and how he struggled to gain an education in southwest Missouri after the war. There is little information about the Carver farm during the Civil War other than Moses Carver's refusal to leave his land and George Carver's kidnapping by guerrillas. Inside the museum there is a two by three foot diorama depicting the home of Moses Carver where George and his brother Jim lived after the kidnapping and the disappearance of their mother.

The museum does a good job in taking the visitor through the years of Carver's life and places much of the focus on his later years and his achievements rather than his birth and early years even though it is the site of his birth. However, it also provides an in depth look into his struggle to gain an education while still a boy in southwest Missouri. In the museum's replica school room, panels covering the walls contextualize slavery in southwest Missouri and explains why going to school was so hard for Carver after the Civil. War. After touring the museum, visitors can then explore the trail system and see the locations where Carver spent his childhood.

Outside there is a walking trail that takes the visitor past a cemetery used by the Carver family and their neighbors, the 1881 built home of Moses Carver, a commissioned statue of Carver as a boy, and a partial reconstruction of the slave cabin where George Washington Carver was born. Appendix 4.4 shows an image of the statue of Carver as a young boy. The signage along the trail is minimal but provides glimpses into the life of Carver as child the spot where he played with neighbor children and where he fetched water. It provides visitors a glimpse into what life was like in southwest Missouri during the post war years. With the lack of physical structures to preserve, the site could expand upon this signage and place others along the trail that could interprets the daily life of George as he grew up.

What the Carver site lacks in preserved structures and museum artifacts they make up for with their exhibits and interpretive elements throughout the museum and visitor center. Its layout is easy enough to navigate, allowing for easy movement throughout the museum. The important elements are the exhibits and their interpretive text that provides not only detailed information on the life of Carver, but also insight into the background and contextualization of slavery, the Civil War, and the struggles faced by African Americans after the war. The George Washington Carver National Monument, like Wilson's Creek, is dedicated to the mission of preserving and interpreting the history of a specific event or person in history. Other sites such as museums have broader missions.

The Museum on the Square, located on the Springfield town square is currently in the process of expanding into the building next door. Their current location is a small multi-roomed two-story building that leaves little space for exhibits. This requires the

museum to display its exhibits in succession rather than all at once. Currently, the museum is focusing its exhibits on pioneer life in Greene County; eventually these exhibits will be taken down to be replaced by other exhibits with another main theme. The museum focuses on the history of Greene County. Currently the museum's exhibits focus on the settlement and early period of the county up to the 1870s. The limited space and awkward layout make displaying and viewing the exhibits difficult. The museum provides much information on the Campbell family, a prominent founding family of Springfield and Greene County, throughout the various exhibit subjects.

The museum only peripherally includes slavery in its exhibits. There is a small section on African American involvement in Greene County. It includes images of primary documents and one interpretive text that gives no background or contextual information. All the text says is:

> The majority of African Americans who were pioneers in Greene County were slaves. The Campbell family brought six slaves in 1830. African Americans were part of the pioneer experience from the earliest days of this settlement. Most of their contributions were largely undocumented. Prior to the end of slavery, documents are likely to be related to their sale or to them having run away. Later there are occasional obituaries or articles.[17]

The primary sources exhibited tell an interesting story to someone who knows what they are viewing, but they also have the capacity to be obscure to the uninformed public. One section in the room dealing with education in Greene County includes a picture of an African American school in Springfield that was eventually taken over by Drury University. However, there is no mention of a date on the school or any information on the difficulties African Americans faced in gaining an education prior to or after the Civil

[17] "African Americans." Interpretive signage. Museum on the Square.

War. The lack of slavery in the museum is disturbing since Springfield was a major hub for buying and selling slaves, and Greene County had the highest population of slaves in the state's southwest.[18] Regardless of this oversight, there are aspects of the museum that are well designed and prove to be a beneficial aid to visitors.

Rooms throughout the museum exhibit specific aspects of life in Greene County. Within is a video with a running commentary of primary source accounts on the subject accompanied by photos. The video provides background and contextual first person accounts that complement the exhibits in each room. The exhibits themselves consist of a combination of documents, images, artifacts, and the occasional descriptive text. The consistency in the amount of text varies from room to room. The room depicting hearth and home in Greene County provides significantly more descriptive and interpretive text in relation to the materials displayed than the room depicting the battle of Springfield.

