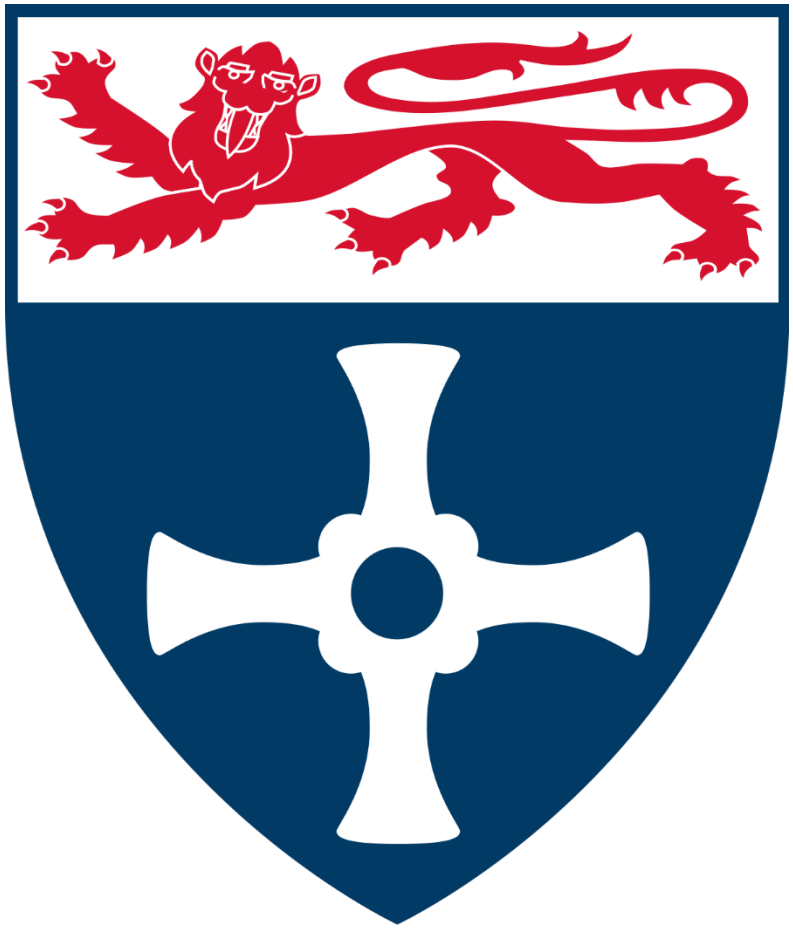
Violence and Victimhood:
The Emotional Consequences of Guerrilla Warfare in Civil War Era Missouri



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Abstract

This thesis addresses a gap in the scholarship of the American Civil War by examining the emotional consequences of Missouri's guerrilla war. It argues that scholarship of guerrilla warfare must recognise its human costs. Whereas previous studies have tended to focus on pro-Confederate guerrillas, using their victims as little more than evidence, my approach treats guerrillas, soldiers, and non-combatants as complex individuals in their own right. Using Barbara Rosenwein's emotional communities model, I show why knowledge of emotions is central to understanding the guerrilla war.

Reconstructing the emotional worlds of Missouri and the Kansas border achieves several important results. It emphasises the importance of emotions in fomenting and sustaining a guerrilla conflict. This thesis places emotions at the centre of Missouri's guerrilla war, demonstrating how fear, anger, and grief informed the actions of guerrillas and Union counterinsurgency policies. The guerrilla war was a direct result of these emotions, and the interpretations of them in the nineteenth century United States. Without the emotional communities of Missouri, Kansas, and the wider United States, the guerrilla war would not have been fought in the ways that it was. In extending discussion of these emotions to the victims of guerrilla warfare, this thesis also presents non-combatants as active historical agents, not merely as evidence of the activities of famous guerrillas. This rewrites otherwise overlooked individuals back into the historical narrative, a significant result that should be considered and built upon in future studies of the guerrilla war.

Acknowledgements

I wrote my thesis during a difficult time for billions of people around the globe. I have been enormously lucky to have my research to focus on during the COVID-19 pandemic, and in doing so fulfil a long-held ambition to produce my own work on the American Civil War. My supervisors, Prof. Susan-Mary Grant and Dr. Bruce E. Baker, have helped me at every stage, reading and commenting on my drafts, and offering invaluable advice. I could not have asked for better mentors.

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My close friends and family gave me invaluable emotional support throughout the last four years. This thesis is dedicated to them.

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Fig. i, Missouri County Map, image courtesy GISGeography.com, [https://gisgeography.com/missouri-county-map] – accessed 04/05/2022.

Introduction

On 21 August 1863, in the town of Lawrence, Kansas, Edward Payson Fitch, a schoolteacher from Massachusetts, awoke just before dawn. The night had been very hot, so Edward went to his daughter's bedroom, where the house was slightly cooler. There, he listened to the sounds of the town beginning to wake up. After a few minutes, Edward heard a series of shots ring out from a camp of recruits at the back of the house. Assuming that it was 'the boys having some fun,' Edward and his wife, Sarah, initially thought little of it, but the gunfire did not subside. When Edward went to the window to look, he realised that the town was in fact under attack by Confederate guerrillas led by William Quantrill, who had ridden across the nearby Kansas-Missouri border to raid Lawrence, a stronghold for abolitionist sentiment.

As fires began to break out across the town, Edward and Sarah woke their three children, bundled some clothing into sacks, and prepared to flee their home. Before they could leave, however, their door was kicked open by two guerrillas searching for male citizens. Seeing Edward, one of them took aim and fired:

> shot after shot in rapid succession – emptying his own revolver, then taking the weapon from the hand of his companion, and using all its load to make sure work of death[.]

Ignoring the pleas of Sarah and the children, the two guerrillas refused to allow them to remove Edward's body as they set fire to the Fitch family home.[1] Similar scenes were repeated across the town as the guerrillas targeted the men of Lawrence, leaving many to burn in their houses and businesses. By 10 o'clock, some 150 men had been killed, though the exact figure may very well have been higher, as so many bodies were lost to the flames.

The Lawrence Massacre was just one example of the guerrilla conflict that engulfed Missouri and the Kansas border during the American Civil War. Alongside large-scale attacks, such as in Lawrence on 21 August 1863, countless instances of small-scale violence played out within urban communities and on isolated farmsteads. Such scenes were, however, by no means new in 1861. Following the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 and

[1] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863, One Folder, Edward Fitch Correspondence 1854-70, 1928, RH MS P429, *Kenneth Spencer Research Library*.

the verdict that slavery's expansion into Kansas Territory would be settled via popular sovereignty, raids and murders by pro-slavery 'Border Ruffians' and anti-slavery 'Free-Staters' became commonplace. Indeed, Lawrence was raided for the first time in 1856, whilst future guerrillas such as Quantrill began their fighting careers in the early border conflicts. The period 1854-1861 became known as 'Bleeding Kansas' and cemented the sectional divisions across the western border, which exploded during the Civil War years.[2]

Initially, it appeared that the war in Missouri would be a conventional one, fought between uniformed armies on battlefields. Union forces had secured the armoury at St. Louis and expelled Missouri's pro-Confederate Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson from office in the spring of 1861. Yet the Confederate victory at the Battle of Wilson's Creek in August 1861, and the subsequent Confederate capture of Lexington, undermined these early successes. By autumn 1861, Missouri was close to being secured by the Confederacy. Indeed, Jackson's government in exile voted to formally secede from the Union in October 1861, and Missouri would thereafter have governments representing the state for both the Union and the Confederacy. The tide of the conventional war in Missouri turned with the arrival of John C. Frémont and some 38,000 men, advancing westward from St. Louis and forcing the withdrawal of Confederate forces to the south, and later into Arkansas. The Battle of Pea Ridge in March 1862 ended any lingering hopes for a Confederate offensive into Missouri until 1864, when Sterling Price's Raid advanced as far as Westport before being decisively defeated.

Federal authorities in Missouri faced the issue of a divided state with a significant white population that was heavily invested, emotionally and economically, in slavery. Resistance was inevitable. Irregular actions by jayhawker bands (pro-Union raiders from Kansas), particularly the Sacking of Osceola in September 1861, and harsh policies of assessment by Union forces, exacerbated the tensions that already existed. Pro-Confederate guerrilla activity was a part of the war in Missouri almost from its very beginning, but began in earnest following the Battle of Pea Ridge in 1862. With little hope

[2] For a recent overview of the Bleeding Kansas period, see Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004). This is a helpful starting point for Bleeding Kansas due to Etcheson's work in connecting events in Kansas with political developments in the wider nation. See also, Kristen Tegtmeier Oertel, *Bleeding Borders: Race, Gender, and Violence in pre-Civil War Kansas* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 2009), esp. 9-32, which covers race and society in Kansas before the 1850s.

of a Confederate invasion, more and more pro-Confederates turned to guerrilla warfare as a means of undermining the Union hold on Missouri, which in turn led to counterinsurgency policies that often simply produced more fighters for the growing guerrilla bands. Guerrillas, jayhawkers, and Union soldiers all made the household a target for violence, eroding the boundaries between the battlefield and the domestic space as the war was brought into bedrooms and parlour rooms. Guerrilla warfare would continue until the surrenders of the Confederate armies in April and May 1865, though in some cases guerrillas abided by their black flag and refused to surrender, choosing instead to continue the fight as outlaws.

In this wider context of the guerrilla war, Edward Fitch's death appears unremarkable, just one example of its brutality. When viewed from the perspective of Edward's friends and family, however, his death holds a much greater significance. The details of Edward Fitch's death are known because of a letter Sarah wrote to her in-laws on 2 September 1863, in which she describes how their son died, and what happened to his children in the aftermath. Sarah's letter provides invaluable insight into how the Lawrence Massacre occurred, the small-scale events that made up the grander picture of that fateful morning. But most importantly, it offers a window into Sarah Fitch's state of mind, her grief and fear at the day's events. It tells us how guerrilla warfare *felt* to those it affected.[3] Not everyone could fight in the guerrilla war, or even contribute in other ways such as by supplying combatants. But everyone had an emotional experience of guerrilla warfare, whether direct or indirect. A history of the guerrilla war that considers the emotional experiences of ordinary people alongside famous guerrillas is long overdue.

Emotions are one of the most important ways that humans engage with the wider world. This has rarely been more evident than now. Fears over the spread of viruses lead people to avoid others to socially distance themselves. Grief at the loss of loved ones turns to anger, sparking protest movements which can bring about political change. Politicians draw on anxieties and resentments to expand their voter base, hearkening back to imagined pasts to build nostalgia and the promise of a return to old glories. Collective emotions such as fear and anger can lead to discriminations becoming entrenched in

[3] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863.

society, which can in turn result in restrictions on citizenship or anti-refugee policies.[4] This was also true of the past. Emotions have always proven vital in bringing about historical change.

Emotional history is an important area of research, given the central role that emotions play in how societies operate. At its core, the study of emotions seeks to explain why this is so. This is done by asking questions such as how emotions change over time, and why some choose to follow emotional traditions, whilst others develop alternative values. These questions can be asked by looking at societies at a variety of levels, such as a nation state, or by breaking this larger unit down into smaller groups.[5] Some scholars have considered the emotional worlds of a particular social class or region, whilst others have rejected the study of collective emotions entirely to focus on the individual.[6] The timeframe under question also varies in different studies, with some taking a long-term view, observing emotional change over decades or even centuries, and others asking what made the emotions of a particular time and place unique. No one study can achieve each of these goals. But with a combination, historians of emotions can arrive at a better understanding of how people experienced the past, and what motivations lay behind key moments in history.

Emotions can be enormously helpful to historians seeking to uncover the nature of Missouri's guerrilla war. Hitherto, scholars have generally concerned themselves with how and why pro-Confederate guerrilla bands operated in the ways that they did, whilst the role of Unionists and the victims of guerrillas tends to be marginalised. Michael

[4] The emotional challenges facing governments and societies throughout the world today were recently summarised by Julian Erhardt, Markus Freitag, Maximillian Filsinger, and Stefan Wamsler, 'The Emotional Foundations of Political Support: How Fear and Anger Affect Trust in the Government in Times of the Covid-19 Pandemic,' *Swiss Political Science Review* 27 no. 2 (May 2021): 339-52.

[5] The advantage of using the nation state as the unit of analysis is that it offers the essential context for others to go further into the minutia, as well as better allowing for the observation of change over time. For this reason, it tends to be the case that many studies of emotions in the nation at large use a longer timeframe. For example, see Peter N. Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), which predominantly considers the first half of the twentieth century.

[6] Anthropologists have, for example, considered the important role that sport plays in building identity, and the emotional investment that people across the globe make in supporting a team or individual. See, Niko Besnier, Susan Brownell, Thomas F. Carter, *The Anthropology of Sport: Bodies, Borders, Biopolitics* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018). For individual emotions, one notable work is Frank Costigliola, *Roosevelt's Lost Alliances: How Personal Politics Helped Start the Cold War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), esp. 12-20. Costigliola argues that emotions strengthen the beliefs of individuals and leave them predisposed to act one way or another.

Fellman's seminal work, *Inside War*, has proven highly influential as the first study to portray the conflict in all its brutal reality, removing the romantic legend that had built up around the guerrillas in the post-Reconstruction era.[7] Fellman presented a war fought with few limits, one whose violence only grew more extreme as time wore on, and which inflicted violence indiscriminately on soldiers in uniform, and those in the presumed safety of the household. Daniel Sutherland takes this further, placing guerrilla warfare across the wider South in the context of the regular war and arguing that guerrilla violence was the root cause of the Union's policy of hard war. Ultimately, Sutherland argues that this shift in strategy was the key factor that led to the defeat of the Confederacy. This important conclusion demonstrates the importance of understanding guerrilla warfare, making it central to the outcome of the wider Civil War.[8] Aaron Sheehan-Dean likewise considers the guerrilla war within the context of violence in the regular war, regarding events such as the Lawrence Massacre as 'unnecessary violence' that reflected nothing more than 'mass murder'.[9] From these works, the guerrilla war appears to be an anarchical conflict whose combatants were driven largely by opportunism. The Civil War appears as a mere excuse for men such as Quantrill to satisfy their personal ambitions.

More recent studies of guerrilla warfare have, however, sought to bring more balance to our understandings of how the war was fought. They challenge Fellman's paradigm and instead offer more logical ways of interpreting guerrilla violence. LeeAnn Whites highlights the important role that women played in organising and supplying guerrilla bands, demonstrating that the war on the western border was 'a war of an entire people, rather than being a war of a few disorderly and violative men.'[10] This model,

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

[8] Daniel E. Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009). See also, Robert Mackey, *The Uncivil War: Irregular Warfare in the Upper South, 1861-1865* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), who offers a traditional military history of the guerrilla war in the Upper South, but ties this into the Confederate decision to not continue the Civil War after 1865 as a guerrilla conflict. Mackey argues that the high command was aware that guerrilla warfare had failed through their experience of the previous four years, and that there was little purpose to continuing the struggle.

[9] Aaron Sheehan-Dean, *The Calculus of Violence: How Americans Fought the Civil War* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 212.

[10] LeeAnn Whites, 'Forty Shirts and a Wagonload of Wheat: Women, the Domestic Supply Line, and the Civil War on the Western Border,' *Journal of the Civil War Era* 1 (2011): 56-78. See also, Victoria Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 130-51. Joseph M. Beilein Jr., 'The Guerrilla Shirt: A Labor of Love and the Style of

termed 'household warfare,' has proven hugely influential in the field, not only as a means of understanding how guerrilla warfare was fought, but also by explaining why. Household warfare presents the guerrilla conflict in Missouri as a war that the state's white Southern population were deeply invested in, due to the apparent threat that a Northern victory in the Civil War might pose to slavery. Don Bowen's application of the relative deprivation hypothesis to Missouri's guerrillas showed that almost all guerrillas had a vested interest in maintaining slavery, as this created the wealth that they would eventually inherit from their parents. When this came under threat, they would inevitably try to defend their position.[11] By extending this to include the women of guerrilla households, LeeAnn Whites offers a new way of interpreting guerrilla warfare.

Household warfare alters the focus of studies to include counterinsurgency policies alongside acts of violence committed by pro-Confederate guerrillas. Previous works, including Fellman's *Inside War*, tended to make considerable reference to General Order No. 11 as one consequence of the Lawrence Massacre. Aimed at breaking the domestic supply line, this order facilitated the banishment of disloyal citizens from three border counties, leading to thousands of people becoming refugees in their own state.[12] Whilst Order No. 11, the most notorious example of counterinsurgency policy, has received significant attention, the day-to-day activities of Union soldiers in Missouri were often overshadowed by the actions of guerrillas. With a better understanding of how guerrilla bands were supplied, and why Union forces would target the household, this is beginning to change. Scholars are increasingly turning attention towards wider counterinsurgency policies, particularly the influence of guerrilla warfare on the Lieber Code and the rules of engagement.[13] This has evolved conceptions of the nature of the guerrilla war, showing it to be more an extension of the broader Civil War than a mere sideshow.

Rebellion in Civil War Missouri,' in Jonathan Earle and Diane Mutti Burke (eds.) *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri: The Long Civil War on the Border* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2013), 169-86.

[11] Don Bowen, "Guerrilla War in Western Missouri, 1862–1865: Historical Extensions of the Relative Deprivation Hypothesis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19 (Jan. 1977): 30–51. Mark W. Geiger has taken these economic factors further, arguing that financial fraud and the subsequent financial collapse of prominent families was key in creating guerrilla fighters. See, Mark W. Geiger, *Financial Fraud and Guerrilla Violence in Missouri's Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

[12] General Order No. 11 is discussed in-depth in Chapter III page 76-81.

[13] See, Stephanie McCurry, 'Enemy Women and the Laws of War in the American Civil War,' *Law and History Review* 35 no. 3 (August 2017): 667-710.

One of the most important studies of household warfare has been Joseph M. Beilein Jr.'s exploration of the masculine identities of the pro-Confederate guerrillas. In *Bushwhackers*, Beilein argues that guerrilla warfare was a logical response to the Union seizing control of Missouri, as it took advantage of the resources that the guerrillas had available.[14] Beilein places great focus on inter-personal relationships within guerrilla bands and households. In doing so, he brings a human element to the guerrillas in what is often an understanding portrayal of the guerrillas – far removed from Fellman's account of the war.[15] Consequently, Beilein demonstrates how and why guerrilla bands fought in the ways they did, with the household becoming a motivational factor in addition to its practical role in supplying bands. As a result, actions such as the Lawrence Massacre become calculated attacks in response to violence against the household, rather than simple 'mass murder' as Sheehan-Dean puts it.[16]

Nevertheless, our knowledge of guerrilla warfare will remain limited so long as the guerrillas themselves dominate the historiographical landscape. If guerrilla warfare is understood solely from the perspective of Quantrill and Anderson, and to a lesser extent the men who hunted them, then only half a story has been told.[17] The effects of the Lawrence Massacre, and indeed any other act of guerrilla warfare, cannot be fully understood if the experiences of Sarah Fitch and the thousands of other people like her are not considered. The consequences of guerrilla violence reverberated in a number of important ways. Those affected grieved for their loved ones, sought vengeance against their attackers, or carried resentment in their hearts for decades. When writing about the Lawrence Massacre, Beilein describes the guerrilla attack as having 'unmanned' the male citizens of the town.[18] Acknowledging this as an objective of the attack adds an interesting gender dynamic to guerrilla warfare but warrants further discussion than is given. It is important to ask what this meant to the town. Historians must be aware of what this felt

[14] Joseph M. Beilein Jr., *Bushwhackers: Guerrilla Warfare, Manhood, and the Household in Civil War Missouri* (Kent, OH.: Kent State University Press, 2016).
[15] Fellman, *Inside War*, 142-43, speculates that, if not for the guerrilla war, many guerrillas may have turned their violent instincts inward on the family, or that they might have been affected by alcoholism.
[16] See also, Kenneth Noe, 'Who Were the Bushwhackers? Age, Class, Kin, and Western Virginia's Confederate Guerrillas,' *Civil War History* 49 no. 1 (March 2003): 5-26.
[17] Daniel E. Sutherland, 'Afterword,' in Brian D. McKnight and Barton A. Myers (eds.), *The Guerrilla Hunters: Irregular Conflicts during the Civil War*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2017), 360, has noted the paucity of studies concerned with the role that Unionist guerrillas played in the Civil War's guerrilla conflicts.
[18] Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 29-31.

like for the surviving men of Lawrence, and the families of the living and dead. In other words, the experience of the 'victims' of guerrilla warfare should be inseparable from that of the combatants themselves.

The word 'victims' is a convenient umbrella term, but is nonetheless inherently problematic when discussing those affected by guerrilla warfare. It carries with it implications of helplessness and passivity that do not reflect the reality of life in Civil War era Missouri. Indeed, in many studies of guerrilla warfare, victims appear just that, with very little discussion given over to their experiences. Instead, they act as mere evidence for the actions of guerrillas and Union soldiers, left behind in the dust of horses' hooves as their attackers ride away. Far from being powerless in the face of violence, victims had several ways to respond. Indeed, many of the pro-Confederate guerrillas argued that they themselves were victims of Union counterinsurgency strategies. But so too did the survivors of Lawrence, as well as those affected by violence on isolated farmsteads, or refugees fleeing to cities far from home. A history of Missouri's guerrilla war that accounts for the experience of victims must look beyond the implications of that term. Instead, it must consider the myriad ways in which people moved on from their experiences of guerrilla warfare.

A model for how this can be done is provided by Phillip Shaw Paludan in his study of the Shelton Laurel Massacre, appropriately titled *Victims*. Paludan describes the events that led up to the massacre of thirteen Union sympathisers by Confederate forces in Madison County, North Carolina, 18 January 1863, but also lays out the socio-cultural context of the region. In doing so, Paludan answers questions such as why the people of Shelton Laurel tended to be pro-Union, and why some might have engaged in guerrilla warfare against the Confederacy.[19] The result is a work that treated the victims of a massacre as subjects in their own right, consequently bringing fresh understanding to the nature of irregular warfare in the South. Though scholars have since examined the Shelton Laurel Massacre in more detail, Paludan's methodology, his approach to guerrilla warfare and its consequences, has not been adapted so widely.[20] One of the few shortcomings of

[19] Philip Shaw Paludan, *Victims: A True Story of the Civil War,* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 30; 62-63.
[20] Sean Michael O'Brien, *Mountain Partisans: Guerrilla Warfare in the Southern Appalachians, 1861-1865* (Westport: Praeger, 1999), 3-14; John C. Inscoe and Gordon B. McKinney, *The Heart of Confederate*

Victims was its failure to look at the aftermath of the massacre in significant detail, in contrast to historians such as Matthew Hulbert, who have published at length about the memory of the guerrilla war, and atrocities such as the Lawrence Massacre.[21] But these are focused on events with a national significance and make little to no mention of the countless instances of small-scale violence that made up the bulk of the guerrilla war. These need to be considered alongside the more famous examples of guerrilla warfare if we are to build a complete picture of what the Civil War in Missouri meant to the people who lived through it. Moreover, the victims of these actions must also be studied as individuals with agency. To fully understand the guerrilla conflict, we need to ask what separated victims from combatants. It was not solely the power dynamic between aggressor and the defender, but rather a complex emotional state with consequences that extended far beyond the immediate confrontation.

An emotional history of Missouri's guerrilla war develops the existing narrative of the guerrilla war by studying all of those it affected as multifaceted individuals. It complements Beilein's research into the guerrillas themselves, but, if extended to those who suffered because of guerrilla warfare, it also transforms the idea of what it meant to be a victim. Emotions can inform researchers of the nuanced, personal reasons for people to engage in guerrilla warfare, or why they responded to it in the ways that they did. Approaching the guerrilla conflict in this way can also aid in answering questions about its relevance to the study of the Civil War era United States. Some scholars have critiqued the level of attention given to what they view as a sideshow to the more important regular conflict.[22] Not only does an emotional history underscore the significance of the guerrilla war for those it affected, but it also complicates understandings of the emotional worlds of the Civil War era United States and the external factors, such as gender, that affected expression. An emotional history of Missouri's guerrilla war will outline what made the

Appalachia: Western North Carolina in the Civil War (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 117-20.

[21] Matthew C. Hulbert, *The Ghosts of Guerrilla Memory: How Civil War Bushwhackers Became Gunslingers in the American West* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2016). The memory of the guerrilla war is dealt with extensively in Chapter VII.

[22] Gary W. Gallagher and Kathryn Shivley Meier, 'Coming to Terms with Military History,' *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 4 no. 4 (December 2014): 487-508. See also, Earl J. Hess, 'Where Do We Stand? A Critical Assessment of Civil War Studies in the Sesquicentennial Era,' *Civil War History* 60 no. 4 (December 2014): 372-403.

western border of the United States unique in its expression of emotions when compared to the rest of the country.

Emotional Communities

When considering the emotional worlds of Missouri in the Civil War era United States, it is essential to look at the variety of emotional experiences within the state. The use of the plural 'worlds' is deliberate. In 1861, Missouri was home to citizens from a variety of social and economic backgrounds. Some had arrived from towns and cities on the northeast coast, others from farms and plantations in the Deep South, who forced enslaved people to migrate with them. Others were born in European countries such as Ireland and the German States. All these regions held their own distinct emotional values, which were brought to Missouri by first-generation immigrants and passed on to the next.[23] To try and reconstruct a singular emotional consensus would be an impossible task. Any consideration of Missouri's emotional history must account for the multitude of emotional values its population held.

Barbara Rosenwein's concept of 'emotional communities' offers a useful means of doing this. An emotional community is, in the words of Rosenwein herself: 'precisely the same as social communities – families, neighbourhoods, parliaments, guilds, monasteries, parish church memberships.'[24] The goal of the historian of emotions is to examine such communities and ask what emotions they valued, or did not, and why. The principal advantage of this model is the multiplicity that distinguishes emotional communities from similar concepts that are more restrictive. It is possible for an individual to exist within multiple emotional communities over the course of a single day. For example, one might move between the household, the workplace, and the commute, all of which hold their own emotional values. Rosenwein has suggested that this can be demonstrated visually with a Venn diagram, (see fig. ii). This does capture the overlap that exists between emotional communities, though it is less helpful in showing the varying scales and porous

[23] See Chapter I page 21-26.

[24] Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying About Emotions in History,' *American Historical Review* 107 no. 3 (2002): 842. Rosenwein more fully developed her model in Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006). For where the model fits into the wider literature on emotional history, see Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 67-74.

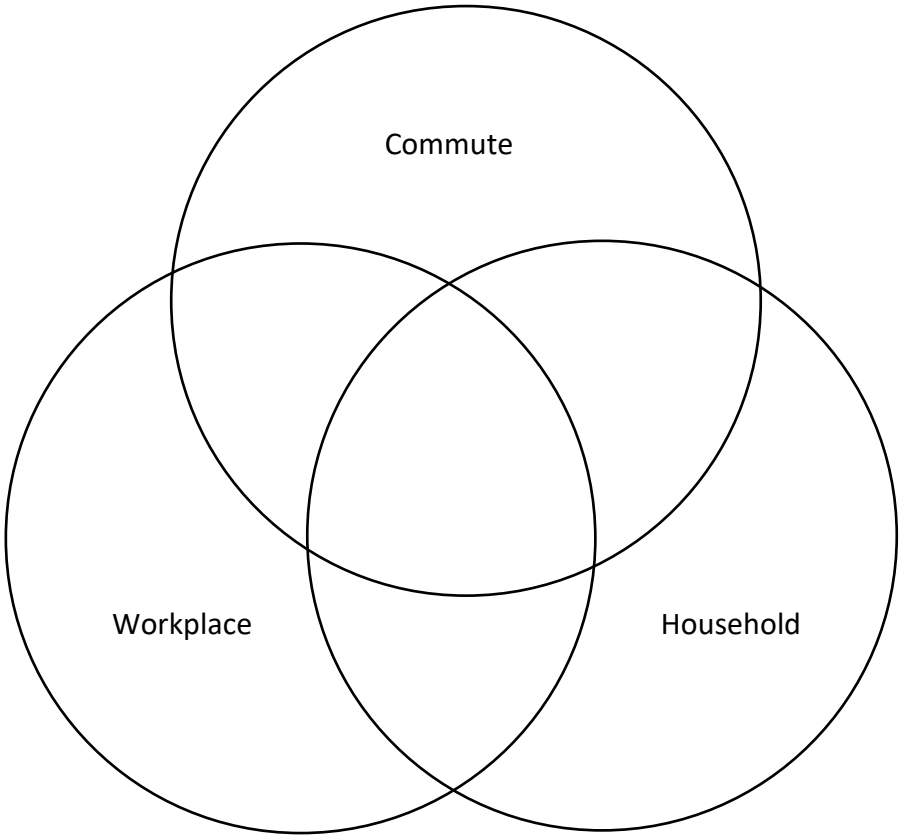

Fig. ii, a simplified Venn Diagram of emotional communities, proposed by Barbara Rosenwein. See, Rosenwein, *Anger*, 4.

nature of the communities in question. Rosenwein herself has noted that it is better to think of a series of unequal circles with some overlapping, some mostly or entirely separate, and all surrounded by one larger circle.[25] For Civil War era Missouri, the smaller circles would reflect emotional communities such as the household, a local church congregation, even a guerrilla band. The larger circle encompassing this would indicate Missouri overall, the shared ideals of all the emotional communities within the state. Indeed, expanding this model further, Missouri would itself be one circle surrounded by another representing the United States as a whole.

The emotional communities referenced by Rosenwein are all based on specific physical environments, but this need not be the case. People who share the same emotional values are not always confined to the same space, they regularly travel and correspond with those beyond their immediate horizons. In the digital age, an emotional community can be based online, with emotional meaning expressed exclusively through

[25] Barbara Rosenwein, *Anger: The Conflicted History of an Emotion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 3-5.

words, or a combination of words and images. Emotional communities have, however, always been able to exist at distance, and in the Civil War era many emotional communities were founded and maintained through letter writing. The expression of emotion changes with letter writing – words must be used to convey what bodily expression cannot – but the values do not. Acknowledgement that emotional communities can exist outside of local spaces has proven beneficial to historians assessing the lives of soldiers in the American Civil War. Christopher Hager has argued the importance of letter writing to citizen soldiers and their families, arguing that they were pivotal in reshaping emotional relationships that had been disrupted by distance.[26] James Broomall has examined the emotional communities that were formed among Confederate soldiers in camp as temporary substitutes for those they physically left behind at home. Building on some of Hager's arguments, Broomall notes that familial emotional communities were maintained through letters, which were often written by literate comrades. That soldiers had to express their emotions to others is a testament to the strength of the emotional communities forged in army life.[27] Moreover, these interactions demonstrate the ways in which one emotional community could intersect with others to maintain connections through which emotions could be expressed.

The variety of experiences recognised in an emotional communities model has obvious advantages for a study of the Civil War era United States, but especially so for the younger western states. A diverse population who brought with them different emotional values and expressions necessitates a social constructivism model that demonstrates how these communities influenced each other. Gender ideals, particularly of masculine restraint, meant that these immigrants found that their emotional expression changed in different spatial settings. Homesickness, for example, could be discussed in private letters, but not via a public outburst.[28] Missouri was, in essence, a melting pot out of which

[26] Christopher Hager, *I Remain Yours: Common Lives in Civil War Letters* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 6.

[27] James J. Broomall, *Private Confederacies: The Emotional Worlds of Southern Men as Citizens and Soldiers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 1-2, 80.

[28] See for example, Ethelbert Wallis Lewis Letter to William Lewis, 20 January 1837, Ethelbert Wallis Lewis Papers, One Folder, *SHSMO*, C1674. Ethelbert had been unable to find a wife since arriving from Virginia, calling Missouri a 'land of disappointments.'

emerged a distinctly western emotional world, the values of which were tailored to suit a region that was already witnessing household warfare in the 1850s.

Emotional communities are, of course, not the only method that exists for considering the emotional worlds of peoples and regions. The most notable alternative is William Reddy's concept of an 'emotional regime', which has seen use by historians studying a wide variety of times and places.[29] In contrast to Rosenwein's emotional communities, Reddy's model promotes a top-down view of emotional history, arguing for a normative set of emotional values that underpin a stable nation state. These 'regimes' are tempered by the existence of emotional 'refuges', which allow for some freedom of emotional expression. Examples of these refuges given by Reddy are the domestic environment, especially the marital bed, or a salon in Revolutionary France.[30] The refuge is a particularly useful idea that complements emotional communities, suggesting that different environments can offer a sense of escape in much the same way that Rosenwein proposes. Indeed, emotional communities deliberately allows for some overlap with the emotional refuge.

Less helpful, however, is the concept of a 'regime', since the implied connection between it and the refuge limits the potential of the latter. A regime suggests the existence of an enforced emotional style, which limits its applicability to the nineteenth-century United States. A regime requires a strong central authority to espouse a particular set of emotional values. This did not exist in the nineteenth-century United States, particularly not in the South and in the developing West. Some ideals, informed by gender, did undoubtedly overlap with the emotional cultures of individual states and regions. Certain emotions such as fear, as well as emotional styles like tears, were associated with femininity. Women were not expected to maintain emotional control to the same extent as men. Across the nation, men were, in theory, required to show emotional restraint, demonstrating their authority over their own body. Across the nation, feminising emotions such as fear were considered anathema to the concept of manhood, which

[29] William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), was the first to propose 'regimes' as a model. The concept continues to be widely used, Karin Wahl-Jorgensen, 'Media Coverage of Shifting Emotional Regimes: Donald Trump's Angry Populism,' *Media, Culture, and Society* 40 no. 5 (2018): 766-778, applied the model to the present-day United States. Others have tackled a variety of subjects, including slavery in the nineteenth century, see n. 29.

[30] Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 128-29.

made their expression very difficult. Other emotions were, theoretically, limited to a specific time and place. This was reflected in, for example, the Southern duelling culture, which ritualised violence through the use of seconds, keeping the participants apart to ensure that any anger was focused on a particular time and place.[31] In this case, emotional expression had a specific function and spatiality. But this was only an ideal to aspire to, not the regimented world that Reddy suggests. Restraint frequently clashed with the realities of guerrilla warfare and the emotional trauma it entailed, creating a juxtaposition between masculine control and the need to answer threats to family and property.

An exception could be argued for enslaved people, who lived in a strict hierarchy that made the expression of emotion much more challenging than it was for whites. Nonetheless, some 'refuge' could be found within personal relationships, whilst liberty introduced formerly enslaved people to a wider world of emotional communities, though the communities that they could engage with remained somewhat restricted due to racism.[32] But for most white Americans, the variety of experiences and values meant that their emotional worlds were extremely fluid, limiting the usefulness of regimes once analysis goes deeper than the national abstract.

Another issue with applying emotional regimes to Missouri's guerrilla war is that they are frequently considered to act as stabilising influences for a political regime.[33] This can be useful when observing a nation state, but less so at a local and individual level. On a national level, emotions can indeed be used as a tool by political regimes, not only in the nineteenth-century United States. Even in the present-day, emotions remain at the heart of political campaigns and rallies, which can sometimes support regimes, and at others undermine them.[34] In the Civil War era, Joanna Cohen has noted the importance of patriotic emotions in the Civil War North, which ultimately assisted in regulating the

[31] Dickson D. Bruce, *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 32.

[32] Several historians have tackled the emotional history of slavery, emphasising the difficulty of expressing emotions in captivity. See, Sergio A. Lussana, *My Brother Slaves: Friendship, Masculinity, and Resistance in the Antebellum South* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2016), esp. 99-124. See also, Jennifer Palmer, *Intimate Bonds: Family and Slavery in the French Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

[33] Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns,' *History and Theory* 49 no. 2 (May 2010): 244-45.

[34] See Wahl-Jorgensen, 'Media Coverage and Shifting Emotional Regimes,' 766-78; Erhardt et. al., 'The Emotional Foundations of Political Support,' 339-52.

market.[35] But at a local level, and especially in Civil War Missouri, emotions often had a more destabilising effect. Grieving practices, for example, could be of enormous comfort to bereaved families, allowing them to try to make sense of the violence they had witnessed. On other occasions, however, grief could lead to anger, and contribute to the growth of cyclical violence in Missouri, destabilising power structures within the state. Consequently, the more fluid model of emotional communities presents better opportunities for analysis of the guerrilla war in Missouri.

Using the emotional communities framework, the emotional consequences of guerrilla warfare in Missouri can be better understood. Networks of emotional communities were pivotal in shaping the direction of life in a guerrilla war. Some acted as support networks, similar to the emotional dynamics found in soldiers' letters home, allowing citizens to move on from grief, or to express their fears and attempt to overcome them. Others, valuing anger as an appropriate emotional response to guerrilla warfare, found themselves enabled to pursue a more active role in the conflict, whether wearing Union blue or a guerrilla shirt. The people who moved through Missouri's emotional communities thereby became one part of a greater whole. Their personal emotions were informed by wider emotional communities, but unique to them individually. They were the most important way in which people experienced the guerrilla war. The reality of what life was like for those involved in Missouri's guerrilla war cannot be appreciated without reference to their emotions.

Each chapter that follows explores the emotional communities of those affected by guerrilla warfare. This offers a comprehensive discussion of the consequences of the guerrilla conflict through the experiences of people from across the social hierarchy. No study of Missouri's guerrilla war can ignore its emotional impact on Kansas, and so the analysis of Missourian emotional communities is complemented with selected Kansan communities, such as Lawrence, that were greatly impacted by the conflict. This allows

[35] Joanna Cohen, '"You Have No Flag Out Yet?": Commercial Connections and Patriotic Emotion in the Civil War North,' *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 9 no. 3, (September 2019): 378-409. Even then, however, it should be noted that Cohen made use of emotional communities, owing to the racially divided nature of Northern society. Robert E. Bonner, *Colors and Blood: Flag Passions of the Confederate South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 60-61, discusses the importance of emotional unity in building a national identity for the Confederacy. More generally, see Maurizio Isabella, 'Emotions, Rationality, and Political Intentionality in Patriotic Discourse,' *Nations and Nationalism* 15 no. 3 (2009): 427-33.

for a full understanding of the far-reaching emotional consequences of the guerrilla war. Letters and diaries, the means with which members of emotional communities often had to communicate, provide some insight into the emotions that were experienced. Without the assistance of physical expression, emotional words would have to take their place. Other sources, such as memoirs, likewise offer insight into the emotional worlds of the nineteenth century. In these cases, the emotions expressed may have been exposed to manipulation and thus do not necessarily reflect emotions as they were expressed at the time. This does not mean that memoirs are useless, however, and instead we can learn much about *why* individuals sought to portray their emotional states in a particular way. Another source that has often gone underused by historians of emotions researching the Civil War era are visual sources. These often reflect how particular emotions were valued and expressed within broader emotional communities, sometimes towns and cities, or even state-wide national communities. Using these sources, we can begin to reconstruct the emotional worlds of Civil War-era Missourians.

Chapter I establishes the antebellum context of Missouri's emotional communities. In any emotional history that details a specific time and place, the people and events that forged the emotional worlds of that moment provide essential context. With the understanding of how and why emotions were expressed in the antebellum era, the changes that the guerrilla war brought become clearer. It also serves the additional purpose of outlining the social and political context of Missouri on the eve of the Civil War, helping to explain why a guerrilla conflict would emerge in the state.

From there, each chapter analyses the expression of a particular emotion and context. This allows for a thorough assessment of Missouri's emotional worlds that also considers the various experiences that different groups and individuals had during and after the war. In terms of structure, the chapter order follows a rough interpretation of the four-stage process of trauma theory.[36] The advantage of following this process is that it demonstrates how one emotion can induce a practical response that holds its own emotional reaction. This is integral to understanding the ways in which guerrilla warfare increased in both its scope and in its ferocity.

[36] Jeffrey C. Alexander, *Trauma: A Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), 14-18.

Chapter II considers fear as the primary objective of the guerrilla war's combatants, asking what it meant to be afraid during a guerrilla conflict. How people experienced and interpreted their fear differed greatly depending on whether or not they were a combatant, who carried more expectations of emotional restraint than civilians did. Additionally, guerrillas themselves valued fear differently to their opponents in the Union Army and pro-North press, who regarded their hit-and-run tactics as cowardly and unmanly. Conversely, the guerrillas themselves believed that they were acting pragmatically and in accordance with the nature of a household war. Some argued that Unionists themselves were cowards, targeting Southern women and children rather than risk confrontation with guerrillas. This reflected but one example of emotions being weaponised in the ideological battle fought over the guerrilla war.

Chapters III and IV likewise focus on fear, albeit in a different context to guerrilla raids and violent counterinsurgency tactics. Instead, they consider those non-combatants who were forced from their homes either by banishment, or through becoming refugees. Both circumstances carried with them enormous uncertainty as people had little idea if or when they would be able to return home. Individuals subjected to banishment were separated from their families, fearing for their safety in war-torn Missouri, as well as the possibility that their punishment would be made harsher. Refugees faced a different kind of fear. The threat of banditry on the roads was a constant source of danger, as were non-human factors such as the weather.

Moving on from fear, Chapter V is concerned with one of the most important results of guerrilla warfare – grief. One of the challenges facing the survivors of an attack was the burial and remembrance of the dead. Combatants on both sides weaponised grief by challenging grieving traditions through, for example, denying the families of the deceased the chance to bury their body. The bereaved were forced to alter funerary practices just as families across the nation had to do as a result of the regular war. A key element of grief was the emotional community, which provided an outlet for the bereaved to express themselves away from the expectations of wider society, as well as more practical comfort. In this way, victims of guerrilla warfare could begin to move on from their grief.

Some, however, could not so easily move on, and resorted to other means of achieving emotional catharsis. Chapter VI considers the role that anger played in

fomenting guerrilla warfare, producing combatants for both sides of the conflict. Many men were brought into the war following the deaths of loved ones, finding satisfaction in pursuing revenge against those who had wronged them. Much of the violence in the guerrilla war consisted of personal conflicts between small groups of men motivated by revenge. This offers a new way of interpreting violence, acknowledging the brutality of the guerrilla conflict but framing this within a logical system of cyclical violence.

Some anger took a more long-term form, instead simmering as a feeling of resentment that would have lasting consequences for Missouri. Chapter VII considers this alongside the humiliation suffered by the defeated Confederates, arguing that these emotions played a critical role in the creation of the Lost Cause in Missouri. The long-standing resentment caused by the Union victory and emancipation led to the creation of a unique guerrilla Lost Cause, tying Missouri much more closely to the Confederacy.

Through an analysis of Missouri's emotional communities, we can begin to rewrite the narrative of the guerrilla conflict by offering insight into those groups and people who have previously been overlooked. Guerrilla warfare elicited a variety of emotional responses, which had important repercussions at both a personal, local level, but also for the wider state. The individual emotions that people felt during the guerrilla conflict merged to form the greater tapestry of the war as a whole and represented the most significant ways that people experienced guerrilla warfare. Moreover, charting the emotional worlds of Missouri can inform us about the very course of the war itself. Emotional reactions were the goal that both sides sought in Missouri. Fear and grief would, it was hoped, drain support for the opposing faction, and nullify support for either the Union or the Confederacy. These informed acts of violence, but also Union policies such as banishment, which was used as a sword of Damocles hanging above the heads of Missouri's citizens. But with fear and grief came unintended emotional consequences. The refugee crisis, itself motivated and changed by fear, led to aid policies being distributed along emotional lines, determined by attitudes of pity and contempt. Most significant was anger, which resulted from fear and grief and, rather than keep people out of the fight, often drew more people into the guerrilla war. Reprisals and retaliation occurred on both an individual and collective scale. Emotional history therefore allows for a more complete

understanding of how Missouri's guerrilla conflict was fought, and why it was so significant.