There are brief mentions of the Civil War and what events occurred in Springfield during those times along the two times lines placed in the halls of both floors. One of the rooms upstairs is also dedicated to the Battle of Springfield, complete with a running video presentation of first person accounts of the event. The room also contains displayed primary documents and replica military attire. In the video presentation, one of the primary sources used are the writings of Louisa McKinney Sheppard,[19] who talks about Springfield during and after the war. Part of a diehard Confederate family, she recalls how the loyalty oaths that were enforced after the ratification of the new state

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[18] Edwin Leigh, *Bird's-eyed View of Slavery in Missouri* (St. Louis: Clerk's Office of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, 1862).
[19] Meyer, Craig A., Casey D. White, Adam C. Veile, and Amber V. Luce, *Confederate Girlhoods A Women's History of Early Springfield, Missouri: The Selected Memoirs, Correspondence, and Literature of the Campbell-McCammon Family* (Springfield, Missouri: Moon City Press, 2010).

constitution. These first person accounts are of great value to a visitor as they provide a first person insight into these historical events, something the interpretation of historical sources presented in the museum does not provide.

As with the exhibition of slavery in the museum, the Civil War and its aftermath exhibits are heavy on the primary documents and materials, but lacking interpretive or explanatory text. For example, two political tickets from 1868 demonstrate the lingering feelings in Missouri of the Republicans desire to "Let us Have Peace" and the Democrats who were "In Favor of a White Man's Government." The only text provided for the tickets is limited to identifying them and explaining the military's inability to suppress such feelings. These artifacts provide a prime opportunity to give contextual information regarding these stances and how they played out in the political arena in Greene County post war. These primary sources, along with the many others displayed at the museum,[20] can provide more to the visitor with additional interpretive text that explains their importance to the region and the time period they are from. While the Museum on the Square must contend with the task of interpreting and exhibiting the entire history of Greene County, other museums more narrowly focus their mission.

In comparison to the coverage of the Civil War generally by these different sites, the information provided concerning the institution of the slavery in southwest Missouri is lacking. Each site touches on slavery and its composition in the region, some more briefly then others. The George Washington Carver National Monument provides an insight into slavery lacking at the other sites by discussing Carver's early life. Although only a slave for the first year of his life, the site successfully provides the background of

[20] These are often copies of the originals.

slavery in the region and how that impacted his later life as he strove to gain an education. The Nathan Boone Homestead SHS has the potential to provide a look into the everyday life of the Boone family slaves and the introduction of slavery into the southwest portion of the state. While the slaves of the Boone family are mentioned in the interpretation of the site and the slave cemetery is included in the walking tour, more could be done to show what role slaves played in the southwest and how the region was then affected by emancipation. During the tour there could be moments were the roles of slaves in family could be mentioned, such as in the house there could be discussion of the jobs of the slaves.

Even though slavery and the Civil War had a dramatic impact on the development of the Missouri Ozark region, there are portions of this history missing in the institutions of the region that are dedicated to preserving and presenting the region's history. The historical record is limited in regards to slavery but it still exists. The events of the Civil War are well covered by these institutions, especially the specific battles.[21] The sites cover individual events building up to the battles well and provide good descriptions of the battles themselves and the eventual military outcomes. Wilson's Creek and to an extent the Civil War museum at Carthage even provide interpretation as to the effect of their respective battles on the overall war in Missouri. Each fails to give any substantial information as to how these events affected the people, including slaves, and what the lasting effects of the war were on the region.

One solution may be to establish a National Heritage Area such as the Freedom's Frontier National Area that encompasses eastern Kansas and twelve western Missouri

[21] Most notably the Battle of Carthage, the Battle of Wilson's Creek, and the Battle of Springfield.

counties. This area delineates sites in the region that are of importance to 'Bleeding Kansas' and the Civil War. The sites include museums, historic sites, archives, and cemeteries. This area could easily encompass the institutions discussed in this study or the southwestern counties could feasibly establish their own National Heritage Area that incorporated the entire story of the region from through the Civil War to Reconstruction. While the southwest sites lack the capacity to provide the entire story in their interpretive elements by coordinating their efforts they could share the load of presenting the history to the public.