Chapter 1. Emotions in Antebellum Missouri

In May 1861, Missouri was experiencing a growing sense of fear and anger. Civil War had begun in earnest in the state with the Camp Jackson Affair on 10 May, when a secessionist militia unit, allegedly planning to seize the federal arsenal in St. Louis, was taken prisoner by Union forces under Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Lyon. As the captives were marched through St. Louis, a secessionist crowd gathered, with the tension culminating in the Union soldiers firing into the crowd, killing some 30 people.[1] The shock that this event caused in the minds of Missourians is evident. One person, signed "J.B.", wrote a letter to their brother on 23 May, stating that 'of late every thing has been in such a turmoil that I have had no heart to write', and that the deaths of the civilians at Camp Jackson were little more than 'wilful murder'.[2] As federal authority was tenuously established over the summer months, sectional divisions within communities hardened, and guerrilla warfare soon became the new norm.

Spring 1861 was unquestionably a momentous time for Missourians. But discord was by no means new to the state. Social upheaval caused by immigration and sectional tensions had been a part of daily life in Missouri long before it had even been admitted to the Union in 1821. Waves of immigration from North, South, and Europe brought with them religious and economic concerns that exacerbated questions over the future of slavery in both Missouri and the wider nation. In the decade prior to Camp Jackson and the beginning of the Civil War, these tensions had exploded over the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, leading to seven years of violence on the Kansas-Missouri border. The *New York Tribune* coined the term 'Bleeding Kansas' to describe this period, which quickly became synonymous with antebellum Missouri.[3] In addition to instances of religious violence and cholera epidemics, Missouri had a vast experience of turmoil by the time Lyon marched his men into Camp Jackson.

It is important to understand the nature of Missouri's society in May 1861, its politics, religion, and culture, in order to fully grasp the varied landscape of its people's

[1] Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 12-14.
[2] 'J.B.' Letter to Brother, 23 May 1861, Parker-Russell Family Papers, 1 Folder, A307, *MHS*.
[3] The term 'Bleeding Kansas' had been alluded to in different forms elsewhere, but the first published use of that particular phrase came in the *New York Tribune*, 13 September 1856, in a poem by Charles S. Weyman.

emotions. The experiences and memories that were passed down as the state moved through the antebellum era formed the essential basis of the emotional communities within which Missourians existed during the Civil War. Events in antebellum Missouri served to form a distinct cultural and emotional identity within the state, which would greatly impact the progression of guerrilla warfare for both its combatants and for its victims. The emotional context of Missouri defined the boundaries of the war, determining who would side with whom, and who represented a legitimate target for guerrilla bands, Union forces, and the rumour mill. The tensions that arose due to factors such as immigration and religious differences, created an environment of suspicion and anxiety that would ultimately divide the state along sectional lines as slaveholders and their allies began to fear for the future of the 'peculiar institution'. These emotions shaped the guerrilla war that would follow.

This chapter explores the emotional worlds of Missouri from its admission to the Union up to and including May 1861. It examines the origins of its citizens, and the cultural, especially religious, practices they brought with them, assessing the ways in which these affected the growth of sectional tensions. With this basis established, the discussion will turn to some of the most significant crises faced by Missourians during the antebellum era, including the Mormon War of 1838, the 1849 cholera epidemic, and the 'Bleeding Kansas' years, 1854-56. These events would provide early indications of how a guerrilla war would be fought, revealing many of the factional tensions and emotional responses that would characterise future conflict. Understanding how Missouri's people, and the emotional communities in which they lived, had adapted to previous crises is hugely important in understanding the later guerrilla war. It shows that emotional communities were adaptable to pressure that affected aspects of expression such as grieving practices, as well as the role of suspicion, anger, and violence in shaping Missouri's history.

Diverse Peoples

One of the most striking aspects of Missouri's emotional world before and during the guerrilla war lay in its diversity of peoples and their emotional communities. As a border state, Missouri was at the forefront of various migratory streams internal and external to

the United States. Northern and southern immigrants brought with them differing ideas on slavery, as well as forms of emotional expression regarding feelings such as anger. With southerners came a significant slave population, who equally held their own values and desires. Added to this mix was a sizeable foreign, particularly European, contingent, with a variety of cultures and languages, as well as political ideologies. All of this was wrapped up in the religious culture of Missouri, which acted as a central aspect of emotional communities, and ensured that each community would view another as a potentially hostile threat.

The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 added fuel to a trend of westward migration that was already well underway. In 1804, Missouri was home to some 12,000 white and black settlers and slaves, along with an additional 5,000 Native Americans, chiefly members of the Shawnee, Delaware, and Osage tribes.[4] As was the case across the expanding western frontier, Native Americans found themselves pushed further and further west, with white settlers eager to seize bountiful farming land along the Missouri River, a region that would soon become known as 'Little Dixie'. By 1821, when Missouri was admitted to the Union as a state, this rush for land had driven the state's population to 70,647 residents, including 11,235 slaves, according to a state census conducted in September 1821. The Native American population was not included in this total.[5]

Between 1803 and 1821, Missouri's population had increased sevenfold, a harbinger of the demographic changes to come. Forty years later, in 1861, the total free population had exploded to 1,067,081, along with 114,931 slaves.[6] Breaking the free population down further, we can see that 906,540 were native to the United States, with approximately half native to Missouri itself. Migrants from slave states, most commonly Tennessee (73,594) and Virginia (53,957), formed the bulk of the rest of the free population, though a sizeable contingent originated from New England and other states in the Midwest, including neighbouring Illinois. Another 160,541 settlers came from

[4] Walter A. Schroeder, 'Populating Missouri, 1804-1821,' *Missouri Historical Review* 97 no. 4 (July 2003): 266.

[5] Schroeder estimates that 5,000 Native Americans may have resided in Missouri 1820-21, with the arrival of more migrant Shawnee and Delaware, though many were restricted to the Ozark region, whilst still others had moved beyond the proposed state boundaries. See, ibid., 268.

[6] *Statistics of the United States, including mortality, property etc. in 1860; compiled from the original returns and being the final exhibit of the Eighth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office), 274-303. (Hereafter cited as *1860 census*).

overseas, principally from Ireland (43,464), and the German States (88,487).[7] That so many Missourians were recent immigrants would prove significant in developing an emotional culture in Missouri. Economic success and independence were essential components of masculinity throughout the nineteenth-century United States. When homes and livelihoods were threatened by guerrilla warfare, expectations of masculine ideals exacerbated the trauma endured.

The distribution of the population was heavily impacted according to economic need and circumstance. Indeed, the wealth and resources of Missouri were a key factor for many settlers in seeking a new life in the west, both before and after 1821. For example, during the 1810s, settlers had forcibly removed Native American tribes from the Ozark stream valleys, out of a desire to obtain pine lumber to sell at a high price in St. Louis.[8] As Missouri developed into statehood, its cities grew along the Missouri River, which acted as a primary trade route for the state. Most notable of these was St. Louis, which by 1861 had become one of the largest urban centres in the Union, with the thriving commerce attracting a large, often liberally inclined population from the north-eastern states and Europe.[9] More rural areas likewise saw a wave of migration, often from the south, due to the celebrated agricultural prospects that the state offered. Even before Missouri obtained statehood, the naturalist John Bradbury had extolled the land of Missouri Territory, describing it as holding 'greater advantages' than any other land in the west.[10] One settler claimed, in a letter to a friend in New England, that the land was 'unbelievably rich in natural resources', and that a dedicated individual would soon make their fortune.[11] This expectation of success would come to define the lives of men and women, especially the former, for decades to come. Without prosperity in business and love, an individual's masculine identity, his ability to control himself and his property, was undermined.[12]

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[7] Ibid.
[8] Schroeder, 'Populating Missouri,' 280.
[9] Lucas P. Volkman, *Houses Divided: Evangelical Schisms and the Crisis of the Union in Missouri* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 13.
[10] John Bradbury, *Bradbury's Travels in the Interior of America, 1809-1811* (Cleveland OH.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904), 262.
[11] J. Davis Letter to Lewis Sawyer, 25 September 1837, Box 1, 1762-1843, St. Louis History Collection, 1762-1994, A1427, *MHS*.
[12] Stephen W. Berry, *All That Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

With the establishment of farming communities came a wave of white, Southern, migration, which brought with it the values of a slaveholding society. Between 1820 and 1861, some 250,000 white settlers arrived in Missouri from the Upper South.[13] Many wealthier slaveholders chose not to move west out of concern that the climate of Missouri was unsuitable for cotton production. As a result, Missouri developed a distinctive slaveholding culture, centred on small-scale slavery dedicated to the production of alternative crops such as tobacco and hemp.[14] A majority of these slaveholders settled in central counties along the Missouri River, a region that would become known as 'Little Dixie'.[15] The result was a distinct identity for slaveholding Missourians, who held a deep emotional attachment to the perception of Missouri's slavery as being 'benevolent'. Additionally, white Missourians shared a belief, along with much of the South, that racially based slavery should exist at the centre of society as a means of sustaining the dominance of whites regardless of class. From an early age, the small-scale slaveholding in Missouri taught white children to value their mastery over the family slaves.[16]

Missouri's population was broadly split between two distinct factions that were either pro-slavery or anti-slavery. This divide was reflected geographically, but also by an emotional dichotomy, with very different values and forms of expression used by Missouri's various communities. Scholars of emotional history in the antebellum south have frequently noted that its emotional culture differed greatly from that found in the northern states. It can be the case that emotions in the nineteenth century United States are seen as very restricted, particularly when considering research into masculinity, which called for mastery over one's emotional state.[17] Though there was undoubtedly an ideal of some emotional restraint, it is becoming increasingly clear that there were a number of outlets for individuals to express themselves more openly, including in private writings and funerals. This concept is explored fully throughout this thesis, though it is worth mentioning here that the emotional worlds in the south tended to allow for more outward

[13] *1860 Census.*
[14] Diane Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border: Missouri's Small Slaveholding Households, 1815-1865* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 49.
[15] Robert M. Crisler, 'Missouri's "Little Dixie",' *Missouri Historical Review* 42 no. 2 (January 1948): 130-39.
[16] Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 26-28; 94-95. Missouri's particular style of supposedly benign slaveholding was also crucial to the identity of the Lost Cause in Missouri, with supporters claiming that slaves had been content and well treated.
[17] See for example, E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 20.

expressions of anger.[18] This was a contributing factor in the existence of an emotional divide between sections of Missouri's population, which is reflected in the characterisation of many southern immigrants as 'pukes', unsavoury and backward individuals.[19] Most significant, however, was the centrality of slavery to southern life, and in turn those migrants who brought their slaves with them to Missouri. Having been taught from a young age that their social standing hinged upon the subjugation of another race, they were loath to even consider giving up the right to own slaves.

Such ideologies naturally brought these Southern migrants into conflict with the more liberal settlers, often from the northwest United States, in urban centres such as St. Louis. To this group should be added various immigrants from European countries, particularly Germany, which had some 88,487 natural born citizens in Missouri by 1861.[20] Also notable is that the German population was well spread throughout Missouri. In a bid to avoid homesickness, immigrant communities tended to reside in close-knit communities, bound together by an emotional connection to their homeland. This was particularly true of the German population of Missouri. Spurred by a plethora of emigration guides, Germans travelled to similar areas. Though a sizeable contingent, naturally, resided in St. Louis, many Germans made their way to central regions of Missouri, establishing towns such as Hermann, Gasconade County, in the process. These areas held their own distinctive cultural and emotional identities, evidenced by the existence of German language newspapers from the 1830s onward.

Arriving in these places as new citizens in a strange land, German migrants were regularly supported, emotionally and physically, by their compatriots. The emotional communities model stresses that communities are not bound by geographical constraints, however, it is worth emphasising that this is also true of immigrant populations.[21] Maruška Svašek and Rosa Mas Giralt have shown that events in the homeland can resonate on a profound emotional basis to a migrant.[22] For example, deaths within a family back home can foster emotions of regret, an emotion which Susan J. Matt has

[18] For more, see Chapter VI.
[19] See below page 47.
[20] *1860 Census*.
[21] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 8.
[22] Maruška Svašek, 'On the Move: Emotions and Human Mobility,' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 no. 6 (July 2010): 865-80. Rosa Mas Giralt, 'Bereavement From Afar: Transnational Grieving and the Emotional Geographies of Migration,' *Children's Geographies* 17 no. 5 (2019): 578-90.

identified as particularly common among nineteenth century migrants.[23] Added to this were practical concerns, chiefly the language barriers that existed between newly arrived foreigners and Americans. Consequently, immigrant communities were highly reliant on one another to create a familiar and welcoming environment. As one example, Mathilde Decker and her younger brother travelled to the United States as children in the 1840s, escorted initially by neighbours. On arrival, Mathilde quickly became homesick, running away from her aunt's house after complaining about having to wash her cousins' clothing, which had been done for her by a maid in Germany. Distressed, and not speaking English, Mathilde was found by an elderly German couple, who looked after her for a week until she was willing to return to her aunt and uncle.[24] Having found comfort in familiarity, Mathilde's homesickness was alleviated. On a macro-level, Susan J. Matt has identified the important role of newspapers in fostering lasting ties between individuals and their common homeland and ancestry.[25] In Missouri, the *Anzeiger des Westens* and the *Westliche Post* became synonymous with the German community. For those lacking a good grasp of English, it was their only source of news. The bonds of a distinctive culture and memories of a homeland proved effective in uniting foreign migrants into a more cohesive community. Together, they could alleviate the effects of homesickness through emotional expression and the building of a distinct German-American culture.

Due to the arrival of thousands of Germans into Missouri, pro-slavery Missourians feared the influx of abolitionism that they expected would follow. For the most part, this reflected anxieties about mass immigration from abroad, rather than a genuine threat to slavery. Assumptions that German immigrants were staunch abolitionists have been challenged and refuted by Kristen Layne Anderson. Abolitionism within the German community rarely extended to reinforcing civil rights beyond the end of slavery, whilst German support for the Union was seen less as a moral crusade and instead as a test of their citizenship.[26] The perception of German immigrants as abolitionists did have some basis in fact. German language newspapers, such as the *Anzeiger des Westens* and the

[23] Matt, *Homesickness*, 59.
[24] "Battles of a Soldier's Wife," Decker Family Files, 1 Folder, A022, *MHS*. Mathilde Decker's story is discussed in more detail in Chapter II, page 51-52.
[25] Matt, *Homesickness: An American History*, 68.
[26] Kristen Layne Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri: German Immigrants and Racial Ideology in Nineteenth Century America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016).

Westliche Post were noted for their anti-slavery stance, which may have contributed to the stereotype that became common amongst pro-Confederates during the Civil War. In addition, a number of immigrants had arrived in the wake of the 1848 revolutions across Europe and were more committed to abolishing slavery as a goal in and of itself. Some of these were prominent revolutionaries such as Franz Sigel, who would aid in securing Missouri for the Union by rallying a large contingent of German immigrants to the cause. Even if these attitudes did not always filter down to a majority of Missouri's German community, it left an indelible perception of immigrants in the minds of slaveholding white Missourians. The anxieties that it created would have serious consequences for the future of the state.

The diverse backgrounds of Missouri's population exacerbated the concerns of slaveholders that slavery was under threat in Missouri. Having been admitted to the Union under the terms of the Missouri Compromise, the state found itself bordered to the north, east, and west by free soil territory. There was already, therefore, a concern amongst slaveholding whites in Missouri that they faced isolation, bringing their way of life under threat. For white men in particular, possible abolition would impact their ability to provide for their families, and threaten the success of their migration westward, with spatial context and gender redefining the emotional experience. Missouri's geography had provided slaves with numerous opportunities for escape throughout the antebellum era, owing to its waterways and neighbouring states. Even small acts of resistance such as feigning illness could have severe implications for the economy of a plantation due to the small-scale nature of Missouri's slaveholding.[27] Over the antebellum era, anxieties over the future of slavery would only increase the feelings of anger and fear amongst slaveholders in Missouri. Though the total number of enslaved people had increased from 11,235 in September 1821 to 114,931 by 1860, as a proportion of the population slaves were beginning to decline.[28] In 1821, there had been approximately one slave for every seven white citizens, but by 1860 this had fallen to one in every ten. This raised the concerns that many slaveholders felt over the potential decline of slavery in Missouri. The

[27] Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 28; 165-70. The chaos of the guerrilla war would only bring further opportunities for resistance, including flight, violent resistance, and, on at least one occasion, revealing the slaveholder's ties to pro-Confederate guerrilla bands. See also Chapter IV page 113.
[28] 1860 Census.

passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 may have brought abolitionists and slaveholders into open conflict for the first time, but the tensions pressing upon Missouri had been building for decades.

Divisions over slavery had an enormous impact on the emotional communities that Missourians inhabited. In large part, this was because of the influence that sectional divisions had on the religious communities of the antebellum United States. Religion was a focal point for emotional communities, both private and public, small and large. On Sundays, congregations gathered, giving people a chance to interact with neighbours and engage in communal activities such as singing, and exchanging news and gossip.[29] Church also provided Missourians with an opportunity to seek some measure of spiritual guidance or relief, which they could then carry back to the home and familial emotional community. Indeed, when we consider individual emotions, such as fear, grief, and anger, faith acts as a common coping mechanism between all.[30] As has been demonstrated across a wide body of scholarship, religion and a belief in God were central aspects in the lives of almost every nineteenth century American. Whether on secular or ecclesiastical matters, the result was that emotional communities often found themselves with a clear example of an external threat, an example best avoided.

A majority of the immigrants arriving in Missouri from the Upper South belonged to Baptist churches. Missouri Baptists were unusually cohesive when it came to the question of slavery, one which ultimately led to a schism in the Baptist Church in the United States in 1845, which saw the denomination divided between North and South. Though a part of this was undoubtedly due to the common southern origins of the majority of Missouri Baptists, they were also uniquely positioned as frontier congregations. Lucas P. Volkman has attributed much of the cohesiveness of Missouri Baptists to the fact that 'frontier isolation and institutional primitivism' made it difficult for antislavery Baptists in the northeast to promote their ideals amongst the rural population in Missouri.[31] Whilst weight should still be given to the common southern

[29] Robyn Burnett and Ken Luebbering, *Immigrant Women in the Settlement of Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005), 60.
[30] Faith is dealt with on some level in all chapters, however it is particularly relevant to Chapter IV, which considers grief and funeral practices in the guerrilla war, whilst Chapter V observes some connections between anger and religious beliefs.
[31] Volkman, *Houses Divided*, 4-5.

origins of Missouri Baptists, Volkman's proposal is reinforced by comparable evidence from Missouri's rural Presbyterian population, who were similarly influenced by local ministers who lived and worked within their congregations. As a result, these men held considerable sway over their local communities, far more so than church leadership in towns and cities in the east.[32]

This represented a stark contrast with the religious environment in Missouri's urban centres, which was more overtly influenced by antislavery forces. The cosmopolitan environment of cities such as St. Louis brought in liberal northern and European immigrants, and with them antislavery religious ideals. Indeed, many citizens of the same denomination found themselves in opposition to their rural or urban counterparts on the issue of slavery. Evidence of this can be seen in the establishment of independent African American Baptist churches in St. Louis, with the first being founded in 1827.[33] This contrasted with the experience in the countryside, where black people generally attended Baptist churches alongside their white masters, in churches with segregated seating.[34]

An exception to this was the Presbyterian Church, which frequently had ministers delivering antislavery messages to congregations in both urban and rural settings. This was in spite of the predominantly proslavery views of many ordinary members of the denomination, who held that the church should respect the rights of slaveholders. Nevertheless, Missouri Presbyterians were reliant on New England ministers out of necessity, and churches therefore frequently witnessed sermons in which ministers came into conflict with their congregations.[35] This was especially so following the schism in the Presbyterian Church between the traditionalist, proslavery Old School, and the more reformist New School. Congregations found themselves split, creating deep-rooted ideological divisions within localities, and therefore compromising emotional communities, particularly in relation to grieving.

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[32] Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 21-22.

[33] Volkman, *Houses Divided*, 7-8. See also, Dennis L. Durst, 'The Reverend John Berry Meachum (1789-1854) of St. Louis: Prophet and Entrepreneurial Black Educator in Historiographical Perspective,' *The North Star: A Journal of African American Religious History* 7 no. 2 (Spring 2004) accessed at [https://www.princeton.edu/~jweisenf/northstar/volume7/durst.html] – 1/09/2020.

[34] Volkman, *Houses Divided*, 8.

[35] Ibid., -28.

Religion was a hugely divisive subject in antebellum Missouri. Recent scholarship of religion in the Civil War era has increasingly eschewed broad notions of a unifying civil religion.[36] William Kurtz, for example, has shown that the Civil War prompted fresh tensions between Catholics and Protestants, with a renewal of anti-Romanist sentiment after the Civil War prompting the former into a collective defensive mentality.[37] Similar in-depth studies focusing on Missouri will reveal a state similarly divided, especially so given the prominence of Catholicism in the cultures of German and Irish immigrants. Though Catholicism tended to tolerate, if not necessarily offer outright support for slavery, the association of Germans with abolitionism only heightened the tensions. For Regina Donlon, religion in amongst immigrants in the Midwest was essential in maintaining 'fraternity, language, and tradition'.[38] The emotional attachment immigrants held to their homeland meant that religious practices would not be easily cast aside in favour of assuaging the white American population of Missouri. This consequently ensured that denominations and congregations would be split within Missouri itself, rather than on purely a national level. Therefore, the question begs to what extent there was ever a 'Missourian' at all in the antebellum era. Urban and rural areas were markedly divided by core beliefs from each other, and even within these areas, the population was hardly monolithic because of a variety of cultures and religions. Though Missouri had a number of common emotional practices, for example in terms of burial and romance, there was no single unifying emotional community within the state. This encouraged the growth and use of smaller emotional communities, creating the networks that would sustain people during the guerrilla conflict, but at the same time fomenting an atmosphere of division.

The most notable example of open conflict arising during the antebellum era was, of course, Bleeding Kansas, which in many ways served as a precursor to the guerrilla war.

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[36] Chandra Manning, 'Faith and Works: A Historiographical Review of Religion in the Civil War Era,' *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 10 no. 3 (September 2020): 373-86.

[37] See, William Kurtz, *Excommunicated from the Union: How the Civil War Created a Separate Catholic America* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016).

[38] Regina Donlon, *German and Irish Immigrants in the Midwestern United States, 1850-1900* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 147-75. It should be noted that religion, and especially Catholicism, was not the only way of promoting tradition and ethnicity. Newspapers such as the *Anzieger des Westens* were abolitionist, and by extension frequently anti-Catholic. Nevertheless, both cases illustrate the importance of maintaining a distinct German identity, whilst pointing towards the existence of the limited abolitionist sentiment that Kristen Layne Anderson discusses.

Throughout the late-1850s, cross-border raids by bands of irregular fighters anticipated the fighting that would take place during Missouri's guerrilla war, as well as cyclical violence driven by anger that was felt at an individual and collective level. Bleeding Kansas unquestionably mirrored the guerrilla war, but was far from the only indicator of how emotions would come to drive conflict in Missouri. Less well-known, but equally significant, was the growth of the Know-Nothing movement in Missouri, specifically St. Louis. In August 1854, tensions surrounding the state and congressional elections reached boiling point. Immigrant communities within the city were concerned about the Whig and Know-Nothing candidate Luther Martin Kennett, arguing in favour of the Democratic Party and a position of social and religious tolerance. The *Anzeiger des Westens* became noted as being particularly anti-Kennett, with nativists accusing the paper of trying to Germanise Missouri. On the day of the elections, a riot broke out in a Catholic Irish slum, which soon spread to encompass a large portion of the city. Over two days of clashes between immigrant communities and nativists, ten people were confirmed killed, though fires that ravaged whole buildings mean that the actual total may well have been higher.[39] This riot was the result of the growing collective anger amongst the nativist population of St. Louis. In many ways, it can be viewed as a precursor to the guerrilla war. In the urban environment of St. Louis, this manifested in a riot, the large population allowing for collective action. Similar tensions also existed in rural Missouri, where an influx of immigrants both from abroad and from northern states threatened the position of slavery. In those areas, such as the Kansas-Missouri border, the nature of the Southern household, and the aspects of border life identified by Joseph Beilein, meant guerrilla warfare.[40] Despite the differences in method, however, both types of violence originated from a similar emotional anxiety about a changing Missouri.

This is not to say that there was never a moment when migrant populations of Missouri became united, few though they were. The Mormon War of 1838 marks, perhaps, one of the rare occasions in which various religions reached any meaningful form of consensus. The Mormon population of Missouri had already been evicted from their settlements once before in 1833, when non-Mormons attacked them in Jackson County.

[39] For a complete account of the riot, see John C. Schneider, 'Riot and Reaction in St. Louis, 1854-56,' *Missouri Historical Review* 68 no. 2 (January 1974): 171-85.
[40] Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 14-38.

Eventually reaching a compromise with the state legislature to create and settle in Caldwell County, tensions subsided until 1838, when the Mormon population began to expand throughout northwest Missouri. The result was a vicious armed struggle between the Mormon population and a volunteer militia made up of a variety of faiths including Baptists and Presbyterians. In one incident, seventeen Mormons were massacred at Haun's Hill, with one victim a young boy aged just nine, in a scene that foreshadowed the violence of both Bleeding Kansas and the guerrilla war. The result was the eviction of the Mormon population, who fled to Illinois under the leadership of Joseph Smith.[41] In his study of the conflict, Stephen C. LeSueur frequently alludes to Mormons and 'Missourians', capturing the status of the former as outsiders and enemies of other denominations. Yet the term 'Missourians' does also imply a far greater unity between the non-Mormon population than actually existed. Rather than illustrating a population that was broadly speaking united, the Mormon War in fact shows a diffuse set of groups temporarily united by a perceived foreign enemy, a theme that has been observed by historians examining nationalisms and identity in the United States and beyond.[42] Indeed, as has been shown, in the years before and after the Mormon War the denominations present in Missouri continued to fracture over slavery. This points to, at most, a temporary unity between opposing groups, rather than any evidence of a single 'Missourian' set of beliefs.

The diverse population of Missouri therefore created a state that was under enormous social and emotional pressure. Slaveholders and their allies were very conscious of the threat that Missouri's borders posed to the institution. To these people, the spectre of abolitionism was also becoming more apparent within Missouri itself, with immigration bringing in foreign ideas and influences that challenged the ideal of a western slaveholding state. This created fear and suspicion throughout the antebellum era that could result in violence, as seen during the Mormon War, and also in the Know-Nothing riots in 1854. In many ways, it is likely that Missouri was always heading for banditry of

[41] LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri*, is the most in-depth treatment of the conflict, and offers significant background on the religious culture of Missouri, though the long-term implications of the conflict for Missouri, beyond its effect on the Mormon population, are left largely unclear.
[42] This argument was most famously put forward by Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), albeit suggesting that conflicts with outsiders form lasting identities, rather than the more temporary unity suggested here.

some kind, with or without a wider Civil War in which to frame it. Moreover, these tensions created an atmosphere of anxiety and fear, which further divided the population into distinct factions that would pave the way for guerrilla warfare.

Previous Crises

In its short history, antebellum-era Missouri had experienced a number of significant crises that had given its population plenty of experience in dealing with widespread death and conflict. Of particular note was the impact of a global cholera pandemic in 1849. Like guerrilla warfare, the pandemic wrought enormous psychological trauma to Missouri's emotional communities. Almost certainly carried over the Atlantic by immigrant ships, the outbreak was at its worst in St. Louis, which saw vast amounts of river traffic, and attracted large numbers of immigrants, who lived in tightly packed and unhygienic housing.[43] Home to a population of approximately 63,471, St. Louis would ultimately lose some seven percent of its population to the disease in June and July alone, though other estimates have placed this figure as high as ten.[44]

During the summer, the city saw approximately 145 deaths per day, a horrifying toll which is reflected in manuscript evidence. Sylvia Simons noted to a relative in New York that as many as 150 people could be dying every day in January 1848, though fears that the toll was far worse were rampant due to rumours that accused the Board of Health of not reporting 'one half of the cases'.[45] A number of sources attest to friends and relatives pleading with their loved ones to leave St. Louis for their own safety. Edward Bates refused to leave the city, believing it to be a 'sacred duty' that he remain, being influential with ordinary residents, and able to act as a go-between for the municipal authorities to organise aid efforts.[46] In St. Charles, William Scott acknowledged the

[43] Paul W. Brewer, 'Voluntarism on Trial: St. Louis' Response to the Cholera Epidemic of 1849,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 45 no.1 (Spring 1975): 108-09.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Sylvia Simons Letter to Simeon Leland, 8 January 1848, Box 2, , 1844-1895, St. Louis History Collection, 1762-1994, A1427, *MHS*; E. G. Simons Letter to Simeon Leland, 9 May 1849, Box 2, ibid.
[46] Edward Bates Letter to R.B. Frayser, June 1849, Box 6, 1840-1852, Bates Family Papers, 1754-1973, A0092, *MHS*.

dangers of the city in a letter to his son and daughter, noting a number of his neighbours who had gone to St. Louis on business and died whilst there.[47]

One of the obvious consequences of the cholera pandemic was the frequent disruption to daily church life of all denominations in St. Louis, as its citizens grappled with the disease. This disruption included a limited congregation, with people either staying away out of fear, or even no congregation at all because of closures. Ministers were often too busy to attend services, due to having to attend to the dead and dying, which left people reliant on their private faith, a trend that would be seen again during the guerrilla war twelve years later.[48] Perhaps most distressing was the lack of proper funerals and burials. Evident concerns over safety and the spread of the virus were important factors in these decisions, however there was also a problem of practicality, given the scale of deaths. Moreover, the progression of the disease was rapid, often killing people in as little as 24 hours after infection, as is attested to by contemporary accounts. Edward Bates remarked that Peter, a freedman working for his mother, had come 'to our house last Saturday night a little unwell, and died of cholera before sunrise.'[49] Quiet ceremonies and mass burials meant that traditions of grief were heavily impacted, though some families attempted to provide a proper service. Some of William Scott's neighbours who died in St. Louis were brought back to St. Charles in their coffins, though equally many were laid to rest in the city.[50]

Like the guerrilla war, the cholera pandemic disrupted church life and funerary practices. It also caused widespread poverty, with businesses shuttered and imports disrupted, again foreshadowing some of the economic problems that would be caused by guerrilla warfare. Exacerbating this was a large fire in May 1849, which caused extensive damage to the business district of St. Louis, as well as destroying a number of steamboats. Many houses were lost to the flames, or demolished to prevent the further spread of the blaze.[51] Edward Bates recognised that 'the living as well as the dead are entitled to our sympathy', however the city authorities proved slow to act, ultimately caving to public

[47] William Scott Letter to James H. Parker, 15 October 1849, Box 2, 1844-1895, St. Louis History Collection, 1762-1994, A1427, *MHS*.
[48] Brewer, 'Voluntarism on Trial,' 111-112.
[49] Edward Bates Letter to R.B. Frayser.
[50] William Scott Letter to James H. Parker.
[51] William E. Lass, 'The Fate of the Steamboats: A Case Study of the 1848 St. Louis Fleet,' *Missouri Historical Review* 96 no. 1 (October 2001): 7-8.

pressure and passing some limited reforms.[52] Among these was provision for the delivery of free water to the city's poor.[53] As would become evident in Missouri's Civil War refugee crisis, charitable efforts were heavily informed by fears of continued dependence. If pity could be elicited, if the plight of the individual was too great to ignore, then aid could be given to help people return to some form of normality. Collective responses such as these, reliant on a broad emotional community expressing sympathy for others, demonstrate the practical benefits of living within them.[54] Indeed, during the cholera pandemic, a citywide response was evident in St. Louis, with influential citizens such as Edward Bates, as well as newspaper editors, using their positions to urge everyone to do their part to help.[55]

Ultimately, the reforms accelerated an existing downward trend in cases. By August 1849, river traffic had once again begun to flourish, and St. Louis' economy began to recover. Land prices quickly rose, and immigration resumed at a substantial rate, which has led Paul Brewer to conclude that the long-term impact of the cholera pandemic was limited.[56] The cholera pandemic can, however, tell us something about Missouri's emotional communities. It shows that, whilst they were vulnerable to catastrophe, which could leave people isolated, they were ultimately quite malleable. Whether in terms of using private faith instead of public displays, or through efforts to achieve something close to standard practices of funerals, emotional communities adapted their forms of expression to meet their circumstances. This was an experience mirrored by Missourians during the guerrilla war, though again it must be noted that the challenges faced between 1861 and 1865 were very different in both practical and emotional terms.

In addition to the cholera pandemic, which left thousands of people dead, Missourians had also dealt with death through experience of violence and warfare. Though never on the scale of the guerrilla war, this important part of Missouri's antebellum context was significant in setting the stage for guerrilla warfare. It

[52] Edward Bates Letter to R.B. Frayser.
[53] Brewer, 'Voluntarism on Trial,' 117.
[54] Recent studies utilising emotional communities as a model have emphasised the importance of practical benefit in tying members more closely to their communities. One interesting example is, Thomas Webb, Chris Pearson, Penny Summerfield, and Mark Riley, 'More-Than-Human Emotional Communities: British Soldiers and Mules in Second World War Burma,' *Social and Cultural History* 17 no. 2 (2020): 245-262, which complicates the emotional communities model by including non-humans in an important role.
[55] Edward Bates Letter to R.B. Frayser.
[56] Brewer, 'Voluntarism on Trial,' 119-122.

demonstrates that war and violence did not materialise in 1861, but rather existed as a continuation of previous conflicts and trends that legitimised violence within Missouri society. Moreover, it can help in explaining why so many men were willing to take to the bush and wage war on their neighbours through guerrilla warfare.

The origins of a culture of violence in Missouri have been the subject of a body of scholarly debate in the past few decades. Some have argued that a culture of duelling played the most important role in legitimising violence as a form of emotional expression. Dick Steward has argued that the ritualised violence of the duel was an essential part of elite society, central to social status and political advancement, with elements of the duel filtering down the social order to legitimise other types of violence.[57] Amongst Missouri's elites, duelling was certainly an important part of life, so much so that 'Bloody Island', a wooded towhead in the Mississippi River opposite St. Louis, became an unofficial meeting spot for duellists. On this island, the famous duels between Thomas Hart Benton and Charles Lucas were fought in 1817, along with numerous other contests between Missouri's political elite over the antebellum era.[58] In making this argument, however, Steward did not connect Missouri's ritualised duels with the culture of honour and masculinity prominent in the antebellum South.[59] This is significant because of the numbers of white Missourians who either immigrated to the state from the south, or were second generation children of southern migrants. Given that Missouri's guerrillas were almost entirely the sons of white southern farmers, this connection was surely important in defining the context of violence and anger in Missouri. Furthermore, duelling was only one, highly ritualised, form of anger. Mob violence and street brawls were frequent occurrences over the antebellum era, and often involved the same elites who practiced ritualised anger in the form of duels. Enslaved people across the state would certainly have known that violence was usually not so formalised and was instead a tool with which slaveholders maintained control over their property. Equally, enslaved people themselves utilised violence as a form of resistance, meeting the threat of extreme punishment with

[57] Dick Steward, *Duels and the Roots of Violence in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 202.
[58] Freeman, *Field of Blood*, 154.
[59] This culture has been explored by a number of scholars both before and since Steward's *Roots of Violence*. Bruce, *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South*, was an early in-depth treatment of this.

violent resistance.[60] Violence served many functions for different people across Missouri. It was not solely an emotional expression of the elite.

On some occasions, anger and violence could unite groups of white Missourians behind a single collective sentiment. For this to happen, some form of external threat towards a white settler ideal was required – an 'other'. Conflicts between settlers on the frontier and the Native American population were, as along the rest of the western border, a reality of life in Missouri. As white settlers disrupted the access of the Osage tribe, among others, to the fur trade, many natives found themselves starving. This frequently brought them into direct conflict with American settlers, often in the form of skirmishes along the border.[61] Indeed, the legacies of these early conflicts could still be felt during the guerrilla war. Missourians living along the western border would look fearfully across state lines, not just because of the threat of jayhawkers, but also because of roaming Native American units.[62] Likewise, the Mormon War of 1838 also showed that violence could erupt when diverse peoples came into contact through westward expansion. As was also the case with Native Americans, Mormons were viewed as an 'other' that did not belong in Missouri. This was used as justification for the official policy that removed the Mormon population from Missouri, which called for their extermination if they remained, also justifying atrocities committed by the Missouri militia.[63]

This dynamic also operated in Missouri, and later Kansas, along sectional lines. Northerners and southerners, with some exceptions, treated the other group with suspicion and disdain, which increased as tensions over slavery became more pronounced over the 1850s. The factionalism was evident in the popular categorisation and monikers bestowed on the various immigrant groups who arrived in Missouri. For their part, Missourians, especially slaveholders, frequently dismissed the German population as 'Dutchmen', a mispronunciation of 'Deutsch'. In the context of a border state, this term, used widely across the United States, took on a new meaning. Given the association of the German immigrants with liberal urban ideologies, to rural slaveholding Missourians

[60] Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 181-84.
[61] Jeremy Neely, *The Border Between Them: Violence and Reconciliation Along the Kansas-Missouri Line* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007), 9-23.
[62] E. A. Christy Letter to J. H. Marmon, 24 February 1863, Christy, E. A., Letter, 1863, 1 item, C1834, *SHSMO*.
[63] LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War*, 152.

the term 'Dutch' denoted an individual who threatened their way of life and social standing. Indeed, many pro-Confederate Missourians during the Civil War connected the presence of Germans with the Hessian mercenaries used by the British during the Revolution.[64] In this way, Germans became a foreign 'other', representing a grave threat to the white slaveholding way of life – an enemy against which a distinct Confederate Missourian identity could form.

In a similar vein, southerners in Missouri also found themselves denigrated by northerners as 'pukes', and later as 'ruffians' during the Bleeding Kansas period. To antislavery forces, southern slaveholders reflected the very worst of frontier society, a barbaric reminder of the potential fate that awaited America's west if slavery was allowed to follow the advance of white civilization. It is true that some northern migrants found themselves persuaded as to the benefits of slavery, one New Englander writing to a friend that his brother would 'soon forget his abolitionism and have only contempt for the slaves'. Even this, however, was tempered by an admission that the people of Missouri were 'coarse and vulgar', and that in contrast to southern farmers, 'a Yankee can make money fast at farming.'[65] These caricatures of rural Missourians were also used by the early settlers of Kansas in the 1850s, especially those on the Kansas-Missouri state line. Joseph H. Trego, writing from his new home in Mound City, Linn County, Kansas, described some of his Missouri neighbours as 'of the "Hoosier" stripe and of course not company for us.'[66] In short, white southerners in Missouri were viewed as dangerous, uncouth, and backwards by their northern counterparts.

Over time, those with southern heritage in Missouri came to accept and even embrace this image. Conflict was the central driving force for this process, along with influential and opportunistic politicians such as Claiborne Fox Jackson, whose advance through Missouri politics reflected the hardening divisions within the state.[67] The Bleeding Kansas period should be viewed as the most significant catalyst for this trend. The central

[64] Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 96.
[65] J. Davis Letter to Lewis Sawyer, 25 September 1837.
[66] Edgar Langsdorf (ed.), 'The Letters of Joseph H. Trego, 1857-1864, Linn County Pioneer, Part One, 1857, 1858,' *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 19 no. 2 (May 1951): 117. The term 'Hoosier' has a number of meanings, and most commonly refers to a resident or native of Indiana. In the case of Missouri, however, 'Hoosier' was a term of abuse, equivalent to the modern 'redneck', implying that an individual or group was lazy and illiterate.
[67] See Christopher Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000).

conflict that Bleeding Kansas aimed to settle was the question of whether or not Kansas Territory would enter the Union as a free state, or as a slave state. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 had ruled that the question would be decided by popular sovereignty, that the state's settlers would have the final say. As a result, large numbers of white Missourians descended on Kansas during elections, illegally casting ballots to ensure the success of Democratic candidates. At the same time, settlers from New England arrived with the assistance of organisations such as the New England Emigrant Aid Company. They founded abolitionist towns such as Lawrence, and effectively drew the battle lines that would come to define the Kansas-Missouri border for the next decade and beyond. Amid these tensions, open violence began in earnest in 1855.[68]

Much of the violence perpetrated during Bleeding Kansas was repeated on a larger scale in the guerrilla conflict. It evidenced the ways in which Missouri's emotional communities, and to an extent the wider United States, processed and expressed wartime anger. Broadly speaking, both sides in Bleeding Kansas claimed that their violent actions were retaliatory, a means of justifying their anger. Michael E. Woods has spoken of 'indignation' as a form of righteous anger, with biblical connotations from Christ's cleansing of the temple lending the emotion a certain morality.[69] Though largely reliant on an elite, upper-middle class interpretation of violence, righteous anger did hold true for some of the most famous examples of violence during Bleeding Kansas.[70] One example is the caning of Charles Sumner by Preston Brooks on the Senate floor in May 1856. Responding to a speech given by Sumner, Brooks' attack divided the Northern and Southern press, which both called for unity amongst the populace of both regions along sectional lines. The *Puritan Recorder* in Boston, Massachusetts stated that the attack had 'naturally excited great indignation amongst all parties of our citizens'.[71] Equally, the *Sentinel of Freedom* in New Jersey warned that, though 'Northern men are slow to anger and permit their deliberations and long suffering patience to be stigmatised by those of a more sudden passion at the South', their patience was quickly wearing out.[72] By contrast,

[68] For overviews of Bleeding Kansas, see Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004); Kristen Tegtmeier Oertel, *Bleeding Borders: Race, Gender, and Violence in pre-Civil War Kansas* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 2009).
[69] Woods, *Emotional and Sectional Conflict*.
[70] See also Chapter VI page 171-72.
[71] *Boston Recorder* (published as *The Puritan Recorder*) 29 May 1856.
[72] *The Sentinel of Freedom*, 27 May 1856.

the *Richmond Whig* announced that it was 'rejoiced at this', citing Sumner's reputation for foul language, which had earned him 'an elegant and effectual caning'.[73] Abolitionist rhetoric therefore attempted to portray Brooks' attack as an unjustifiable assault, evidence of the brutality of the proslavery position. The latter, by contrast, sought to demonstrate that Brooks' actions were righteous.

This culture of anger was also prevalent in Missouri during Bleeding Kansas. Many of the most famous instances of violence during Bleeding Kansas can be accounted for as responses to previous events, and indeed this was something that their perpetrators suggested at the time. After the first sacking of Lawrence in April 1856, the proslavery forces claimed that it was a legitimate action taken as a result of the wounding of Douglas County Sheriff Samuel Jones by free state settlers in the town.[74] Another example of the revenge narrative being used during the Bleeding Kansas period is a possibly apocryphal story of William Quantrill. The story goes that his brother was killed at some point between 1859-60 by Kansas jayhawkers, which in turn acted as the catalyst for Quantrill taking revenge and entering the early stages of his career as a guerrilla fighter, hunting his brother's killers. This allegedly began in earnest with a skirmish near Independence, Missouri in which several men were killed.[75] Though little evidence for this tale exists beyond hearsay, the details of it speak volumes as to the divisions between proslavery and abolitionist groups on the western border. In particular, John McCorkle, who fought with Quantrill during the Civil War, related that, following his brother's death, Quantrill's wounds were tended to by a Native American. McCorkle purposely contrasted the Indian and the Kansans, saying that the former had 'more heart and sympathy than the white men of Kansas'.[76] The fact that McCorkle was willing to give this compliment to a non-white individual is testament to the bitter divides that Bleeding Kansas created, and which the guerrilla war solidified.

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[73] Quoted in *New York Daily Tribune*, 27 May 1856.
[74] *Weekly Lecompton Union*, 28 April 1856.
[75] *St. Louis Daily Bulletin* 11 December 1860, reported on a skirmish at the Walker farm, saying that Morgan Walker had been given prior warning that jayhawkers would attempt to liberate his forty slaves, and that he was prepared. John McCorkle later ascribed this action to Quantrill, which shows, if nothing else, that the Walker fight had lived on in the memories of citizens on the border. It is possible that Quantrill spread the story himself to increase his notoriety, but whether there is any truth to the story is difficult to ascertain. See, McCorkle, *Three Years with Quantrill*, 25-28.
[76] Ibid., 25-28.

In many senses, Bleeding Kansas acted as a taste of what was to come in the guerrilla war. Indeed, despite the tenuous peace that descended on the border in 1857, violence nonetheless continued. For Missourians living on the Kansas-Missouri state line, it is not unreasonable to say that the guerrilla war encompassed a period of nearly a decade. Consider the people of Lawrence, Kansas, raided in May 1856 by border ruffians and again, most infamously, in August 1863 by Quantrill's guerrillas. Emotions were certainly running high in Lawrence after the first raid. Even before the attack Edward Fitch had complained in a letter to his father that he was 'badly armed for war and ought to have a good revolver.'[77] Along with Edward's repeated desire to own a revolver, he noted that, on several occasions, he would sleep with a Sharps rifle by his bed, calling the weapon his 'constant companion' during the winter of 1855-56.[78] Edward Fitch's concerns over his personal armaments reflect a wider anxiety over weaponry in Kansas during the 1850s. He was writing in the context of growing sectional tensions and the widespread smuggling of guns into Kansas, most famously the breech-loading Sharps rifles popularly called 'Beecher's Bibles'. Long before Lyon marched on Camp Jackson, the people of the western border were arming themselves for war. Edward Fitch's revolver, if he ever acquired one, would not save him from being murdered by Quantrill's men in 1863. But his private concerns about arming himself personalise the broader sense of unease that was spreading across the Kansas-Missouri border in the antebellum era.

The publication of the Lieber Code in 1863 attempted to set in place the limits of modern war. Guerrilla warfare in particular posed a challenge to the Union Army – a 'serious ethical dilemma' that needed to be addressed.[79] From this, one might assume that irregular war was something new to the United States, another grim innovation brought about by the Civil War. But this ignores the previous experiences of Americans across the United States and its developing territories. In reality, only the scale was something truly new. Daniel Sutherland draws comparison between similar movements in the American Revolution and the Mexican War, as well as the Peninsular War in Spain,

[77] John M. Peterson (ed.), 'Letters of Edward and Sarah Fitch, Lawrence, Kansas, 1855-63, Part I,' *Kansas History* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 65-66. Earlier in the year, Edward had made a similar comment, wishing that he had a 'good Colts revolver'.
[78] Ibid., 59.
[79] Sheehan-Dean, *Calculus of Violence*, 182.

which he states all informed the thinking of Americans during the Civil War era.[80] To this we must surely add Bleeding Kansas, which receives only fleeting mention in Sutherland's study. Though less organised than the above examples, the more ad-hoc and localised nature of a conflict centred on the future of slavery reflects the distinctive type of border war that would define Missouri's experience between 1861 and 1865.[81] To this wider conflict was added a host of smaller, personal conflicts, all of which impacted on the guerrilla war as a whole. The public and private emotional worlds of Missouri had shaped conflict prior to the Civil War, and had in turn been shaped by it.

This relationship between emotional communities and conflict had encouraged the beginnings of the guerrilla war by drawing individuals and groups into distinct sectional factions. For historians including Christopher Phillips, Bleeding Kansas was the moment at which Missouri's political and cultural identity shifted from being a distinctive western identity to a southern one.[82] The former was rooted in the ideals of Jacksonian democracy, and stressed the rights of the individual and equality of opportunity, the threat to slavery, which Missourians saw as central to these rights. Kansas, however, proved to many Missourians that they shared a common enemy with the southern states. For the southern sympathisers in Missouri, they had been drawn into a broad emotional community that was united in a desire to see their way of life continue. Indeed, as demonstrated by Beilein's work, for those who would come to be directly engaged in the guerrilla war, this emotional bond would only gather strength as the war dragged on. It is important to stress that this was not the case for every Missourian. As has been explained, urban areas and those rural sections dominated by German immigrants, though valuing ideals of equality of opportunity, did not feel the same sympathy towards the southern states. As a result of Bleeding Kansas, the battle lines had been drawn not just between Kansas and Missouri, but also within Missouri itself.

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[80] Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, xiii.

[81] A big part of Sutherland choosing these specific conflicts as comparative points is that goal of his work is to demonstrate that the guerrilla war was a logical and influential aspect of the Civil War as a whole. At the time of *A Savage Conflict*'s publication, this was a contentious statement. Importantly, Sutherland also notes distinctions between 'irregulars', such as John Singleton Mosby, and 'bushwhackers' like Quantrill. Now, building on work done by LeeAnn Whites and Joseph Beilein, we can develop this to show that, despite there being a lack of traditional military cohesion for many bushwhackers, this did not mean that their campaigns were illogical. Instead, they were informed by the social, political, and emotional world of the western border.

[82] Christopher Phillips, '"The Crime Against Missouri": Slavery, Kansas, and the Cant of Southerness in the Border West,' *Civil War History* 48 no. 1 (March 2002): 60-81; 61-62.

Consequently, by the time that Lyon marched on Camp Jackson in May 1861, Missouri had already experienced civil conflict. Throughout its short history, the emotional communities of Missouri had been forced to meet some of the challenges that the guerrilla war would present. Indeed, for those directly affected by Bleeding Kansas, the experience of irregular conflict was by no means unfamiliar to them. The guerrilla conflict was, of course, fought on a much larger scale than Bleeding Kansas, encompassing most of Missouri, as well as the Kansas-Missouri border region. Nevertheless, Bleeding Kansas acted as an important precursor to the Civil War, establishing many of the trends that will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Crucially, it shows that the guerrilla conflict acted as an extension of previous events, and that whilst it is right to demonstrate the significance it had on the wider Civil War, many of the minor instances of violence arose out of local and personal conflicts.

The divisions between Missourians that led to the events of 10 May 1861 had been hardened, but not created by, Bleeding Kansas and the Secession Winter. As a young border state, Missouri had been at the forefront of numerous social pressures, not least of which was migration. With one group reliant on slavery for economic and societal prosperity and another dedicated to its downfall, conflict was inevitable. Sectional hostilities over the future of slavery became an increasingly important issue over the antebellum era, dividing regions and communities from their neighbours. The emotional worlds of Missouri were hugely important in determining the impact of these growing tensions. Fear, anxiety, and above all anger, fostered an environment in which guerrilla warfare could flourish – initially as a border war, and later as a conflict that would engulf most of Missouri. These emotions would cement the divide between communities in Missouri throughout the antebellum era and the Civil War. Indeed, it would not be until long after the Civil War and emancipation that reconciliation would even begin to unite a broader swathe of Missourians behind a single set of values.[83]

The following chapters will deal with the emotions of the guerrilla war. As has been demonstrated, emotions such as fear and anger, pivotal to the guerrilla conflict, were nothing new. What did change with the coming of widespread guerrilla warfare was how

[83] See Chapter VII.

these emotions were interpreted and used. Whereas during the antebellum era these emotions had fomented divisions and suspicion, the context of the guerrilla war meant that they could influence the direction of the war. Fear, grief, and anger all informed and developed the way that guerrilla conflict was fought, influencing both official Union policy, and the unofficial strategies of guerrilla bands. The first emotion considered will be fear, which affected people across a broad scale, and was the emotion that both sides sought to instil.

Chapter 2. Fear and Anxiety

As dawn broke in Lawrence, Kansas, on the morning of 21 August 1863, Andrew Williams and his family were awoken by a group of what they believed to be Union cavalry passing by their home on Massachusetts Street. Andrew was a twelve-year-old former slave who, along with his mother and five siblings, had been liberated from his enslaver in Mount Vernon, Missouri, by the Sixth Kansas Cavalry in 1862. Taken to Kansas, the family had arrived in Lawrence in the spring of 1863. The Williams family had as much to fear as anyone in Lawrence at the prospect of an attack, with recapture and reenslavement being very real possibilities. When the cavalrymen on Massachusetts Street abruptly 'Brake Ranks then they scattered in all Directions,' revealing themselves to be pro-Confederate guerrillas, the Williams family fled, leaving their possessions and home undefended. Running away from the sounds of fighting and looting, Andrew recalled that he and his family fled some four miles through the darkness, moving along the banks of the nearby Kansas River. Eventually stopping somewhere along the river, the family remained hidden for hours, emerging only when a neighbour discovered them and was able to reassure them that the guerrillas had departed.

Some thirty years later, when Andrew came to write an account of his life during the Civil War, the fear that he had felt on 21 August 1863 remained a vivid part of his memories.[1] Andrew Williams was far from alone in his experiences. Across Lawrence, men and women found themselves gripped by fear as they attempted to conceal their loved ones and possessions, or fled through cornfields and cellars in a bid to reach safety. Even those who had prior experience of combat, such as Jim Lane, openly showed their fears by either fleeing or hiding.

Fear was the emotional state that all combatants involved in the guerrilla conflict sought to instil. It informed the very nature of the war, influencing the direction of official federal policy, and the unofficial strategies of guerrilla bands. Carrying out attacks, whether on a large scale as at Osceola in 1861, or Lawrence in 1863, or in the countless isolated instances of guerrilla warfare that occurred throughout the guerrilla war, had a clear emotional imperative. For the pro-Confederate guerrillas, attacks would, among

[1] William A. Doback (ed.) 'Civil War on the Kansas-Missouri Border: The Narrative of Former Slave Andrew Williams,' *Kansas History* 6 (Winter 1983-84): 237-42.

other purposes such as obtaining supplies, discourage support for the Union thereby helping deliver Missouri to the Confederacy, and vice versa for Unionist irregulars. The variety of ways in which one could experience fear poses a significant challenge to scholars. The above descriptions of Andrew Williams and other victims of the Lawrence Massacre illustrate people in mortal danger, fleeing immediate risk to try and save themselves from likely death at the hands of the guerrillas. For many others, however, the object of fear was less immediate, and was instead a potential threat for the near future. Hazen Burlingame, for example, described the mood in Moniteau County in June 1863, where guerrilla atrocities had led to 'anticipation of a good deal of trouble this summer and fall.'[2] Though the object of concern was the pro-Confederate guerrilla, the nature of the emotion experienced was very different.

A Freudian definition of fear splits the emotion into 'fear', which describes an immediate threat, for example a guerrilla attack, and 'anxiety', which indicates a feeling of unease, often without being able to name the precise threat. Whereas fear might be accompanied by physical symptoms such as shaking, a faster heart rate, or shouting, anxiety can be more difficult to recognise. As will be demonstrated, for some nineteenth-century Missourians, this could translate into physical symptoms, whereas for others anxiety was instead a general concern about one or many potential problems. Taken at face value, this neatly subdivides the broader emotion into two, helping to split the responses of Andrew Williams and Hazen Burlingame along a clear line. This definition was, however, designed for use in psychoanalysis, and becomes more problematic when used by the historian. There is an implied irrationality in the definition of anxiety, which relies on not being able to name a precise threat.[3] This was evidently not the case during Missouri's guerrilla war, as thousands of civilians lived in anticipation of potential violence from pro-Confederate guerrillas, jayhawkers from Kansas, or rebellion amongst the enslaved population. These potential threats were all anticipated, named, and

[2] Hazen S. Burlingame Letter to Francis S. Burlingame, 25 June 1863, Box 1, Folder 3, Hazen S. Burlingame Correspondence, 1859-1864, Burlingame Family Papers 1776-1894, *MHS*, A124.

[3] As Joanna Bourke notes, there is a close link between reason and 'fear', more so than psychoanalytical definitions might suggest. For example, a logical analysis of nuclear weapons and the consequences of their use inspired fear during the Cold War, but conversely this fear could also encourage 'reasoned' responses such as protests against the Star Wars program. See, Joanna Bourke, 'Fear and Anxiety: Writing About Emotion in Modern History,' *History Workshop Journal* no. 55 (Spring 2003): 126. Taking this back to the guerrilla war, we might consider actions such as stockpiling weapons or voluntarily becoming a refugee as reasoned responses to fear.

rationalised by those experiencing anxiety. In most cases, sources of anxiety for one individual were sources of fear for another. Whilst one might anticipate a guerrilla attack and feel a sense of unease at the prospect, another somewhere else in Missouri could experience mortal terror at the same moment – context was hugely important in defining the emotion.

The naming of an individual's or a group's source of anxiety was also subject to manipulation by others, which fundamentally changed the context of the emotional experience.[4] This was crucial in deciding how fear was conceptualised and experienced in antebellum Missouri. For example, the anxieties of slaveholders regarding the future of slavery in Missouri found useful targets in abolitionist migrants from northern states such as Massachusetts, and particularly in immigrant communities, usually German, who were accused of importing radical and dangerous ideologies into the United States. These views trickled down to become a key anxiety for thousands of Missourians before and during the guerrilla war, when the German soldier frequently acted as a bogeyman for the slaveholding white Missourian.[5] Distinguishing fear between an immediate 'fear', and a more long-term sense of unease, 'anxiety', can be helpful to historians of emotions by tracing how the emotion builds in intensity over time. But it is crucial to recognise that anxiety, even in cases where the threat cannot be clearly named, was not an irrational reaction. Rather, anxiety was the product of its context, as well as possible manipulation by other individuals and groups.

In Missouri, Unionists pointed to pro-Confederate guerrillas as the principal object of fear. Likewise, pro-Confederate citizens were fearful at the prospect of violence from the Missouri State Militia and roaming bands of jayhawkers, to say nothing of the national threat to slavery and the southern way of life.[6] Despite being able to name the threat, this still does not quite mesh with the definitions of fear and anxiety suggested above. The

[4] Regarding the antebellum United States, various works have considered some of the social implications of factors such as migration, and the fears they instilled in the population. See, Raymond L. Cohn, *Mass Migration Under Sail: European Immigration to the Antebellum United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 214-18, for discussion of nativism in the context of social and economic pressures brought on by immigration. More generally, see Jon Gjerde, S. Deborah Kand (ed.), *Catholicism and the Shaping of Nineteenth Century America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 36-39, 67-82.

[5] See Chapter I page 24-26.

[6] At a state level, the constant flight of enslaved people from households across Missouri brought this anxiety closer to home, personalising the uncertainty as slaves considered loyal began to rebel through leaving. For more on this see Chapter IV page 112-18.

reason is that, even with the enemy clearly identified, there is still an obvious difference between the kind of fear experienced by Andrew Williams in the Lawrence Massacre, and Hazen Burlingame's concerns over the spread of guerrilla warfare. A further distinction must be made between immediate mortal danger, and the anticipation of facing this threat. One involves physical responses such as an increased heart rate and cries of terror, whereas the other is a state of unease similar to anxiety, albeit with a clear understanding of the source of the threat. Importantly, this leads to different practical responses. When suddenly attacked by an enemy with little prior warning, as occurred at Lawrence, there was little opportunity for resistance and therefore fear elicited flight as its most common response. But where guerrilla attacks could be anticipated, fear could encourage a much greater variety of responses. Some people expressed their fears to close friends and family, or confided in journals, whilst others took proactive steps to protect themselves and their property. Conversely, for others the paranoia caused by the uncertain loyalties of individuals across the state merely heightened their state of unease.

For many victims of guerrilla warfare, fear proved the defining emotional experience of the conflict, consuming them for years and in some cases prompting them to leave Missouri altogether.[7] Fear has hitherto been one of the few emotional consequences of guerrilla warfare referenced by scholars, who have built upon the work of others looking more generally at fear and its role in the United States. In the post 9/11 world, attention has focused on the twentieth-century United States, with researchers identifying a 'culture of fear' perpetrated by elites with a vested interest in manipulating the national emotional community.[8] Likewise, in the guerrilla war, Michael Fellman noted that combatants sought to manipulate fear to achieve their goals.[9] Whether discussing

[7] For more on refugees see Chapter IV.

[8] See, Corey Robin, *Fear: The History of a Political Idea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 162, who argues that elites are able to position themselves as protectors in light of this manipulation. More generally, see, Barry Glassner, *The Culture of Fear: Why Americans Are Afraid of the Wrong Things*, (New York: Basic Books, 1999); Peter Stearns, *American Fear: The Causes and Consequences of High Anxiety* (London: Routledge, 2006). For a non-US perspective, see Frank Biess, '"Everybody Has a Chance": Nuclear Angst, Civil Defence, and the History of Emotions in Postwar West Germany,' *German History* 27 no. 2 (2009): 215-43, who astutely notes that West German civil defence preparations ultimately undermined an emotional regime by revealing the limitations of the programme, and thereby inadvertently increased anxiety in West Germany, reshaping the scholarly focus on successful impositions of a culture of fear.

[9] Fellman, *Inside War*, 25, 170. Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 31, likewise noted that fear was a critical aspect of the Lawrence Massacre, where the panic served to 'unman' the male victims of the massacre, including Jim Lane, forced to flee wearing his nightgown. Again, there is more to be said about fear in this instance

specific attacks such as Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, or the individual accounts of small-scale irregular violence, the importance of fear as a weapon of irregular combatants aimed at discouraging support for either the Union or the pro-Confederate guerrillas is evident. Nevertheless, scholars have yet to ask how victims of guerrilla warfare engaged with their fears, the different ways that they expressed them, and what made fear on the western border distinct from that of the wider nation.

This chapter takes the recognition of fear as an emotion felt by victims of guerrilla warfare further, assessing what it actually meant to experience fear in the guerrilla conflict, and how this connects with the broader emotional culture of the United States. Assessing fear and anxiety as distinct emotional experiences, albeit closely linked, this chapter demonstrates that to be afraid in the Civil War era was a much more complicated emotional experience than has previously been suggested. Moreover, the context of the guerrilla war, and the civilian status of many of its victims, meant that the link between fear and cowardice was broken. Even for men expected to uphold an ideal of American western manhood, the expectation of managing fear was lessened, if not necessarily entirely forgotten. As a result, people were freer to admit and express their fears, creating a very different emotional experience than that found in other spheres of Civil War society.

Fear in the Civil War era United States

Fear was, alongside other emotions such as anger, an emotion that was viewed with suspicion and that was ideally restrained.[10] In the Civil War, courage in the face of danger naturally held practical significance in enabling a soldier to carry out his duty. Without individual acts of courage, battles could not be won. But more than this, demonstrations of courage acted as the proof that one had passed a test of manliness. The two concepts

than it simply acting as an emasculating emotion. As is demonstrated in this chapter, civilian victims of guerrilla violence had more room to express fear than has been suggested by other scholars.

[10] Throughout history, fear has rarely been viewed as a positive emotion, but rather as an emotion that is necessary to master in order to become a better person. Early proponents of Stoicism regarded overcoming a fear of death as one of the core tenants of their discipline. Epictetus, for example, wrote that 'I cannot escape death, but I can escape the *fear* of death.' This was a very similar mindset to that held by nineteenth-century Americans. A crucial part of religious life, and particularly emotions associated with the grieving process, aimed to remove some of the fear and sorrow of death, as outlined in Chapter V. In the context of military life and manhood, mastering fear was crucial to becoming a soldier.

were inherently connected in the American psyche, indeed it is recognised that the words 'courage' and 'manhood' could be used interchangeably by soldiers in the Civil War era.[11] The reality that it was possible to fail this test was rarely, if ever discussed, with the danger of battle simply thought of as a crucible from which emerged a better man. Some of those unable to face this test when the war began felt the need to excuse themselves. Samuel James Reader, living on the Kansas-Missouri border, excused his failure to enlist in an August 1861 letter to his sister, stating that he had no one to look after his aunt and his property, reasons Samuel hoped his sister would 'accept and not think I am kept from the field through cowardice.'[12] A report on the Battle of Montebello in August 1859 described:

> [There is] an infatuating influence about the smell of powder, the shrill whistle of a bullet, and the sight of human blood that instantly transforms men from cowards to heroes – from women sometimes to monsters. None can tell of the nature or mystery of that influence, but those who have been in the fray themselves.[13]

This report clearly illustrates the gender dynamics associated with fear. The transformative nature of combat is connected with manhood, the battle acting as a test of one's courage and self-control. Fear was an emotion to be overcome, and those who did could then become masculine 'heroes', bonded in fellowship with 'those who have been in the fray themselves.' By contrast, those who had not experienced battle were associated with femininity. Lacking the same test as other men, their gentility made them 'women', who could only be turned into 'monsters' by undergoing military service.

This attitude towards fear and its expression was carried by soldiers across the United States, creating very different emotional worlds to that of Missouri's guerrilla war. When discussing their experiences of military life and the battlefield, soldiers never openly admitted to feeling fear, even when corresponding with their close family. For example, Captain Archelaus Perkins, C Company, 14th Virginia, was captured on 3 June 1863 at the Battle of Gettysburg, and held as a prisoner at Johnson's Island, near Sandusky, Ohio. During his time in captivity, Perkins's health began to fail, with chronic

[11] Gerald Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1987) 8.
[12] Editors, 'The Letters of Samuel James Reader, Pioneer of Soldier Township, Shawnee County, 1861-1863,' *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 9 (February 1940): 41.
[13] *Hannibal Daily Messenger*, 17 August 1859. The Battle of Montebello took place on 20 May 1859 as a part of the Second Italian War of Independence.

diarrhoea ultimately leading to his exchange in April 1864. Throughout this difficult period, during which Perkins lay near death, he confided in his cousin, Mollie Landrum, a resident of New Howard, Franklin County, Missouri, describing life as a prisoner of war, and the state of his health. Despite being seriously ill, Perkins never admitted to feeling fear, or indeed any other negative emotions such as homesickness, beyond briefly stating, on the date of his exchange, that he was 'afraid my general health is giving way very fast.'[14] Though evidently aware that he might not survive, Perkins did not admit to feeling fear, as the word 'afraid' here was not intended to express mortal fear, but rather a regret of the position he found himself in. Whether on the battlefield or in a hospital bed, fear was anathema to Civil War America's ideal of martial manhood.

By contrast, those fighting a guerrilla war were decried as cowards and criminals, as their hit-and-run tactics ran counter to ideals of civilised warfare and masculine behaviour. Whereas the expectation of men in wartime was that they should stand and fight their enemy, guerrillas had no qualms about running away when the odds stood against them. Thomas W. Westlake, for example, described an early incident in the war when he just managed to outrun a patrol of federal cavalry, even going so far as to admit that the party was 'very frightened.' For Westlake, and other guerrillas, discretion proved the better part of valour.[15] Even Quantrill's band were forced to retreat in disarray when surrounded by federal cavalry near Westport in March 1862, shooting their way out of a farmhouse before fleeing into the woods. During the fight, at least one of Quantrill's men accepted an offer of surrender and was later called a 'damned coward' by his fellows, his behaviour at odds with one fighting under the black flag. This would suggest that, to the guerrilla, flight was less of a barrier to manhood than surrender was, whereas in the regular army the opposite was true.[16] Therefore, just as in the regular army, guerrilla fighters held strict emotional standards when it came to fear and cowardice.

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[14] Capt. Archelaus Perkins, Letter to Mollie Landrum, 22 April 1864, 1 Folder, Archie Perkins Letters, 1863-64, C0380, *SHSMO*. For Perkins's military records, see Carded Records Showing Military Service of Soldiers Who Fought in Confederate Organisations, compiled 1903-1927, NARA, 586957, M324, r0552, *National Archives*.

[15] See, Thomas W. Westlake, Memoir, Folder 21, Westlake Memoirs Original, Watson-Westlake Papers, C0186, *SHSMO*.

[16] Elias Stover, a soldier in the 2nd Kansas Cavalry, described the battle from his perspective outside the building in which the guerrillas were trapped. He attested that the Union commander, Major Pomeroy, made an offer of surrender which was accepted by two guerrillas. John McCorkle, inside the building, claimed only one 'coward' wished to surrender. Stover also only noted one Union man wounded, Major Pomeroy, whereas McCorkle claimed that several cavalrymen were killed by the guerrillas, possibly to

In the regular army, some men likewise failed the test of courage, and were ostracised just as Quantrill's guerrilla was at Westport. Though it was generally accepted that volunteers would feel fear, showing this emotion outwardly could not be tolerated. If panic spread through the ranks, then it could potentially lead to a breakdown in unit cohesion and effectiveness, as well as implying that the individual responsible was a coward.[17] Indeed, most court-martial cases detailing instances of cowardice emphasised the impact that acts of cowardice could have on discipline and cohesion, highlighting the strictly military impact that outward expression of fear could have.[18] But equally significant are some of the ways in which those accused of cowardice attempted to restore their characters, as these show how important it was for volunteers to be seen as fearless. Instances in which soldiers found themselves accused of cowardice on the field of battle were often followed by dramatic efforts to try and restore their masculine reputations. For example, following the Battle of Shiloh the 2nd Texas Infantry faced accusations of cowardice, leading to them launching futile charges at a Union gun battery during the Battle of Corinth. The regiment's colonel, William P. Rogers, was killed at the head of his men whilst showing 'undaunted courage,' and in the process restored the manly reputations of himself and his men, becoming a martyr for the Southern cause.[19] Answering the common belief among whites that black soldiers would ultimately prove cowardly when faced with the test of combat, African American regiments frequently

save face in light of having retreated. Elias Stover Letter to William Sayler Blakely, 25 March 1862, Martin, Josephine Blakely Material, 1 Folder, item 3, *Kansas Historical Society*; McCorkle, *Three Years with Quantrill*, 26-28.

[17] Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History*, 214-15, discusses these concerns in the context of First World War British and American soldiers, and her conclusion that 'the vast majority of men were afraid of showing fear' is relevant to a study of Civil War volunteers. This can be developed further by incorporating analysis of the emotional cultures concerning fear and show why officers in particular might be more concerned with showing fear, beyond its practical implications.

[18] Chris Walsh, '"Cowardice, Weakness, or Infirmity, Whichever It May Be Termed": A Shadow History of the Civil War,' *Civil War History* 59 no. 4 (December 2013): 503-13, makes use of court-martial records to uncover how cowardice was argued and punished by the military authorities.

[19] *The Texas Republican* 26 October 1867. The *Galveston Daily News*, 26 October 1867, also ran an account of Colonel Rogers and the 2nd Texas, emphasising the patriotic imagery of the charge to a much greater extent, though incorrectly called Rogers 'Colonel George P. Rogers'. Even during the war, Rogers's actions earned him some praise even from conservative Union writers. The *Daily Missouri Republican*, 15 October 1862, called Rogers 'indomitable.' The story of Colonel Rogers and the Second Texas was first brought to my attention by Lesley J. Gordon in an unpublished seminar paper entitled 'A Badge of Conspicuous Gallantry: The 2nd Texas and Questions of Cowardice in the American Civil War,' delivered at Northumbria University, 9 October 2019.

went above and beyond what was expected of them, notably at the Battle of Fort Wagner.[20]

Responses to fear and cowardice were, however, affected by context. Though soldiers and guerrillas were expected to adhere to rigorous emotional standards, this did not necessarily apply outside of the military sphere. In the case of Missouri's guerrilla war, civilian victims of violence regularly admitted to feeling fear when faced with violence, whether this took the form of guerrilla warfare, or isolated incidents loosely connected to the wider conflict. When Mathilde Decker's husband, Robert, enlisted in the Union Army in 1862, he left his 21-year-old wife, who spoke little English and was pregnant with their second child, in the care of friends on a farm just outside St. Louis. Fearing the escalating guerrilla violence, Mathilde eventually returned to the home the family had abandoned in St. Louis, where she took work packing hard tack and later sewing in a factory. St. Louis ultimately did not prove safe for Mathilde, who was accosted by a man who lived a few doors down from Mathilde. After repeatedly harassing her on the street, Mathilde awoke one night to find him standing over her bed:

> I stared at him wondering if I were dreaming. I sprang to my feet but was to frightened to speak. He stepped back put the candle down and went out threw the window. He no doubt realised I was frightened out of a deep sleep and for some reason of his own left as sudden as he came. As he disappeared I slammed the window down. I was trembling and sick at head.[21]

Here, Mathilde Decker experienced many of the involuntary physical symptoms typical of someone who was afraid. When recalling her wartime life, she had no qualms about presenting her fear as one of its defining elements, complete with its physical trappings, reflecting the powerful memories that fear created.

These were shared by other women who experienced violence in Missouri during the guerrilla war, not least the victims of the Lawrence Massacre. When describing her husband's murder, Sarah Fitch claimed that, at the moment of Edward's murder, 'my heart almost stopped its beating,' and that she was 'beside myself with terror for Edward.'[22] Sarah had frozen in shock, much in the same way that Mathilde Decker had

[20] Chris Walsh, *Cowardice: A Brief History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 33.
[21] 'Battles of a Soldier's Wife,' Decker Family Files, *MHS*.
[22] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863.

when confronted by her stalker. These two separate incidents demonstrate some of the physical reactions that accompanied emotional trauma in Civil War era Missouri, and that they could occur whether as a direct or indirect response to guerrilla warfare. Moreover, they illustrate that fear was, for the female civilian, less of a taboo emotion than it was for the male volunteer, but was instead an emotion that could be admitted to, both when trauma took place, or in the case of Mathilde Decker, years later.

It might be assumed that men did not have this freedom to express fear given the gender norms of the nineteenth-century United States. As explored above in the example of the 2nd Texas Infantry, the consequences of being seen to have failed one's masculine duty were dire. These expectations were borne by soldiers throughout the Civil War and, in many cases, they continued to influence the later lives of its veterans.[23] But these pressures did not apply to male victims of guerrilla warfare to the same extent. Some did respond in ways similar to Colonel Rogers and other soldiers accused of cowardice by taking up arms and fighting back, though this was often out of a state of anger, rather than the shame and humiliation of fear.[24] As men who had not made the conscious effort to test themselves in battle, the same expectations of self-control and mastery did not apply.

In many cases, male civilian victims of guerrilla warfare would admit to expressing fear during instances of violence. Lacking the same weight of responsibility to uphold the masculine ideal that volunteers were required to exemplify, male civilian victims could at the very least imply that they had committed acts motivated by fear that would, on a battlefield, be called cowardice. Lowndes Henry Davis, a resident of Jackson, Cape Girardeau County, had been concerned enough at the spreading violence in Missouri that he had sent his wife, Mary, to Kentucky in 1861. Writing to her in October 1861, he described scenes of destruction, among them the sight of men 'lying dead by the roadside,' images he stated would make one 'tremble and wonder at the madness of

[23] See, James Marten, *Sing Not War: The Lives of Union and Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), who describes the hardships of veterans struggling to adapt to post-war life. This was particularly hard for those who did not meet ideals of manhood, such as those disabled or battling addiction.

[24] These cases form the central discussion of Chapter V, which concerns anger and aggression as responses to guerrilla warfare.

man.'[25] Two years later, Lowndes Henry Davis would again write to Mary to confide in her his fears of guerrilla attacks:

> It is an awful thing to lie down at night with a feeling of insecurity; not knowing but what you may be aroused by a band of cut-throats demanding your life or your money. I am not exaggerating, alas![26]

Davis's father likewise admitted to having been fearful of violence. In a letter to his son in July 1863, Greer W. Davis recounted how two fugitive slaves attempted to break into his home in the middle of the night. 'Such alarms as that' had frightened both Davis and his wife, and as more enslaved people found their way to Cape Girardeau, his fears led him towards purchasing a revolver in case something similar happened again.[27]

The male residents of Lawrence, the primary targets of Quantrill's attack in August 1863, also showed signs of fear. All who had a chance made at least some effort to flee, even if ultimately unsuccessful. Jacob Pike was able to hide in a well at the rear of the Eastern House Hotel, narrowly escaping a group of guerrillas searching the building.[28] George E. Young, a merchant who had arrived in Lawrence the day before Quantrill's attack, fled his lodgings in the Johnson House with guerrillas pursuing him. He found refuge in a partially constructed building, where he hid in a small drain, concealing himself just seconds before the guerrillas chasing him arrived. Two days later, George Young described his experiences in a letter to his father, giving some sense of his panic at trying to find somewhere to hide as, 'I did not have much time to consider what to do, as I wase looking around to see what next wase to be done[.]'[29] Elsewhere, Senator Jim Lane fled the town in his nightclothes, as did the Williams family.

Some sense of what this fear might have looked like can be gleaned from illustrations that accompanied the Northern outrage at the Lawrence Massacre. The physical signs of fear, including trembling hands and cries of terror, were all alluded to in

[25] Lowndes Henry Davis, Letter to Mary, 1 October 1861, Lowndes Henry Davis Files, 1 Folder, A021, *MHS*.
[26] Lowndes Henry Davis, Letter to Mary, 3 October 1863, Lowndes Henry Davis Files.
[27] Greer W. Davis, Letter to Lowndes Henry Davis, 24 February 1863, Lowndes Henry Davis Files.
[28] L. D. Bailey et. al., *Quantrell's Raid on Lawrence* (Lyndon, KS.: C. R. Green, 1899), 30.
[29] George E. Young, Letter to Father, 23 August 1863, George E. Young Collection, 1 Folder, Kenneth Spencer Research Library.

Fig. iii., 'The Destruction of the City of Lawrence, Kansas, and the Massacre of Its Inhabitants by the Rebel Guerrillas,' *Harper's Weekly*, 12 September 1863. Image courtesy of Library of Congress.

accounts of the massacre, and can also be found in art depicting the scenes.[30] An illustration in *Harper's Weekly* (see fig. iii), for example, shows a male citizen fleeing among a group of mounted guerrillas, hands raised in apparent surrender, or perhaps out of sheer panic. In the foreground, a guerrilla shoots a man and he stands on a porch, surrounded by his family. The victim wears a look of surprise as his terrified wife and children make a futile attempt to shield him, a scene based on first-hand testimony of women attempting to shield their husbands and fathers with their bodies.[31] Behind them, two visibly frightened children attempt to escape the burning building, as others watch helplessly from the upstairs window. To the right of this group, a mounted guerrilla, possibly meant to be Quantrill himself, executes a man standing in the street, both arms raised as he begs for mercy.

Taken together, these individual moments encapsulate the chaos of 21 August 1863 in Lawrence, and that includes the emotional turmoil felt by the victims of Quantrill's guerrillas. The *Harper's Weekly* illustration demonstrates what nineteenth-century Americans believed fear looked like, capturing the involuntary physical reactions as described above, to say nothing of non-visible effects such as an increased heart rate. The fact that pro-Union, anti-Quantrill, reports chose to show these responses speaks volumes about the relationship between a mastery of fear and civilian status. An admission that Union soldiers had experienced such fear was rarely admitted by the Northern press, and any report would have carried the weight of shame with it. But in the case of civilians, there was a much lesser degree of shame, with the guerrillas instead proving themselves to be cowards by attacking defenceless innocents.

Writing of the Lawrence Massacre, Joseph M. Beilein Jr. described the guerrillas as having 'unmanned' the towns male citizens by catching them unaware and causing them to exhibit fear – contrary to the gendered ideal of emotional expression.[32] But this was a

[30] As an example, Lawrence Bailey, a prominent abolitionist and judge, recalled first becoming aware of the attack when a free black man entered the lobby of the Eldridge Hotel, and he recognised that 'he looked very frightened.' See, L. D. Bailey et. al., C. R. Green (ed.) *Quantrell's Raid on Lawrence, with names of victims of the raid* (Lyndon, KS.: C. R. Green, 1899), 8.

[31] Louis Carpenter, a promising young lawyer who had married his wife a few months before the attack, was chased by guerrillas as he fled into his cellar. Gravely wounded, he fell to the floor where his wife and her sister attempted to shield him with their bodies. His attackers shoved pistols into the gaps of this human shield, firing until their pistols were empty. This story is recounted in, Bailey et. al., *Quantrell's Raid on Lawrence*, 37-38, and by contemporary sources including Sarah Fitch, Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863.

[32] Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 29-31.

matter of perspective. For the guerrillas, their targets were not innocent civilians, but in fact the same jayhawkers who had been plundering Missouri for almost a decade. As the guerrillas charged Lawrence, some cried out 'Osceola!' in reference to the jayhawker raid on the Missouri city in 1861.[33] Rather than innocent bystanders, the men of Lawrence were active combatants in the guerrilla war. For this reason, pro-Confederate sources do imply that the emotional reactions of the male citizens of Lawrence had unmanned them. Jim Lane's escape through the cornfield became a particular source of mirth within pro-Confederate narratives of the Lawrence Massacre, as he was the most recognisable target of the guerrillas and had a combat history of leading raids into Missouri. Guerrilla memoirs all recalled Lane's flight, as did folksongs, which mocked how the jayhawker 'got in a fright.'[34] Jim Lane's fear had made him, in effect, a jayhawker equivalent of Jefferson Davis, captured in Georgia on 10 May 1865 whilst allegedly wearing his wife's clothing.[35]

Returning to the image of the massacre presented in *Harper's Weekly*, it is worth considering how guerrillas and their supporters would have viewed such images in light of their perception that the citizens of Lawrence were legitimate targets. To them, the sight of the men in the background fleeing into the night, abandoning their families, would have represented the ultimate emotional humiliation, a failure of their gender obligations.[36] Indeed, some men in the illustration are shown being protected by their wives, a humiliating reversal of the traditional masculine role. One of the central duties of nineteenth-century American manhood was to protect the family, acting as a motivating factor for soldiers and civilians alike.[37] Seeing the men of Lawrence attempt to flee, some with their families, others without, would no doubt have delighted the guerrillas as evidence that fear had robbed them of their masculine identities. As well as failing to protect their families, the men of Lawrence had lost emotional control.

Union reactions to the massacre would be expected to address this effect of the guerrilla attack. As part of the grieving process, some victims made sure to highlight their loved one's lack of fear in their dying moments, which would suggest that they were

[33] Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill,* 142.
[34] See Chapter VII page 222.
[35] For more on Davis's capture see Chapter VII page 201-02. Joseph M. Beilein Jr. discusses the implications of Lane's flight in Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 29-31.
[36] For more on humiliation, see Chapter VII page 200 n.12.
[37] Whites, *Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 137.

aware of the implications that the expression of fear had on one's masculine identity.[38] Certainly, no mention was made of any failure on the part of the victims in the Northern press. This perhaps belies the unspoken shame and distaste that many felt at the sight of men fleeing their homes. Yet any obvious cowardice appears to have been undercut, even forgiven, owing to the circumstances of the attack, which led the Northern press to instead dub the guerrillas cowards, not the citizens of Lawrence. To those supporting the Union, the fear of the victims paled in comparison to the cowardice of the guerrillas for attacking those whom Unionists saw as unarmed and innocent civilians.

This view was nothing new to the conflict. Guerrillas, owing to their hit-and-run strategy, were regularly branded as cowards by the citizens and soldiers they raided. Fighting against small patrols and civilians, but fleeing when faced with large, organised forces, guerrilla bands frustrated those tasked with destroying them, who regularly accused their targets of cowardice.[39] In March 1862, the 94th Illinois Infantry was sent to southern Missouri to root out guerrilla bands. Edward Hartley, a private in I Company, complained to a friend that the regiment had been unable to bring the guerrillas to battle, writing that, 'you must not expect my correspondence to be witty or interesting,' as the regiment 'could not get near them [the guerrillas].' Comparing the guerrillas to Northern 'Copperheads,' Hartley derided those who would not fight in the open as 'cowards.'[40] These accusations were commonly used in the wake of the Lawrence Massacre, though editorials had a long history of describing irregular warfare as cowardly.[41] Quantrill's guerrillas were vilified for their choice of target. Though they believed the men of Lawrence to be combatants, most Northern and pro-Union citizens on the border interpreted the attack on Lawrence as an assault on defenceless civilians, an act without honour, one that carried little personal risk to the guerrillas themselves. An editorial first published in the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* and then in numerous other publications, accused Quantrill's men of having fled Lawrence at the first sign of resistance, which 'deterred the cowards' from further destruction.[42]

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[38] For more see Chapter V.

[39] Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 146, shows that Union soldiers, from privates to generals, all held this view of guerrilla fighters, and that this opinion was held across all theatres of conflict.

[40] Edward Hartley Letter to Em., 26 March 1863, Em. Papers, 1861-1864, 1 Folder, B025, *MHS*.

[41] The *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, 18 July 1862, described the guerrilla James C. Porter, operating in Northern Missouri, as a 'coward at heart' for his actions against civilians.

[42] Leavenworth, *Daily Conservative*, 23 August 1863.

Not all faced with guerrilla violence expressed fear in these ways. Some did not flee, but instead attempted to remain calm, and tried to work through their fear to protect their property and loved ones. In Lawrence, this was not possible because of the relationship between attacker and victim, who did not know each other personally and considered their opposite to be an enemy. But in Missouri, where so much of the violence took place within local communities, attackers and victims often knew each other, which left some victims with connections to take advantage of. In April 1863, a guerrilla raid took place near Bolivar, Polk County, during which raiders allegedly burned houses 'just for meanness,' according to one eyewitness. This meanness had limits however, as one would-be victim was able to save her property if she surrendered $100, this offer having been made because one of the guerrillas was acquainted with her. Others did not receive this treatment and were afterward 'scared to death nearly all the time.'[43] A similar incident occurred during Bill Anderson's raid on Danville in October 1864, when Julia Adams's mother was able to plead with guerrillas to save her home. In exchange for $500 hidden in the backyard, sentries were placed on the doors to prevent any other guerrillas from firing the property.[44] Sometimes, victims proved able to overcome their fear to find ways of getting even with their attackers. In the fall of 1862, Lucinda Barger was robbed by masked guerrillas, who demanded she hand over her horses, bridles, saddles, and any ammunition she had in her possession. That December, she testified against Samuel Trollinger, having identified him from his voice, which Lucinda knew well as she had been acquainted with him for at least fifteen years.[45] In these instances, victims of guerrilla violence, though experiencing fear as they were attacked, managed to control their emotions sufficiently enough to find ways of improving their position. This further undermines the argument that fear is an inherently irrational emotion, as in these instances victims are shown to have displayed a degree of calculation when confronted with an otherwise terrifying experience.

[43] 'Mag' Letter to Sister, 27 April 1863, Harlan Papers Folder, Box 1, George Harlan Papers, A213, *MHS*.
[44] Julia Adams Fish, Recollections of Bill Anderson's Raid on Danville, 1 Folder, Julia Adams Fish Files, A030, *MHS*.
[45] Lucinda Barger, Testimony, 4 December 1862, reel F1407, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, Samuel Trollinger, Iron County.

Anxiety

During the guerrilla war, Missourians faced many potential threats that were the source of unease. Guerrillas, jayhawkers, federal troops, and the State Militia, all posed likely threats to those living beyond the confines of large strongholds such as St. Louis. In addition to this danger of violence, guerrilla warfare also created other threats for Missourians to navigate. From failing businesses, to ill-health, the effects of loneliness, and concern for loved ones far away as refugees or in the service, Missourians regularly confronted a myriad of difficulties that added to the worries of civil conflict. Often, they would reference multiple concerns at once, whether in a letter or a diary entry. The result was that Missourians were frequently in a position where they did not have one specific threat to focus on, unlike during an instance of guerrilla violence when one immediate danger presented itself. This changed the emotional expression from one of fear to something more akin to anxiety. It is important to recognise, however, that this was not an irrational emotion, but rather a natural reaction to concerns that were grounded in knowledge of what was happening elsewhere.