In conclusion, the effects of slavery that eventually led to the Civil War had a great impact on southwest Missouri. It was an experience that differed from other states in both the Union and Confederacy. The Civil War was different in large part because the institution of slavery was different in Missouri, especially in the southwest, from any other state. With subsistent farmers owning only a handful of slaves there was a closer, more personal relationship developed between owners and slaves as they were in constant direct daily contact. For these residents of southwest Missouri, the Civil War was less an issue of slavery and more a desire to not be dictated to by either aristocratic southern slave owners or the federal government. Loyalties during the war were uncertain in the best of times and downright conflicting at others. This led to a great deal of violence in the region before, during, and after the war that ultimately scarred the region. By the turn of the twentieth century, southwest Missouri had changed drastically in some situations and remained similar in others. Industry had come to the region along with the railroad, boosting the growth of small-scaled metropolitan areas such as Springfield, Joplin, and Neosho. However, as new industry entered the region the black population dramatically

decreased, especially in rural areas where small family owned farms still dominated the region.

The history of this region as presented by these historical institutions is critical to the creation of the area's identity and building a collective memory. They provide the story for this portion of the state's history to the public and provides interpretation for the history of the site. Informing the public of the facts about slavery in Missouri, the Civil War, and how that effected the region are key to understanding the identity of the Missouri Ozarks. It provides a look into the formation of the region as it developed and how it formed into what it is today. As with any historical site or museum, there is room for improvement at each one, but there is also a lot of good being done in the preservation of the region's history that should be built upon.

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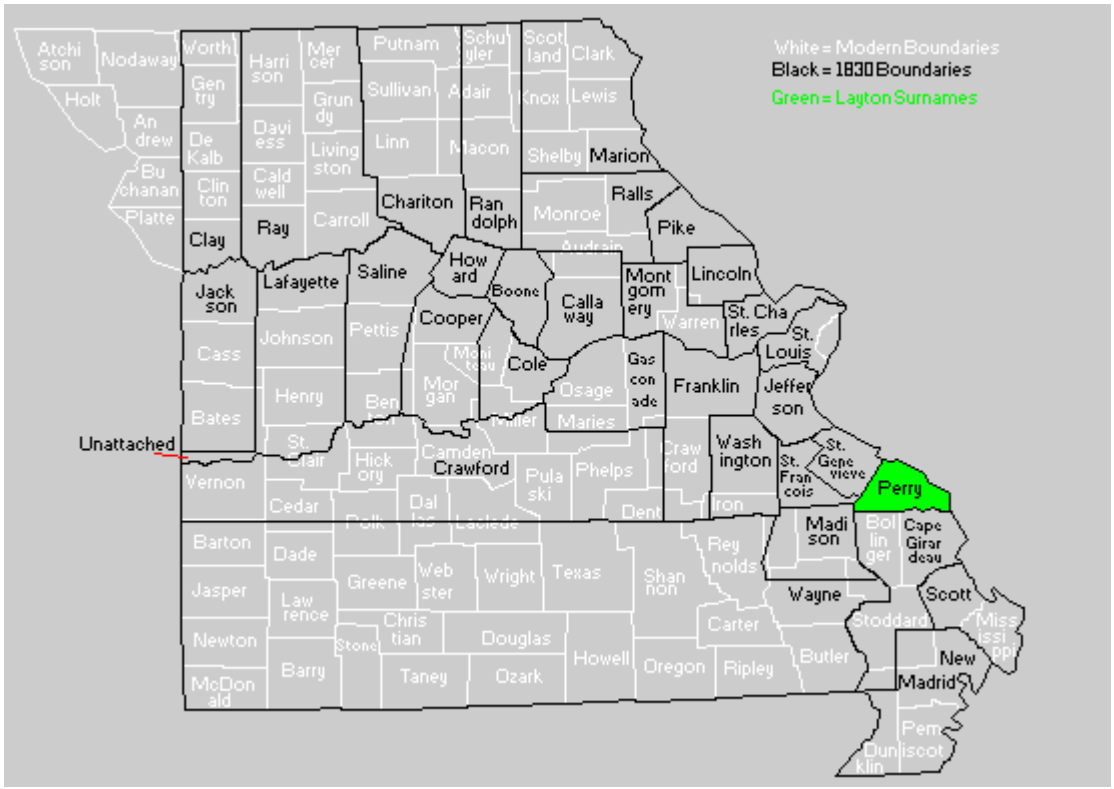
APPENDICES