Whilst fear could be associated with cowardice, a loss of emotional control, and was therefore treated with disdain, anxiety was an important part of politics and society throughout the antebellum era and beyond. As covered in Chapter I, the various social and political pressures of the age created tensions that led to a sense of unease across the nation. Immigration, for example, saw a rising national concern over the influx of various ethnic and religious groups, primarily Catholics from regions such as Ireland and Central Europe. Anxious about the effects of Catholicism on national cohesion and on the ideal of Protestant family values, some powerful individuals made a concerted effort to further the spread of anxiety amongst the wider population. Writers such as Edward Beecher promoted the rumours of a Romanist plot to subvert liberty in the United States, casting Catholic priests as agents of the papacy, loyal only to Rome.[46] Some deliberately connected immigration to the emotional culture of fear in all its forms, whilst ignoring their own anxieties. In August 1862, G. W. Ballow, a resident of St. Louis, wrote a letter to a friend describing recruitment efforts in the city. Complaining that the Enrolled Militia

[46] Edward Beecher, *The Papal Conspiracy Exposed, and Protestantism Defended: In the Light of Reason, History, and Scripture* (Boston: Stearns & Co., 1855), 153-54.

were not up to the task of combating guerrillas, Ballow accused many enlisted men that they would not 'turn out as they should.' Of the enlistees, Ballow reserved particular distaste for the Irish, claiming that the 'cowardly portion' were seeking the protection of the British consulate to avoid enlistment.[47] On the political front, anxieties surrounding social change were exploited by nativist parties such as the Know-Nothings, who rose to prominence in the 1850s by promoting the defence of traditional values.[48] Groups such as these fomented anxieties within the population, encouraging the emotion as a way to secure political power for nativist movements, though ironically the tensions created by nativism merely helped to establish ethnic-American political identities.[49]

Anxiety in Missouri grew ever more severe as the Union Army cemented its hold on the state and guerrilla warfare began to spread. In the summer of 1861, local officials across the state petitioned Governor Gamble for protection, whether in the form of additional forces, or simply to provide rifles so that local volunteer defences could be established. In August 1861, James H. Birch was sent to Jefferson City on behalf of the Clinton County Militia, which was short of arms with which to fight the growing numbers of guerrillas in the region. When Birch authored a letter to Gamble later that month, he had still been unsuccessful in obtaining an audience, complaining that 'I write to say that I can only excuse myself to those I came here to represent by satisfying them that I have done all I <u>could</u>.'[50] Others, such as J. M. Glover of Knox County, were likewise unsuccessful in petitioning Gamble over this period.[51] That so many petitions came in over this short period at the beginning of the war exemplifies the anxiety that was sweeping the state as guerrilla warfare began to spread.

The letters shared by friends and family members throughout Missouri during the guerrilla war can help in interrogating this further. Whilst some groups could use what political influence they had to find some practical measures of coping with anxieties over guerrilla warfare, as described above, on an individual level this was rarely possible.

[47] G. W. Ballow Letter to Mr. Frodsham, 26 August 1862, 1 folder, C0223 *SHSMO*.
[48] See Chapter I page 29-30.
[49] Luke Ritter, *Inventing America's First Immigration Crisis: Political Nativism in the Antebellum West* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2020), 59.
[50] James H. Birch Letter to Gov. Gamble, August 1861, Box 9 Folder 5, Hamilton Rowan Gamble Papers, 1787-1876; 1907; 1961-1964, A0549, *MHS*.
[51] J. M. Glover Letter to Gov. Gamble, 4 August 1861, Box 9 Folder 5, Hamilton Rowan Gamble Papers, *MHS*.

Instead, most could only carry on and hope that guerrilla warfare would not affect them, whilst taking opportunities such as writing to release their pent-up emotions. When Peter F. Clark joined the 11th Missouri Cavalry in early 1863, he left his wife, Margaret "Jane" Clark, alone on their farm in Lawrence County. As guerrilla warfare swept through western Missouri, Margaret became increasingly anxious about the possibility of danger, regularly noting acts of theft and destruction in her letters to Peter, including acquaintances of theirs who died at the hands of guerrilla bands.[52] Added to the worsening violence in and around Lawrence County was Margaret's loneliness, which grew worse as the year passed and she became further removed from her husband. By summer 1864, Margaret was openly complaining that she had no respite from worrying about the war and her husband, with only fellow military families for company:

> I have become a stranger to all but soldier's wives and children, so I am not in any of the fusses. I tell everyone who tells me anything that I have become a stranger in this part of the world.'[53]

Loneliness was a common problem for Missourians, who were often separated from their loved ones just the same as soldiers were and was compounded by fears over the safety of the absent. Letters that assured their recipients that all was well were surely greeted with relief. Pinkney L. Powers, for example, was no doubt grateful to learn that his wife, Elizabeth, had 'plentiful stores' of bread and firewood at their home in Wayne County. Like Peter Clark, Powers was away in the army, serving in Company H, 47th Missouri Infantry, but whilst his family had ample supplies, Clark instead had to read letters from Margaret describing her own lack of food and wood.[54] When Alfred Warner's wife left their home in Maple Grove, Monroe County, for safer pastures, he quickly began to miss her company, writing just one week later that her absence felt 'more like a month than a week.'[55] Eleven days later, Alfred's letters began to reveal his fears over his wife's

[52] In a letter dated 9 January 1864, Peter acknowledges receipt of a letter from Margaret describing the deaths of Sam Hashbarger and John Drimmer at the hands of guerrillas. See, Peter F. Clark Letter to Margaret Clark, 9 January 1864, Peter F. Clark Papers, 1863-1865, 1 Folder, A137, *MHS*.
[53] Margaret Clark Letter to Peter F. Clark, 28 June 1864, Peter Clark Papers, *MHS*.
[54] Elizabeth Powers Letter to Pinkney L. Powers, 17 February 1865, Pinkney L. Powers Papers, B489, *MHS*.
[55] Alfred Warner Letter to Dear Wife, 6 August 1862, Alfred Warner Letters, 1 Folder, B635, *MHS*.

health, as he warned her that she should 'try and look after your precious self.'[56] Only regular replies from her could assuage his fears.[57]

Peter Clark likewise attempted to comfort Margaret through his replies, reminding her that he was unlikely to see any serious fighting out on the plains of Kansas, and that she still had a home and relatives to write to, whilst others were 'among strangers and destitute of the necessaries of life.'[58] This, however, had little effect, and by autumn 1864 Margaret's anxiety had begun to manifest itself as physical illness. As early as March 1863, she was having problems with digestion, needing to live on bread, water, and butter, to which was added the stress of war and needing to labour largely alone on their farm. On 13 September 1864, Peter Clark resigned his commission and returned home, citing a need to care for his wife, 'lying sick… in a country infested with guerrillas.'[59]

The pressures of managing a home in the absence of a loved one were not entirely unique to Missouri, as this was shared by families across the United States whether threatened by guerrilla warfare or not. Margaret Clark's letters to Peter do, however, illustrate some of the sources of anxiety unique to a state as divided as Missouri. On 8 September 1864, Margaret described a guerrilla attack that occurred nearby, in which the raiders disguised themselves as federal soldiers to steal horses from citizens in the neighbourhood. One man's horses were, however, conspicuously spared. Margaret wrote that, '[the guerrillas] did leave Grant Kelly's horses and his were better horses. There is no mistake about that.'[60] The accusation implicit in Margaret's account was that Grant Kelly's loyalties were with the guerrillas, and not the Union, reflecting the paranoia and suspicion that were fomented by guerrilla warfare. The records of the Union provost marshal illustrate how widespread the communal divisions were, with cases often reliant on the testimony of neighbours seemingly holding old grudges against the accused.

The emotional impact of this mistrust was hugely significant for Missourians during the guerrilla war, leading to the arrest and banishment of thousands, but also because it contributed to feelings of anxiety.[61] In July 1861, Lt. Col. Robert White received

[56] Alfred Warner Letter to Dear Wife, 17 August 1862, Alfred Warner Letters, *MHS*.
[57] Alfred Warner Letter to Dear Wife, 22 August 1862, Alfred Warner Letters, *MHS*.
[58] Peter F. Clark Letter to Margaret Clark, 27 October 1863, Peter Clark Papers, *MHS*.
[59] Peter Clark Letter of Resignation, 13 September 1864. Devil's Bluff, Arkansas, Peter Clark Papers, *MHS*.
[60] Margaret Clark Letter to Peter Clark, 8 September 1864, Peter Clark Papers, *MHS*.
[61] Mistrust has characterised wars throughout history, particularly those in which a hostile population faced occupation by an enemy army. In Europe during the Second World War, the lengthy occupation of

a letter that offers a tantalising glimpse into the emotional worlds of those living among uncertain friends and enemies. At the time, Col. White was serving in the 14th Missouri Home Guards, then on garrison duty in Lexington, Lafayette County, tasked with maintaining Union control over the region. On 12 July, a letter was delivered to him from an anonymous source, informing the colonel that if he conducted a search of a particular house, he would find twelve kegs of powder and seven guns. The author knew this because they had been asked to help in concealing the arms. Fearing the discovery of their treachery, the author requested that White not attempt to uncover or reveal their identity, as the pro-Confederates would be certain to shoot them if found. They also asked that White destroy the letter after reading it, believing that even their handwriting could reveal their identity if it fell into the wrong hands.[62] This final, unmet, request reveals the deeply personal nature of anxiety in Civil War era Missouri, where the personal relationships established in communities before the conflict meant that any detail could potentially expose someone's true allegiance.

Episodes such as these reveal how the dynamics of guerrilla warfare drastically changed the emotional experience of its victims when compared to a regular conflict.[63] In Missouri anxiety was heightened because loyalties were constantly under suspicion. The context of Bleeding Kansas and the question over slavery in Missouri and the expanding west almost certainly played a role in this. The years of tension caused by the growing

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nations by Nazi Germany created environments that were rife with opportunities and consequences for collaboration. Some work has pointed to the mental and emotional consequences of this type of environment, particularly Wendy Michallat, 'Madeleine Blaess: An Emotional History of a Long Liberation,' ed. Lindsey Dodd and David Lees, *Vichy France and Everyday Life: Confronting the Challenges of Wartime, 1939-1945* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 190-91, who considered the humiliation and torture of women accused of collaboration from the perspective of an eyewitness, and the fear and terror that this instilled. Something similar was evidently at work in Missouri, where people feared the consequences of their allegiances becoming publicly known, as this would make them targets for one side or another.

[62] Anonymous Letter to Lt. Col. White, Lexington MO., 12 July 1861, Folder 1, Robert White Papers, 1861-1908, B648, *MHS*.

[63] Other states affected by guerrilla warfare did have these kinds of communal conflicts, though with some notable differences that affected the emotional experience. States like North Carolina and Kentucky both had populations that were deeply divided between Union and Confederacy, which led to similar kinds of guerrilla fighting. The loyalties in these states, however, tended to be split along geographical lines that separated communities into distinctive regions with their own sectional loyalties. A good example of this is Shelton Laurel Valley in North Carolina, where the regional geography had created a community wholly separate from its surroundings. As a result, areas such as this could be reliant on the allegiances of its population, who tended to share similar views. In Missouri, this was much rarer, with arguably only the Little Dixie region of Central Missouri tending largely towards one particular sectional allegiance. See, Paludan, *Victims*, 30, who notes that mountainous regions such as Shelton Laurel were not as involved in large-scale market economies and were therefore less likely to secede with the Confederacy.

sectional conflict had divided communities and ensured that mistrust had infected communities throughout the state. With the onset of guerrilla war in earnest, the anxiety caused by these tensions would have to be resolved, usually through the removal of the real and imagined enemies who caused it. This may very well have motivated the anonymous individual to contact Col. White.

Informing was one of the primary ways in which Missourians could act against one another, a way of both causing and managing anxiety. Often, this behaviour could result in damage to property and business, as citizens disloyal to either the Union or Confederacy became targets of arson. As the Civil War began, Missourians were already concerned for their livelihoods due to assessments by the Federal Government which could fine those suspected of disloyalty, as well as practices such as pressing livestock into service. For example, in southeast Missouri George Harlan's horse, a sorrel named Jim, was pressed into service by the state militia on three occasions for a total of 85 days between 9 August 1862 and 15 January 1863. This greatly affected his ability to bring in the harvest, and Harlan received just $34 in compensation.[64]

Guerrilla warfare added an extra dimension to this due to the very realistic possibility of individuals and their property becoming targets. In September 1861, B. L. Niggins was already attempting to recover debts to cover the losses that his business was making. A $58 collection from one debtor would, he hoped, be enough to see his family through what he anticipated to be a short war. Unfortunately for Niggins, the conflict was not over in a few months, whilst his reputation as a prominent businessman with land in Kansas made him a target for guerrilla violence. He and his wife were burned out of their Kansas City home in November 1862, in the process becoming refugees, and his business partner was murdered in early 1865. By the war's end, Niggins had sold most of his assets, and was unsuccessfully trying to recover $1300 that his late partner had owed him.[65] The sale of business assets and land was commonplace in Missouri during the guerrilla war and frequently motivated by concerns that violence would continue unabated for the foreseeable future. It was often a reactionary, emotional decision. John Hambright was

[64] Scrap of paper details the assessments in Harlan Papers Folder, George Harlan Papers, 1 Box, A213, *MHS*.

[65] B. L. Niggins Letter to E. C. Carn, 5 August 1865, B. L. Niggins Papers, digitised on Community and Conflict at [https://ozarkscivilwar.org/archives/1684] – accessed 10/11/2018.

advised by a friend to sell 'all your surplus stock' and flee the state with his vulnerable family because of the explosion of guerrilla violence that came in the wake of Sterling Price's Raid in 1864. The author feared that this meant 'our troubles are not over by a long ways,' and so encouraged his associates to protect themselves.[66] Likewise, B. L. Niggins made the decision to sell most of his land after being driven out of Kansas City. In a letter to his partner, A. Baker, he described the family being 'hureyed out of Bed at midnight,' and the damage that the subsequent journey had on his wife's health. Niggins closed his letter by asking Baker to help him sell the Kansas City property, fearing that without the money they would be 'hard presed to get along.'[67]

Anxiety was an integral part of guerrilla warfare. Some people anticipated that the war would arrive at their doorstep, whilst others who had already experienced violence were wary of any future attacks. In all the above cases, anxiety arose out of a need to provide for one's household, with the response likewise designed to ensure the survival of the family. There was a masculine imperative to this anxiety, as the need to provide for one's family was seen as crucial to one's identity as a man in the nineteenth-century United States. The commonly cited statistic that ninety-five of every hundred businesses would ultimately fail meant that this was a near constant source of anxiety for Americans in the antebellum era.[68] As one newspaper put it:

> The life of a debtor is not only one of unceasing anxiety, but of continual peril to his sense of moral honesty – well may such a state be called a living perdition. There is no situation in life, unless it be remorse at the memory of some atrocious crime, that can present such a fearful amount of mental torture to be endured by a sensitive mind under the agonising reflection that he owes a multitude of debts which he cannot pay.[69]

Many likened the burden of financial failure to that of being buried alive, giving some sense of the morbidity that accompanied the anxiety of failure.[70] If this was true of the

[66] Anonymous Letter to John Hambright Esq., 9 November 1864, Colonel John Wells Hambright Family Papers, 1834-1896, Box 1.02, Folder 8, *Jackson County Historical Society*.
[67] B. L. Niggins Letter to A. Baker, 6 November 1862, B. L. Niggins Papers.
[68] Edward J. Balleisen, *Navigating Failure: Bankruptcy and Commercial Society in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 3.
[69] *Hannibal Messenger*, 10/04/1858.
[70] Carolyn J. Lawes, 'Buried Alive? The Fear of Failure in Antebellum America,' *The Journal of American Culture* 37 no. 3 (2014): 304.

antebellum-era United States, then it was much more so of western states such as Missouri and Kansas, which carried with them an additional burden of expectation. Most of their populations comprised immigrants, travelling westward in the hope of, and indeed expectation of, success. Financial failure would mean that uprooting one's family and life to travel west had ultimately been for nought. The guerrilla war took these anxieties and made them worse, as the threat of financial ruin was made that much greater due to the prospect of guerrilla violence disrupting commerce, directly or indirectly. The emotional toil that this took is reflected in the correspondence of men like B. L. Niggins, who spent much of the conflict and its aftermath trying to support his family as his business collapsed. Some men felt unable to manage this turmoil, prompting more extreme emotional reactions, including suicide, despite the taboo nature of the act.[71]

To prevent anxiety from becoming overwhelming, communication with friends and loved ones was key, knowing that they were safe and healthy. This was just as true for civilians in Missouri as it was for soldiers in the field.[72] Military families, such as Peter and Margaret Clark, were keen to remain in contact with each other, and could, up to a point, speak freely about their troubles and anxieties in the guerrilla war.[73] Non-military families were also separated from each other, often for long periods of time, as individuals travelled on business or to inspect other property that might be at risk, or even to visit other family members. This naturally carried its own risks, as Missouri's roads were a space in which one was at their most vulnerable as shown by the number of murders recorded as individuals travelled, particularly those moving alone. In correspondence, Missourians frequently warned each other of the dangers associated with travelling, a

[71] Diane Miller Sommerville, '"Cumberer of the Earth": Suffering and Suicide Among the Faithful in the Civil War South,' 159-60, in Craig Thompson Friend & Lorri Glover (eds.) *Death and the American South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Sommerville notes that suicide was considered 'the most culpable form of murder,' in both the North and the South, which doubtless prevented many from going through with the act. Nonetheless, suicides did still occur. The *Daily Missouri Republican*, 06/09/1854, described suicide as a passion 'common in France,' but which was 'sometimes contagious in America.' Linking suicide with foreign influences implies that this was seen as an unmanly act, and not worthy of the nation that antebellum elites were trying to build.

[72] See, Christopher Hager, *I Remain Yours: Common Lives in Civil War Letters* (Cambridge MA.: Harvard University Press, 2018) generally, but especially 208-44 for details on how letters could strengthen the bonds between author and recipient, allowing people to find new ways of expressing themselves.

[73] There were limitations to exactly how honest one could be. It has been noted by various scholars that many soldiers craved the quotidian details of life back home. Likewise, their relatives wanted to know that the soldiers in the family were safe and healthy. See, Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, 'Cannonballs and Books: Reading and the Disruption of Social Ties on the New England Home Front,' in *The War Was You and Me* ed., Joan Cashin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 246.

testament to the anxiety that travelling could cause. On learning that his wife would be travelling to Chillicothe in June 1863, William McCoy warned her to make the journey quickly, noting the guerrilla activity taking place around nearby Independence.[74] Moses Payne, one of Missouri's wealthiest landowners, planned to visit some of his property in Arkansas in April 1862, and was cautioned against it by family members concerned about the risks of travelling from Boone County and over the southern border.[75]

There were, however, some opportunities to alleviate anxiety through these kinds of interactions. When writing to distant friends and relatives describing their recent experiences, some people made mention of humorous anecdotes, undercutting the tension and anxiety with humour.[76] When Moses Payne made his travel plans known to his friends and family, they were quick to dissuade him. Payne Wood described attacks made by jayhawkers in southwest Missouri against relatives, who had been left with little else but the clothes on their backs. With violence showing no signs of abating in his opinion, Wood urged Moses Payne to reconsider his plans. He joked that the only safe way into Arkansas was by air, noting that 'I do not see how you can take the trip you are planning on taking. I never heard that you were much of an aeronaut, and that is about the only passage open at present!'[77] Peter Clark likewise attempted to cheer his wife up with a story of his comrades foraging for honey in eastern Missouri, August 1863:

> The best of the fun: Dan Mallard got stung on his upper lip and it sticks out beyond his nose. The ugliest man you ever saw. Gabe Young was stung above both eyes and the back of his neck. It would take a bushel basket to cover his head. J.C. Bess had both eyes stung. They swelled until they shut and he can't see his nose. The boys got them all out

[74] William McCoy Letter to Ellen McCoy, 14 June 1863, Folder 8, 1 Box, Ellen Waddle McCoy Papers, A266, *MHS*.
[75] Payne Wood Letter to Moses U. Payne, 7 April 1862, Folder 22, Payne-Broadwell Family Papers, 1803-1903, C983, *SHSMO*.
[76] Recent work in the field of psychology has found that anxiety and humour are closely linked, with individuals using it in a variety of forms as an emotional regulation or as a coping strategy. Naturally, we cannot state with certainty that this was universal among the population of the nineteenth-century United States, these studies were done in the twenty-first century, but there is a clear link between describing anxiety and undercutting this with humour. Though nineteenth-century Americans might not have made or been fully aware of this connection, it is evident that similar practices were in use. See, N. A. Kuiper et. al., 'Humour styles and the intolerance of uncertainty model of generalised anxiety,' *Europe's Journal of Psychology* 10 no. 3 (2014): 543-56; Alberto Dionigi, Mirko Duradoni, Laura Vagnoli, 'Humour and Anxiety: The relationship between humour, comic styles, and general well-being,' *Personality and Individual Differences* 181 (October 2021): 111028.
[77] Payne Wood Letter to Moses U. Payne, 7 April 1862, Payne-Broadwell Family Papers, *MHS*.

> together. Such yells you never heard. Three more comical looking scare crows never grased Panemonium or any other place.[78]

With Margaret in such low spirits, having stated, in a letter written the previous week, that she would not survive another winter, Peter took the opportunity to try and make her laugh. In the process, he had also tacitly implied his own wellbeing, which was aimed at alleviating Margaret's concerns for his own safety.

These kinds of interactions doubtless also took place in person, and some have made it into the historical record. One example was remembered by Mrs. S. E. Ustick in the *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*. During Col. Joseph Shelby's raid into Missouri in October 1863, Ustick and a friend were chosen to travel to Kansas City with $1,000 raised by the people of Jackson County to help sick and wounded Confederates left behind. Ustick recalled that the journey was the most amusing of all her Civil War anecdotes. When the two women's carriage broke down, Ustick was forced to ride a horse for the first time in her life, clinging to the pommel for dear life. This was compounded by the appearance of her companion, who had made a suit for her husband, hoping to meet him in Kansas City. To smuggle it past Union patrols, she had decided to wear it beneath her dress. As her husband weighed some 200 pounds, the sight was ridiculous:

> Imagine if you can such a grotesque-looking couple mounted on farm horses, she leading my horse while I held on with both hands to the pommel with a grip that made my hands and arms sore for a week afterward. Presenting such a ludicrous picture as we did, I have since wondered that the good old man of the house ever permitted us to alight and invade his premises.[79]

As night fell, the two women had to spend the night in this man's granary, an experience that Ustick recalled fondly as causing both to get grain caught in their skirts, shoes, and, in her companion's case, her husband's trousers. Decades later, Ustick wrote that, 'Even yet I cannot relate the story without convulsing with laughter.'[80] This should have been a tense situation for the women to be in, isolated and vulnerable at a time when the conflict

[78] Peter F. Clark Letter to Margaret Clark, 6 August 1863, Peter Clark Papers, *MHS*. Clark's reference to 'Panemonium' is likely a misspelling of Pandæmonium, the capital of Hell in John Milton's *Paradise Lost*.
[79] Mrs S. E. Ustick, 'An Incident of the Civil War,' in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri during the Sixties* compiled by Missouri Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy (Jefferson City: United Daughters of the Confederacy, 192?), 40.
[80] Ibid., 41.

in Missouri was at its height. But Ustick's emotions when remembering her journey to Kansas City did not reflect a sense of danger. This would indicate that, in this instance, humour proved an appropriate emotional crutch to help manage anxiety.

The experience of fear and anxiety in Missouri's guerrilla war was very different to that found elsewhere in the Civil War era United States. When considering the circumstances in which civilians felt and emoted their fear, it is evident that there was greater room for its expression than can be found in the regular military and political sphere. Civilians were not judged in the same way for showing fear in the face of the enemy and could readily admit to being afraid. Moreover, anxiety reflects a very different type of fear than that experienced when faced with mortal danger and deserves greater recognition as an emotion that many throughout Missouri lived with on a daily basis. Understanding fear in the Civil War era United States means acknowledging context, rather than generalising the emotion as always being associated with cowardice, as an emotion best ignored.

Guerrilla warfare prompted widespread anxiety and fear, which could in turn lead to action taken against others that would result in further emotional turmoil. The practice of banishment was a particularly common punishment made against those accused of Confederate sympathies, with evidence often reliant on the dubious testimony of neighbours and acquaintances. This punishment caused enormous uncertainty for its victims, who often had no knowledge of when, or if, they might return, adding to the anxiety that they felt. Moreover, it relied on fear to act as the threat of the policy. Knowing that Missourians feared being forced from their homes and families, banishment used fear as a weapon, an integral part of the overall Union strategy in Missouri. Given this difference in the context of fear, banishment and its emotional consequences warrants its own discussion in Chapter III.

Chapter 3. Banishment

In November 1863, Berry Hill Spencer was in Ashby's Mills, Indiana, feeling lonely and homesick. A Methodist minister, Spencer had been banished from Missouri amid accusations of disloyalty. His pregnant wife, Caroline, and their seven children, remained at the family home in High Hill, Montgomery County. Sitting at his desk after some ten months away from them, Berry Hill wrote a letter to Caroline, bemoaning that he was 'in a strange land, and far from home and family'.[1] Applied widely across Missouri throughout the Civil War, banishment created thousands of individual stories and emotional experiences like this. Banishment was one of the most important policies that the federal government had available to it as it tried to maintain control over Missouri and to disrupt guerrilla warfare. Recognising its emotional consequences is essential to understanding federal counterinsurgency policy, and Missouri's guerrilla war.

Banishment was a policy used strictly against non-combatants, who were deemed to either be encouraging anti-Union sentiment, or of directly aiding guerrilla bands. Often, those targeted were women. Due to the nature of the domestic supply line, Union officers required a method of dealing with disloyal and disruptive women that was non-violent. Banishment provided for this need. Usually only employed after repeated warnings, the individuals subjected to banishment were escorted 'beyond the lines', which in Missouri tended to mean out of the state. Some would be sent south, others to loyal states such as Illinois and Indiana. Property would, in some cases, either be confiscated or destroyed. Regarded by the white South as a cruel punishment that justified secession, banishment was used by officials across the federal hierarchy. Even Abraham Lincoln personally intervened in and employed banishment. In May 1863, Lincoln banished Clement Vallandigham, the leader of the anti-war 'Copperhead' faction of the Democratic Party, to the southern states, deeming him to be a disruptive presence in the north.[2]

Discussion of banishment in Civil War historiography has to date been focused on the punishment's mechanics and reception. Benjamin Butler's imposition of banishment

[1] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Dear Wife, 2 November 1863, Folder 2, Berry Hill Spencer Files, A075, *MHS*.
[2] Ultimately, Vallandigham was also removed from the Confederacy and sent to Canada, where he unsuccessfully ran in the 1863 Ohio gubernatorial election, winning the Democratic nomination *in absentia*. In 1864, he returned to the US without permission, though Lincoln decided not to act against him, perhaps fearing a repeat of the controversy that had surrounded his initial arrest and expulsion.

in New Orleans has been a subject of particular attention, as historians grapple with the relationship between the Union Army and Southern women.[3] Banishment has also featured prominently in assessments of the Lincoln administration and its relationship with civil liberties. Increasingly viewed as an example of the administration doing what was necessary to preserve the Union, banishment has become another example of the lengths to which federal forces were willing to go to achieve victory and end slavery.[4] Legal analysis of banishment in this larger context has aided our understanding of its role in bringing about federal victory. Often lost, however, are the individual perspectives of those who experienced banishment. It is vital that we understand how the punishment was felt by those it affected, as this was key in its use as a deterrent, as well as the wider legacy of banishment and government intrusion on civil liberties.

Though the movement of peoples had characterised much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the United States, the experience had never been 'easy or natural', as Susan J. Matt has demonstrated.[5] White settlers brought with them memories from their homelands, whilst remaining either unaware of or ambivalent to the emotional turmoil of Native Americans and enslaved people who were forcibly moved. In Missouri, the waves of migration that had built the state meant that homesickness was not a new emotion when the guerrilla war began. Whether coming from abroad, or from states on the east coast, many migrants had struggled to adapt to their new worlds. Indeed, scholars are increasingly recognising the numbers of people who returned home, a stark contrast to the optimism that people were encouraged to maintain in public.[6] Even for

[3] Kristen Brill, 'I Had Men from the Start: General Benjamin Butler's Occupation of New Orleans,' *Women's History Review* 26 no. 3 (2017): 319-28; Jaqueline G. Campbell, 'The Unmeaning Twaddle About Order 28: Benjamin F. Butler and Confederate Women in Occupied New Orleans, 1862,' *Journal of the Civil War Era* 2 no. 1 (March 2012): 11-30.

[4] Some earlier works, including J. G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1954), xviii, were more cautious in their assessment of the administration's policies. Though Randall was broadly approving of Lincoln, arguing that his words and policies had much to offer a post-Second World War United States, he criticised the term 'military necessity' as a means of justifying intrusions upon civil liberties, on the grounds that it is 'an admission that something wrongful or irregular is being done. One does not plead military necessity for an act of unquestionable validity or of normal legality.' More recently, scholars have largely thrown aside such concerns in favour of a focus on the benefits of Lincoln's approach. Dennis K. Boman, *Lincoln and Citizens' Rights in Civil War Missouri: Balancing Freedom and Security* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), esp. 146-70, has tackled the dubious legality of Lincoln's policies, especially banishment, but ultimately concluded that they were necessary measures and are part of what makes Lincoln 'one of our greatest presidents.'

[5] Matt, *Homesickness: An American History*, 3.

[6] Ibid., 57-58. Using Rosenwein's emotional communities model, specifically the shifting membership of individuals throughout a given day, Matt demonstrates that Americans could be cheerful in public, but

those who did not return to their places of origin, pressures arose from the stresses associated with beginning a new life. For men especially, whether acting as head of a household, or as a young man seeking his fortune, there was a paradox between the weight of expectations of independent success, and the emotional ties that they held to their old homes. Movement had always been accompanied by emotional turmoil. By the beginning of the Civil War, Americans were aware of the emotional problems associated with leaving home.

Homesickness, frequently termed 'nostalgia' by physicians, was understood to be a serious problem in the Civil War era United States. Scholars have often considered nostalgia as it was considered and experienced in a military context.[7] In armies, when soldiers began to feel homesick, 'nostalgia' was understood to be less as an emotion and more as a disease that could be easily spread if left untreated.[8] Roberts Bartholow, a surgeon in the Union Army, noted that the transition of a young man 'from a natural to an artificial state without any preparation for the change', presented a serious threat. The sudden change would, Bartholow believed, lead to nostalgia becoming widespread. As such, this required measures such as a varied diet to promote physical health, as a decline in the body was viewed as a potential cause of nostalgia.[9] Some soldiers could admit to experiencing homesickness, rationalising it not as a purely emotional problem, but one born out of logical thinking and therefore not a problem of significant concern.[10] Nevertheless, the measures recommended by Bartholow, as well as other strict

more heartsick when in the privacy of their own homes. Christina Kotchemidova, 'From Good Cheer to "Drive-by Smiling": A Social History of Cheerfulness,' *Journal of Social History* 39 no. 1 (Autumn 2005): 5-37, has charted the growing importance of public optimism in American society, including in the antebellum age.

[7] Consider, for example, Reid Mitchell, *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Broomhall, *Private Confederacies*; David Anderson, 'Dying of Nostalgia: Homesickness in the Union Army during the Civil War,' *Civil War History* 56 no. 3 (September 2010): 247-82.

[8] Lori Duin Kelly, 'Managing Memories: Treating and Controlling Homesickness during the Civil War,' *Journal of Medical Humanities* 39 (2018): 285-301; Charles E. Rosenberg, 'Body and Mind in Nineteenth-Century Medicine: Some Clinical Origins of the Neurosis Construct,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 63 no. 2 (1989): 183-97. For more on nostalgia in the military during the Civil War, see, Frances M. Clarke, '"So Lonesome I Could Die": Nostalgia and Debates Over Emotional Control in the Civil War North,' *Journal of Social History* 41 no. 2 (Winter, 2007): 253-82.

[9] Roberts Bartholow,'"Various Influences Affecting the Physical Endurance of Men in the Volunteer Army.' In, *Sanitary Memoirs of the War of the Rebellion*, edited by Austin Flint. 8-21, (United States Sanitary Commission, 1867).

[10] Clarke, 'So Lonesome I Could Die,' 258.

prohibitions on the playing of songs such as “Home Sweet Home”, suggest that this belief was not shared by high command.[11]

The same was true for the thousands of people subjected to banishment from Missouri. Sent away from their homes, and often from their families as well, homesickness was an important emotional consequence of guerrilla warfare that affected men, women, and children alike. Uncertainty greatly exacerbated this trauma. When people were banished from their homes, the orders often did not assign a date for return. Instead, the length of banishment was specified simply as being for the duration of the war, which looked unending to many as the violence continued to escalate. Many would come to doubt if they would ever be able to return home.

Uncertainty created fear and anxiety that would further heighten the effects of banishment. As much as banished people wondered if they would ever return, an equally important question was what exactly they would return to. This was, of course, a concern that affected everyone who left their home during the American Civil War, particularly those whose families were in the path of conflict, as Peter F. Clark had found.[12] The guerrilla war and the context of banishment, however, meant that this was a very different kind of fear. Not only could women and children be left isolated with reduced income and labour, but they would also be living amongst enemies. Banishment was frequently reliant on the testimony of neighbours and other acquaintances to prove the guilt of the accused, which meant that those leaving did so in the knowledge that their family and friends were among enemies. Additionally, these concerns were compounded by the practical dangers of travelling during wartime, with illness and robbery constant threats on the road, whilst money had to be split between those left behind, and the upkeep of the banished.

For these reasons, banishment was a fate dreaded by Missourians. Aaron Sheehan-Dean has noted that many Union officers engaged in counterinsurgency viewed the punishment as ‘mild’.[13] Indeed, this may have been one reason why banishment proved so difficult to overturn. In comparison to the executions that took place throughout the guerrilla war, being allowed to leave Missouri alive no doubt appeared an

[11] Matt, *Homesickness*, 87.
[12] See Chapter II page 61-62.
[13] Sheehan-Dean, *Calculus of Violence*, 111.

easy sentence. The victims of banishment, however, did not view it in this way. To the individual in question, their punishment was a terrible fate that exacted a considerable physical and mental toll.

It is extremely unlikely that Union officers were blind to banishment's emotional consequences. Those subjected to banishment frequently complained before and after leaving their homes, referencing their fears for their family's security, as well as their personal wellbeing. Set in the broader context of the developing strategy of 'hard war', it has been argued that banishment, even when implemented on a wide scale, reflected a reasoned, 'pragmatic policy'.[14] Though banishment was used as a non-violent punishment by Union officers, who may very well have considered it 'mild', it was nonetheless a cruel policy. It was inflicted on many because of rumour and hearsay, with little evidence often proving sufficient to implement a devastating sentence. Banishment caused fear and anxiety to those it affected and was designed as a warning to others who might offer support to the Confederacy. Federal policy weaponised emotions as a tool of counterinsurgency, just as guerrilla bands sought to instil fear and grief in their enemies. When considering 'hard war' at a macro-level, the suffering it caused can perhaps be overlooked as a necessary price to pay for preserving the Union and the destruction of slavery. Indeed, some have argued that hard war was characterised more by its limits than its excesses.[15] Even with limits, however, the consequences for those it affected were profound and warrant much closer examination.

This chapter develops understandings of Union counterinsurgency policies by considering the emotional consequences of banishment. It first looks at General Order No. 11, the most notorious use of banishment in Missouri's guerrilla war, and what the order meant to those it affected. But General Order No. 11 was not the first implementation of banishment. Rather, it was an escalation of existing policies.[16] Banishment outside of Order No. 11 was a different experience in many ways, defined by

[14] Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War*, 118-19, argued that even General Order No. 11 was first-and-foremost a pragmatic measure that was taken to facilitate a conventional war. This fails to account for evidence of retaliatory violence undertaken by Kansas troops, as described in this chapter, or the circumstantial evidence required in other cases.

[15] See Mark E. Neely Jr., 'Was the Civil War a Total War?' *Civil War History* 37 no. 1 (1991): 5-28, who argues that the Civil War did not fully break down the distinction between soldiers and civilians. Banishment was one of the tools used to maintain this distinction, but, as demonstrated in this chapter, was nonetheless an extremely harsh punishment.

[16] Sheehan-Dean, *Calculus of Violence*, 220.

a more prolonged anxiety that was born out of the culture of rumour that had manifested fear across the state. The bulk of this chapter considers the experiences of those banished as individuals and small groups, primarily through the lens of Rev. Berry Hill Spencer, whose letters home offer unparalleled insight into the emotional consequences of banishment.

This demonstrates that banishment cannot be viewed as a uniform punishment. Rather, it was a disorganised effort at bringing potentially disloyal citizens to heel, one that differed in its implementation on a case-by-case basis. Feeding on the culture of fear and anxiety fomented by guerrilla warfare, and reliant on feelings as an aspect of punishment, banishment was centred on the emotional worlds of Civil War era Missouri. The uncertainty regarding when, or even if, one could return, heightened other emotions felt by those sentenced to banishment, including homesickness and fear. This was what made it a punishment feared by white Missourians, and one readily implemented by federal forces. A non-violent solution to the problem of disruptive civilians, the inherent emotional threat, and possible consequences, ensured that it was an effective deterrent.

General Order No. 11

Of all the uses of banishment in Missouri during the Civil War, General Order No. 11 was, and remains, the most notorious. Following the Lawrence Massacre on 21 August 1863, Brig. Gen. Ewing, commander of the District of the Border, aimed to prevent future raids into Kansas and limit guerrilla activity in his district. To this end, he issued a general banishment order on 25 August – General Order No. 11. The order required all citizens of Cass, Jackson, and Bates counties, plus those in parts of Vernon, to either prove their loyalty to the Union, or leave their homes within fifteen days. Ultimately, some 20,000 people were banished from their homes, many of them women and children.[17]

Though often discussed in relation to banishment, General Order No. 11 differed from other implementations of the policy not just in its scope, but also in its emotional effect. The citizens of the border counties were given just fifteen days' notice, whereas

[17] Brig. Gen. Ewing Letter to Maj. Gen. Schofield 25 August 1863, *OR* Series I Volume 22, pt. 1, 472-73, includes a copy of the final draft of General Orders No. 11, along with Ewing's justification for the harsh punishment.

many others subjected to banishment had received repeated warnings. Undoubtedly, this sudden change in circumstance made the prospect of leaving home much worse, as people had little time to prepare. The biggest difference, however, was the context in which Order No. 11 was implemented. Coming just days after the Lawrence Massacre, emotions were running high along the Kansas-Missouri border. This was a time when Jim Lane was threatening reprisal raids into Missouri, a sentiment that many soldiers and civilians supported. The order itself was, in some ways, reactionary – a way for Brig. Gen. Ewing to save face and reassert control over his district, answering his many critics who sought his removal from his command.[18] Mass banishment was a way of showing that federal forces were still able to take strong action to avenge and protect Unionists living along the Kansas-Missouri border, but in a way that would, in theory, avoid the violence of retaliatory attacks. Many of the soldiers carrying out the banishment orders, however, were nonetheless eager to avenge Lawrence. Indeed, some regiments were largely made up of Kansans who had lived under the threat of border warfare for nearly a decade. Given this context, some violence was surely inevitable, despite the intended limits of banishment.[19]

Soldiers implementing the banishment order are alleged to have killed civilians on several occasions. One example in Jackson County, is the death of Mattie Tate's husband, Calvin, at the hands of soldiers from Kansas along with six other men in what can only be described as murder. A letter she wrote to a cousin in 1864, in which she described her hardships, illustrates how raw the emotional trauma of Order No. 11 was even a year later. Writing of the loss of her husband, Mattie Tate wrote: 'But alas, I shall never [hear] his lovely voice on Earth for he is <u>gone</u> <u>gone</u> from me forever and I am left with three small children to take care of [.]' Tate's repetition of the word 'gone', which is also underlined, reinforces the impact that banishment and its enforcement had on her and her family. [20]

[18] Maj. Gen. Schofield, Letter to Henry Halleck, 20 September 1863, *OR* Vol. XXII Part 2, 546-65. Schofield quotes various newspapers, including the German *Westliche Post*, as calling for Ewing's removal.
[19] Sheehan-Dean, *Calculus of Violence*, 220, states that General Order No. 11 did not direct 'lethal violence at pro-Confederate civilians.' As shown below, however, this was not always the case.
[20] Mattie Jane Tate Letter to Cousin Mary, 14 December 1864, Lone Jack Historical Society, available at *Civil War on the Western Border* [https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/content/mattie-jane-tate-cousin-mary] – accessed 14/02/2019. Mattie Tate's grief at the loss of her husband is explored more fully in Chapter V page 131.

Other deaths were indirectly caused by the banishment order. Kitty Twyman, a sixteen-year-old girl from Independence, was removed from her home along with her mother and siblings, who headed south to Missouri City, Texas. The long journey exacerbated the young girl's ill-health, and Kitty died shortly after they arrived. Her mother, Frances Twyman, carried her hatred for General Ewing for the rest of her life, claiming that policies such as banishment were 'what made bushwhackers.'[21] Union officers may well have considered banishment as a 'mild' and theoretically non-lethal punishment. Reality, however, contrasted greatly with this ideal.

Fear, grief, and lingering anger were the emotional consequences of General Order No. 11. All three can be found in George Caleb Bingham's 1868 painting 'Order No. 11' (see fig. iv). Bingham was a conservative unionist, an artist and Democratic Party politician who had lived in Missouri since arriving there with his family at the age of seven. When General Order No. 11 had been imposed, Bingham, then serving as State Treasurer,

Fig. iv., George Caleb Bingham, 'Martial Law, or Order No. 11', 1868, image courtesy The State Historical Society of Missouri, Digital Collections.

[21] Mrs Frances Frsitoe Twyman, 'Reminiscences of the War,' in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*, 263-67.

had protested its implementation to no avail. His enmity towards Thomas Ewing because of this disagreement led him to commit brush to canvas, producing a piece of art that would haunt Ewing for the rest of his career.

Bingham immortalised a scene of chaos and suffering. He juxtaposed this with Ewing's passive indifference as he watches on from horseback in the centre left. Indeed, his lack of feeling helps him to stand out in an image filled with emotional expression. Two people lie dead or dying in front of Ewing's party, apparently having been shot by the soldier in the centre of the image. Over the body of the male figure, a young woman cradles the corpse, her head bowed in grief as she sobs against his chest. Next to them, an older woman has collapsed, perhaps having been shot, or possibly having fainted in grief and shock at the killing of the younger man in front of her. In the centre of the image, a woman kneels as if in prayer, her hands clasped, begging the soldier for mercy that she is unlikely to receive. Another woman shields an older man who is in the act of confronting the soldier holstering a pistol, possibly out of fear for further bloodshed, whilst a child clutches his leg, seeking comfort. In the background, smoke fills the skyline, rising from dozens of other homes, whose occupants line the road with what few possessions they have been able to gather. The implication is clear. Each fire reflects a scene just like the one taking place in the foreground, a testimony to the cruelty of Order No. 11.

In keeping with Bingham's conservatism, the archetype of the 'loyal slave' features prominently within this scene. By making this decision – consciously painting the downfall of slavery – Bingham appears to assign Ewing the blame for the collapse of Missouri's slave society. The collapsed older woman is supported by a female enslaved person, whose apparent terror at the soldier's actions is etched on her face. In the right foreground, a male slave turns away from the scene as he weeps into his hands, whilst the young boy next to him gasps in fright. His tears, the sadness and grief he experiences at the scene around him, are mirrored in many Lost Cause works bemoaning the passing of the antebellum era.[22] Elizabeth Gregg would recall crying herself 'nearly to death' as a

[22] Frequently couched in a Manichean perspective, melodrama 'expresses the anxiety brought on by a frightening new world', Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 20. Scott Loren and Jörg Metelmann, 'Introduction,' in Loren and Metelmann (eds.) *Melodrama After the Tears: New Perspectives on Victimhood* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 12, identify the loss of innocence as a key theme in melodrama.

young girl when jayhawkers liberated the people her family had enslaved, creating a scene comparable to the one Bingham painted.[23] This was, of course, only the white point of view. Many enslaved people took advantage of such situations to free themselves.[24] Their tears, if any, could very well have reflected at least a degree of optimism that their situations could improve.

Emotions are therefore central to Bingham's painting. It demonstrates that the emotional consequences of banishment, at least for white Missourians, were well known. Banishment during General Order No. 11 went hand in hand with fear and grief, as demonstrated by the family in the foreground. Anger is also present, albeit not made explicit, in the picture. The soldier holstering his pistol was angry. Many Union soldiers on the border desired vengeance for the Lawrence Massacre, and the soldier reflects this collective sense of feeling.[25] But the purpose of Bingham's painting was also connected with anger – it was the emotion the work aimed to evoke. In recreating the physical and emotional suffering of not just men but women and children, Bingham aimed to show the damage that banishment had wrought, the lives it had cost, and the civil liberties it had eroded. He preserved a sense of resentment against Brig. Gen. Ewing, but also more generally against encroaching Republican politics. As Frances Twyman showed, those directly affected needed little reminder of Order No. 11's brutality. What Bingham did was extend angry sentiment to a much wider audience, crippling Ewing's political career and forever preserving a particular idea of banishment, and its emotional impact. The individual memories and emotions that the victims of Order No. 11 had experienced consequently became small parts of a wider collective sense of resentment towards banishment.

This feeling extended across the South, reaching the very top of the Confederate government. On two occasions, Jefferson Davis brought the policy to the attention of the Congress of the Confederate States. The first was at the opening of the second session of the first congress, on 18 August 1862, where Davis decried Union military policy that issued 'orders of banishment against peaceful farmers engaged in the cultivation of the

[23] Mrs W. H. Gregg, 'Can Forgive, But Never Forget,' in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*, 27.
[24] See Chapter IV page 112-16.
[25] For more on anger and revenge, see Chapter VI generally. For the Lawrence Massacre, and desire for revenge in its aftermath, see page 182-84.

soil', designed to 'enforce the submission of a free people to foreign sway.'[26] In 1864, two years later and after General Order No. 11, his rhetoric had grown more forceful. At the opening of the second congress, Davis condemned the impact of banishment not on 'peaceful farmers', but rather 'Aged men, helpless women, and children', as well as the 'plunder and destruction of property'.[27] In doing so, Davis aimed to manipulate the emotions of his audience, using the suffering of pro-Confederates in Missouri to encourage anger towards the federal government and encourage resistance. The Charleston *Mercury* followed suit, framing the suffering of Missourians as a test of patriotic feeling, asking: 'Has such a test of patriotism ever been applied elsewhere in the Confederacy?'[28] In reality, most Missourians did not feel banishment in this way. Far from a test of patriotism, many would willingly take an oath of allegiance to avoid the punishment. If it did inspire patriotic emotions and anger, these tended to come later as part of the collective memory of the Civil War in Missouri. Instead, banishment made its victims feel fear and anxiety, compounded by loneliness and homesickness.

Reverend Berry Hill Spencer and the Emotions of Banishment

General Order No. 11 was only one experience of banishment. It was a dramatic moment in Missouri's history, the consequences of which would reverberate for decades. But for those sentenced to banishment from their homes outside of Order No. 11, the experience was markedly different. Generally, the punishment was meted out without any form of violence, which meant that the grief Order No. 11 had brought about was far less common. Moreover, the banished tended to be sent from their homes individually, or at the most in small groups. Unlike those in Jackson, Cass, and Bates counties in August 1863, whole families were very rarely banished, and so households were often broken up by the order, which created its own sources of anxiety. Indeed, these feelings would only become more intense as the experience of banishment wore on.

[26] Jefferson Davis, 'Message to Congress,' 18 August 1862, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, 233, ed. James Richardson (Nashville: United States Publishing, 1905).
[27] Jefferson Davis, 'Message to Congress,' 2 May 1864, in ibid., 442.
[28] *Charleston Mercury* 29/08/1863.

Separating families in this way served a practical purpose for the federal authorities. If only a male member of the household was banished, then it could spare needless suffering for women and children if they chose to remain. But if banishment specifically targeted women and children, then it would disrupt the domestic supply line for guerrilla bands, which were reliant on women to keep them in the fight.[29] Equally, if the woman in question was not involved in guerrilla bands, then the targeted nature of the banishment still gave the order a sense of legitimacy by focusing solely on those accused of disloyalty. But travel and separation also created an emotional threat that lay at the very heart of banishment policies. Those who were forcefully separated from their families faced an enormous emotional challenge. They would battle the fears and anxieties that were common to people absent from home, as well as the loneliness and uncertainty unique to banishment.

Assessing the emotional trauma of banishment can be difficult. Whilst memoirs provide useful insight into the emotional legacies of the policy, and warrant detailed analysis, time changes the way that emotions are remembered. The memory of emotions does not always match what was experienced at the time.[30] Contemporary sources that describe the nature of banishment include official documentation, including banishment orders, as well as the required correspondence between the banished individual and the Missouri provost marshal. Such sources are useful in outlining the process of banishment but do little to explain what the punishment *felt* like at the time – how it affected not just the banished, but also their families.

An exception to this rule, however, was Berry Hill Spencer. The Methodist minister was banished to Indiana in January 1863 and would spend approximately eleven months in banishment. During this time, he maintained frequent correspondence with his wife, Caroline. These letters formed an anchor that kept Spencer attached to the familial emotional community he had left behind. They provided a space in which he could, to an extent, express the fear and anxiety that banishment had wrought upon him, as well as

[29] Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 14-38; Whites, 'Forty Shirts and a Wagonload of Wheat,' 56-78.

[30] Daniel Reisberg and Friderike Heuer, 'Memory for Emotional Events,' in Reisberg and Paula Hartel (eds.) *Memory and Emotion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4-36, posit that emotions have both positive and negative effects on memory. Emotions can increase accuracy, make the memory more vivid, and increase its longevity in the mind. It does, however, focus on a particular stimulus in the memory that compromises the memory of the 'periphery'. In other words, details can be lost over time.

some of the more practical concerns he had. In addition, Spencer maintained a detailed account book that provides context when he expressed fears that he might run out of money to support himself in banishment, and also maintain his family at home in Montgomery County, Missouri.[31] Due to these detailed sources, Spencer's experience of banishment has attracted the attention of researchers considering the practices and inconsistencies of federal policy in Missouri.[32] Berry Hill Spencer's story, however, also reveals the emotional aspects of banishment. His letters show how it felt to be banished from home and, moreover, that Union officials were aware of their policy's emotional impact.

One of the first emotional challenges that people faced when dealing with banishment was the initial shock of receiving the order. Often, banishment was ordered because of an individual's refusal to take the oath of allegiance. This was followed by 'repeated warnings' that continued defiance would lead to banishment.[33] For example, Harrison Goram and Benjamin Cope were both banished prior to December 1863 for repeatedly refusing to take the Oath. Goram and Cope were evidently aware that their banishment was conditional on swearing this oath, as both were eventually able to return after promising to take the oath.[34] In these cases, the banished individuals were aware of the reasons why they had been sentenced. Indeed, it had been a conscious decision on their part.

Berry Hill Spencer, by contrast, had little knowledge of why he had been sentenced to banishment. In a meeting with Brig. Gen. Lewis Merrill, who had issued the banishment order, Spencer stated that 'the Tongue of *slander* has reached you concerning me.'[35] In other words: the rumour mill had led to Spencer's banishment amid concern that he was disloyal. Berry Hill Spencer resolutely believed in the apolitical nature of the clergy, as did many other preachers in Civil War era Missouri.[36] If one openly held these beliefs, then an oath of allegiance was required if the individual in question wished to avoid banishment.

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[31] Berry Hill Spencer Files, 2 Folders, *MHS*.
[32] Marcus J. McArthur, 'Sent into a Land of Strangers: The Banishment of Reverend Berry Hill Spencer,' *Missouri Historical Review* 106 no. 1 (October 2011): 14-31.
[33] Sheehan-Dean, *Calculus of Violence*, 205.
[34] Letter, largely illegible, reel F1605, file 7241, Union Provost Marshal's File Two or More Citizens, *MSA*, Harrison Goram; Benjamin Cope, Montgomery County.
[35] Quoted in account book, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[36] Marcus J. McArthur, 'Treason in the Pulpit: The Problem of Apolitical Preaching in Civil War Missouri,' *Journal of Church and State* 53 no. 4 (Autumn 2011): 545-66.

What makes Berry Hill Spencer's case stand out is that he had taken an oath on 22 February 1862, which should have confirmed his loyalty.[37] With no reason given in the order to explain his banishment, Spencer rightly concluded that he was the victim of Missouri's wartime rumour mill. A statement from Robert C. Fulkerson to the Danville Provost Marshal explained that, though Fulkerson did not know Berry Hill Spencer personally, he was aware of widespread rumours that Spencer was committed to the Southern cause.[38] This was all the evidence that banishment required after two years of guerrilla warfare.

Mistrust and resentment, born out of Bleeding Kansas and the experiences of years of guerrilla warfare, characterised life in Missouri during the Civil War. If fear and anxiety, even dislike, of one's neighbours led people to accuse others of disloyalty, then Berry Hill Spencer is an example of the emotional consequences of that accusation. His quick response, his efforts to have the sentence revoked, indicate the fear he must have felt, having only six days to avoid the punishment. No doubt the lack of a formal charge increased his sense of panic. Without anything to fight against, Spencer had no hope of avoiding his sentence. He faced an immediate and severe threat, but whilst some of those examples discussed in Chapter II could attempt to manage their fear, Spencer had few options to be proactive.

Many people affected by rumour in Civil War Missouri found few ways in which to fight their charges. In January 1865, Isabella Fox, and her daughter Mellisa, residents of Chariton County, were being held in Gratiot Street prison. Testimonies given by their neighbours described the two women as harbouring and feeding notorious bushwhackers, Clifton Holtzclaw among them. Rumour, however, added more scandal to the accusations. Isabella was accused of 'keeping a house of ill fame' by at least two witnesses. Mellisa, aged 17, was further alleged to have made guerrilla shirts for two of Holtzclaw's band, and of walking 'the streets of Keytesville with bushwhackers.'[39] Others claimed that Mellisa rode with the guerrillas 'on the same horse.' Without any evidence or character statements to deny these accusations, Isabella and Mellisa Fox were

[37] Order of Banishment, 16 January 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[38] Robert C. Fulkerson, Statement, 04 March 1863, reel F1266, Union Provost Marshal's File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, Berry Hill Spencer, Montgomery County.
[39] For more on the guerrilla shirt, see Chapter VI, page 174-75.

ultimately fighting a losing battle when they protested their sentence.[40] In a similar vein, Elisha M. Edwards, of Lafayette County, was sentenced to banishment to Indiana in April 1863, despite taking the oath of allegiance. Like Berry Hill Spencer, Elisha Edwards demanded that the charges against him be named so that he could fight them. Without this knowledge, Edwards was wholly at the mercy of rumour.[41] In Kansas, a Mr. Ballard was banished from the state by Captain John S. Coleman on vague charges of disloyalty. He claimed that the verdict was based on rumours spread by men indebted to him, who were trying to ruin his reputation and his business and demanded to know the exact nature of the accusations made.[42] Understanding the charges made was central if one was to overturn or overcome banishment. Otherwise, those who were banished faced fear and uncertainty, with little apparent action to take.

There were some exceptions to this rule. Prominent individuals with powerful friends had the chance to overturn banishment before it took place. One famous example is the case of Alexander McPheeters, a Presbyterian minister who, like Berry Hill Spencer, was sentenced to banishment as a result of apolitical preaching. Confronted with the imminent prospect of imprisonment and banishment in December 1862, McPheeters resorted to using his personal connections to escape punishment. A good friend of President Lincoln's Attorney General, Edward Bates, McPheeters was ultimately able to gain an audience with the president, and convince him to intercede on McPheeters's behalf, thereby averting his banishment.[43] Others would intervene out of emotional distaste for banishment. Giles Picot, a native Virginian, had fled St. Louis to Canada after his home state had declared secession. In his absence, rumours quickly spread that Picot was fomenting 'sedition' in the South. As a result, much of his property was seized in 1862, including a hotel under construction on Broadway.[44] Additionally, Picot's wife and children

[40] See, reel F1322, Union Provost Marshal's File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, Mellisa Fox, Chariton County. The provost marshal records do not indicate whether their imprisonment and possible banishment were overturned. The Fox case is discussed in some detail by Andrew Fialka, 'A Spatial Approach to Civil War Missouri's Domestic Supply Line,' *The Guerrilla Hunters* ed. McKnight & Myers, 292-98.
[41] Elisha M. Edwards, Statement, 8 April 1863, reel F1310, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, Elisha M. Edwards, Lafayette County. Included in the documents relating to Edwards' case are his reports to the Provost Marshal from his place of banishment, up to April 1864, suggesting that he was banished, despite his protests, for at least one year.
[42] R. Ballard Letter to Brig. Gen. Ewing, 6 August 1863, reel F1222, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, R. Ballard, Unknown County.
[43] Ibid., 185.
[44] 'A Civil War Incident,' Picot Family Papers, 1 Folder, A316, *MHS*.

were told that they had two hours to pack and leave Missouri as 'penniless outcasts.' The family was spared, however, by the sudden arrival of Henry Taylor Blow, a congressman and former ambassador to Venezuela. Blow railed at the commander of the federal troops that the order was 'an outrage, Sir, or is evidently an error.' As an unconditional Unionist, Blow supported a regime that enforced banishment, but here drew the line at using the policy against women and children who were only guilty by association. His use of the word 'outrage' to describe such an act illustrates his strength of feeling; an 'outrage' in Civil War era Missouri was a collective feeling that would necessitate a response. This could be interpreted as a fear that such policies would reduce support for the Federal Government, but 'outrage' also had a considerable moral element.[45] Blow was taking issue with the way the war was being prosecuted against these women and children. Whether or not he would extend this beyond his close friends and acquaintances is, however, another matter entirely. Blow's intervention in this case of banishment is further evidence of the unpredictable nature of the policy. Whilst one ruling could be halted because of an influential figure's personal stance, another elsewhere could continue even with more flimsy evidence. In a state where rumour and hearsay prevailed, inconsistencies in policy were inevitable.

Berry Hill Spencer did not have influential friends to argue his case. He was a rural minister, with High Hill, Montgomery County, holding a population of approximately 200 people in 1863. In contrast to Samuel McPheeters, Spencer therefore held only limited influence, and this was not enough to spare him from banishment. Moreover, it left him with few options for contesting the order. There were, of course, some people who protested against his sentence, or least sympathised with Spencer personally. As Berry Hill Spencer made his journey north, he encountered a number of acquaintances, all of whom expressed their 'surprise and regret upon being informed of my banishment.' Besides expressing solidarity, however, there was nothing that these people could do to overturn his sentence of banishment. Some offered him food, whilst others gave money to support his upkeep while in Indiana, which did lift Spencer's spirits. He noted, however, that even though he appreciated these acts of kindness, those performing them seemed uneasy:

[45] For more on outrage, including further reading, see Chapter VI.

> But connected with all these acts of kindness, on the part of its authors, there was at the same time a manifest evidence of fear, that these acts of kindness to the afflicted and persecuted would call upon them the displeasure of those in authority.[46]

Spencer's friends may well have shared a similar outrage, expressed in their 'surprise and regret', as Henry T. Blow did regarding the Picot family's banishment. This was superseded, however, by their apparent fear at the prospect of retaliation, revealing an interesting emotional dynamic. It illustrates that the fear the Union authorities sought to instil with policies like banishment had the desired effect, and therefore that the emotional consequences of banishment were not limited solely to those banished. It reveals how emotional states were informed by circumstance. Whilst some men and women responded to outrages like banishment with anger by becoming guerrillas, or at the very least supporting them, this was not an option for many. Some people were staunch Unionists, concerned at the erosion of civil liberties, but unwilling to fight back. Others, as was the case with Berry Hill Spencer's friends, were simply too frightened to do anything to help, incapable of entering combat, and lacking the influence to effect change via political means. Therefore, when Berry Hill Spencer left home, he did so in the knowledge that there was little that might be done to facilitate his return. His wife, Caroline, would do all she could throughout Spencer's banishment. As early as February, Caroline was petitioning Colonel George Todd to intervene or at the very least grant her husband a trial, as was his legal right as a citizen of Missouri.[47] Beyond constant petitions, many of which were dismissed or ignored by the federal authorities, there was little Carrie Spencer could do, particularly when the culture of rumour remained so lively.

The emotional turmoil associated with leaving home was well known to Missourians before the Civil War. Most of the population were first- and second-generation immigrants who had weighed the prospect of social and economic advancement against the pressures of success before leaving their homes. The Civil War brought new emotional dimensions to this. As men left for the army, or families fled their homes, they did so with doubt that they would return to find home and family intact.[48]

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[46] Account Book, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.

[47] Caroline Spencer Letter to Colonel George Todd, 12 February 1863, reel F1266, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, B. H. Spencer, Montgomery County.

[48] Broomhall, *Private Confederacies*, 63, states that uncertainty characterised the wartime letters of soldiers, as military life challenged antebellum conceptions of self and purpose.

Berry Hill Spencer did likewise. As he journeyed north and crossed over the state border, he knew that his period of banishment was indefinite. His initial attempts at overturning his sentence had been quickly rebuffed, and he had no influential friends who could argue his case in his absence.

This may well have contributed to the sense of despair that permeated his early letters to Caroline. When emotional communities began to operate remotely by letter in the Civil War era, expressing negative emotions was a difficult task. For those who were illiterate and found themselves communicating through letters, reliance on an amanuensis presented its own challenges. It was a considerable commitment to share one's innermost thoughts with a scribe.[49] Others did not wish to burden their loved ones with the knowledge that they were deeply unhappy or afraid unless they had bad news to convey, for example the death of a friend or family member.[50] Berry Hill Spencer did not openly admit to feeling fear and depression, though he came closer than most. On his arrival in Springfield, Indiana, Berry Hill wrote a letter to Caroline, informing her that he had completed the first step of his journey, and asking that she 'keep up your courage – I hope my absence will not be long.'[51] There is an inherent optimism in his words that implies a desire to emotionally support his family, but which does not mirror the reality he faced.

A sense of the fear and anxiety that banishment wrought is evident in Spencer's complaints about money. One of the reasons that Spencer hoped that his return would be swift was the financial cost of banishment. As he put it: 'Oh how it takes money! Money! Money! Money on a trip like this!'[52] A week later, he calculated his weekly expenses and concluded that:

> At this rate you see, it will take $4.10 per week for board and washing and at that rate, if this lasts so long, and I have to remain here twelve months, it will take largely over 12 hundred dollars for board alone![53]

[49] Hager, *I Remain Yours*, 23.
[50] Clarke, 'So Lonesome I Could Die,' 270, notes the difficulties that men and women encountered due to having to maintain a cheerful attitude in the face of adversity.
[51] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline Spencer, 30 January 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline Spencer, 7 February 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.

Though Spencer undercut this complaint with a hurried assurance that 'the war will soon close', his anxiety at supporting both himself in Indiana and his family in Missouri was evident. Throughout his period in banishment, Spencer kept a detailed account book, noting expenses for essentials such as stamps, for which he paid 30¢ in October 1863. He was always concerned with his expenditure.[54] Spencer did what he could to try to economise at home. On 5 February 1863, he advised Caroline to purchase wheat early, predicting that it would soon become more difficult, and thus more expensive, if she waited too long, but ultimately left the matter to her discretion.[55]

The dynamic between Berry Hill and Caroline Spencer is comparable in some ways to that between Peter and Margaret Clark. Another couple separated by the war, the Clarks faced similar concerns over each other's safety and wellbeing, along with more practical concerns such as planting corn.[56] Indeed, these concerns were shared broadly by many couples separated by the war. But with banishment came the crucial difference that the absentee was left to support themselves. Unlike Peter Clark and other soldiers, Berry Hill Spencer was not earning a wage in Indiana, and had only limited funds to support himself and his family. Though people in banishment could find employment, Berry Hill was prevented from doing so by his health complaints, including chronic rheumatism, which he noted in a letter to Colonel Kettle in one of his monthly reports.[57] Spencer's friends were evidently aware of this, having given him small sums of money on his journey north.[58] Moreover, whereas Peter Clark could, and eventually did, resign his commission, allowing him to return home and care for his wife, Berry Hill Spencer was wholly reliant on federal authorities granting him a reprieve.[59]

Banishment, then, added a different emotional dynamic to the act of leaving home. Whereas practical concerns over money and household management were frequently a source of anxiety, for Berry Hill Spencer this was coupled with the uncertainty

[54] Account Book, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[55] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline Spencer, 5 February 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[56] Margaret Clark, Letter to Peter F. Clark, 7 March 1863, Peter F. Clark Papers, *MHS*.
[57] Berry Hill Spencer Report to Colonel Kettle, 24 April 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*. In a letter dated 5 February 1863, Berry Hill Spencer assured Caroline that his rheumatism was improving. It is possible that he was attempting to reassure her of his safety, though he may equally have been attempting to elicit sympathy from Kettle by exaggerating his poor health. See, Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline Spencer, 7 February 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[58] Account Book, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[59] Peter F. Clark Letter of Resignation, 13 September 1864, Peter F. Clark Papers, *MHS*.

over his own status. With no idea if, when, or how he might return home, typical concerns over money became far more serious. Whether the federal authorities intended this or not is unclear, but what is certain is that they were made aware of Berry Hill Spencer's financial difficulties. In May 1863, Spencer authored a letter addressed to provost marshal A. C. Stewart, in which he gave an extensive account of his physical and emotional concerns. Describing his banishment, he stated:

> I was, with only a few days' notice, forced away from the fellowship and pastoral oversight of hundreds of beloved brethren – from a most dependent and afflicted family – from my only means of their support [.][60]

He could not have been clearer in his words. The Danville provost marshals' office knew that Spencer's family was in dire financial straits but remained ambivalent. An earlier letter in which Spencer had detailed his complaints had been deemed 'insidious, offensive, and insulting' by Stewart, who reminded him to watch his tone when addressing an officer.[61] At best, Stewart had considered these issues to be a distraction from more important business. His forceful language in rebuffing Spencer, however, suggests that he viewed financial and emotional difficulty as another aspect of the punishment for alleged disloyalty. In Berry Hill Spencer's banishment, emotions were clearly viewed as another part of his deserved sentence by the provost marshal.

Practical concerns over money may have been what motivated many families to follow their loved ones into banishment. John S. Downey had been sentenced to banishment in Minnesota, leaving behind his wife in Buchanan County. During his journey, however, he fell ill, and by July 1863 had no money to support two households. Rather than accept banishment, Downey instead requested to take an oath of allegiance, allowing him to stay with his wife.[62] In Iron County, Lafayette F. Carty was banished because of his family's ties to guerrilla bands. His older brother, William "Devil Bill" Carty, became particularly notorious in the area both during and after the war.[63] After being

[60] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to A. C. Stewart, 4 May 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[61] Ibid. Stewart was writing in answer to a letter Spencer had sent on 24 April, in which he had noted the 'political excitement' in Indiana, and his fears that violence would follow those accused of disloyalty.
[62] John S. Downey, Statement, 23 July 1863, reel F1305, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, John S. Downey, Buchanan County.
[63] One of the most significant aspects of William Carty's career as a guerrilla was a rivalry he formed with local businessman and landowner Elihu H. Shepard. This is explored in detail in Chapter VI page 190-92.

sentenced to banishment in March 1864, Lafayette Carty was permitted to return home to Iron County to collect his family. They would accompany him throughout his banishment in Van Buren County, Iowa, until July 1865, when all were finally permitted to return home.[64] Husbands also accompanied their wives into banishment. In June 1863, J. H. Dorsey asked for permission to accompany his wife into her period of banishment, though whether this was granted was not recorded. [65] There was an obvious practical benefit to this in that it did not split upkeep costs between two households. Moreover, it lessened the disruption that banishment caused to emotional communities by ensuring that they remained in-person. Whilst other communities were forced to adapt to new forms of expression, most notably letter writing, and all the limitations that imposed on emotional expression, families who stayed together did not have to learn these skills.[66]

For others, however, the fears and anxieties associated with travelling through a warzone overcame the desire to maintain the stability of the family unit. Banditry and inclement weather combined to make travel a very dangerous prospect for those facing banishment. In January 1865, Sallie McPheeters and her children were banished south to Arkansas, as her husband, William Marcellus McPheeters, was serving in the Confederate Army as a surgeon. Despite the 'indignation' and protests of her friends, her banishment was enforced. On their journey south, heavy rainfall meant that the roads were impassable, additional threats came from Union soldiers. One man allegedly threatened the family with robbery and murder, a common fear for families travelling south from Missouri.[67] The lasting resentment that Sallie and her husband felt towards the federal authorities would lead both to take a prominent role in the Missouri Southern Relief Association in the postbellum world, through which they would correspond with Varina Davis.[68] Eliza J. Moore, of Clay County, was likewise concerned about inclement winter

[64] reel F1235, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, Lafayette Carty, Iron/Reynolds County.
[65] reel F1304, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, J. H. Dorsey, St. Louis.
[66] Hager, *I Remain Yours*, 17-52, discusses the multitude of challenges faced by individuals who were suddenly forced to express themselves by letters, rather than in-person expressions.
[67] William Marcellus McPheeters, 'Banishment of my Wife,' 27 July 1865, Box 1, Chronological Folders, Dr. William Marcellus McPheeters Papers, A274, *MHS*. Ashton P. Johnston and his family were banished from the state in spring 1863, and requested that they be allowed to travel south via Washington, owing to 'troubles' in Tennessee and Mississippi. See, reel F1350, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, Ashton P. Johnston, St. Louis.
[68] In February 1867, William McPheeters wrote to Varina Davis to inform her that $3,000 had been raised to support her and her family, a gesture that 'most deeply moved' Davis. See, William McPheeters Letter

weather, and requested that her January 1864 banishment be postponed until the spring. She cited fears over the safety of herself and her children, appealing to the sentiment that banishment was theoretically a non-violent punishment acceptable for use against women and children.[69]

Berry Hill Spencer never explicitly stated why his family did not accompany him into banishment. His letters to Caroline offer few indications of any discussion about the subject having taken place. It can be assumed that the journey would have proven hard for their young children. In a letter to Missouri's provost marshal general James O. Broadhead dated 5 November 1863, Caroline Spencer stated that she had seven children, the eldest of which was twelve, the youngest just four weeks.[70] Even if Caroline had intended to follow her husband into banishment, her pregnancy would have made the journey even more difficult. Having remained in Missouri, the children were still not protected from sickness. In April 1863, several of them fell ill with a whooping cough. Spencer included a prayer to Caroline that God would 'deliver them from that malignant fever'.[71] His absence surely heightened his fears for his family, but travel would have presented an altogether different problem. Given the hardships endured by other families on the road, it seems almost certain that this factored into the decision for Berry Hill to travel alone.[72]

This decision, though surely taken for the physical wellbeing of the family, had a profound impact on Berry Hill Spencer's emotional state. It caused him to experience homesickness and loneliness. Physically, Spencer repeatedly assured Caroline that he was physically in 'good health', noting how unusual this was in his circumstances. In an emotive letter written days before his banishment finally ended in November 1863, Spencer wrote:

> This is Monday morning – through mercy I am well as usual – and oh what a mercy it is to be <u>well</u> at any time, and more especially in a

to Varina Davis, 16 February 1867, Box 1, Chronological Folders, Dr. William Marcellus McPheeters Papers, *MHS*.

[69] Eliza J. Moore, Letter to Gen. Rosecrans, 12 January 1864, reel F1201, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*.

[70] Carrie Spencer Letter to James O. Broadhead, 5 November 1863, reel F1266, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, Berry Hill Spencer, Montgomery County.

[71] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline Spencer, 8 April 1863, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*

[72] See Chapter IV page 107-08

> strange land and far from home, and family, and kindred, and those who take an interest in us![73]

It was clear that, after nearly eleven months in banishment, Berry Hill Spencer was lonely. He had few avenues through which to express himself, each of which came with its own challenges. Every month, Spencer would write his required report to A. C. Stewart, and Colonel Kettle at the Enrolled Militia Headquarters in Danville. There was little opportunity for emotional expression in these letters, which were formal and tended to revolve around Spencer's attempts at obtaining a trial, or to complain about his sentencing. Even these complaints had to be worded carefully, as Stewart's forceful reply to a letter from Spencer in April shows.[74] Whilst Spencer's reports are useful for detailing his frustration, and to an extent his anxieties about the length of his banishment, they offered the preacher himself little in the way of emotional expression. Indeed, Spencer's apparent loneliness would have undoubtedly proven the benefit of banishment to the federal authorities. Akin to imprisoning someone, banishment limited the influence that potentially disloyal citizens could hold in Missouri. If someone was lonely in banishment, then it had achieved the desired effect.

There were, however, some avenues for emotional expression. One that Berry Hill may have used was the other men who had been banished from Missouri alongside him. In his letters to Caroline, Berry Hill made occasional references to his compatriots, of which there were at least three. Of note is a comment in a letter dated 7 March 1863, in which he described the mood of his compatriots as 'home sick'.[75] As a Missourian, and someone who had personal experience of family migrating to the state, Spencer would have held a good understanding of homesickness.[76] Homesickness was understood as an emotion best tamed in the nineteenth century United States, a potential barrier to success, and harmful to one's physical health. It is interesting, therefore, that Spencer was able to recognise the emotion in his fellows, and that he was willing to openly admit to Caroline that he and everyone else was feeling homesick. This is a testament to how his

[73] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline Spencer, 2 November 1863, Folder 2, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[74] Berry Hill Spencer, Letter to A. G. Stewart, 22 April 1863, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*; A. G. Stewart Letter to Berry Hill Spencer, 26 April 1863, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[75] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline Spencer, 7 March 1863, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[76] Berry Hill Spencer had been born in North Carolina, but his parents moved to Cape Girardeau, Missouri, before his first birthday. McArthur, 'Sent into a Land of Strangers,' 15.

letters home provided him an avenue in which he could be honest in his emotional expression. But it also raises the possibility that Spencer recognised the emotion because he and the others sentenced to banishment had confided in each other.

There are examples of others, who were likewise subjected to banishment or imprisonment in Missouri, who found comfort in the company of their fellows. In Palmyra, Missouri, Lizzie M. Powell and Maggie Creath became 'as devoted as the Siamese Twins.' In the wake of the Palmyra Massacre – the executions of ten Confederate prisoners of war in reprisal for guerrilla atrocities – the two young women shared their grief. As they awaited the news of the executions, they held each other, 'arms locked closely around each other', in a shared emotional experience. Even after Maggie Creath was released, she returned to nurse Lizzie Powell when she fell ill with tuberculosis.[77] In their small jail cell in Palmyra, an emotional community had formed between Maggie Creath and Lizzie Powell. Given the close emotional bond that was created here, it is possible that a similar dynamic existed between Berry Hill Spencer and his compatriots in their banishment, where they were also isolated.

When Lizzie Powell was finally released from her imprisonment, she was banished to Nevada Territory.[78] Though her brother James chose to accompany Lizzie on the journey, on arrival in Nevada she was said to have been very lonely, as 'communication with her friends could but rarely be received', due to the distances involved.[79] Her loneliness was compounded by her alleged fear for her physical safety, with Lizzie's daughter Mary recalling that her mother was the only white woman in Nevada Territory at the time, and had to live surrounded by Native Americans, 'so numerous and many of them hostile.'[80] Owing to her fear, and the difficulties of communicating with Missouri, Powell established her own emotional community in Nevada, centred on a bible class, reading to 'rough miners' who had gone to Nevada to seek their fortune. Indeed, it was through this class that she met her husband, Alfred Hereford.[81]

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[77] Lizzie Powell Hereford, Prison Diary, Lizzie M. Powell Papers, *SHSMO*.
[78] Powell's banishment is one of the rare cases where it was accepted both by the accused and their family. Lizzie Powell's health had declined greatly during her time in prison, and it was assumed that Nevada's climate would suit her better than Missouri.
[79] Mary Stella Hereford Ball, 'Journal of Mildred Elizabeth Powell,' in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*, 149.
[80] Ibid., 181.
[81] Ibid., 181.

Despite his relationships with the other men banished to Indiana, the most important emotional release that Spencer had remained his relationship with Caroline. Though their matrimonial emotional community was now forced to operate at a distance, Berry Hill Spencer's letters to his wife frequently allude to his emotional state. The letters provided an opportunity for Spencer to express his own fears and anxieties, but also to try and reassure his wife, assuaging her own concerns for the future. As such, there were limits to how far Spencer could take his complaints without causing his family undue stress. Others had even more difficulty than the Spencers. For those banished to the South, it was frequently difficult to communicate with those in states that had not seceded. Mary Cleveland was ordered south in 1863 after being accused of disloyalty. Using her contacts at home, she continued to help send letters from Confederate soldiers to their friends and relatives in Missouri. These acts were recalled decades later by Virginia Yates, who described how Cleveland 'got into trouble more than once' in trying to send letters through the lines.[82] By contrast, Berry Hill Spencer, being in Indiana, had fewer worries about his letters eventually reaching their destination. His primary concern was their content.

Berry Hill Spencer had to be careful that his letters did not cause his family any undue stress, as no expression of reassurance would accompany his words. For this reason, he made sure to always emphasise that he was in good physical health; indeed, on several occasions he would claim that his rheumatism was better in Indiana than it had been in Missouri.[83] Even if this was not the case, as a letter to Col. Kettle indicates, this was an important reassurance for Caroline, their children, and friends.[84] Equally, Caroline herself was limited to how far she could express negative emotions. On 11 March 1863, Berry Hill had received a letter from Caroline in which she had stated that she was in poor health due to her anxiety. Spencer replied saying, 'your extreme anxiety can do me no good, and will injure your own health'.[85] Indeed, his comment in November that his good health was a surprise, due to his homesickness, underscores his apparent belief that emotions and physical health were connected. Peter F. Clark's chastising of his wife for

[82] Virginia Yates McCanne, 'Banishment of Miss Mary Cleveland,' in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*, 241-42.
[83] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline Spencer, 5 February 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[84] Berry Hill Spencer Report to Colonel Kettle, 24 April 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[85] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline Spencer, 11 March 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.

expressing her own anxieties indicates that he likewise believed in this connection.[86] Therefore, both Berry Hill and Caroline Spencer had to remain strong for themselves, and for each other. For every time that Berry Hill complained about his homesickness, or his fears that he would never receive a trial, he needed to frame this with positive emotion, some optimism, even if he did not necessarily feel it.

Despite these constraints, Spencer's letters nevertheless offer an insight into the emotional turmoil that continued throughout one's period of banishment. In particular, the rumour mill that had led to Berry Hill Spencer's banishment evidently remained as active in Indiana as it was in Montgomery County, Missouri. In late February 1862, Spencer was staying in Ladoga, where he continued to be an active participant in the spread of rumours. Through one of the men who had been banished at the same time as himself, Spencer had learned the identity of the person responsible for his banishment. In a letter to Caroline, Spencer described an acquaintance who had, upon hearing the news of Spencer's banishment;

> skipped and jumped and threw himself into transports and said, "Bully for General Merrill! Bully for Colonel Kettle!" If I am permitted to return, I may tell you who that man is – the more so – as he professes to be my friend! There are many things of which I might write if it were prudent.

In this letter, Spencer expressed anger and frustration that his fate should come down to 'radical abolitionists' willing to believe what he deemed baseless rumours, circulated by cowards such as the man described above.[87]

But beneath this show of strength by Berry Hill Spencer was an undercurrent of anxiety that he would not be able to return home. His qualification that he would name his accuser only *if* allowed to return home, was a far cry from his hope the previous month that his banishment would not last long. Spencer's fears for the future of 'constitution loving and loyal citizens' in a state that allowed banishment therefore suggest as much despair as they do anger. In many ways, Spencer's underlying fear in this letter mirrors the sadness and grief that George Caleb Bingham associated with banishment. To these men, banishment reflected a changing world, the passing of the antebellum era and a

[86] Peter F. Clark Letter to Margaret Clark, 27 October 1863, Peter Clark Papers, *MHS*.
[87] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline Spencer, 28 February 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.

society built on slavery. Like others, Spencer interpreted this macro-context through the prism of his own, personal, emotional experiences. To him, this was not experienced through the chaos of Order No. 11, but his own inability to be with his family and friends.

The personal nature of Berry Hill Spencer's emotions also manifested in other ways. The active rumour mill in Indiana had provided him a boon of a certain kind – helping him to identify his accuser back home in Montgomery County. But it also created new potential threats for him, any one of which had the potential to prolong his period in banishment. One rumour in particular prompted Spencer to feel considerable anxiety, which he relayed to Caroline in a letter that came as close as he ever did to displaying outright panic. On 21 March 1863, Berry Hill sat down at his desk in Ashby's Mills to write a hurried letter to Caroline. Earlier that day, he had heard a rumour around town that he and his companions were to be arrested and charged with involvement in the Knights of the Golden Circle. This was a pro-slavery secret society that sought to create a new country in which slavery would be legal. The Knights of the Golden Circle had gained some notoriety in the antebellum era, and during the Civil War were rumoured to be operating in states such as Indiana and Illinois. Accused of disrupting recruitment and promoting pro-secession sentiment, the Knights were certainly treated as a serious threat, though political motivations also played a role in the Knights' reputation as bogeymen.[88] The accusation that someone was associated with this organisation was a very serious one to make.

Berry Hill Spencer was clearly aware of this fact. In contrast to his typical letters, the one authored on 21 March 1863 made no mention of his health. On that day, Spencer was writing with a very specific purpose: to give Caroline 'my <u>whole</u> mind on the subject', so that, if needed, 'you will know how to speak of my views.'[89] In this way, the letter could be used as evidence if he was brought back to Missouri for trial. Spencer affirmed that he believed that '<u>political organisations</u>, <u>aims</u>, and <u>measures</u>, should be as <u>public</u>, and <u>open as day</u>!' He further stated that his only knowledge of the Knights of the Golden Circle was

[88] Frank L. Klement, *Dark Lanterns: Secret Political Societies, Conspiracies, and Treason Trials in the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 21-22; 7-33. Being able to tie their political opponents to secessionist, conspiratorial societies proved useful for the Republican governors of Indiana and Illinois in discrediting their Democratic opponents.

[89] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline, 21 March 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.

that they were a political organisation – he did not know anything else, because he was not a member of the group.[90]

This letter served two purposes. The first was, as stated, a practical one. It gave Caroline a clear message to repeat if she was questioned by anyone about Berry Hill's potential links to underground organisations. It could also be brought forward as evidence in a trial. It demonstrated Spencer's denial of involvement even before potential questioning. Moreover, the letter provided an avenue of emotional release. It is evident that his letter writing was a key part of Berry Hill's life in Indiana. He concluded a 23 February letter by joking that the other banished men had messages for their wives, as they had had no chance to write their own letters due to Spencer occupying the table for so long.[91] His matrimonial emotional community gave Berry Hill Spencer a place in which he could vent his fears and anxieties to those closest to him. It allowed him to express himself and build a plan of action for resolving or mitigating his problem with rumours. Having rationalised his situation, Spencer reasoned that he would at least receive a trial if charged with conspiracy and involvement in the Knights of the Golden Circle.[92] The speed with which Spencer wrote his letter certainly suggests that he needed to confide in someone, even if only by letter – the act of writing it proved therapeutic.[93] Indeed, it seems possible that Spencer wrote largely out of shock at hearing the possibility of this charge being brought against him. The rumours ultimately proved false. Two days later, he wrote another letter to Caroline in which he assured her that the rumour was 'utterly unfounded.'[94] It is possible that Spencer had overreacted to gossip and immediately sought an emotional release in his letters. This would certainly indicate the emotional stress that the culture of rumour could have on the victims of banishment. But most importantly, it demonstrates the solace that people took in their emotional communities, even when separated by hundreds of miles.

Letters home would not, however, return one from banishment. Indeed, beyond the numerous petitions that Berry Hill Spencer and his compatriots sent to the provost

[90] Ibid.
[91] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline, 23 February 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[92] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline, 21 March 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[93] Clarke, 'So Lonesome I Could Die,' 258, notes that letter writing could provide a space in which soldiers could try and rationalise their emotional states, a similar dynamic to what was apparently occurring in Spencer's letter concerning the allegations regarding the Knights of the Golden Circle.
[94] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline, 23 March 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.

marshal's office, there was little they could do. This was, instead, a task for friends and relatives. Character statements and petitions were crucial in overturning a sentence of banishment. They proved an individual's loyalty or willingness to comply and take an oath, which gave a practical reason to overturn a banishment order. When organising a petition, it was important to draw upon a broad community, united in support of their friends and loved ones. James M. Richardson, a resident of Miller County, was banished to Indiana in early 1863 after being accused of destroying powder in a creek, having already taken the Oath of Allegiance. Richardson's wife was at the centre of the campaign to have him returned from banishment, appealing directly to Governor Gamble in October 1863, as well as organising a petition signed by her husband's friends and acquaintances. This petition carried over 100 signatures from Cole, Miller, and Moniteau Counties, reflecting the breadth of the community that supported Richardson in his banishment.[95] Likewise, in February 1865, Sally Searcy and her daughter were sentenced to banishment from Boone County, on charges of aiding guerrilla bands. Almost immediately, several petitions came in from neighbours and family, stating that the ladies were 'bitterly opposed' to guerrillas, and that the sentence of banishment would aggravate their poor health.[96]

But organising petitions and character statements on a large scale was not always possible. An undated petition from six residents of High Hill, written at the request of Caroline Spencer, asked that Berry Hill be allowed to return from banishment on the grounds that he was 'bitterly' opposed to secession.[97] This was, however, matched by the numerous character statements against Berry Hill, all claiming him to be disloyal and a threat to the state. In addition to the rumours passed on in witness statements by men such as Robert Fulkerson, who were not acquainted with Spencer, some accusations were levied against him by members of his own Methodist congregation.[98] James H. Robinson assured Union authorities that Spencer was disloyal, promising in March 1863 that, if banishment were overturned, 'all the rebels ought to be set at liberty', whilst Union men

[95] John C. Bell et. al., Petition to Gov. Gamble, 18 November 1863, reel F1390, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*.
[96] Sally Searcy and Sallie A. Searcy, reel F1658, file 21471, Union Provost Marshal's File Two or More Citizens, *MSA*, Boone County.
[97] Petition, N.D., reel F1266, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, B. H. Spencer, Montgomery County.
[98] Robert C. Fulkerson, Statement, 04 March 1863, reel F1266, Union Provost Marshal's File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, Berry Hill Spencer, Montgomery County.

would be driven from their homes.[99] The fact that statements could be produced from those who knew Spencer well suggests that he was indeed guilty. Yet Robinson's involvement corroborates Spencer's personal belief that his banishment:

> was caused by religious persecution. That I am banished for a religious and not a political reason. Certain persons sought to produce secession, rebellion, and treason in the church by way of showing how much they hated these things in the nation.[100]

Berry Hill Spencer's belief in the apolitical nature of the clergy was not shared by all. Congregations frequently found themselves divided on this issue, creating interpersonal rifts that bled into federal policy via the rumour mill.[101] This may well have been the root cause of Spencer's banishment, as he suspected. If so, then the chaotic nature of banishment as a policy is evident, a process that was easily interfered with by the mistrust that ran rife throughout Missouri.