Appendix 1.1

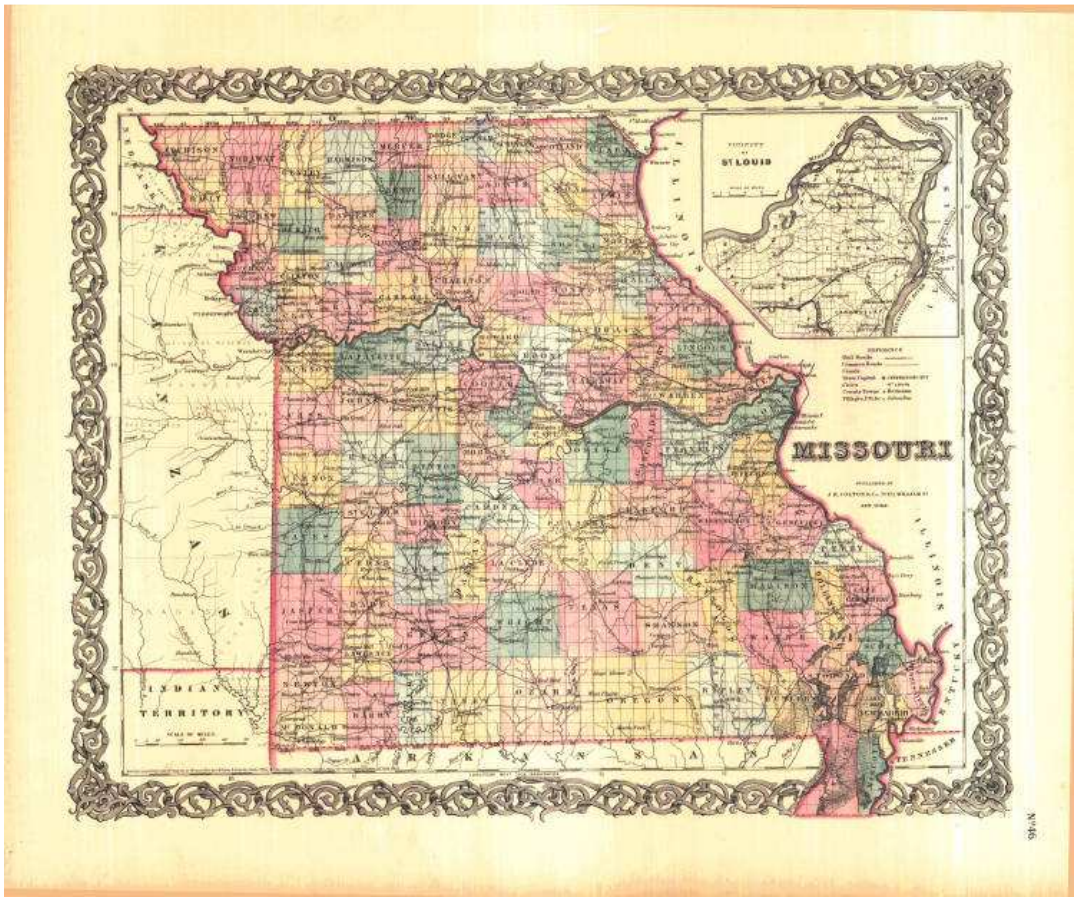


Map of Missouri 1830

Appendix 1.2

Missouri Map 1834

Appendix 1.3

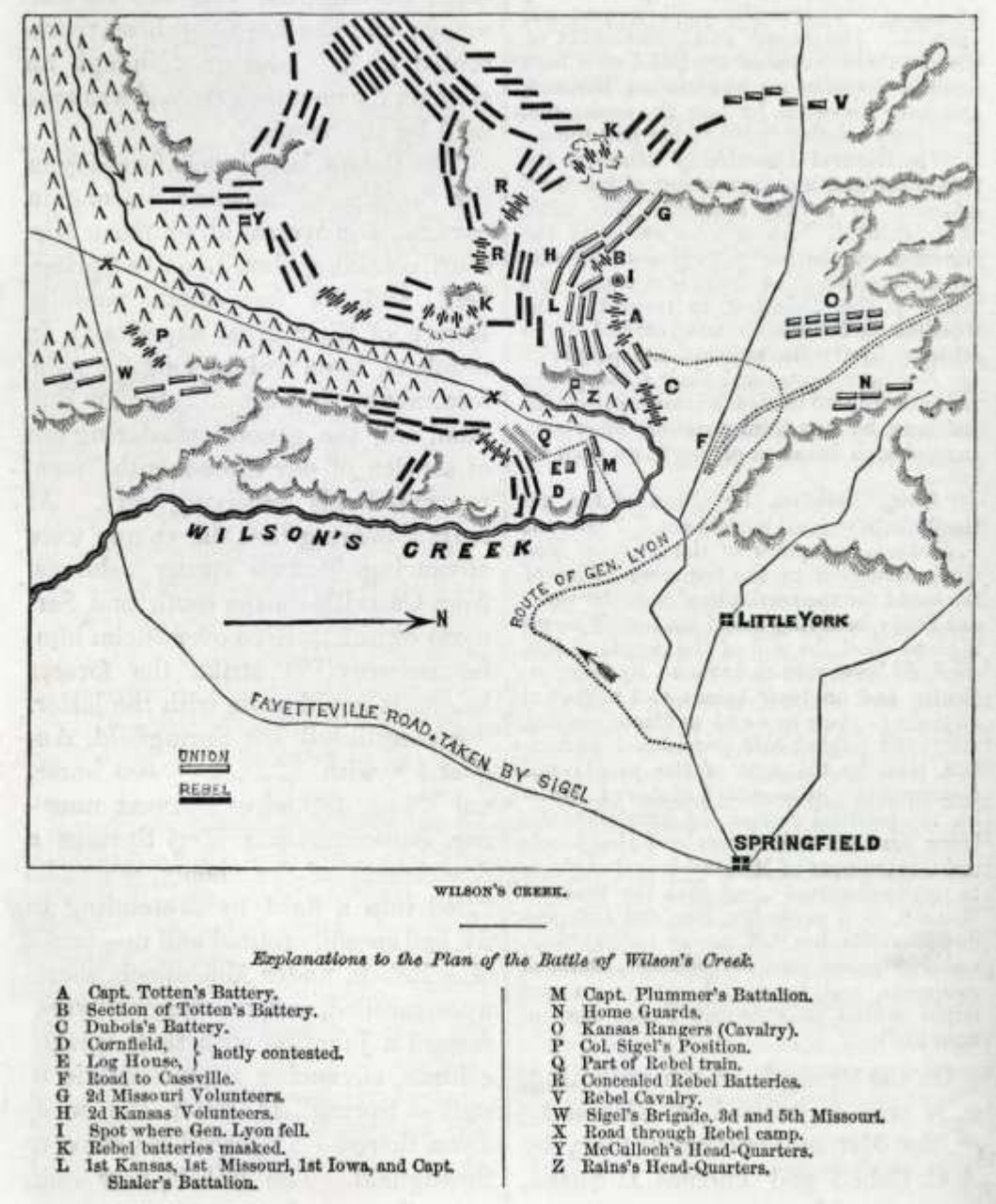


Missouri Map 1855

Appendix 2.1

Map of Missouri 1860

Appendix 2.2



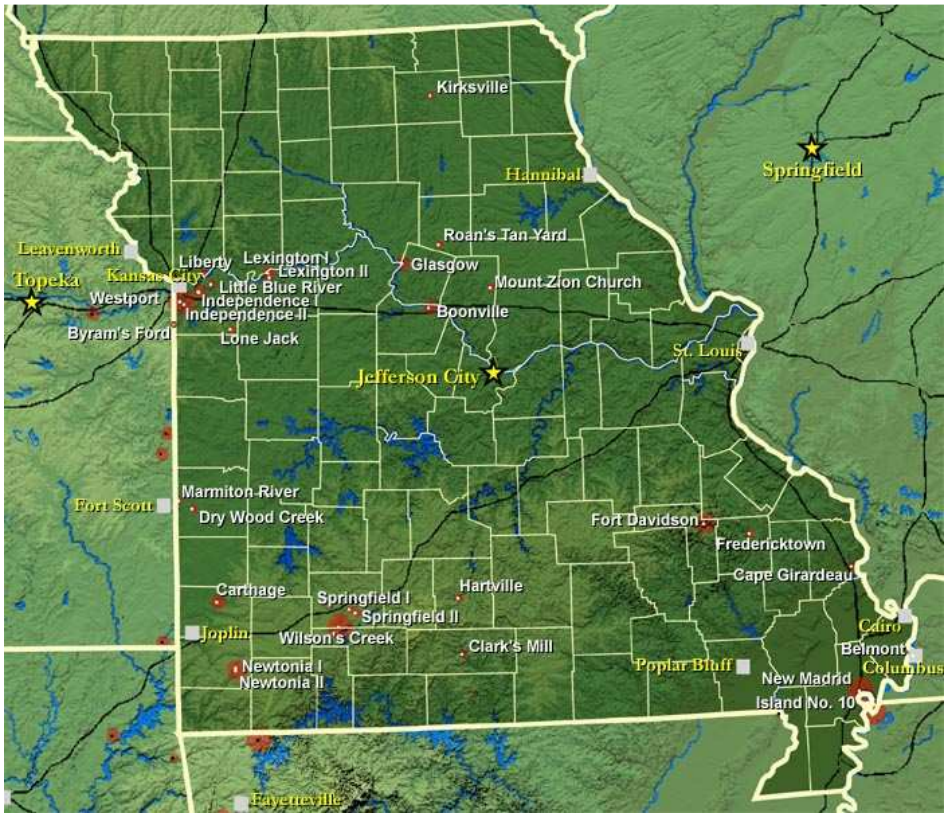
WILSON'S CREEK.

Explanations to the Plan of the Battle of Wilson's Creek.

A Capt. Totten's Battery.
B Section of Totten's Battery.
C Dubois's Battery.
D Cornfield, } hotly contested.
E Log House, }
F Road to Cassville.
G 2d Missouri Volunteers.
H 2d Kansas Volunteers.
I Spot where Gen. Lyon fell.
K Rebel batteries masked.
L 1st Kansas, 1st Missouri, 1st Iowa, and Capt. Shaler's Battalion.
M Capt. Plummer's Battalion.
N Home Guards.
O Kansas Rangers (Cavalry).
P Col. Sigel's Position.
Q Part of Rebel train.
R Concealed Rebel Batteries.
V Rebel Cavalry.
W Sigel's Brigade, 3d and 5th Missouri.
X Road through Rebel camp.
Y McCulloch's Head-Quarters.
Z Rains's Head-Quarters.

Battle of Wilson's Creek August 1861. Courtesy of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield Archives