As a result of local conflicts, a collective response to Berry Hill Spencer's banishment could not be relied upon. It therefore fell to Caroline Spencer to act as her husband's 'most important advocate'.[102] In addition to organising petition campaigns, Caroline eventually began to submit her own. On 5 November 1863, the decisive moment in Berry Hill Spencer's banishment came when James O. Broadhead, Missouri's provost marshal general, received a letter written directly to him by Caroline Spencer. Caroline appealed that Berry Hill either be given a trial or allowed to return home. Caroline placed focus on the financial plight of the family, her young children, and the approaching winter, asking: 'Shall my little children suffer for the comforts the season demands through his [Berry Hill's] continued absence?'[103]

Broadhead's response to Caroline Spencer's letter, if one was even sent, is not recorded. His formal response, however, was to issue a repeal of the banishment order against Berry Hill Spencer on the following day, 6 November 1863.[104] This came just four

[99] James H. Robinson Letter to Maj. Merrill, 11 March 1863, reel F1266, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, B. H. Spencer, Montgomery County.
[100] Berry Hill Spencer, Letter to A. G. Stewart, 22 April 1863, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.
[101] McArthur, 'Treason in the Pulpit,' 545-66.
[102] McArthur, 'Sent into a Land of Strangers,' 26.
[103] Caroline Spencer Letter, 5 November 1863, reel F1266, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, B. H. Spencer, Montgomery County.
[104] Special Orders No. 140, 6 November 1863, Folder 2, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.

days after Berry Hill's complaints to Caroline that he was 'in a strange land and far from home'.[105] Given the timing of Broadhead's order, it is certain that Caroline Spencer's letter was the main influence on Broadhead when he made the decision. Broadhead had been moved by the plight of Caroline and her children. Her emotive language, her fears and anxieties at the coming winter, were what had persuaded Broadhead that Berry Hill Spencer had served his time. Perhaps Broadhead felt pity, even regret, at putting women and children in needless danger. If so, then this suggests an ethical paradox at the heart of banishment policy. Theoretically used as an acceptable, non-violent means of punishing women and children, in this case Broadhead decided that the punishment had gone far enough. By contrast, only a few months earlier General Order No. 11 had caused immense physical and emotional suffering to men, women, and children along the Kansas-Missouri border. Knowing where and when a line had been crossed was a matter of individual feeling and perspective, reflecting the chaotic nature of banishment's implementation.

Banishment was just one reason that Missourians found themselves leaving their homes during the guerrilla war. It exacerbated the fears and anxieties that came with guerrilla warfare, creating an emotional scenario quite unlike that found in those who were solely subject to the threat of violence. Without recognition of the emotional consequences of banishment, the true nature of federal policy during the Civil War cannot be understood.

But Missourians also left home for other reasons. Some made a conscious decision to leave before the Federal Government forced them out. Others were Unionists fleeing the threat of violence from their neighbours and roving guerrilla bands, whilst enslaved people took advantage of the chaos to seek freedom on the roads. Like banishment, refugee life also altered the nature of fear and anxiety for those who experienced it. It is this emotional experience that Chapter IV discusses.

[105] Berry Hill Spencer Letter to Caroline Spencer, 2 November 1863, Folder 1, Berry Hill Spencer Files, *MHS*.

Chapter 4. Refugees

Refugee life brought with it complex emotional experiences that would stay with those it affected long after the Civil War. The nature of the emotions experienced varied according to factors such as class and race. For Louisa Sheppard, a wealthy pro-Confederate girl, her memories of life on the road coincided with the passing of the antebellum world. The fear, the uncertainty, and the loneliness that she experienced over the course of several years as a refugee coincided with the downfall of the Confederacy and the antebellum slave society. Her personal emotions engaged with and reflected those of a broader pro-Confederate collective.[1] But for formerly enslaved people, the emotions of refugee life were very different. The prospect of capture and reenslavement was a major source of fear, in addition to the general difficulties of travel during wartime. Robert Bryant, for example, fled his enslaver with his family in 1864. Years later, he still remembered hiding in the woods near Pilot Knob, where the family lived in a one room hut that they had constructed themselves.[2] But freedom also meant aspirations of sustained liberty and the prospect of a better life. Fear was tempered by a sense of hope for black refugees, for whom refugee life was a conscious decision taken with this emotion in mind.

The Civil War produced vast numbers of refugees. In the South, some 250,000 whites became refugees over the course of the conflict, along with as many as 1,000,000 African Americans, who moved according to the military and political events of the war.[3] As Union forces advanced, people of varying social and economic circumstances were encouraged to either move towards them, or flee further South. This created a major crisis for both sides, which were forced to decide how, or even if, they would aid people fleeing to safety. As a result, refugees entered a world of large-scale, national emotional communities, torn between emotions of Christian charity and sympathy, and the practical difficulties of providing for refugees, often with contradictory results. As was the case with

[1] Louisa Cheairs McKenny Sheppard, *A Confederate Girlhood: The Memoirs of Louisa Cheairs McKenny Sheppard*, 1892. Available at [https://mdh.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/mack/id/883] – accessed 19/11/2018.

[2] Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. X, Missouri, (Washington, 1941), Library of Congress, [https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn100], 61-62.

[3] George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 183. Amy Murrell Taylor, *Embattled Freedom: Journeys Through the Civil War's Slave Refugee Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 5, suggests a more conservative figure of c.500,000 enslaved people who made their way to Union lines during the Civil War.

banishment, federal policy towards refugees was affected by practical need, but also by the emotional culture of the day. Combined, the two created an inconsistent approach towards the handling of a refugee crisis.

If we are to properly understand the emotional worlds of Missouri's Civil War, then the nature of the state's refugee crisis must also be understood. In the twenty-first century, the movements of peoples displaced by conflict in countries such as Syria and Palestine have become a pressing geopolitical issue. Meanwhile, the plight of refugees attempting to enter the United States across the US-Mexico border has remained a contentious topic for both Republican and Democratic administrations. As a result of this modern context, refugees have increasingly become an integral aspect of Civil War studies, a part of the 'dark turn' of the scholarship.[4] One of the defining features of refugee life in the Civil War was the diversity of experiences, and this has been reflected in its historiography. Both Chandra Manning and Amy Murrell Taylor offer detailed insights into the experience of emancipation by considering the camps in which refugee slaves found themselves in following their flights.[5] Yael A. Sternhell considered the implications of the movements of refugees on the morale and identity of the South, utilising the experiences of black and white refugees to complement her central analysis.[6]

Building on this work, this chapter considers the emotional worlds of refugees in Missouri, where guerrilla warfare complicated challenges that were found elsewhere.[7] The emotional communities model lends itself well to a study of refugees. The values that the wider national emotional community, theoretically, adhered to, affected what aid was offered to refugees. Competing emotions of contempt and pity arose out of a national

[4] See, Sternhell, 'Revisionism Reinvented?' 241-43; Harry S. Stout, *Upon the Altar of the Nation: A Moral History of the Civil War* (New York: Viking, 2006).
[5] Chandra Manning, *Troubled Refuge: Struggling for Freedom in the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2016); Amy Murrell Taylor, *Embattled Freedom: Journeys Through the Civil War's Slave Refugee Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).
[6] Yael A. Sternhell, *Routes of War: The World of Movement in the Confederate South* (Cambridge MA.: Harvard University Press, 2015).
[7] David Silkenat, *Driven From Home: North Carolina's Civil War Refugee Crisis* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2016), 8-9, states that one area of the historiography that is still developing is in understanding, 'the significant emotional and psychological toll that refugees pay.' Both Silkenat, and more recently Amy Murrell Taylor, *Embattled Freedom*, have gone some way towards achieving this by focusing their research on a close analysis of individuals. This has helped to reveal the experiences of refugees from across the societal spectrum and brought previously marginalised stories to light. An emotional history can take this further by emphasising the networks of relations that were so important in causing and dealing with refugee crises.

distaste for charity and handouts, which contradicted ideals of Christian charity. Even where pity was dominant over contempt, the practicality of offering support meant that refugees frequently received little help, with aid often distributed on an ad hoc basis. On a more local level, the reasons for people becoming refugees frequently reflected the local emotional worlds in which they lived. This was especially the case in Missouri's guerrilla war, where the local conflicts that had predated the wider civil conflict continued to influence the actions of people affected by guerrilla warfare. Emotional communities of varying sizes and membership thereby influenced each other in several ways, forcefully moving people from one community to another.

To demonstrate the relationship between different emotional communities, and how they influenced Missouri's refugee crisis, this chapter is split into two distinct sections. The first considers the emotional experience of refugees on an individual basis. It demonstrates the fear and homesickness that were commonly associated with refugee life. Furthermore, it shows how some emotional experiences were affected by Missouri's particular style of guerrilla warfare, establishing both the imperatives and consequences of leaving home. The second section argues that refugees, upon arriving at an outpost or urban centre, entered into a larger, national, emotional community that carefully weighed the circumstances of refugees, expressing pity or contempt accordingly. Various factors contributed to the expression of pity or contempt, including race and sectional allegiance, and reveal the contradictory nature of nineteenth century charity. Moreover, it shows how emotions affected Union policies towards refugees, which were constructed according to this emotional dichotomy. All of this contributes to the overall picture of a guerrilla war that was driven by, just as much as it created, emotional turmoil.

The Emotions of Refugee Life

Fear and anxiety were the principal motivations for white Missourians to leave their homes as refugees during the guerrilla war. In addition to several moments of mass migration, refugees moved at a constant, staggered rate throughout the war, according to the movements of armies and the spread of guerrilla violence. Initial flights from home were predominantly among Unionists living in the Ozarks region of southwest Missouri, where the threat of an attack from Arkansas, in addition to a hostile pro-Confederate

population, made staying a difficult prospect.[8] In September 1861, even after the Confederate victory at Wilson's Creek on 10 August, Unionist refugees in Rolla continued to hold out hope for an advance that would make it safe for them to go home. Deprived of their incomes, and with little money to purchase supplies and clothing, their situation was desperate, even after only five months of civil war.[9] Elsewhere, however, most people remained at their homes during the summer of 1861, awaiting clarity about Missouri's position in the Union, and monitoring the movements of federal and rebel forces. The decision to leave home was never an easy one and was not made lightly by white Missourians, even when faced with the uncertainty of 1861.

Over the summer months, however, the local divisions that had been such an integral part of antebellum Missouri began to take effect. On both sides of the conflict, civilians were made to suffer by their neighbours and nearby soldiers. In August, Robert N. Smith could only watch in fear as the Southern sympathisers of Lafayette County were driven out of their homes. Writing to Gov. Hamilton R. Gamble, Smith protested that military rule created refugees on the basis of rumour, accusations, and mob violence. Along with other pro-Confederates, Smith and his family had little doubt that 'our time will be next'.[10] Unionists also found themselves fleeing the threat of violence, particularly during the winter of 1861-62. Setbacks for federal forces in southern Missouri, and the subsequent withdrawal north, meant that the trickle of refugees that had begun in the Ozarks became a surge.

Potential occupation and mistreatment by the regular Confederate Army were doubtless in the minds of many who took to the roads, but a more immediate threat was hostile neighbours and acquaintances. In October, John Russell Kelso, an officer and scout in the Missouri State Militia, raced home to Buffalo, Dallas County, when he heard that his family had been burned out of their home by pro-Confederate neighbours.[11] With no other option, they joined the mass of Unionist refugees making their way north during a bitterly cold November. On the war-torn Kansas-Missouri border, both Unionists and pro-

[8] John F. Bradbury Jr., '"Buckwheat Cake Philanthropy": Refugees and the Union Army in the Ozarks,' *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 57 no. 3 (Autumn, 1998): 236.
[9] *Daily Missouri Republican*, 10 September 1861.
[10] Robert N. Smith, Lafayette County, Letter to Hamilton R. Gamble, Jefferson City, 12 August 1861, Hamilton Rowan Gamble Papers, 1787 – 1876; 1907; 1961 – 1964, Box 9, December 1856 – March 1862, *MHS*.
[11] Kelso, *Bloody Engagements*, 45.

Confederates found themselves forced to flee in large numbers. Allen T. Ward described the back-and-forth nature of the early conflict in a letter to his sister, noting the movements of civilians:

> as the Secession army sweep over it, the union party has to fly for their lives; then in turn comes the union forces under Jim Lane and Montgomery, and all the secessionists have to leave in a hurry or be shot down as so many wolves, so between the two forces the people have nearly all been run off.[12]

Civil war and the threat of irregular violence did not discriminate based on sectional allegiance. The long years of guerrilla fighting had cemented mistrust and grievances in communities throughout Kansas and Missouri. The people living within them were often only too happy to spread rumour and make accusations against their fellows, as the anonymous letter sent to Col. White in July 1861 demonstrates.[13] For many, the threat of violence that these divisions created proved too much, forcing them from their homes in fear.

As they fled, the sight of refugee families like John Russell Kelso's provided a stark image of the realities of civil war to those living in the relative safety of large urban centres. Large groups of refugees began arriving in St. Louis by the end of November, some continuing onwards to Illinois. The 'affecting sight' led to some private aid efforts and the donation of fifty dollars to help relieve the suffering of these refugees, who had been 'stripped of everything of any value which they formerly possessed by the rebels'. With the promise, however, that thousands more were on their way, these private relief efforts could only do so much.[14] Indeed, November 1861 was only the beginning of a problem that would persist throughout the war.

Despite the violence of 1861, and the surging threat of guerrilla warfare in 1862, many people resisted leaving home for as long as they possibly could. Although there was an obvious physical risk if one decided to flee from home, emotions were also a significant factor in causing people to remain at home. Wiley Britton, an officer in the 6th

[12] Allen T. Ward, Letter to his sister, S. T. Roberts, 21 October 1861, Allen T. Ward Collection, Box 1, Folder 23, 528, *Kansas Historical Society*.
[13] Anonymous Letter to Lt. Col. White, Lexington MO., 12 July 1861, Robert White Papers, 1861-1908, *MHS*.
[14] *Daily Missouri Republican*, 30 November 1861.

Kansas Cavalry, argued that an emotional attachment to the homestead was an integral part of white civilised identity. Britton emphasised the memories that white settlers associated with their homesteads on the frontier:

> Fathers and mothers, for instance, recall the earlier periods of their lives, when they struggled against adversity, and when their children, some of whom may be away in the army, played upon the green sward around them, or climbed the peach, apple, and cherry trees to assist in gathering these fruits.[15]

Others associated their homes with grief, 'a child buried in a sacred spot upon the homestead,' and wanted to remain in place to preserve the memories of lost loved ones.[16] The homestead acted as a physical space that preserved memories and emotions. It represented the success initial migration had brought, the stability of family life, and the legacy of generations. In apparent contrast to Native Americans, who Britton characterised as nomadic and with evanescent emotional memories, white families needed the stability of the home. John Russell Kelso's comment that many of his possessions, lost when his house was burned, 'could never be replaced', holds a different meaning considering Wiley Britton's explanation of the meanings of the home.[17] Just like paintings and libraries, memories and emotional attachments were irreplaceable. Many were therefore reluctant to leave them behind. Equally, gender and masculine ideals also undoubtedly played a role. As outlined in Chapter I, many Missourians were first- or second-generation immigrants, who had arrived in the state seeking to establish and prove their economic independence. To leave their homesteads, the marker of their success, behind, would be to place themselves in the hands of others, which ran counter to the expansionist, pioneering principals of the western United States.

The practical dangers found on the road were another factor that encouraged Missourians to remain at home. Knowing that inclement weather, banditry, and sickness were likely threats, many citizens proved willing to endure great hardships rather than risk travel. During Jim Lane's sacking of Osceola on 23 September 1861, John and Sarah Yeater's store and warehouse were burned to the ground, along with their home. After a few days of rough living, Sarah caught a fever that left her bedridden, but even after

[15] Wiley Britton, *Memoirs of the Rebellion on the Border, 1863* (Chicago: Cushing, Thomas, 1882), 339.
[16] Ibid., 339.
[17] Kelso, *Bloody Engagements*, 45.

recovery chose to remain in the ruins of Osceola. It was only after the withdrawal of Confederate forces in early December, two months after the attack, that John and Sarah Yeater finally began their journey south to Fayetteville, Arkansas.[18] In Springfield, Louisa Sheppard's grandmother delayed sending her and her brother south, despite the city being under Union control for much of the summer, and the family's experiences of 'troublesome and rude' German troops. Indeed, the Sheppard family was even willing to swear an oath of allegiance, allowing them to remain at home.[19] It was only on the afternoon of the Battle of Wilson's Creek, 10 August 1861, which was fought near Springfield, that Louisa and her brother, Will, were finally sent away, first to an uncle's farm in a neighbouring county, and then further south to a family plantation in Mississippi.[20] Having raised both children from a young age, it would doubtless have been a difficult decision for Louisa's grandmother to part with them, especially so in wartime. This was not just because of the physical dangers of travel, but also the emotional trauma it wrought. Throughout their lives, Louisa and her grandmother had lived in an in-person emotional community, but in August 1861 faced the prospect of that changing.

Once the decision had been made to leave home, the dangers of travel quickly became apparent. Due to a reluctance to flee, many refugees only moved when they had no other option, meaning they had little time to gather their possessions. The Lexington *Union* remarked on the state of Lafayette County's refugees in September 1863, stating that 'many of them are obliged to leave their furniture, stock, and in so many instances even their clothing.'[21] With huge numbers of people carrying only essentials, deaths on the road were inevitable. This created innumerable examples of both private and collective grief. One sad example that passed with little ceremony was witnessed by John Russell Kelso on the road to Illinois in the winter of 1861. During a bitterly cold night, a young woman gave birth. Both she and her new-born died soon after, their names forgotten by the wider collective amidst the suffering felt by all on the road north. Indeed,

[18] Sarah Janette Yeater, 'My Experience During the War Between the States,' *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 4 no. 1 (1945): 4-10.
[19] Sheppard, *A Confederate Girlhood*, 10-11.
[20] Ibid., 12-14.
[21] Lexington *Union*, 5 September 1863, quoted in *The Macon Gazette* 10 September 1863. That many were forced to leave behind larger possessions, from furniture to items such as pianos, would prove significant on their return home. In the months following the Confederate surrender, many Missourians searched for their stolen household items. For more, see Chapter VII, page 198.

Kelso's own infant son was himself desperately ill, and would die the following year, with profound consequences for Kelso and his private war.[22]

Elsewhere, however, the deaths of refugees received attention from a broader collective. In December 1861, at Topeka, Kansas, Samuel James Reader was one of several people who aided in the burial of a child refugee, driven from their home by pro-Confederates in Missouri. In a conversation with the child's father, Reader learned first-hand the realities of the war in Missouri. Describing the burial of the child, just one example of the brutality of guerrilla warfare, Reader called such events 'the most dreadful concomitants of war.'[23] This particular burial had caused a profound sadness in Samuel Reader, and presumably also in the others who had participated. The relative safety of urban centres allowed these moments of collective emotion to take place. This may help to explain local charitable efforts, such as the fifty dollars collected in St. Louis for refugees from the Ozarks in November 1861.[24] On the road, however, where one's primary concern was the safety of oneself and one's family, collective suffering did not always lead to the expression of collective emotions. Rather, the experience was more individualistic.

Not all refugees suffered equally. Class, wealth, and the direction of travel meant that the problems and emotions faced by refugees could be wildly different from person to person. Louisa Sheppard, for example, left Missouri in August 1861, and therefore did not face the same cold that battered refugees heading north during the following winter. Instead, the group she was travelling with had to navigate severe rainfall, which had swollen rivers and rotted bridges.[25] Her primary concern, however, was not a physical one, but rather emotional. Throughout her time in Mississippi, Louisa battled with homesickness, as her aunt's strict approach to discipline clashed with the easy upbringing she had enjoyed under her grandmother. Whereas before she had 'been raised with nothing but boy companions, and utter freedom,' Louisa Sheppard was often isolated from her brother Will, becoming very lonely.[26] In the antebellum era, Mathilde Decker

[22] Kelso, *Bloody Engagements*, 53. The flight north became a principal factor in the escalation of Kelso's commitment to the Union cause and the extermination of pro-Confederate guerrillas. His story is covered in more detail in Chapter VI.
[23] Editors, "The Letters of Samuel James Reader, 1861-1863,' *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 9 (February 1940): 49-50.
[24] *Daily Missouri Republican*, 30 November 1861.
[25] Sheppard, *Confederate Girlhood*, 14.
[26] Ibid., 17-18.

had experienced something similar on her arrival in the United States, having travelled from Germany. Staying with her uncle and aunt, Mathilde was made to wash her cousins' clothes, a task that had been done by maids in Germany.[27] For Louisa Sheppard, the context of the Civil War added a different dimension to her relationship with her aunt, who was often unkind. Years later, Louisa would rationalise this as being a consequence of her worrying about her husband, who was serving in the Confederate Army.[28] As part of a wealthy family, however, there were consolations that allowed Louisa to alleviate her loneliness and homesickness. Her uncle had a large library at the Mississippi plantation, and over the course of two years Louisa 'made some life-long friends' with many of the books. She used these as inspiration for stories which she told her brother, who 'never tired of my stories.'[29] Indeed, not only had the family library alleviated her own loneliness, but it had also deepened the emotional bond between Louisa and her brother. The loss of the library when the family again moved, this time to Hopkins County, Texas, would reignite Louisa's feelings of homesickness.[30]

Poorer refugees, or those who had been unable to take their possessions with them, had a very different experience compared to wealthy refugees such as Louisa Sheppard. The people subjected to banishment by General Order No. 11 in August 1863 were, unlike most victims of banishment, not given a specific place to go. Many were not permitted to go south. As a result, they wandered aimlessly through Missouri as refugees.[31] The counties neighbouring those depopulated by Order No. 11 found themselves inundated with people looking for beds and a roof. In Lexington, Lafayette County, the town hall was filled after only a few days, along with every vacant house in the city. Nearby villages experienced similar overcrowding, whilst the roads around Lexington were littered with campsites established by those not fortunate enough to find a room.[32] Competition for space was a common issue for refugees throughout the Civil War. In the winter of 1861-62, as Sarah and John Yeater headed south towards Arkansas, they travelled through Springfield. On arrival in the town, they would experience the

[27] 'Battles of a Soldiers' Wife,' 5, Decker Family Files, *MHS*.
[28] Sheppard, *Confederate Girlhood*, 17.
[29] Ibid., 17-18.
[30] Ibid., 39-40.
[31] Mrs W. H. Gregg, 'Can Forgive, But Never Forget,' in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*, 27.
[32] Lexington *Union*, 5 September 1863, quoted in *The Macon Gazette* 10 September 1863.

problem of overcrowding first-hand. For one night, the family was unable to find a bed, and so Sarah and her baby had to sleep outside in the middle of December.[33] These examples demonstrate the limits of charity and sympathy. The citizens of towns and cities such as Lexington did what they could for refugees, offering them what space was available, but these ad hoc measures were insufficient given the magnitude of the problem. Even amongst refugees themselves, there was little room for collective sympathy. Some may well have looked at those around them with pity, as John Russell Kelso did when he watched a young woman give birth, but ultimately had to look after their own families.

Though a lack of possessions could encourage acts of sympathy, such as opening the doors of town halls to give people a place to sleep, it could also lead to mistrust. The few belongings that many carried with them were constantly vulnerable to theft, either by fellow travellers or by the innumerable bandits who plagued Missouri's roads. Sarah Yeater recalled hiding valuables and money amongst 'necessary articles for the babe', where it was hoped they would remain concealed if the family was stopped and searched.[34] The dangers of travelling had clearly manifested fear amongst those forced to make journeys through a warzone. But the fear associated with poverty also extended to those who watched as penniless refugees passed by their houses. Hushed warnings of, 'There come the refugees, take in your clothes', were commonplace throughout Missouri, a stark contrast to the more sympathetic tone that newspapers such as the *Daily Missouri Republican* had taken.[35] As they watched the lines of people pass by, many viewed refugees with suspicion, fearing that their poverty would drive them to steal to replace what they had lost. There was, therefore, an interesting emotional dynamic along Missouri's roads. Those lacking possessions, and in need of support, hoped for assistance from those watching them pass by. What they sometimes received, however, was fear and suspicion.

Fears from bystanders directed at refugees may have come from a deeper societal concern at the uncertainty that refugees represented. In the Civil War era United States,

[33] Yeater, 'My Experience During the War Between the States,' 10-11.
[34] Ibid., 10.
[35] Mrs. Frances Fristoe Twyman, 'Reminiscences of the War,' in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*, 264.

the stability and permanence of the household and the family unit was paramount. Indeed, when the initial call for volunteers was made across the North at the beginning of the conflict, married men who did not answer were not generally regarded as shirking their duty – this was reserved for unmarried young men, or those who did not work to support their family.[36] Ultimately, duty to family could prove as important, if not more so, than patriotic duty.[37] White refugees reflected an uncomfortable reality of civil war – that efforts to maintain the household could easily be undone. Emotional communities were very fluid and could adapt to operate at a distance, as was commonly done during the Civil War. But this was not a desirable outcome for many, who sought to avoid separation and displacement whenever possible. The rituals of emotional expression that people used within their communities relied on in-person interactions – for example familial reading sessions.[38] Refugees were an uncomfortable reminder that one of the core foundations of white American society was under serious threat. There were, then, two reasons for the fear and suspicion that followed refugees as they made their way through Missouri. One was a general distaste of vagrancy and those without a home, a fear that those who did not have property would steal from those who did. But given the importance of the household as a stabilising institution within the Civil War era United States, it seems that this reflected a deeper anxiety about the potential damage that the conflict could cause to the family unit.

If the sight of poor white refugees on the roads reflected a source of anxiety for Missourians watching them, it was doubly the case for black refugees. Missouri's urban centres, especially St. Louis, saw an influx of emancipated enslaved people throughout the war. As the Union Army made its way further into the Mississippi Valley and the lower South, increasing numbers of black refugees sought safety within its lines. This was despite the contradictory stances of Union commanders towards escaped slaves, which continued even after the Emancipation Proclamation was declared.[39] Many black refugees

[36] William Blair, 'We Are Coming Father Abraham – Eventually: The Problem of Northern Nationalism in the Pennsylvania Recruiting Drives of 1862,' in Joan E. Cashin (ed.) *The War Was You and Me: Civilians in the American Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 189.
[37] See also, J. Matthew Gallman, *Defining Duty in the Civil War: Personal Choice, Popular Culture, and the Union Home Front* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 26.
[38] Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, 'Cannonballs and Books: Reading and the Disruption of Social Ties on the New England Home Front,' in Cashin, *The War Was You and Me*, 244.
[39] For example, Samuel R. Curtis had declared any escaped slave arriving in his lines at Helena, Arkansas, to be emancipated from January 1862, long before he had any official authority to do so. When Curtis left

did not remain near military encampments, instead choosing to make the journey north to Missouri, from where they could more easily reach free states. With many travelling via the Mississippi River, St. Louis became what William McGovern has described as a 'beacon of safety' – a place of refuge from which formerly enslaved people could then continue on to states further north.[40] Referring to St. Louis as a 'beacon' does, however, overlook the emotional challenges and trauma that the journey from the Deep South caused. Amy Murrell Taylor acknowledges the distances involved as a severe challenge for formerly enslaved people. Women such as Eliza Bogen, an enslaved woman in Phillips County, Arkansas, faced not just the prospect of a long and dangerous journey with an uncertain end, but also the emotional trauma of leaving behind everything she knew, especially her children and husband.[41] The decision to flee, taken independently, required a great deal of courage, and a willingness to potentially leave loved ones behind. This was not a problem that only white refugees faced.

In addition to the thousands of black refugees who arrived in Missouri from the south, the state also saw widespread self-emancipation among its own enslaved population. Flight had been a common form of rebellion throughout the antebellum era, a means by which enslaved people could defy their enslavers. Bordered on three sides by free states, flight acted as a constant thorn in the sides of white enslavers. Indeed, during the Civil War itself many white Southerners who travelled to Missouri found that their slaves quickly took advantage of this. In October 1862, one slaveholding woman arrived in St. Louis from the South, bringing with her several enslaved people. Having entered the city, she discovered that her 'negroes have taken Mr Lincoln's advice, they are independent for the present'.[42] Though her implicit threat was that this was 'only for the present', recapture was far easier said than done when freedom lay so close. Enslaved people living in Missouri were likewise aware of this. Some runaways in the antebellum

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Helena for his command in Missouri however, Brig. Gen. Frederick Steele took command in Helena, with the conservative Democrat preferring an approach of appeasement with the pro-Confederates of the city. In September 1862, Steele formally turned course, and restricted refugees welcome in Union lines to solely those who could be employed. See Taylor, *Embattled Freedom*, 106-08.

[40] William McGovern, '"City of Refuge": Child Refugees and Soldiers' Orphans in Civil War St. Louis,' *Civil War History* 65 no. 4 (December 2019): 343.

[41] Taylor, *Embattled Freedom*, 122. For more on the relationships between enslaved people, which contextualises Bogen's decision, see Rebecca Fraser, *Courtship and Love Among the Enslaved in North Carolina* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007).

[42] W. Delarue to C. M. Sloan, 22 October 1862, Unassociated Civil War Documents 1862, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC08483.01.

era had little intention of actually escaping Missouri, instead using the act as a threat to leverage better conditions for themselves. Delicia Patterson, for example, ran from her enslavers after being hit with a fly brush, the beating having, 'made me so mad I just went straight to the kitchen left all the dishes, put on my sunbonnet and run away.' Delicia stayed in the woods for two weeks before returning, apparently to little consequence, though she remembered that 'no one bothered me anymore'.[43]

The disorder of the guerrilla war, however, profoundly changed the meaning of flight. It created new challenges and dangers, but also opportunities. As Kristen Epps has noted, many enslaved people lived in a guerrilla household, a fact supported by Don Bowen's analysis of the socio-economic backgrounds of Missouri's guerrilla fighters.[44] With guerrilla households reliant on enslaved labour for agriculture and daily tasks before the Civil War, it stands to reason that they also played a significant role in the domestic supply line. As a result of their involvement in supplying guerrilla bands, many enslaved people had intimate knowledge of the guerrilla fighters and their actions. Dave Harper, for example, regularly delivered mail to Bill Anderson's men when they camped in Montgomery County.[45] Rhody Holsell claimed that she had aided the notorious bushwhacker Sam Hildebrand on several occasions, carrying him food and keeping watch for Union patrols while he ate. Holsell even lied to Union soldiers who were searching for Hildebrand, though it is unclear whether she did this out of loyalty or fear of punishment.[46] Missouri's enslaved population was clearly deeply embedded in the guerrilla war.

With enslaved people playing such an important role in the guerrilla supply line, and armed with personal knowledge of guerrilla activities, the act of flight was given a new meaning. It created new opportunities for rebellion, even revenge, rather than simply leaving one's enslaver. In March 1863, in Chariton County, Collins Coy found himself accused of aiding bushwhackers in the area, with a search of his property revealing horses presumed to belong to guerrillas. The search was carried out under the direction of the Chariton provost marshal, who had been informed that Coy was disloyal by 'Abe', a young

[43] Federal Writers' Project, Vol. X, Missouri, 272-73.
[44] Epps, *Slavery on the Periphery*, 158. Bowen, 'Guerrilla War in Western Missouri,' 30-51.
[45] Federal Writers' Project, Vol. X, Missouri, 166.
[46] Federal Writers' Project, Vol. X, Missouri, 195-96.

man enslaved by Coy, who had fled from bondage. On arrival, he explained to the provost marshal that he had been forced to feed bushwhackers and tend to their horses, specifying that it was against his will.[47] Abe may have had several reasons for turning his enslaver in, not least in the hope that he would be offered sanctuary despite Missouri having been excluded from the Emancipation Proclamation.[48] Given the body of work done to establish the importance of flight as an act of rebellion, however, it is almost certain that Abe was motivated by a desire for revenge against Coy. If so, this would suggest that Abe's decision to flee and become a refugee was not only out of an emotional desire for liberty, but was also motivated by a deep-rooted anger against his enslaver.

Recognition of this emotional dynamic is key to more fully understanding black refugees. The decision of some to flee their enslavers was motivated not just by the hope of a better life, but also as a very active means of resistance. In contrast to Delicia Patterson's antebellum flight, which was a non-violent form of defiance, aimed at improving her position within a slave society, Abe's was a concerted effort at obtaining revenge. Moreover, it was one that was only possible within an environment of guerrilla warfare. Abe's case demonstrates that enslaved people had the ability to take advantage of the culture of rumour and information that facilitated guerrilla warfare and counterinsurgency policies throughout Missouri's guerrilla conflict. The conditions endured by formerly enslaved people in contraband camps were appalling, and the suffering endured within them is an important part of the narrative of refugees, as discussed in the second half of this chapter. Yet it is important that the agency that these people demonstrated in the act of flight is not lost within this.

With so many enslaved people deciding to emancipate themselves, white slaveholders made efforts to prevent anyone from fleeing. The guerrilla war saw the use of patrols to capture runaway slaves, as had been common practice in the antebellum era. Slaveholders themselves carried out this task on occasion, though the job was often done by pro-Confederate guerrillas, possibly out of a recognition that escaped slaves represented a more immediate threat than just undermining the slave society. With intimate knowledge of guerrilla bands, some carried with them potentially damaging

[47] reel F1242, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, Collins Coy, Chariton County.
[48] Abe's fate is uncertain; however, the provost marshal's report indicates that he was given free papers and hired out to a 'good Union man'.

testimony. In addition to this, many guerrillas could anticipate that they would one day inherit at least a portion of their family's wealth, which frequently included more slaves than found in non-guerrilla households.[49] In dealing with black refugees, pro-Confederate guerrillas were therefore fighting for both their immediate and long-term futures.

The threat of violence, that the guerrilla bands would show no mercy to runaways, was used as a tool with which to discourage enslaved people from escaping. As was the case in other aspects of the guerrilla war, fear was the objective of the guerrilla and their allies. Emily Ely repeatedly warned the enslaved people of her household in Monroe County that, if any attempted to flee, 'somebody would catch us and kill us.'[50] Other measures included the use of passes, which were required in some areas in order to travel to a neighbouring farm, one man recalling, 'if we didn't have a pass de paddyrollers would get us and kill us'.[51] The guerrilla bands who hunted escaped slaves were always keen to make examples of their prey, weaponising fear to discourage others from attempting the same. On one occasion, Peter Lee, an enslaved man in Platte County, was offered safe passage to Kansas by men who claimed to be pro-abolitionists, which he wisely declined. They were, in fact, a part of Quantrill's guerrilla band, and had planned on murdering Lee if he had accepted their offer of help. [52] Others were not so lucky. In August 1863, a large party of black refugees sought safety with the Fourth Missouri Infantry, but were turned away out of a fear that their presence would attract the attention of guerrillas. According to Brig. Gen. Ewing, most of the party was killed the next day in an ambush by guerrillas.[53]

When enslaved people made the decision to flee, they did so with a mixture of emotions. Hope for a better life motivated them to leave their enslavers, but in doing so they had to navigate an extremely perilous situation that was further complicated by the limits of the Emancipation Proclamation. Enslaved people living in border states such as Missouri were not freed under its terms. Emma Smith was a toddler when the Civil War began, at which point she was taken to Arkansas by her enslavers, along with the rest of her family. Freed by Union soldiers on the road, however, she was returned to Springfield,

[49] Bowen, 'Guerrilla War in Western Missouri,' 30–51.
[50] Federal Writers' Project, Vol. X, Missouri, 219.
[51] Federal Writers' Project, Vol. X, Missouri, 33.
[52] Epps, *Slavery on the Periphery*, 158.
[53] Thomas Ewing Jr. to C. W. Marsh, August 3, 1863, in Berlin, et al., Freedom: A Documentary History, 229.

Missouri, where she recalled her family as having no knowledge of 'how to provide for ourselves.' As a result, they returned to their enslavers, knowing that there they would, if nothing else, find shelter and food. The Frémont Emancipation in August 1861, however, temporarily freed Emma's family, leaving them hiding in a nearby log cabin for several months. During this time, they lived under the constant threat of reenslavement, owing to the withdrawal of Frémont's order in September 1861. One night, the family's enslavers found them, and captured Emma's older sister, forcing her back into slavery.[54] Forced to journey to Canada, Emma Smith and her family lived under constant uncertainty due to the contradictory stance of the federal government on slavery in the border states. Unlike white refugees, whose fearful emotions concerned the physical safety of themselves and their property, formerly enslaved people also faced the ambiguity of their position as citizens of the Union.

This uncertainty may have contributed to the fear that many black refugees felt when faced with white soldiers, whether Union or Confederate. Many avoided white soldiers as much as possible, keeping together in small, independent groups. Robert Bryant's family was caught up by Price's Raid in 1864, the family being intercepted on the road from Pilot Knob to St. Louis by Confederate soldiers. Indicative of the frequently opportunistic nature of flight, the enslaved people fled both the soldiers and their enslaver, heading for the woods. Robert became separated from his family and would later recall being alone for some three days.[55] The separation of enslaved families during flight was a common occurrence throughout Missouri and the Mississippi Valley, undoubtedly adding further emotional pressures to refugee life.[56] Eventually, Robert was found by another family, who looked after him for three weeks, before he was reunited with his mother. During this period, the group remained on the move, never staying in one place for more than a few hours, out of fear for bushwhackers pursuing runaway slaves.[57] Even under such conditions, many refugees, including the Bryant family, declined to seek aid from Union soldiers. Joe Higgerson, an enslaved man on a farm near Boonville,

[54] Emma J. Ray, *Twice Sold, Twice Ransomed: The Autobiography of Mr and Mrs L. P. Ray* (Chicago: The Free Methodist Publishing House, 1926), 17-20.
[55] Federal Writers' Project, Vol. X, Missouri, 61.
[56] See for example, Taylor, *Embattled Freedom*, 122.
[57] Federal Writers' Project, Vol. X, Missouri, 62.

recalled his terror when 'some Federal soldiers come and done scared me so bad,' an incident which further suggests that many enslaved people felt safer in small groups.[58]

For any Missourians who, willingly or otherwise, became a refugee during the guerrilla war, life on the road was hard. Leaving home and everything that was familiar entailed a great deal of emotional trauma, from uncertainties about when or if one would return, to fears about their physical safety. For enslaved people, the ambiguous nature of their position within the Union added an extra element of fear, with their fates often tied to the actions of white soldiers and officials. It is to these wider emotional worlds that the focus of this chapter will now turn, as they were pivotal in defining the experience of both white and black refugees.

Refugees in Wider Emotional Communities

The individual fears and uncertainties that refugees in Missouri carried with them were only one way that emotions affected their experiences on the road. Refugees, whether black or white, were usually reliant on others for aid. Sometimes this would come in the form of charitable donations from non-combatants, whilst others would be reliant on the Union Army for support. Practicality naturally played a role in determining what, if any, aid a refugee would receive. The Union Army had no clear guidance on how to deal with civilians appealing for material support, despite the Lieber Code making it clear that displacement was an expected, if brutal, aspect of modern warfare. With encampments often short on supplies for their own personnel, it was therefore often a matter for individual officers to judge who was deserving of aid. This decision, in the absence of regulations, frequently came down to emotions. As previously discussed, the stability and permanence of the household was a crucial aspect of nineteenth-century American society. Those living a life on the road represented a reality that was at odds with the ideal of the family and the household, and so were regarded with mistrust and suspicion. Unable to support themselves, they would have to prove that any aid given would only be temporary – that they were not seeking permanent handouts.

[58] Ibid., 177.

A common theme encountered when discussing aid and support in the nineteenth-century United States is the concept of 'worthiness'. This refers to the ways in which individuals and groups were determined to be deserving of support from those with the means to provide it. Daryl Michael Scott, considering social attitudes towards African Americans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, suggested the existence of a dichotomy between pity and contempt. Scott warned that the two emotions were the opposite sides of the same coin, and as such one could easily become the other.[59] In order to elicit pity, and therefore receive aid, one needed to establish the common bonds shared between themselves and those with aid to give, as well as show that any handout would not lead to a life of idleness. This problem was faced by many throughout the Civil War era United States, from enslaved people and abolitionists in the antebellum era, to the countless wounded and maimed veterans produced by the sectional conflict. As Sarah E. Gardner notes, factors such as drunkenness and profligacy could lead to contempt, and consequently deny individuals the support they needed.[60] The distinction between pity and contempt was therefore a very fine emotional line, one that refugees would have to navigate if they were to receive aid.

In assessing the wider responses to refugees in the guerrilla war, it can sometimes be difficult to draw a line between actions that were motivated by practicality, and those with more emotional imperatives. An example of this is in the responses by Union soldiers towards enslaved people. The liberation of Missouri's slave population served a vital purpose in eliminating insurgents, because of the important role that slavery played in the domestic supply line. Attacks by jayhawkers on guerrilla households served a practical purpose by denying fighters in the brush the benefits of slave labour, whether direct or indirect. Therefore, when guerrilla households, and those connected indirectly with irregular warfare, were raided, enslaved people were usually removed. Margaret Hays, whose husband Upton maintained an allegiance with local guerrilla bands, had her home in Jackson County raided by fifty-three jayhawkers in November 1861. During the raid, the guerrillas liberated the family's eleven slaves, who Margaret indicated left happily, as 'the

[59] Daryl Michael Scott, *Contempt and Pity: Social Policy and the Image of the Damaged Black Psyche, 1880–1996* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).
[60] Sarah E. Gardner, 'When Service Is Not Enough: Charity's Purpose in the Immediate Aftermath of the Civil War,' *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 9 no. 1 (March 2019): 35-37.

idea of being free seemed a great inducement to them.' A similar raid at the Yeager household, who aided in supplying guerrillas, allowed for the liberation of their eight slaves.[61] Just as the removal of white men and women disrupted the domestic supply line, so too did the liberation of enslaved people.

Whether or not liberation would lead to continued aid was, however, a more complicated matter. It was reliant on the emotional imperative behind freeing enslaved people. Emma Smith's family, liberated on the road to Arkansas in August 1861 and sent back to Springfield, Missouri, were left to their own devices. Given no formal aid from the soldiers who had freed them, and with no way of providing for themselves, they were forced to return to their enslavers.[62] This case study would suggest that Emma and her family had been freed for immediate practical purposes – to deny the South access to their labour. Had there been a strong emotional reasoning behind the decision, then at least some form of permanent aid would be expected. This was certainly the case for many enslaved people liberated by Kansas soldiers, who held strong abolitionist sentiments. Andrew Williams and his family were liberated by the Sixth Kansas Cavalry near Mount Vernon in September 1862. Along with several other families who had agreed to go to Kansas, they were taken to Fort Scott, where they were given shelter for the winter. The following spring, the Williams family moved to Lawrence, having found employment.[63] Whilst there, they witnessed Quantrill's men attack the town in August 1863. Their status as emancipated slaves meant that their experience of the Lawrence Massacre was very different from that of the white townsfolk, with the threat of reenslavement or lynching a very real possibility.[64]

For some soldiers, particularly those from Kansas, the liberation of enslaved people was not a means to an end, but a goal in and of itself. Abolitionists living on both sides of the Kansas-Missouri border had a long-earned reputation for liberating slaves during the Bleeding Kansas years. Whether serving in Kansas regiments, or in irregular jayhawker units, these men brought with them into the guerrilla war a distinct border

[61] Margaret J. Hays Letter to Mother, 12 November 1861, Hays Family Papers, *MHS*. Richard "Dick" Yeager rode with Quantrill's men, but also frequently collaborated with Upton Hays' cavalry regiment, which may be why Margaret specifically mentioned the Yeager household.
[62] Emma J. Ray, *Twice Sold, Twice Ransomed*, 17-20.
[63] Doback, 'The Narrative of Former Slave Andrew Williams,' 239-40.
[64] Ibid., 237-42.

identity, built upon their opposition to the supporters of slavery. The importance of this identity is reflected in A. J. McRoberts's desire that his new-born son be named 'Jim Lain', after the jayhawker, and his desire to teach him 'radicalism and to hate rebs'.[65] Elsewhere, Kansas soldiers would brag during the war about the households they had burned, and the property they had stolen.[66] Removing enslaved people from the households of Missouri's Southern population by border abolitionists was an inevitable consequence of an identity built on anger and conflict against each other. As a result, black refugees fleeing slavery were more likely to find aid in Kansas, due to the worthiness of their cause.

To a lesser extent, this was also true of Union soldiers who had no direct association with the abolitionist movement. Practical necessity joined with pity to encourage some to aid enslaved people, a fact that Southerners in Missouri were all too aware of. The Kennett family's lead mine in Shibboleth, Washington County, lost most of its enslaved workforce in 1862, with an investigation suggesting that many had pro-actively fled to 'some camp of Federal soldiers in this vicinity.'[67] Ten days later, it was suggested that soldiers of the 5th Missouri Infantry, encamped nearby, were encouraging the Kennett's enslaved people to flee.[68] The 5th Missouri was a predominantly German regiment, and the singling out of this particular unit perhaps reflects the common view that German immigrants were radical abolitionists. Whilst at face value this suggests that some soldiers were motivated by an emotional, moral imperative to aid enslaved people, the extent of abolitionist sentiment amongst Missouri's German population was, as Kristen Anderson demonstrates, heavily exaggerated by Southerners. Most Germans were preoccupied with upholding the Union and proving their worth to their country. John Latty, an agent working to recover enslaved people for the Kennett family, may well have subscribed to the common fear that radical immigrants were working to undermine Missouri's slave society. [69] This is not to say that there was never a genuine desire to aid enslaved people within the Union Army in Missouri. In October 1861, for example, Joseph H. Trego noted that some two hundred runaways were being escorted to Kansas.[70] This

[65] A. J. McRoberts Letter to Mollie, 18 November 1863, A. J. McRoberts Papers, C0375, *SHSMO*.
[66] reel F1390, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, James Richards, Cass County.
[67] John Latty, Letter to Mr. L. M. Kennett, 9 September 1862, Box 2, Kennett Family Papers, A238, *MHS*.
[68] John Latty, Letter to Mr. L. M. Kennett, 20 September 1862, Box 2, Kennett Family Papers, *MHS*.
[69] Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*.
[70] Quoted in Epps, *Slavery on the Periphery*, 160.

required men and resources that could have been used elsewhere but were instead used to ensure that enslaved people reached a free state. In such cases, a genuine desire to aid enslaved people may have existed alongside the practical benefit of denying labour to the South.

By contrast, the emotional imperatives behind the aid given to Missouri's white refugees is much more evident. From the very beginning of the refugee crisis in the winter of 1861-62, the conditions of the civilians forced to flee their homes had manifested a collective feeling of pity. This existed at both a state and at a national level. At its broadest level, a sense of this pity can be found in publications such as *Harper's Weekly*. In December 1861, the magazine described the condition of Unionist refugees arriving in St. Louis from south-east Missouri. Alongside an accompanying image (see fig. v) showing their plight, refugees were said to be 'half-naked, benumbed with cold'. Whilst the image and the description itself were clearly intended to foster pity, the writer went further and explicitly called for aid, highlighting an emotional drive. In St. Louis, the appearance of the refugees has 'excited the liveliest sympathy, and it is evident that something must be done for these destitute people, or they will die outright of starvation.'[71] Later editions of *Harper's Weekly* were keen to stress that, once in Union lines, refugees were 'invariably provided for in every possible way.'[72] This was somewhat misleading, as it implied an organised, concerted effort by the Union Army to provide for refugees. In fact, this was as reliant on individual officers and enlisted men being moved to pity as the charitable efforts by civilians.

Additionally, the depictions of the refugees themselves changed in later illustrations. Whereas the December 1861 illustration showed refugees barefoot, clothed in rags, and desperate for aid, later work tells a very different story. An illustration produced in September 1863 (see fig. vi), depicts 'Southern exiles on their way north,' and gives a greater sense of the scale of the refugee crisis. Featuring white and black refugees, young and old, caught in a thunderstorm, the image is clearly trying to evoke a sense of pity. But the difference between the figures at the centre of the image, when compared

[71] *Harper's Weekly*, 28 December 1861.
[72] *Harper's Weekly*, 19 September 1863; *Harper's Weekly*, 5 November 1864.

Fig. v., *Harper's Weekly*, 28 December 1861, image accessed at [www.harpweek.com] – accessed 10/11/2018.

Fig. vi., *Harper's Weekly*, 19 September 1863, images accessed at [ww.harpweek.com] – accessed 14/11/2018.

to those in the December 1861 illustration, suggest a change in attitude. The male refugee in the centre is, unlike his 1861 counterpart, fully clothed including boots, a protective arm around his young wife. He carries a rifle, a loyal dog at his side. This man is shown as ready to defend himself and those he travels with, a far less passive figure than can be found in the 1861 illustration. Both men would have been the object of pity, however, as the refugee crisis wore on, and the practicalities of providing for thousands became increasingly obvious, the 1863 figure proved more acceptable. Shown fulfilling the masculine ideal of a protector, the later illustration clearly demonstrates the intersection between manly values and wider emotional communities. Pity would be far more forthcoming to those men who embodied the wider gender values of the nineteenth-century United States.

Some officers did feel pity. In November 1861, at approximately the same time as John Kelso and his family were beginning their journey north, Captain Robert H. Carnahan, serving in the 3rd Illinois Cavalry, noted the sight of refugees filling the roads. On 16 November, Carnahan saw that, 'roads are filled with moovers the town of Springfield has not this day over 30 families left they all follow the army'.[73] One family in particular caught Carnahan's attention, an elderly man, his wife, and their daughter, a schoolteacher, who had left Springfield without having secured any form of transport. In a letter to his wife, Carnahan stated that he intended to try and find the family, and if successful would send them to the Carnahan's home in Danville, Illinois. Carnahan, perhaps anticipating some resistance from his wife, assured her that 'you would cry all the time to see the poor people here it is all that I can do to keep the tears back'.[74] In doing so, Carnahan was appealing to what he assumed would be a collective emotional community – one that valued pity when dealing with refugees. In his mind, no one who had seen what was on the roads north of Springfield could fail to experience pity. Other Union officers dealing with refugees in outposts throughout Missouri likewise emphasised their helplessness when justifying their need for support. For example, Margaret Howard arrived in Kansas City on 26 July 1864, her three young children in tow. In poor health, and with her husband away on service with the 1st Kansas Cavalry, she was in 'a state of utter destitution'. After

[73] Robert H. Carnahan Letter to Mrs Carnahan, 16 November 1861, available at [https://www.sos.mo.gov/mdh] – accessed 30/10/2018.
[74] Ibid.

'careful investigation' to establish her legitimacy, she was given permission to draw rations on the same day she arrived.[75]

Margaret Howard's case implies that there was at least some form of organised system through which refugees could receive aid from Union outposts. Nevertheless, this required the officer in command to assess the refugee's worthiness in order to initiate this process. The report detailing Margaret's situation made particular note of her husband's service in the Union Army, which proved her loyalty to the Federal Government. Generally, civilians who had relatives in the service of the Confederacy, or who were known as sympathetic to the South, were less likely to receive aid. Indeed, many pro-Confederates in Missouri had little intention of accepting such aid, choosing instead to go south in search of friends and relatives who could assist them.[76] Others, however, chose to remain in Missouri. Some made this decision because of their emotional ties to their homes and family. For example, in January 1864 Lizzie Brannock was loath to move away from her husband, held as a prisoner of war in Missouri, despite her two young children suffering the aftermath of a jayhawker raid that had 'stripped us of nearly everything'.[77]

For other pro-Confederates, the decision to remain in Missouri was not theirs to make, chiefly those banished from the border counties under General Orders No. 11. The stipulation that none were permitted to travel south meant that banishment had left thousands of these people as refugees. Some, such as Mattie Tate, found refuge with their extended family, using their support networks as many did.[78] Many others, however, were left to wander aimlessly, as Lizzie Hook noted, and left reliant on the mercy of strangers, their fellow Southern sympathisers.[79] In doing so, they were reliant on the availability of an emotional community that viewed the victims of Orders No. 11 with sympathy, and not contempt. One such community was found in Clay County, where dozens of citizens petitioned that refugees be allowed to remain in the county, as long as

[75] reel F1344, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, Margaret Howard, Jackson County.
[76] Louisa Sheppard is one example of this, continually moved further and further south, away from her childhood home. Some couples who married in secret also undertook journeys south, voluntarily becoming refugees. See for example Mrs W. H. Gregg, 'Can Forgive, But Never Forget,' in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*, 29-30.
[77] Lizzie E. Brannock Letter to Edwin White, 13 January 1864, Lizzie E. Brannock Letter, 1 Folder, C0224, *SHSMO*.
[78] See, Mattie Jane Tate Letter to Cousin Mary, 14 December 1864.
[79] See, Mrs W. H. Gregg, 'Can Forgive, But Never Forget,' in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*, 30.

they were 'quiet'.[80] In a pro-Confederate emotional community, the sectional allegiance of the victims of General Orders No. 11 meant that they were deserving of pity and therefore of aid. By contrast, the federal authorities felt little imperative to help those who had been proven disloyal.

The Union Army operated with the aim of both supporting refugees and punishing the disloyal. Some commanders acted on their own initiative to support people in individual cases, but this could not be done on a large scale. Whilst Margaret Howard or Emaline Demasters, who were married to Union soldiers, could quickly be determined as being worthy of aid, for someone like Mary J. Allison, a refugee from the guerrilla stronghold Cass County, the decision was less clear-cut for Union officers dealing with thousands of cases.[81] On a broader scale, John F. Bradbury Jr. has noted that certain strategies were designed 'more toward punishing sympathisers than meeting the growing expense of relief,' specifically the use of assessments against disloyal citizens.[82] George Kingsland, for example, was ordered to pay a sum of $400 in December 1861 in order to alleviate the suffering of refugees from south-west Missouri by rebel forces. This demand fits into a pattern of orders against Kingsland, including the seizure of further property, including two horses, in February 1862.[83] Eventually, the use of assessments was suspended by Lincoln in 1863, in part because its unpopularity vastly outweighed the practice's actual benefit. Given the recognition that assessments had little impact on the suffering of refugees, it begs the question of whether such aid efforts were motivated by sympathetic charity, or by a desire to punish.

The fine line between sympathy and contempt was not, however, a problem unique to pro-Southerners in Missouri. Unionists and black refugees were similarly impacted by the need to ensure that any aid given was temporary, designed to restore people's independence. A prevailing fear surrounding the refugee crisis in Missouri was that it would lead to a population permanently dependent on charity, a debate that was held elsewhere in the nineteenth century United States, for example regarding wounded

[80] reel F1602, Union Provost Marshals' File Two or More Citizens, *MSA*, Johnathan Jones et. al., Clay County.
[81] reel F1344, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, Margaret Howard, Jackson County; reel F1618, Union Provost Marshals' File Two or More Citizens, *MSA*, Emaline Desmasters, Jackson County; reel F1216, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, Mary J. Allison, Pettis County.
[82] Bradbury, 'Buckwheat Cake Philanthropy,' 240-41.
[83] Kingsland Family Papers, 1 Folder, A459, *MHS*.

veterans.[84] In Missouri, newspaper reports of the refugee crisis regularly expressed concerns that aid would lead to idleness, often from a racist standpoint. The St. Joseph *Morning Herald* reported that, of the thousands of refugees arriving at camps in Rolla, Springfield, St. Louis, and Pilot Knob, a number were 'shifty, lazy, improvident fellows – hangers on to the better fortunes of others.' Given that many of these refugees were escaped former slaves, it is quite possible that racial prejudices gave rise to such descriptions. Fears that enslaved people, once emancipated, would surrender to idleness and alcoholism were a common trope in the Civil War era, including among northerners and abolitionists. Such individuals could not be given aid, only the deserving.[85] In 1865, *The North Missourian* reported on a female refugee from the south, whose son had refused to work 'like a nigger' and preferred to spend his days 'eating Government rations and warming himself by the fire provided by the Government, and yet he is utterly opposed to getting wood for his own quarters.'[86] It is likely that this story was designed to play on the common Northern perception of southerners as lazy due to their reliance on slave labour, reinforcing the idea that such people were unworthy of assistance. Sympathy could result in the distribution of aid. But if that aid was deemed to be misused, sympathy could very easily turn to contempt.

Private charitable efforts were often concerned with ensuring that those appealing for aid were worthy. Sectional allegiance played a role in this evaluation. Citizens arriving in Missouri's urban centres were regarded with suspicion if they were not loyal to the Union. This also extended to the aid offered to orphans and refugees, as William McGovern notes. For children arriving in St. Louis, whether accompanied by a parent or not, the assistance offered by individuals and charitable organisations such as the Western Sanitary Commission (WSC) was affected by sectional tensions and racial prejudice. In comparison to those children whose fathers had died in service to the Union, formerly enslaved children, as well as white children from the south, were regarded with suspicion. These latter groups, especially black children, were encouraged into the labour market from a young age to make them independent, in contrast to the gentler care

[84] See, Sarah F. Rose, *No Right to be Idle: The Invention of Disability, 1840s-1930s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).
[85] St. Joseph *Morning Herald*, 14 July 1864.
[86] *The North Missourian*, 16 February 1865.

received by soldiers' orphans.[87] Another charitable organisation, the Contraband Relief Society, St. Louis, was quick to reassure potential donors that all aid would go to women and children, whilst men were employed by the government. Moreover, one of the society's stated aims was to 'furnish those who can work with employment' if some had not been given any.[88] In other words, shirkers were not worthy of charity – this was the second test of worthiness. Even then, this attitude may well have been influenced by sectional allegiance and northern preconceptions about southerners. The WSC president James Yeatman held a dim view of southerners due to their perceived lack of education and belief that labour was degrading because 'niggers work'.[89] His words echo the opinion of the *North Missourian* regarding the Southern work ethic, and undoubtedly influenced the distribution of aid by the WSC.

There was also clear evidence of a preoccupation with making refugees independent in the Union Army's approach. This was, in part, born out of practical necessity. It was simply not sustainable to offer support to thousands of refugees for the duration of the war – they would have to be moved into independent life. An example of this policy can be found in the winter of 1864-65, following Sterling Price's raid into Missouri during the previous autumn. This had created another large refugee crisis, which posed a serious logistical problem for the Union Army in Missouri, which was already dealing with Unionist refugees arriving from locations as far away as Texas.[90] Grenville Dodge, then commanding the Department of the Missouri, encouraged local district commanders to use refugees to populate abandoned farms and reduce the need for government support.[91] This measure served two purposes. It gave refugees the means with which to support themselves and remain independent of federal aid. But it also helped Missouri's rebuilding process, ensuring that crops could be planted, and labourers put to work. The emotional need to avoid contempt therefore influenced federal policy, encouraging practical measures that both aided refugees and prevented dependence.

[87] McGovern, 'City of Refuge,' 343-72.
[88] Contraband Relief Society Circular Letter, February 1863, 1 Item, B132, *MHS*.
[89] Quoted in McGovern, 'City of Refuge,' 355.
[90] See for example, reel F1202, Union Provost Marshals' File Individual Citizens, *MSA*, W. M. Albin, Greene County.
[91] Bradbury, 'Buckwheat Cake Philanthropy,' 252.

For formerly enslaved people newly escaped to Union lines, similar aspirations were held that they could quickly be put to work. For some, this meant labouring within Union encampments, whilst for the thousands sent on into refugee centres located from Leavenworth, Kansas, to St. Louis, Missouri, employment had to be found independently. With the shortage of labour due to young men being away on service, many black men and women found work on farms, though such employment was seasonal.[92] This work anticipated the post-war experiences of many former slaves, who as Delicia Patterson stated, 'wandered from place to place, working for food and a place to stay.'[93] Moreover after arriving at an urban centre or farm, work was far from guaranteed. Not all Kansans were happy to welcome black refugees into the state, fearing a mixed-race society. As early as 1861, Allen T. Ward complained that Jim Lane's jayhawker raids were bringing too many freed slaves into Kansas, Ward predicting that, 'in a very short time Kansas will have more darkies than Missouri.'[94] Such attitudes led to offers of very low wages, rooted in the belief that freed slaves needed to, as Epps puts it, 'seek out gainful employment immediately.'[95] In the contraband camps that arose near army encampments, some former slaves found employment with the army. Charles Anderson became a nurse with the Union Army and gained a long-term career from his Civil War experiences.[96] Others found temporary work offered by Union officers. Joseph H. Trego described employing a 'contraband wench' as a cook, whilst others could be employed in other tasks such as laundry services.[97] This was, however, reliant on individual soldiers offering work, which could never match the need of the broader collective.

The policies of the Union Army that aimed to provide aid to black refugees were ultimately inadequate. Contraband camps suffered badly from overcrowding, shortages of basic provisions, and poor sanitation. In addition to racism at the heart of military bureaucracy, practical necessity limited the ability of federal authorities to offer meaningful support to everyone.[98] The Department of the Missouri was not the United

[92] Epps, *Slavery on the Border*, 169-70.
[93] Federal Writers' Project, Vol. X, Missouri, 274.
[94] Allen T. Ward, Letter to his sister, S. T. Roberts, 21 October 1861, *Kansas Historical Society*.
[95] Epps, *Slavery on the Border*, 170.
[96] Federal Writers' Project, Vol. X, Missouri, 21.
[97] Epps, *Slavery on the Periphery*, 165.
[98] Jim Downs, *Sick From Freedom: African-American Illness and Suffering during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), has been the primary exponent of the argument that racism exacerbated the worst of the black refugee crisis. Indeed, the focus of Union aid groups such

Nations – it had neither the means nor the knowledge of how to deal with a refugee crisis on such a scale. But the emotional culture that surrounded the very idea of assistance in the nineteenth-century United States also played a role. The fine divide between pity and contempt meant that aid had to be temporary, and focused on putting people to work, to fulfil an ideal of independence and justify their worthiness. This placed the onus on individual officers and men to issue support, which would, in turn, rely on their personal emotions and valuation of pity.

Emotions defined Missouri's refugee crisis. On an individual level, the perils and uncertainty of life on the road added further complications to the experience of fear and anxiety. These emotions were often the initial trigger for people to leave their homes, and thereby escape possible violence at the hands of soldiers, guerrillas, or even their neighbours. An enormously difficult decision, flight for white Missourians meant leaving one's home and possessions, the markers of one's success on the frontier. Enslaved people could leave behind friends and family, unsure when or if they would reunite. The refugee then entered a broader emotional community that considered pity and contempt as two sides of the same coin. This affected the very way that the refugee crisis was tackled by the Union Army, leading to ad hoc solutions to individual crises but achieving little to alleviate broader suffering.

Many refugees did not survive their experiences on the road. For their loved ones, this added grief into what was already previously unfathomable emotional trauma. Moreover, it radically altered their grieving practices, forcing makeshift ceremonies such as the one described by Samuel James Reader in Topeka, December 1861. This was shared by thousands across Kansas and Missouri, who found that guerrilla warfare necessitated changed methods of burial and remembrance.

as the Freedmen's Bureau's Medical Division was to produce a healthy workforce. This excluded vast numbers of refugees, including the elderly and the very young. This was undoubtedly in part the result of racist attitudes, as well as the larger emotional concerns surrounding charity, as described in this chapter. But the practical issues with providing for everyone also played a role. As stated, the Union Army was not the United Nations, and had no experience of dealing with refugee crises of this scale. Pragmatism and necessity played an important role, in addition to racism and wilful neglect.

Chapter 5. Grief

In September 1863, the Tate family was preparing to leave their home in Jackson County, on the Kansas-Missouri border, when soldiers from a Kansas regiment arrived, seizing Calvin Tate and five other men from the neighbourhood. The six were summarily executed by the soldiers, left to lie in a small ditch. Writing a letter to a relative one year later in December 1864, Calvin's widow, Mattie, recalled wrapping the victims in blankets and burying them in a shallow ditch.[1] The Tate family's fate came as a result of the implementation of General Order No. 11, which demanded the removal of disloyal families from Jackson, Cass, Bates, and Vernon Counties. In the grand scheme of the guerrilla war, Calvin Tate's death was a minor incident. Coming in the wake of the Lawrence Massacre, and as part of General Order No. 11, it was a small part of a much bigger picture. But to Mattie Tate, her husband's murder along with the five other victims, left her in a state of grief, and reliant on a makeshift ceremony to provide closure to her husband's life.

In the guerrilla war, grief became a theatre of conflict just as much as one's land and homestead did. Combatants on both sides, well aware of the established burial practices of the nineteenth century United States, made a conscious effort to deprive their enemies of a 'proper' burial. Regular warfare presented practical concerns with burial, leaving families mourning a loved one who might be buried far from home in an anonymous grave, or mangled almost beyond recognition by shell and canister. But in the guerrilla war, this problem took on a new dynamic. Families often had to witness the deaths of their loved ones as they were killed in domestic environments, or on the roads and highways near their towns. Sometimes, the killers were known to the family personally. It was common practice to dump bodies in rivers, or use other means to deprive a family of burying a body. Some combatants mutilated bodies through burning, or even scalping, which became increasingly commonplace among guerrilla bands after 1863.[2] There were many reasons for this behaviour. Undoubtedly, simple cruelty played its part for some, but there was surely also a strategic element to it. The disruption of

[1] Mattie Jane Tate Letter to Cousin Mary, 14 December 1864.
[2] Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 118-22.

funerary and grieving practices struck directly at the homes of the guerrilla's enemies. Scalping frightened and demoralised people, it broke up communities and prevented support for the Union from cementing amongst large swathes of the populace.[3]

Where grief has been examined in relation to the Civil War, the focus has been on the regular war, rather than the guerrilla conflict.[4] When soldiers died in service, particularly on the battlefield, death was connected with sacrifice and patriotism. At a broader level, significant moments of victory or defeat were often connected with piety – those whose faith was stronger would expect to find success.[5] For those who had lost loved ones in the course of victory, or in noble defeat, this gave their lives and deaths meaning and purpose, providing comfort and a way of moving past grief.[6] It is much harder, however, to connect this broad thesis with the context of the guerrilla war's emotional worlds. Many deaths in the guerrilla war included civilians who had made no conscious decision to go to war. Antebellum norms and the performative nature of patriotic grief could not apply. There was difficulty in discerning whether guerrillas counted as soldiers, or simply common bandits. An important question was whether casualties in a guerrilla war had fallen at the hands of the enemy, or if they had died at the hands of criminals masquerading as parts of a national conflict. Put simply, grief in Missouri was too complex an experience to be encompassed by a conclusion based on the whole of the United States.

Throughout the early history of the United States, the perception of grief had been changing. It had transitioned from an emotion that was, as Jan Lewis puts it, 'not to be indulged', into an emotion viewed as having some form of 'practical benefit'.[7] Dana

[3] The link between grief, fear, and the achievement of political and military objectives has been closely linked with terrorism. Shamila Ahmed, 'The "Emotionalization of the War on Terror": Counter-terrorism, fear, risk, insecurity, and helplessness,' *Criminology and Criminal Justice* 15 no. 5 (2015): 545-60, notes that emotions are key to victimisation and radicalisation, with grief at the heart of both terror and counterterrorism.

[4] An exception would be Brian Steel Wills, *Inglorious Passages: Noncombat Deaths in the American Civil War* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2017), which does discuss deaths on the home front. Beyond acknowledging that they occurred, however, Wills does not consider what these deaths meant, and how they disrupted any established paradigm or ideal of nineteenth-century death. This chapter expands on this by focusing on guerrilla warfare and its effect on mourning.

[5] George C. Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples: A Religious History of the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 7-8.

[6] Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), 6-17.

[7] Jan Lewis, *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 69-72.

Luciano draws parallels between this and Freudian theory of grief, the latter contending that grief is a means to an end – a way of maintaining forward temporal motion.[8] This argument supports Faust's work, suggesting that grief was, at its core, an emotional process designed to allow people to move on from the death of loved ones. Emotional communities were an integral part of this process in nineteenth century America. A common belief regarding the grieving process was that, in contrast to other emotions like anger, which were best restrained by the individual, grief could be expressed in a specific time and place.[9] Grief tended to revolve around the domestic space, which placed great importance on small scale emotional communities, particularly familial, in providing an environment in which to release pent up emotions. With the variety of accessible emotional communities present in Civil war era Missouri, it is argued here that this space was extended to the public sphere. Indeed, funerals and anniversary celebrations after the war proved to be useful environments which blended public and private emotional communities, allowing others to connect with the grieving process. Moreover, these spaces acted as battlegrounds in which the emotional conflict of the guerrilla war could be fought, pulling emotional communities together in the wake of violence and disruption.

Emotional communities remain the model through which this chapter analyses the emotional worlds of the guerrilla war. When considering burials and funerary practices, it could be argued that it is more appropriate to consider them as 'emotional arenas' instead. A model recently proposed by Mark Seymour, 'arenas' refers to the defined patterns of emotional expression within a specific social space.[10] More dynamic than William Reddy's concept of emotional regimes and refuges, Seymour's model takes a variety of environments and examines the forms of expression distinct to that particular time and place. Together, these individual spaces influence emotional expression at a broader collective level and shape changes in emotional culture over time.[11] But when discussing grief in Kansas and Missouri during the Civil War, the emotions being expressed

[8] Dana Luciano, *Arranging Grief: Sacred Time and the Body in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 14-15.
[9] Ibid., 4-6.
[10] Mark Seymour, *Emotional Arenas: Life, Love, and Death in 1870s Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 12-16.
[11] Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*.

were not reshaped within those spaces. What made the expression of grief unique at this time was its context, and the process through which established practices were adapted to meet the needs of the time. Though Seymour does give funerals, specifically the funeral of Victor Emmanuel II, as examples of emotional arenas, this was an event with an overt national and political purpose. The much smaller ceremonies that took place during the guerrilla war were more personal in nature, at most reflecting local emotions, rather than any larger collective sentiment. Moreover, the fluidity offered by emotional communities is also a very important aspect of grief to consider, as funerals reflect only one part, albeit an important one, of the grieving process. As the effects of grief were felt across complex networks of emotional communities, it is important to not limit discussion of grief to a single time or place.

This chapter explores how grief was contested during the guerrilla conflict, and in what ways Missourians navigated bereavement via engagement within their emotional communities. Building upon previous works which have offered national conclusions, this chapter focuses on state and regional variation, acknowledging that grief was a relative experience, the product of a variety of circumstances. Grief became a battleground in its own right, as combatants on both sides weaponised grief to inflict emotional distress on their enemies. To demonstrate this, the chapter first examines the differences between the guerrilla war and the regular war in terms of the meanings ascribed to death. This is an important aspect of the guerrilla war to consider, allowing for comparison between different types of warfare and how the realities of conflict undermined ideals of death and remembrance. Then, discussion turns to the practical concerns that victims faced in terms of burying their dead as a result of mutilations and the lack of bodies to bury. Finally, in light of the challenges faced by those living on the western border of the United States, the nature of funerary practices is discussed. It will be shown that emotional communities proved adaptable in navigating the problems caused by guerrilla warfare to craft spaces in which people could grieve, and ultimately move forward beyond their loss.

Rationalising Death in the Civil War

The death of a soldier in the Civil War was often framed in a deliberately patriotic manner, one that extolled the virtues of a wartime death, which represented a sacrificial act. This

narrative proved to be a crucial factor in the development of national identities during and especially after the Civil War. Indeed, it was a central aspect of the Lost Cause movement.[12] On a more personal level, scholars have argued that this also helped people to come to terms with the loss of a loved one. Presenting the death of an individual as a meaningful sacrifice helped to ascribe meaning and purpose to a life, and therefore aided their loved ones in accepting their death, assuring family members that their loved ones had led a manly life. Drew Gilpin Faust argues in favour of a 'Good Death', an idealised concept of death rooted in Puritan ideals that stressed a domestic setting, along with trust in God and spirituality as ways of attributing meaning to a life's narrative.[13] Ordinary soldiers certainly appear to have subscribed to this ideal. Around campfires in both Union and Confederate armies, songs such as 'Home Sweet Home' reminded soldiers of an idealised domestic setting. [14] This served a number of functions, such as encouraging soldiers to recall why and for who they were fighting. But in placing oneself emotionally closer to home, it also acted as a substitute for being there physically. This was important for soldiers facing death far from their families and loved ones, and gave some degree of spiritual comfort, though the fatalistic nature of this thought was concerning to officers, who regularly banned songs that could promote feelings of nostalgia.[15] Patriotism and the domestic space therefore blended together to reassure soldiers that their service and death would matter.

Sacrifice, the act of giving one's life in service of a greater cause, was seen as the most important element of duty. Drew Gilpin Faust cites E. G. Abbott, a soldier in the

[12] The importance of a mythological memory of war to the formation of national identity is widely acknowledged, see John Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 65-79. In terms of the Civil War, the war dead were memorialised in a patriotic manner through the construction of national cemeteries, which contributed to the idea of an established American nation. See, Susan-Mary Grant, 'Patriot Graves: American National Identity and the Civil War Dead,' *American Nineteenth Century History* 5 no. 3 (Fall 2004): 74-100.

[13] Faust, *Republic of Suffering*, 4-16. Like Faust, Mark S. Schantz similarly argued for an antebellum preoccupation with an ideal death, but went into more detail about the mutual instructiveness of this, citing the 'social frames for death that made it not only comprehensible but instructive, redemptive, and glorious.' Nevertheless, whilst middle class writers and artists produced sentimental works on wartime deaths, their classical references and ideals were often simply not shared by those lacking a college education. See, Mark S. Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country: The Civil War and America's Culture of Death* (Ithaca NY.: Cornell University Press, 2008), 9.

[14] Robert Arbour, 'Such Verses for my Body Let Us Write: Civil War Song, Sentimentalism and Whitman's Drum Taps,' in Mary De Jong (ed.) *Sentimentalism in Nineteenth Century America: Literary Cultural Practices* (Madison, NJ.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2013), 148.

[15] See Chapter III page 74.

Union Army, as saying that he 'came into this war to lay down [his] life.'[16] This ideal also appears to have been present in Missouri regiments. Lt. John H. Sterne, a clerk from Carrollton, Carroll County, Missouri, enlisted in the 3rd Missouri Infantry (CSA) in December 1861, serving for a little under a year before he was mortally wounded at the Battle of Corinth in October 1862.[17] In the wake of his death, a number of his comrades in Company C authored a letter to his father, Maj. Charles Sterne, dated 1 November 1862, describing John's wounding. The primary author, Jerry B. Courts, states that John was shot in the arm and head by an enemy sharpshooter, and that the ball explicitly 'penetrated his brain'. The writers acknowledge Charles' certain grief at his son's death, but implore him to 'Weep not', and that, if they should die, 'to fall as he did bravely discharging our duties as soldiers.'[18] A closer examination of the context behind this letter, however, reveals the limitations of the 'Good Death', and indeed of the patriotic narrative in general. It is probable that this letter presents an ideal of John Sterne's death, a half-truth which, as with so many condolence letters, omits the harsher realities of death in battle.[19] John Sterne's service records indicate that he was captured on the battlefield, and thereafter paroled back to Confederate lines to a hospital at Iuka, Mississippi, where he died on 17 October 1862, thirteen days after his initial wounding.[20] It is, therefore, doubtful that Sterne was, in fact, badly wounded in the head, and far more likely that he lingered in pain for almost two weeks.[21] Likewise, when Faust cites E. G. Abbott's

[16] Faust, *Republic of Suffering*, 5-6.

[17] Civil War Service Records, Confederate Records, digital images *Fold3* [http://fold3.com] – accessed 14/04/2020, 3rd Missouri Infantry C Company, entry for John H. Sterne, citing NARA microfilm publication *Carded Records Showing Military Service of Soldiers Who Fought in Confederate Organizations, compiled 1903 - 1927, documenting the period 1861 – 1865* M322 roll 0119.

[18] J.B. Courts et. al., Letter to Maj. Charles Sterne, 1 November 1862, Courts, J.B. et. al. Letter 1862, C1749, *SHSMO*. Courts' service records state that he continued to serve in the Confederate Army until the Battle of Franklin, where he appears to have deserted. See, Civil War Service Records, Confederate Records, digital images *Fold3* [http://fold3.com] – accessed 14/04/2020, 3rd Missouri Infantry C Company, entry for Jerry B. Courts, citing NARA microfilm publication *Carded Records Showing Military Service of Soldiers Who Fought in Confederate Organizations, compiled 1903 - 1927, documenting the period 1861 – 1865* M322 roll 0114.

[19] 'Condolence Letters' were letters written by friends or acquaintances of the deceased to their relatives, informing them of their son's, father's, brother's etc. death. Many of these letters were kept as mementoes by the receiving family, as they tended to express some of the positive aspects of the deceased's life and death. For more, see Ashley Mays, '"If Heart Speaks Not to Heart": Condolence Letters and Confederate Widows' Grief,' *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 7 no. 3 (September 2017): 377-400.

[20] Civil War Service Records, Confederate Records, digital images *Fold3*, 3rd Missouri Infantry C Company, entry for John H. Sterne.

[21] Courts' letter also stated that John was accompanied off the field by John H. Clark, 'who stayed with him until his death'. Had Clark done so, he would almost certainly not have been paroled. Clark may well have

willingness to give up his life, we cannot know the extent to which he was comforted by his patriotism. His words do tell us that there was an important link between death and sacrifice at a national, collective level, but not how far the realities of camp life and combat upheld this ideal.

An ideal of sacrifice could be threatened with the more brutal realities of combat, with a clean and swift death preferred to prolonged suffering.[22] Wishing to avoid causing Major Sterne any further emotional trauma by offering a detailed account of his son lingering for days on end, John Sterne's comrades built a new, cleaner, narrative, fitting in closer with the ideal of the 'Good Death'. A quicker death allowed Courts to focus on the meaning of John's life, rather than on any suffering at the moment of his death. Instead, John H. Sterne became a popular leader, and a patriotic Southerner, the very embodiment of Southern masculinity. The 'Good Death' was still applicable, but emotional communities had to work at enforcing its characteristics. This, however, masks the fact that John Sterne's death illustrates how vulnerable such a rigid ideal of death was to the realities of nineteenth century warfare. Patriotic rhetoric could only go so far in obscuring how many, if not most, deaths did not conform to a particular ideal.

Casualties in the regular war were harder to reconcile with antebellum ideals of death. This was even more so the case in guerrilla conflict. On a national level, the difference in the way that prominent casualties of the regular and irregular wars were reported and commemorated attests to this. For example, Maj. Gen. John Fulton Reynolds's death at Gettysburg in July 1863, which received widespread coverage across the northern press, was and remains a heroic image. Accounts of his death emphasised his presence on the front line of the battle. The Washington D.C. *Evening Star* stated that Reynolds was killed 'as usual leading his corps and in the thickest of the fight.'[23] Elsewhere, *Harper's Weekly* emphasised a more overtly sacrificial narrative, describing Reynolds as dying 'on the soil of his native state, which at the time of his death he was defending', language which mirrored that associated with Confederate dead both during and after

joined John at his bedside after the latter was paroled, which nevertheless leaves a number of days, perhaps as long as nine, when John was without his comrades. See, J. B. Courts et. al. Letter to Maj. Charles Sterne, 1 November 1862, One folder, C1749, *SHSMO*.

[22] At the same time, it is equally possible that this was done to avoid causing any further and unnecessary grief to Major Sterne by giving him a graphic account of his son's death.

[23] *Evening Star* (Washington D.C.), 03/07/1863.

the war.[24] By contrast, the highest ranking casualty of guerrilla warfare, Brig. Gen. Robert Latimer McCook, received a far less heroic narrative in the press. The Ohio *Spirit of Democracy* referred to his death in an ambush near Huntsville, Alabama, as an 'assassination', whilst *Harper's Weekly* focused more on the savagery of the attack, describing in detail McCook being badly wounded and 'conscious to the last', albeit unable to speak.[25]

Any concept of the 'Good Death' was hard to mesh with the realities of guerrilla warfare. Indeed, the people of the Civil War era United States were well aware of this. Aaron Sheehan-Dean shows that the Union mood was very much committed to the idea that it was not waging a war of the brutality that the guerrilla conflict threatened. This, along with practical concerns over generating sympathy, was why many senior Union commanders proved hesitant to execute captured guerrillas, despite the Lieber Code treating guerrillas as 'highway robbers or pirates', and not as prisoners of war.[26] Put another way, much of the perception around guerrilla fighting in the Civil War was that it was an ugly sideshow to the broader national conflict.

In Missouri, the portrayal of those soldiers who died as a result of guerrilla fighting differed from the regular war, just as much as was the case in high-ranking officers. The dead after battles or massacres such as the Centralia Massacre in 1864 did not receive the same eulogy as those who fell in a conventional battle, instead being used to highlight the barbarity of their enemies. Describing the scenes in the aftermath of Anderson's slaughter of 123 Union soldiers, John Forbes Benjamin named anyone willing to mutilate the dead as a 'savage fiend who thus disgraces humanity.' He did not extoll the deaths of his comrades as a sacrificial act.[27] Therefore, if patriotic narratives could help people move on from the deaths of their loved ones in any meaningful way, then this was largely denied to those families bereaved by the guerrilla war.

This problem was exacerbated for the families of civilians. Considering Faust's citations of soldiers such as E. G. Abbott, who claimed that they had signed up knowing

[24] *Harper's Weekly*, 18/07/1863.
[25] *The Spirit of Democracy* (Woodfield, Ohio), 27/08/1862; *Harper's Weekly*, 30/08/1862.
[26] Sheehan-Dean, *Calculus of Violence*, 186-90. This did not, however, extend to their subordinates, who often showed little mercy to captured guerrillas.
[27] John Forbes Benjamin Letter to John Paddock, 30 September 1864, John Forbes Benjamin and Diana Benjamin Papers, 1850-76, One Folder, C1382, *SHSMO*.

full well that they may have to lay down their lives, this can be juxtaposed with the civilian experience. Almost all of the civilians who were killed in the guerrilla conflict had made no conscious decision to go to war. Some had made their political allegiances known and, given the context of Bleeding Kansas, they were likely aware of the dangers that would come with doing so. Some committed strongly to this ideology, and believed that if they died it would be in service of their nation. Lizzie M. Powell, a resident of Hannibal, Missouri, remained steadfast in her commitment to the Confederacy following her arrest in December 1862 for smuggling percussion caps, despite suffering from worsening health throughout her time incarcerated.[28] But such instances are rare, with most sources instead reflecting on brutal and, at least to them, random acts of violence. The contributors to the *Reminiscences of the women of Missouri during the sixties* often recalled the deaths of their loved ones and neighbours as acts of nonsensical violence. Mrs Rainwater, for example, recalled men being 'called to the door at night and shot down without any warning or provocation' in front of their families.[29] John C. Gage, a resident of Kansas City, summarised the constant guerrilla violence in Missouri to friends in New Hampshire by stating, 'It is the common course of things for anybody to get killed.'[30] For those who witnessed their friends and family suffer due to guerrilla violence, it was the senseless nature of the brutality they encountered that lived in their memories. When Julia Adams Fish recalled Bill Anderson's raid on Danville in 1864, her principal memory was of the dead, corpses hanging from trees 'riddled with bullets', and young boys shot down without a second thought.[31]

The meaning of death in the guerrilla war was therefore very different from the narratives crafted for the soldier fighting a regular war. Lacking the same sacrificial aspect found on conventional battlefields, the emotions and rituals that formed the ideal of a grieving process applied even less in a guerrilla war. Many people who were bereaved by guerrilla warfare would find it difficult to assign any meaning to their loved one's life, as

[28] Lizzie M. Powell Hereford Prison Diary, 1862, Hereford, Lizzie M. Powell Papers 1817-1880, Folder Two, C1452, *SHSMO*.
[29] Mrs C. C. Rainwater, 'Reminiscences from 1861 to 1865,' in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*, 19.
[30] John C. Gage, Letter to Dear Friends, 8 December 1862, Jackson County Historical Society, [https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/islandora/object/civilwar%3A7561] – accessed 07 November 2018.
[31] Julia Adams Fish Files, *MHS*, A030.

it was often difficult to tie their deaths to a wider national project. Combined with the practical difficulties that always accompany death in wartime, this meant that violent death in Missouri and Kansas was very different from that found in other states.

Weaponising Grief

When it came to funeral practices, specifically the burial and memorialisation of the dead, guerrilla warfare added a unique dimension to the process. It can be difficult to say whether there was even a standard set of practices in Missouri. Drew Gilpin Faust's model of the 'Good Death', a broad national concept, argues that nineteenth century white Americans generally preoccupied themselves with a particular set of guidelines to die well. These included a domestic setting, as well as a sign of explicit trust in God's will.[32] As an encompassing framework, the Good Death is useful in illustrating the importance of faith to nineteenth century grieving culture. The Good Death does, however, sometimes raise more questions than it answers, particularly in the case of Missouri and the guerrilla war, where any encompassing framework existed only as a loose set of principles, centred on broadly Christian virtue. One problem is that the concept is rooted in Puritan traditions from sixteenth century England. How far this ideology had spread to non-Protestant faiths, for example among the recently arrived Catholic German and Irish populations, is uncertain. There is also the issue of what domesticity and the home meant to many people in Civil War Missouri. Given the emotional attachment felt by many immigrants, whether coming from the east coast or abroad, any ideals of 'home' that revolve around a dwelling in Missouri should be treated with caution. Moreover, the domestic sphere was often found to be indistinguishable from the theatre of conflict during the Civil War, especially

[32] Faust, *Republic of Suffering*, 4-16. Like Faust, Mark S. Schantz similarly argued for an antebellum preoccupation with an ideal death, but went into more detail about the mutual instructiveness of this, citing the 'social frames for death that made it not only comprehensible but instructive, redemptive, and glorious.' This template provided a means for the Civil War generation to come to terms with the carnage wrought on the battlefield, acting as a coping mechanism. Certainly, there is merit to this thought, as will be demonstrated below, but we should be careful how widely this thesis is applied. Whilst middle class writers and artists produced sentimental works on wartime deaths, their classical references and ideals were often simply not shared by those lacking a college education. See, Mark S. Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country: The Civil War and America's Culture of Death* (Ithaca NY.: Cornell University Press, 2008), 9.

so in Missouri.[33] There, the nature of guerrilla warfare and the weaponisation of grief meant that many victims died violently within their homes, which became battlefields in their own right.

On battlefields across the country, bodies were regularly made unrecognisable by modern weaponry, whether it be bullets, shells, or canister. Even those who died off the battlefield, whether from wounds or disease, were frequently buried in anonymous graves. A number of scholars have identified the Civil War as a watershed moment for American citizens, suggesting that the distress amongst families provided an impetus for greater efforts to identify and bury military dead.[34] Without a body for confirmation, many relatives found it difficult to comprehend their loss, which led to a strange form of relief when a body could be found and thus provide certainty.[35] The War Department accordingly issued General Orders no. 33 in April 1862, establishing guidelines for the burial and identification of the dead, requiring a site near every battlefield to be identified to be used as a cemetery, with headboards for each body. The order stressed, however, that this was to be done 'where practicable'. In many cases, it simply was not 'practicable' to recover and identify bodies, which illustrates the difficult realities of following through with any of these directives.[36]

The guerrilla war in Kansas and Missouri added a new dimension to this problem. The nature of the conflict meant that acts of violence were often committed in or around the family home, in front of the victim's family. This meant that the coping mechanism of domesticity cited by Faust as part of the 'Good Death' was fundamentally undermined, with the home serving as a potent reminder of the horror that had taken place. In the regular war, battles always involved local civilians in some way, placing them in danger, perhaps the most famous instance of this being the death of Jenny Wade at the Battle of Gettysburg.[37] Elsewhere, Sherman's "March to the Sea" created a devastation comparable to that experienced by Missourians in some of the worst hit border

[33] See, Stephanie McCurry, *Women's War: Fighting and Surviving the American Civil War* (Cambridge MA.: Harvard University Press, 2019), 10.
[34] Faust, *Republic of Suffering*; Michael Sledge, *Soldier Dead: How We Recover, Bury and Honor our Military Fallen* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 32-35.
[35] Mitchell G. Klingenberg, 'The curious case of Catherine Mary Hewitt and U.S. Major General of Volunteers John Fulton Reynolds: bodies, mourning the dead, and religion in the era of the American Civil War,' *American Nineteenth Century History* 19 no. 3 (November 2018): 229.
[36] War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, 3 April 1862.
[37] Mary H. Eastman, *Jenny Wade of Gettysburg* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1864).

counties.[38] Where Missouri and Kansas differed, however, was in the sustained nature of the blurred lines between civilian and combatant. An unidentified author, keeping a diary of their trip on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad across northern Missouri in March 1865, documented the physical effects of the war on domesticity. The author wrote: 'Four years of war and bushwhacking have left their traces upon the state; the eye is greeted with chimneys and blackened timbers where once were houses and homes.'[39] In every county, someone experienced an attack on their domestic sphere. Often, this could lead to the death of a loved one.