Appendix 2.3

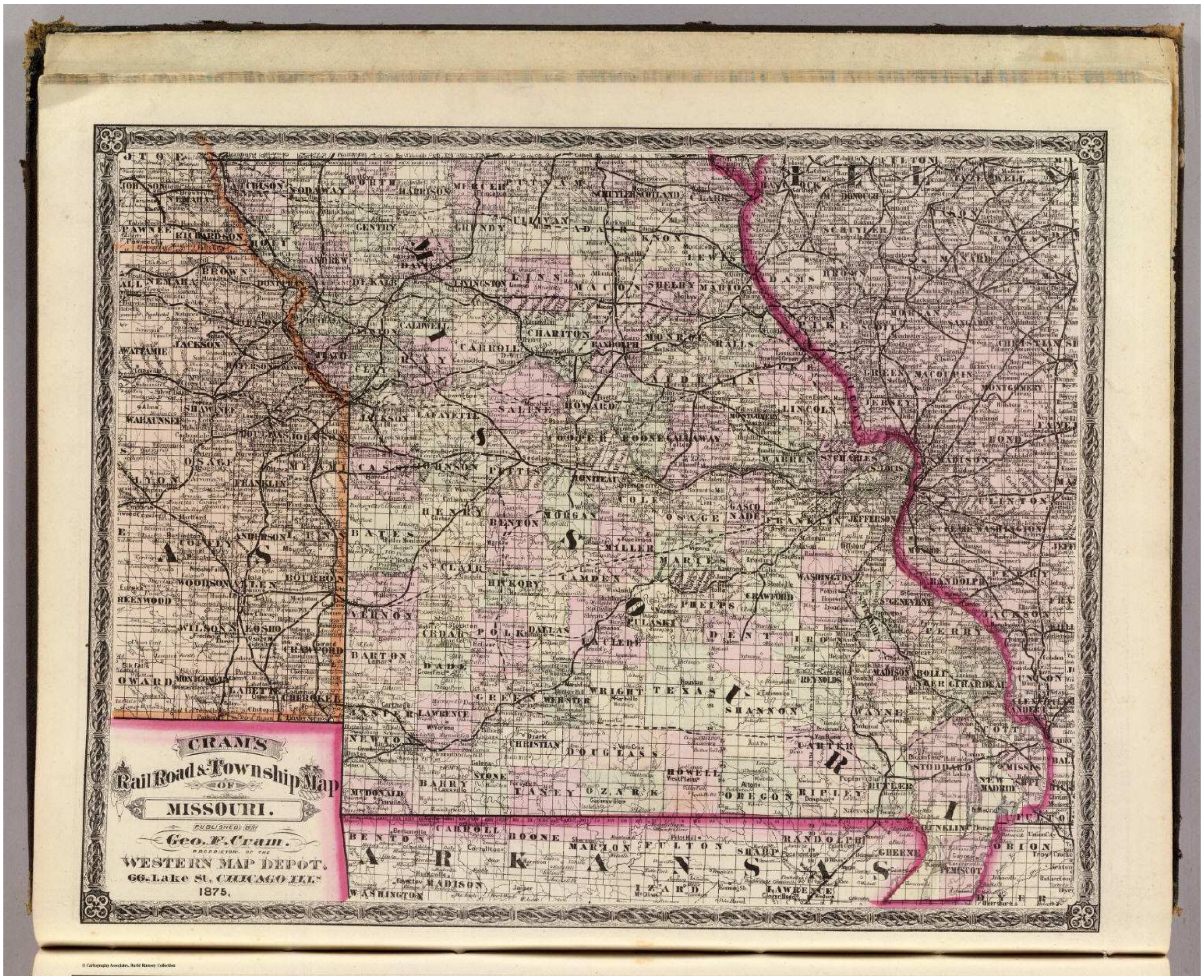


Map of Missouri Civil War battles. Courtesy of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield Archives.

Appendix 3.1

Drawing of Bald Knobbers. Courtesy of U.C. Santa Barbara Department of Geography.

Appendix 3.2



Map of Missouri 1875. Greene County Historical Society

Appendix 3.3

Map of Missouri Railroads 1888. Greene County Historical Society

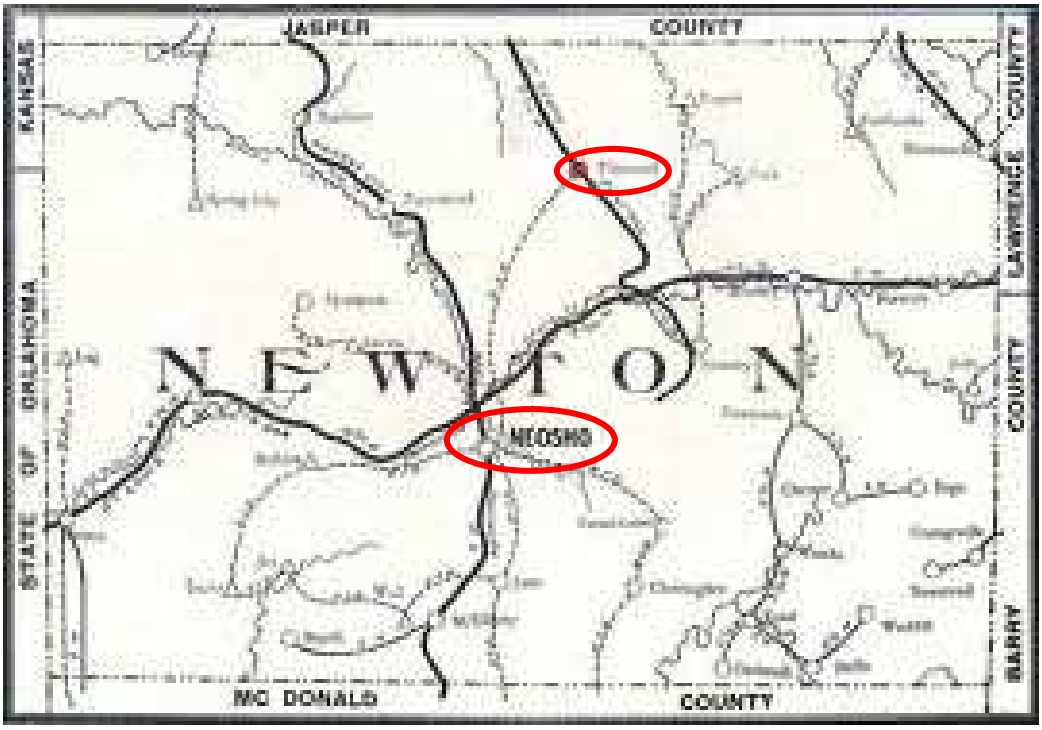
Appendix 4.1

Nathan Boone dogtrot style cabin. Courtesy of the Nathan Boone Homestead State Historic Site.

Appendix 4.2

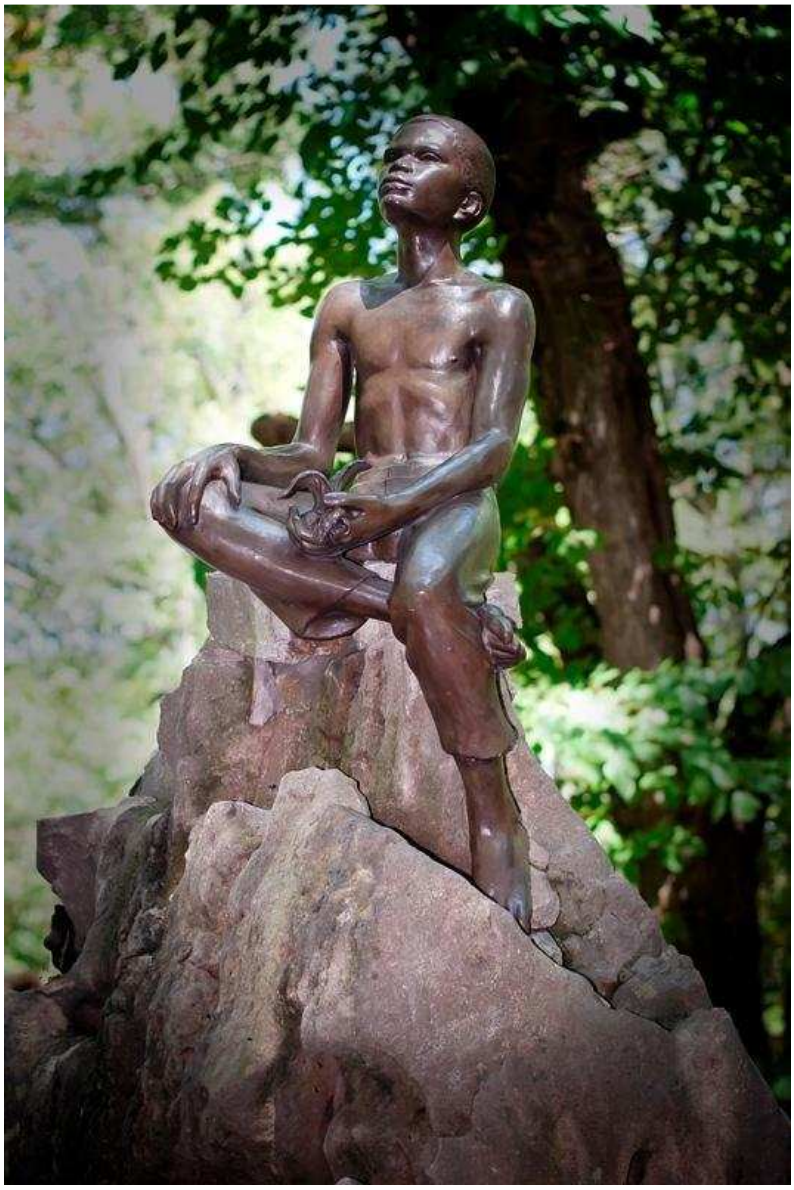
John Ray House photo. Photo by Jeff Patrick, Courtesy of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield.

Appendix 4.4



Newton County Map. Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri

Appendix 4.4



Boy Carver statue. Photo by Robert Amendola, 1961, Courtesy of George Washington Carver National Monument.

VITA

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