This greatly alters how we use sources to interrogate grief in the guerrilla war from the wider Civil War. Most writers emphasise their sorrow at learning of someone's death, with authors often, for example, describing how they came by the news. Similar sources in the guerrilla war are, however, undercut by adding a more visceral horror to their shock and sadness. In many cases, this is reflected in detailed descriptions of how exactly the deceased met their end. Mattie Tate, for example, was able to offer a graphic description of her husband's execution, describing seeing her husband's body, which had been left out by the soldiers, as being 'a sight to Behold they were shot all to pieces most and left on the ground to stay there Forever.'[40] This apparent acknowledgement of the finality of this horror contrasts with women such as Margaret Hays, whose initial reaction to simply hearing of their loved ones' deaths was one of disbelief. Hays initially refused to believe her husband, Upton Hays, had been killed, noting that newspapers 'have had him dead so often'.[41] For those who saw their loved ones' deaths first-hand, grief was mingled with the horror of having to confront violence in the domestic environment.

Moreover, families were often robbed of a body to bury. In many cases, this was undoubtedly deliberate. Even without relying on national models of grieving practices, contemporary sources attest to the importance Missourians placed on having a grave to mourn over. For Missourians serving in the army, families wished to know that, if they fell, a proper ceremony would be carried out. Francis S. Burlingame, 10th Missouri Cavalry, was killed in a skirmish near Iuka, Mississippi, on 7 July 1863, his comrade Perry Moore writing

[38] Sheehan-Dean, *Calculus of Violence*, 295.
[39] Unidentified Author, Diary, 1866, One Item, A434, *MHS*.
[40] Mattie Jane Tate Letter to Cousin Mary, 14 December 1864.
[41] Margaret Hays Letter to Mother, 31 October 1862, Folder 1, Hays Family Papers, August 1860 – January 1865, B257, *MHS*.

to his wife, Lizzie, in Cole County, that Francis 'was buried Decently and with appropriate military Honors.'[42] Furthermore, the reminders of past ceremonies and the lives of parents and children were an important part of domestic life for rural Missourians. As Wiley Britton noted, the grave of a deceased family member was a 'sacred spot upon the homestead', that left many unwilling to leave their properties.[43] Given the evident importance of burial to Missourians across the state, it is impossible that combatants, whether wearing a guerrilla shirt or Union blue, were unaware of the implications that denying a family their loved one's body would have on their grieving process. They knew that it would have a severe emotional impact, and weaponised this as another aspect of the guerrilla conflict.

Despite deaths in the guerrilla war often taking place close to victims' homes, obtaining a body for burial and mourning was never guaranteed. With the roads becoming increasingly dangerous, summary executions often took place in nearby woods or ditches, which left many corpses missing. In some cases, where the victim was considered a rebel guerrilla, the body was taken by Union authorities. Cole Younger's father was killed by Jayhawkers early in the war, his body left by the roadside before being taken by Union soldiers from Kansas City. Though the family received some property, including $2,000 hidden in his belt, the body itself was not returned.[44] Some families lacked even that. A note on the back of a page in a war census of Chariton County, taken in 1862, describes members of the Putnam County Militia coming south and taking John T. McAsham as their prisoner. On the banks of the Missouri River, near Brunswick, they are said to have shot McAsham, allowing his corpse to fall into the river, from which it was never recovered. His family are reported to have left for Texas shortly after the war's end, likely seeking a new life away from the memory of their father.[45]

Therefore, despite the more local setting of the guerrilla war, many Missourians shared in the common suffering of those across the country who were unable to mourn over the bodies of their loved ones. This was a deliberate act by the guerrilla conflict's combatants. Across various accounts of instances of violence in the Civil War, there exists

[42] Perry Moore Letter to Lizzie Burlingame, 8 July 1863, Folder Two, Box One, Francis S. Burlingame Correspondence 10 June 1859 – 1 September 1863, Burlingame Family Papers, A124, *MHS*.
[43] Britton, *Memoirs of the Rebellion on the Border*, 339.
[44] Cole Younger, *The Story of Cole Younger, by Himself* (Chicago: The Henneberry Company, 1903), 33-34.
[45] Chariton County, MO., Census of Males 1862 (?), one item, B099, *MHS*.

a clear pattern wherein aggressors would deny people access to their relative's body. One particular instance was recounted in a letter, authored by a group of citizens of Franklin County, to the editor of the St. Louis *Daily Union* in November 1863. In it, they describe the death of James Barnes earlier that year, which came at the hands of Union militia. Refuting an account by the St. Louis *Democrat*, which alleged that Barnes has been shot whilst trying to escape, the authors instead claimed that Barnes had been the victim of a targeted murder by the commander of the Union soldiers responsible, Major Murphy. Noting that Barnes was an 'unarmed, blind old man', it was unlikely that he would have been able to make an escape attempt. Barnes's injuries were indicative of a murder, with bullets fired into his temple at a close enough range that he was disfigured by powder burns, along with post-mortem knife wounds on his chest.[46] The extent of this violence is, in and of itself, worth noting for its similarities to the mutilation of corpses by Confederate guerrillas, such as in the Centralia Massacre. These tactics reflected an expression of mastery of an individual over his enemies, striking fear into their hearts.[47] It is possible that this was also a factor in the violence done to James Barnes, a hope that this would impact on the pro-Confederate population in Franklin County.

Pertaining to this psychological warfare is the fact that Barnes' daughter was denied the right to claim his body, or even prepare a coffin, amid the threat of violence.[48] This should be read in a similar manner to the mutilation, as a means of breaking the will of the local Confederate population. In their letter to the *Daily Union*, the writers noted that Barnes' daughter stood watching her father's body for a day, able to see the corpse, but incapable of collecting it.[49] At the time, no specific reference was made to the identities of those responsible for keeping the body lying in the open. Though an assumption might be made that it was the same militia unit responsible for executing Barnes, a later account of the same story, told in the *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri* by Larima Crowley, ascribes the deed to the German Home Guard.[50] The truth is difficult to ascertain, but we can nevertheless make some conclusions from the way in

[46] Letter to the Editor of the St. Louis Daily Union, 11 Nov. 1863, One Item, B047, *MHS*.
[47] Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 118-21.
[48] Letter to the Editor of the St. Louis Daily Union, 11 Nov. 1863.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Mrs Larima Crow Reilley, 'Death of James Barnes of Franklin County, Missouri,' in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*, 292-93.

which Barnes' death was remembered. Firstly, the story had clearly bled into the local culture of remembrance, being Larima Crowley's most significant memory of the Civil War. This says something about the emotional impact the treatment of Barnes and his body had on the population of Franklin County. For the story to be remembered, and moreover with little variation in the telling, implies a profound mixture of emotions, ranging from fear to anger, that the grieving process was so deliberately and violently undermined. Secondly, placing responsibility on a German unit is significant, due to the general sectional divisions that existed between pro-Southerners and German immigrants, which were covered in Chapter I.[51] This places emphasis on the sectional nature of Barnes' death and the treatment of his body, raising the likelihood that the emotional damage it caused was viewed as a deliberate strategy.

Across all areas affected by Missouri's guerrilla war, combatants weaponised grief to deny the families of their victims access to bodies and inflict further emotional damage. Lowndes Henry Davis, describing the situation in Missouri during the autumn of 1861, wrote to his wife to describe bodies being found dead by the roadside, in their farms, in the woods and almost every conceivable place.'[52] With this in mind, the case of John T. McAsham bears further consideration.[53] As another summary execution carried out by Union militia, it is possible that this was a punishment for McAsham and his friends and family. It was certainly done elsewhere by Union soldiers serving in Missouri. In autumn 1863, Peter F. Clark recounted in a letter to his wife the summary executions of two guerrillas near Warrensburg, again using the euphemistic 'shot while trying to escape'. Their bodies were left in the open, 'for the crows'.[54] This reflected a common emotion of frustration and anger held by Union soldiers engaged in irregular warfare, whether in Missouri or elsewhere, who found their work boring and unrewarding, whilst facing the constant threat of ambush.[55] As a result, within the emotional communities of the Union Army in Missouri, there appears to have been a belief that their enemies were either not

[51] See Chapter I page 22-26.
[52] Lowndes Henry Davis, Letter to Mary, 1 October 1861, One Folder, Lowndes Henry Davis Files, A021, *MHS*.
[53] War Census of Chariton County, Missouri, 1862, B099, *MHS*.
[54] Peter F. Clark Letter to Margaret Clark, 2 September 1863, Peter F. Clark Papers 1863-65, *MHS*.
[55] For a comparative example in East Tennessee, see Noel C. Fisher, *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerrilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 77.

worthy of proper burial, or that it was a valid punishment for participating in guerrilla activities.

In the Lawrence Massacre, Quantrill's guerrillas likewise burned bodies to punish the townspeople for their support of jayhawker bands. An unknown number of bodies were killed and left to burn along with their homes and businesses. A report by the *New York Times* gives some indication of the scale of this, reporting that some 113 bodies had been recovered, of which at least twenty had been burned beyond recognition.[56] Given that the death toll would eventually reach c. 150, the number of such mutilated corpses was surely higher. Indeed, that the full total remains unknown lends further weight to this suggestion. One of the key tasks for the survivors of the massacre was thus to find and identify the dead where possible. Sarah Fitch had to wait several days to recover the body of her husband, Edward, who had been shot in their parlour room during Quantrill's raid on Lawrence. The guerrillas had then forced Sarah and her children out of the house under threat of killing them as well. With the house fired, Sarah had made an attempt to search the wreckage the next day, but found that it was 'many days before it was possible to work there, on account of the heat.'[57]

Burial in the guerrilla war was, therefore, a complicated aspect of the grieving process. Families were forced to confront the physical realities of war on an intimate and regular basis, often witnessing their loved ones being killed in front of them. In a number of cases, this horror was amplified as combatants knowingly denied people access to bodies, either mutilating them post-mortem or casting them away into rivers and ditches. In the guerrilla war, grieving practices became as much a weapon to use against one's enemies as the revolver and horse.

Adapting Funerary Practices

In contrast to antebellum funerary practices, people throughout Kansas and Missouri had to adapt their ceremonies to meet the challenges of their context. Depending on the circumstances surrounding the deceased's death, funerals could serve many different

[56] *New York Times*, 27/08/1863.
[57] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863, Edward Fitch Correspondence.

purposes, and reflect varying collective emotions. In some cases, the very act of holding a funeral could be seen as an act of defiance, certainly when someone's killers had attempted to deny their family access to the body. On some occasions, funerals could reach a broader collective audience, providing spiritual comfort, or even a symbol around which sectional politics could be expressed. In these cases, the service better reflected an emotional arena. In the wake of the Lawrence Massacre, for example, some broader ceremonies were held to reflect on the victims. Reverend Richard Cordley recorded that the mood of such events was one of stunned silence, as people coped with a grief 'too deep and serious for tears and lamentations.'[58] These collective ceremonies emphasised a quiet stoicism as a collective response, which would eventually lead to Lawrence overcoming the effects of Quantrill's raid.[59] At an individual level, however, grief was expressed very differently. Cordley, for example, inadvertently contrasted the collective response with the individual when he described a woman searching the ruins of her home for the body of her husband. Eventually, she found his charred and blackened skull, at which point she became hysterical, 'fondling it and kissing it and crying piteously over it.'[60] The collective arena did not always reflect how grief was expressed on an individual level. There, different contexts and beliefs meant that grief was not a uniform experience in the guerrilla war.

The first task for many was to bury what remains they had. Though in the antebellum era coffins were viewed as an essential characteristic of a 'decent burial', this was often not possible in the Civil War.[61] Due to the proximity of the guerrilla war to the domestic setting, families were, nevertheless, in a position to adapt their funeral practices to their practical circumstances, just as people did in other states. Generally, this meant a more improvised funeral, lacking much of the standard antebellum ceremony, particularly in terms of coffins. Mattie Tate's husband and the five men murdered with him were laid to rest, covered with a blanket, in a single hole dug by their wives, whose grief was compounded by strenuous labour.[62] James Barnes was similarly wrapped in a sheet, his

[58] Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence, Kansas, From the First Settlement to the Close of the Rebellion* (Lawrence KS.: Lawrence Journal Press, 1895), 239-40.
[59] See Chapter VII.
[60] Cordley, *A History of Lawrence*, 239.
[61] Drew Gilpin Faust, 'The Civil War Soldier and the Art of Dying,' *The Journal of Southern History* 67 no. 1 (February 2001): 31.
[62] Mattie Jane Tate Letter to Cousin Mary, 14 December 1864.

body taken away in secret at night so as not to alert the men threatening his daughter, before being quietly buried in a nearby graveyard with a small ceremony.[63] Indeed, this lack of ceremony may well have played a part in the enduring memory of Barnes' death within Franklin County, as Larima Crow Reilley's recollections show.[64] The nature of his death meant that the act of recovering and burying the body required a communal effort. Burial remained a fundamental part of the grieving process in Missouri's guerrilla conflict. Regardless of the circumstances, victims of irregular warfare did their best to provide a resting place and a makeshift ceremony for the fallen. Like those on the front lines of regular combat, civilians proved adept at adapting antebellum grieving processes to meet the practical and spiritual needs of the time.

Returning to the Lawrence Massacre, in the days after Quantrill's attack the townspeople began the process of burying their dead. This was emotionally taxing, with the scale of the attack leaving the town's only priest, Reverend Cordley, exhausted from having to minister 'a week of almost uninterrupted funeral services.'[65] Indeed, Sarah Fitch offered some form of support, opting to delay her husband's service to allow Cordley some rest.[66] The practical concerns regarding the lack of coffins were, however, equally important. With many carpenters dead, and their tools destroyed, there were few, if any, coffins to be had. Some victims of the Lawrence Massacre were laid to rest in makeshift boxes, constructed from surviving lumber and burnt nails. Others, however, were not so fortunate, with some 53 bodies buried in a long trench. Many were left unidentified until a later date.[67] Clark C. Coleman journeyed to Lawrence from Southampton, Missouri, between September and December 1863, trying to learn the details of his brother Dwight's death. It appears that there was some questioning as to the suitability of Dwight's grave, with Clark's brother agreeing in a December 1863 letter that something could be done towards 'improving that most sacred spot'.[68]

Nevertheless, despite such practical difficulties, the people of Lawrence did their best to account for and bury the dead. The importance of burial to antebellum grief has

[63] Letter to the Editor of the St. Louis Daily Union, 11 Nov. 1863.
[64] Larima Crow Reilley, 'Death of James Barnes of Franklin County, Missouri,' 292-93.
[65] Cordley, *A History of Lawrence*, 241.
[66] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863.
[67] Cordley, *A History of Lawrence*, 240-41.
[68] T.E. Coleman Letter to Clark C. Coleman, 30 December 1863, Coleman Family Papers, One Folder, A143 *MHS*.

been well noted, with scholars noting the cathartic effect of the cemetery and grave serving as a reminder of heavenly reunion and eventual resurrection.[69] This certainly seems to have carried over into the guerrilla war, given the efforts to provide some form of burial no matter the circumstances. Moreover, in many cases, burial appears to have provided genuine spiritual comfort. Sarah Fitch, for example, changed the tone of her condolence letter to her in-laws, which is characterised by a general disbelieving sorrow, when discussing her husband's funeral. Instead of focusing on her more practical concerns, such as being forced to live in a cramped house with other homeless families, Sarah described a willingness to 'do the duty which God sets before us and patiently wait till called to go and meet our loved ones there.'[70] Among the hymns chosen for Edward's funeral was 'Shall We Know Each Other There?', a popular choice in nineteenth century America, as it focused on the promised reunion between loved ones in heaven – the compromise for having endured loss.[71]

Indeed, the very act of singing together in and of itself provided emotional catharsis for those affected by the Civil War across the United States. The healing effect of song on emotional communities has been well addressed in works of emotional history. Coenie Calitz, in a more general analysis of the subject, has found that singing provides a means for individuals to become actively involved in the release of a specific emotion, which acts as the starting point for healing. In the event of, for example, a death, the songs chosen tend to be more melancholic, encouraging people to focus on their grief.[72] Applying this specifically to emotional communities, Nikolaos Papadogiannis observed that left-wing Greek migrants in West Germany during the 1960s used songs to foster a transnational emotional community. As well as providing a sense of belonging, songs could transform emotions, for example turn '"suffering" into "courage"', in a rejuvenating process.[73] In the same way, hymns sung at funeral services in Civil War Missouri joined

[69] Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country*, 80-81.
[70] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863.
[71] The hymn, along with suggestions for its use at funerals as a means of showing faith in God, was included within J. M. Peebles' widely circulated *Spiritual Harmonies or Spiritual Teachings: Songs and Hymns with Appropriate Readings for Funerals* Second Edition (Boston: Colby and Rich Publishers, 1880), 41.
[72] Coenie J. Calitz, 'Healing Liturgy: The Role of Music and Singing,' *Verbum et Ecclesia* 38 no. 1 (2017): 4; 8.
[73] Nikolaos Papadogiannis, 'A (Trans)National Emotional Community? Greek Political Songs and the Politicisation of Greek Migrants in West Germany in the 1960s and early 1970s,' *Contemporary European History* 23 no. 4 (2014): 613.

emotional communities together in a communal activity that would begin a healing process. Funerals, and especially singing, provided an environment in which to release grief, one in which the prospect of a reunion in heaven was a key focus. Whether the hymn was 'Shall We Know Each Other There?', or other popular choices such as William Cowper's 'God Moves in a Mysterious Way', the lyrics of funeral songs were geared towards encouraging the bereaved to accept their loss as a part of God's plan. Importantly, this reminder took place within a group environment, giving the bereaved a chance to share their loss with others, in an appropriate environment, from which they could begin to move on. Having experienced this setting, Sarah Fitch could describe to her in-laws her many friends in the town, who 'have come and mingled their tears with mine and said so many times "how we all loved him"'.[74] This vindication, evidence that Edward had led a good life, appears to have provided some comfort to Sarah as she mourned her husband. Edward's death had created an emotional community in Lawrence that allowed for the expression of grief and the shedding of tears, one that could provide both spiritual and practical aid.

Congregations throughout Missouri, and indeed the wider United States, had, naturally, been greatly disrupted by the coming of the Civil War, with members leaving for the army or other regions of the country. Some churches in Missouri remained packed, albeit with very different congregations. Alfred B. Cree, serving in Co. F, 22nd Iowa Infantry, wrote a letter to his wife, Mattie, in March 1863 describing his attendance at a service in Ste. Genevieve, from which he returned early as the 'church was so full'.[75] Indeed, the experience left Cree longing for the comfort of his own church in Iowa, where he would 'stand with you and sing'.[76] Despite having found himself within a large emotional community of men far from home, seeking spiritual comfort, Alfred Cree found this community lacking as a result of not containing his private, familial emotional community. Indeed, that Cree explicitly stated his desire to not just be with his wife in church, but to sing with her, further emphasises that the benefits of this activity were recognised across the Civil War era United States. Nancy Chapman Jones, a resident of Boonville, Missouri,

[74] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863.
[75] Alfred Cree Letter to Mattie, 15 March 1863, Alfred B. Cree Letters 1862-1864, Folder One, R0301, *SHSMO*.
[76] Ibid.

wrote a letter to her daughter, Mary, in May 1863, describing a church service the previous Sunday. At the service, 'The Corronation [sic]' hymn (likely referring to 'All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name') was sung, one of Nancy's favourites. Instead of enjoying the singing, however, Nancy's eyes 'filled with tears', because her daughter, whom she claimed sang the hymn 'more beautifully' than anyone else, was not there to participate, having left for San Antonio, Texas, with her husband.[77]

Cathartic though communal activities such as singing in church could be, they could be undermined by the effects of war separating individuals from their loved ones. In a funerary setting, where separation was permanent, at least on an earthly level, it may well have had an even greater effect. Despite her best efforts at providing her husband with an appropriate funeral, Sarah Fitch nevertheless begged her in-laws to give her strength, as she continued to struggle with her grief whilst trying to come to terms with her new life.[78] Funerals forced to be held quickly, or even in secret as was the case with James Barnes, would have lacked this form of release, there being either no time or no opportunity for singing and gathering in remembrance. For many buried after the Lawrence Massacre, the emotional and physical exhaustion of a week of searching for, and commemorating, the dead proved too much. At the service held on the Sabbath after Quantrill's raid, there was no talking, singing, or grand sermons, instead only a short prayer, and a reading of Psalm 79. The chosen Psalm reads:

> O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance. They have laid Jerusalem in heaps. The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, and the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem, and there were none to bury them.[79]

That this particular Psalm was selected speaks volumes as to the mood of Lawrence in the aftermath of the massacre. The emotional community of the survivors was struggling to move forward, even with the aid of traditional coping mechanisms like church life.

This discomfort with the effects of war on church life can be seen throughout Missouri. Some bore literal scars of the war, as an unidentified woman in St. Louis

[77] Nancy Chapman Jones Letter to Mary, 18 May 1863, Nancy Chapman Jones Letters, *SHSMO* Digital Collections. Available at [https://digital.shsmo.org/digital/collection/amcw/id/10829/] – accessed 19/06/2020.
[78] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863.
[79] Cordley, *History of Lawrence*, 241-42.

recorded, having seen bullet holes in the walls of a church she visited.[80] Others were so affected by the war that congregations were left without even a church to attend. In March 1863, Baptist minister E. S. Dulin wrote to his compatriot, Jonathan B. Fuller, to announce that his church would be closing the following Sunday, a result of his flock being 'a used up Community.'[81] As Baptists tended to be pro-slavery, the Mt. Pleasant Association having denounced the American Tract Society's opposition to the institution in 1856, many young men in Dulin's community had fled to avoid having to serve in the Union Army.[82] Though Dulin had worked himself to exhaustion trying to meet the emotional needs of his congregation, their physical efforts to make up for lost labour had left many unable to regularly attend.[83]

Funerals, then, served a dual purpose. Along with providing the bereaved with the ability to bury a body and begin to maintain forward temporal motion, funerals also offered a space in which people could share and express their grief directly. This may account for the people of Lawrence turning up to a service even without any real enthusiasm. It gave them a chance to participate in the anger and grief of a wider community, and express it with their silence. Much of the personal sources in which one might expect to find make little reference to personal interactions with broader communities. In part, this must be for the simple reason that many victims of violence lived in smaller communities which were suffering equally. Mattie Tate, for example, was more reliant on her family than her neighbours for emotional support, given that her local community had all suffered as a result of counterinsurgency measures.[84] Nevertheless, where violence had only struck at a small part of a small community, its participants can sometimes be seen to have participated closely in the mourning of an individual. A particular example of this would be the way in which the citizens of Franklin County rallied to facilitate and participate in the funeral of James Barnes.[85]

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[80] 'Kathryn' Letter to 'Charles', 24 May 1863, Civil War Letter 1863, One Folder, C0464, *SHSMO*.
[81] E. S. Dulin Letter to Jonathan B. Fuller, 12 March 1863, Jonathan B. Fuller Papers, Folder 9, K0040, *SHSMO*.
[82] Robert S. Duncan, *A history of the Baptists in Missouri: embracing an account of the organization and growth of Baptist churches and associations: biographical sketches of ministers of the gospel and other prominent members of the denomination: the founding of Baptist institutions, periodicals, etc*, (St. Louis: Scammell and Co., 1882), 189-90.
[83] E. S. Dulin Letter to Jonathan B. Fuller, 12 March 1863.
[84] Mattie Jane Tate Letter to Cousin Mary, 14 December 1864.
[85] Larima Crow Reilley, 'Death of James Barnes of Franklin County, Missouri,' 292-93.

Yet in broader communities, particularly Lawrence, neighbourhoods appear to have been joined in providing mutual emotional support across a wider emotional community. Sarah Fitch, of course, was visited by her friends in the town, who encouraged her to remember Edward as a friend to many.[86] Elsewhere in Lawrence, Elizabeth S. C. Earl, whose family had been fortunate to escape the massacre unscathed, had taken charge of the City Hotel following the death of its owner, Mr. Stone.[87] Earl apparently perceived a duty amongst those like herself to try to persevere, and crucially to provide emotional support to the bereaved. Writing of this need amidst numbers of survivors leaving the town, Earl stated: 'I shall try and stay, for someone must remain, to cheer up those that are obliged to stay.'[88] Beyond Lawrence, Margaret Hays' husband, Col. Upton Hays, had gained such a reputation as a result of his coordinated raids with guerrillas that, upon his death in September 1862, she found that she had 'the sympathy of everybody… I have so many friends.'[89]

For those with access to local emotional communities, these provided essential emotional support when experiencing grief. Yet for many, it was the familial emotional community, or at the most very close friends, that played the most significant role in the grieving process. In many cases, families had been spread out across the country, either through antebellum migration, or the coming of the Civil War. These emotional communities therefore crossed regional boundaries, but nonetheless remained intimate due to their exclusive, familial, nature. Following the death of his father, Asa, in March 1864, Hazen S. Burlingame wrote to his brother, Asa Jr., on service with the 26th Missouri Infantry, to inform him of the particulars. Like many letters of its type, Hazen's words offer insight into a complex grieving process. In the first instance, it follows the conventions of a typical condolence letter by detailing the cause of death, as well as stressing the good life that Asa Sr. had led.[90] Hazen went on, however, to beg Asa to take an honourable discharge as soon as he was able, stating 'I seem to need you here more than ever.'

[86] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863.
[87] *New York Times* 24/08/1863.
[88] Elizabeth S. C. Earl Letter to Dear Mother, 22 September 1863, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, available at [https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/islandora/object/civilwar%3A3288] – accessed 15 November 2018.
[89] Margaret Hays Letter to Mother, 31 October 1862.
[90] Hazen Burlingame Letter to Asa Burlingame, 9 March 1864, Folder 3 Hazen S. Burlingame Correspondence, 1859-64, Burlingame Family Papers, A124, *MHS*.

Indeed, before he died, Asa Sr. had expressed a desire that 'we [the family] might all meet on earth again', having already been forced to bury two sons, Francis and Napoleon, in 1863. Hazen reinforced this, wishing 'I could be with you to speak face to face that we might comfort one another.'[91] For Hazen Burlingame, then, his grief was compounded by the distances separating him from his remaining brother.[92] Letter writing offered him the opportunity to release this frustration and proactively seek a way to manage his grief.

Sarah Fitch's letter to her husband's parents appears to have served a similar function. Once again, this was a familial emotional community spread across vast distances, with Edward's parents living in Hopkinton, Massachusetts. Like many bereaved throughout history, a chief concern of Sarah was to maintain a certain stoicism for the sake of others. As Luciano noted, expression of grief in the nineteenth century United States was, ideally, to be limited to the private sphere.[93] Specifically, Sarah Fitch noted her children, who remained firm in their belief that Edward had gone to heaven, a belief Sarah had no wish to shake by appearing too distraught in front of them.[94] This burden placed a great strain on Sarah's emotional wellbeing, with the newly widowed mother of three asking her in-laws to 'Pray for me. I need strength more than human hands can give.'[95] The defining characteristic of Sarah Fitch's letter is in its honesty in her admission that she struggled with accepting Edward's death. Certainly, this casts doubt on Schantz' thesis that Americans were prepared to meet the challenges of widespread death in the nineteenth century.[96] On a more personal level to Sarah Fitch, however, her letter emphasises the importance of having an emotional outlet in the guerrilla war. The unrestrained grief and uncertainty expressed in it, combined with her statements that she was trying to maintain good cheer for the sake of her children, give the impression that this letter provided her an arena in which to more freely express her emotions. In this way, Sarah could attempt to process Edward's loss and begin to move forward.

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[91] Ibid.

[92] Francis Burlingame's widow, Lizzie, possibly did move to be closer to her family. Though the condolence letter indicates she was living in Cole County in July 1863, by June 1864 she was living near Hazen Burlingame in Moniteau County. See, Sophia Burlingame Letter to Asa Burlingame, 5 June 1864, Folder 4 Sophia Burlingame Correspondence, 1862-1893, Burlingame Family Papers, A124, *MHS*.

[93] Luciano, *Arranging Grief*, 4-6.

[94] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country*, 6-19.

The emotional outlet that letter writing and extended family and friends provided during the grieving process was widely used throughout the United States both before and during the Civil War. In Iowa, January 1863, for example, Ida J. Elliot wrote to her uncle in Pennsylvania to describe her grandmother's death. Importantly, Ida was not informing him of the death, her letter making reference to her mother having already written, suggesting that this was more about Ida expressing her own sorrow.[97] Significantly, this interaction also worked in reverse. Individuals within a wider emotional community, spread across the country, often expressed a similar desire to comfort others who had been bereaved. For example, Francis Audsley, away in Kentucky serving in the 44th Missouri Infantry, wrote to his wife in November 1864 to express his regret that he could not visit an acquaintance, "Temp", back home in Saline County, who had lost two family members.[98] Some, however, were able to offer emotional support directly, whether by letter or in person. A notable example of this was James Washington Woodard, a farmer from Polk County, Missouri, who in August 1862 was serving in the 5th Missouri Infantry (CSA) in Mississippi.[99] In a letter to his family, Woodard recounted how he had heard news of a distant uncle's death whilst in Alabama that June. Saying he was 'determined to go on and see ant Elisabeth', Woodard had journeyed to Talladega and then on to Selma to find her and express his sympathies to help her in her grief. Woodard stayed with his extended family for ten days, and informed his core family unit back in Missouri that she was 'a very nice smart woman'. He then announced that he had learned the locations of other extended family throughout Mississippi and Tennessee, thereby helping to unite two branches of the family because of his involvement in the grieving process.[100] Perhaps some of the family in Mississippi and Tennessee returned the favour

[97] Ida J. Elliot Letter to Dear Uncle, Maple Grove, Pennsylvania, 3 January 1863, Folder 2, Gardner Family Papers, A462, *MHS*.
[98] Francis F. Audsley, Letter to Harriet Elizabeth Audsley, 24 November 1864, Francis Fairbank Audsley and Harriet Elizabeth, Papers, 1862-1929, C2374, *SHSMO*.
[99] Civil War Service Records, Confederate Records, digital images *Fold3* [http://fold3.com] – accessed 10/05/2020, 5th Missouri Infantry D Company, entry for James W. Woodard, citing NARA microfilm publication *Carded Records Showing Military Service of Soldiers Who Fought in Confederate Organizations, compiled 1903-1927, documenting the period 1861–1865* M322 roll 0132.
[100] James Washington Woodard Letter to Family, State of Mississippi, 11 August 1862, Folder 1, James Washington Woodard Papers, SP0048, *SHSMO*.

and wrote to Polk County, Missouri, after Woodard was shot dead at Vicksburg on 29 June 1863.[101]

Someone else who made use of extended family for emotional support was Mattie Jane Tate, albeit in very different circumstances. Following her husband's death during the imposition of General Orders No. 11 in September 1863, Mattie was forced to take her three young children to her parents' house, where they lived in cramped conditions. These awkward practical arrangements were compounded by the issue of Mattie being pro-South, especially so after Calvin's death, whereas her father was an avowed Unionist. Mattie complained about this in a letter, written in December 1864, to her cousin Mary, saying 'it is a pretty hard live For he is on one side and me on the other and it is not a pleasant way of living'.[102] Therefore, Mattie was unable to make full use of her core family unit for emotional support, due to the exacerbated tensions between her and her father. Again, like Sarah Fitch, the ideal that grief should quickly transition to an emotion best expressed in private should be considered.[103] That Mattie chose to contact extended family is by no means surprising, though her choice of Cousin Mary is unusual. Mary lived in Indiana, and though distances were, as has been shown, no barrier to emotional communities, the relationship between her and Mattie sets itself apart because the two were complete strangers. As Mattie put it, 'no doubt but what you will be surprised at the name at the bottom of this sheet'.[104] Mattie appears to have been encouraged to write to Mary by the latter's father as a means of venting her 'troubles' to, thereby serving a similar role as Edward Fitch's parents did to Sarah. Additionally, Mattie never asked for any practical support from Mary, only that she take the time to read the letter, including her new address in Cass County should Mary wish to respond. Her practical support from extended family was anticipated to come from her deceased husband's family in North Carolina, where Mattie suggested she might head.[105] That Mattie's uncle had encouraged her to seek out somebody with whom she could open up to, as she does in her letter, reinforces the importance of letter writing and a wider familial emotional community as

[101] Civil War Service Records, Confederate Records, digital images *Fold3*, 5th Missouri Infantry D Company, entry for James W. Woodard.
[102] Mattie Jane Tate Letter to Cousin Mary, 14 December 1864.
[103] Luciano, *Arranging Grief*, 4-6.
[104] Mattie Jane Tate Letter to Cousin Mary, 14 December 1864.
[105] Ibid.

a means of expressing grief. Moreover, it suggests that nineteenth century Missourians were well aware of this need.

Like Sarah Fitch, Mattie Tate's immediate family proved inadequate in offering the necessary emotional support to cope with grief. For many others, however, the familial emotional community was never even an option, being closed off for a variety of reasons. This was especially so for many of those subjected to banishment from Missouri by the Union authorities. Individuals such as Reverend Berry Hill Spencer were more reliant on their companions, the family only accessible via often irregular correspondence.[106] Worth mentioning here, however, is Lizzie M. Powell, who was arrested by Union authorities at her home in Hannibal, September 1862, along with Maggie Creath, for smuggling percussion caps. Transported to Palmyra, Missouri, the two women were greatly affected by the Palmyra Massacre on 18 October, an incident in which Colonel John McNeil executed ten Confederate prisoners of war in a reprisal for local guerrilla activity.[107] One of the condemned was Captain Thomas Sidner, whom Powell describes as her 'poor dear friend'. Denied the right, at that point, to visit her family, Powell's emotional support as she awaited news of the Palmyra Massacre was Maggie Creath, the two women apparently spending the preceding hours 'with arms locked closely around each other'.[108] On this relationship, Powell later wrote that, 'Were it not for Sister Mag my heart would break. We are as devoted as the Siamese Twins.'[109] For those prisoners denied contact with family and friends, such relationships were integral to their emotional wellbeing. Ada B. Haynes, an Irish resident of St. Louis, kept in contact with Confederate prisoners being held in locations from Illinois to Massachusetts. In her correspondence, soldiers frequently refer to their interactions with other prisoners, with morale boosting activities such as football matches cementing the bonds between captives.[110] In Missouri, Joseph C. Babb, a guerrilla held in Gratiot Street Prison in St. Louis, had only limited contact with his mother and father, a single letter sent two days before he died of smallpox in February

[106] See Chapter III.
[107] Sutherland, *Savage Conflict*, 123-24.
[108] Lizzie M. Powell Hereford Prison Diary, 1862, page 15.
[109] Ibid., pages 25-26.
[110] Ada B. Haynes Papers, 1 Folder, B256, *MHS*.

1863.[111] Instead, he was reliant on his fellow prisoners, who took it upon themselves to write a condolence letter to his parents in April 1863, thereby becoming an integral part in the grieving process.[112]

When traditional emotional communities such as the household and extended family were compromised, Americans in Missouri and the wider United States found ways to adapt their emotional communities to meet their needs. Where difficulties existed in obtaining a body for burial, or where the conditions for the appropriate internment of the corpse were inadequate, people sought to make do with what they could. Equally, the bereaved found ways of engaging with their emotional communities to express their grief, whether through funerary practices, or, going beyond that, connecting with friends and family in private correspondence. All of these techniques aided people in beginning to process the losses they suffered at the hands of guerrilla warfare.

Remembering the Dead

Burials and acknowledging the reality of loss were, however, only one part of the process by which people overcame grief. A crucial aspect of death in the Civil War era United States was to craft an appropriate memory of the dead. This process is most clearly visible in the many condolence letters sent during the conflict, in which the portrayal of the deceased's final moments served as a means of preserving the best aspects of their character. In this way, an essential aspect of the grieving process in the Civil War became what Ashley Mays described as 'a touchstone for memory'.[113] Indeed, this no doubt played a role in the practice of keeping condolence letters as a part of the material culture surrounding grief and the continued remembrance of the deceased.

Patriotism and the ideal of sacrifice featured prominently in such letters coming from the battlefield. As has been shown, we can see that this national culture extended to Missouri through the letter from J. B. Courts et. al. to Major Charles Sterne informing

[111] Joseph C. Babb Letter to Dear Mother and Father, 26 February 1863, available at [http://boonehistory.blogspot.com/2009/12/joseph-cooper-babb-civil-war-letters.html] – accessed 08/02/2019.
[112] Martin C. Flynt Letter to R. F. Babb, 4 April 1863, available at [http://boonehistory.blogspot.com/2009/12/joseph-cooper-babb-civil-war-letters.html] – accessed 08/02/2019.
[113] Mays, 'If Heart Speaks Not to Heart,' 378.

him of the death of his son.[114] Along with reassurances of the deceased's place in heaven, a feature that remained constant throughout the antebellum and Civil War years, this helped to give some sense of meaning and purpose to an individual's life. Along with the burial of a body, Faust and Schantz have cited this sense of closure to a life's narrative as being of vital importance in allowing the bereaved to accept loss.[115] With this in mind, we get a sense of the comfort that dying in the process of fulfilling one's duty might afford to loved ones, and to those friends who faced a similar fate. For those who fell victim to violence in the guerrilla conflict, however, their deaths were less easily connected with a national sacrifice. Instead, accounts of guerrilla action described the actions of irregulars as acts of savagery, of criminality, rather than as part of a conflict with a grand, patriotic meaning. Take, for example, the Centralia Massacre, which the St. Joseph *Weekly Herald and Tribune* described as an act of 'inhuman butchery'. The paper reported that Bill Anderson had refuted the idea that his command was affiliated with Gen. Price's army, and had, along with his men, spent the evening of the massacre blind drunk.[116] When refuting the notion of peace with the South in April 1863, the same publication alluded to honouring the 'glorious living and dead of our proud army'.[117] But this same language simply did not extend to their coverage of guerrilla atrocities.

This was even more true of civilian victims, who had not put on a uniform and had not engaged directly in a great patriotic struggle. As a result, the friends and relatives of those who died as a result of guerrilla warfare shifted the focus of their accounts away from this idea of patriotism and a national spirit. Instead, they focused on the roles the deceased played in their domestic lives as husbands and fathers. This served to give their lives a similar sense of purpose and meaning as those who sacrificed theirs for a national cause, even if they had been cut short in ignoble circumstances. Mattie Tate thus highlighted Calvin's role as a husband, her closest companion and protector, whilst Clark Coleman's brother focused on the familial bond between Dwight and his closest relatives.[118] This was especially the case for Sarah Fitch, whose condolence letter to her

[114] J.B. Courts et. al., Letter to Maj. Charles Sterne, 1 November 1862
[115] Faust, *Republic of Suffering*, 4-16. Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country*, 9.
[116] St. Joseph *Weekly Herald and Tribune*, 20 October 1864.
[117] St. Joseph *Weekly Herald and Tribune*, 16 April 1863.
[118] Mattie Jane Tate Letter to Cousin Mary, 14 December 1864. T.E. Coleman Letter to Clark C. Coleman, 30 December 1863.

in-laws emphasised Edward's status as a pillar of the community, and as a loving husband and father. Indeed, Sarah noting that their youngest child had been christened Edward Payson Fitch whilst standing over his father's coffin further cemented the idea that Edward had left a legacy behind, asking 'You will love the dear baby won't you! for his name?'[119]

Sarah also attempted to uphold Edward's legacy as a man, stressing to her in-laws that her husband had died bravely as he fulfilled his duty to his family. Whereas Sarah herself admitted to feeling grief, Edward's role in her narrative is defined by a relative lack of emotion. Though Sarah was 'beside [herself] with terror', Edward remained unmoving, in control of his emotions to the very end.[120] By placing his trust in God, Edward Fitch was allegedly able to stay calm at the moment of his death. Therefore, if the Lawrence Massacre had 'unmanned' the male citizens of the town, then Sarah Fitch's letter shows one way that the people of Lawrence fought back against this assault on masculine identity. In their grief, family members carefully crafted a memory of their loved ones that reinforced their manly identities, shaping their emotional states to meet the gender ideals of the day. Whereas Sarah, a female survivor, could admit to feeling fear, Edward, a male victim, needed his emotional legacy to reflect his manly character. In this way, family members created a memory of their lost loved ones that was geared much more closely towards a private emotional community. Eschewing a need for connections with a broader national emotional community, individuals instead recognised the need for a more private narrative to match the personal nature of the violence they experienced.

Taking a more long-term view of grief following the Lawrence Massacre, however, reveals that time encouraged a more collective sense of grief. The unusually large scale of the Lawrence Massacre made it one of the few specific instances of guerrilla violence in Missouri around which a collective memory could form. Indeed, some evidence of this could be found in 1863. Within Lawrence itself, Richard Cordley recorded some communal events taking place, whilst communities in neighbouring towns and cities such as Topeka and Leavenworth were sufficiently moved by the attack to provide practical assistance in

[119] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863.
[120] Ibid.

the form of food and clothing.[121] A collective sense of anger was also evident on the border, with promises of retaliatory raids into Missouri made by politicians and soldiers alike.[122] But there was not an enduring and cohesive set of emotional values surrounding the Lawrence Massacre until decades later, when emotions, especially the survivors' grief, became central to the memory of the Lawrence Massacre.

The legacy of the grief felt by those affected by Quantrill's raid became an integral part of Lawrence's collective identity. The process of recovering, of moving on from grief was a central aspect of the historical narrative that people like Richard Cordley crafted for Lawrence. The defiance that this represented was used as proof of the righteousness of the city, of its place in history as a place and a people that represented an ideal of liberty. Reverend Cordley, writing his history of Lawrence some thirty years later, described the rebuilding process as beginning within days of the attack.[123] Indeed, he likened it to a 'sort of religious obligation' of the citizens to rebuild the buildings that had been lost and damaged. Business and homeowners who chose to remain in Lawrence began to piece their lives back together, rebuilding in stone and brick with the goal of making Lawrence 'better than she was', as Reverend Cordley put it.[124] It is questionable how far Cordley's assessment reflected the realities of life in the wake of Quantrill's attack. Certainly, the families who had lost loved ones were not thinking so far into the future. But this was the narrative that Cordley presented – one of rebirth and improvement. In addition to the homes and businesses, whose reconstruction served both practical and emotional purposes, other buildings had a greater symbolic importance to collective emotions and the town's identity. One of the first buildings constructed in Lawrence, the Free State Hotel had been burned during a raid in 1856, and had promptly been rebuilt as a representation of the town's antislavery politics. Burned again by Quantrill's men, in 1863 the townspeople appealed to Colonel Shalor W. Eldridge to fund a rebuilding project and restore the 'monument to freedom.'[125] They also directly contacted Secretary of War

[121] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863, explains that she personally benefited from gifts of clothing sent by friends in the above towns. See also, Cordley, *A History of Lawrence*, 247.
[122] See Chapter VI page 187-88.
[123] Mary Savage Letter to Jane Simpson, 29 November 1863, available at [https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/islandora/object/civilwar%3A7412] – accessed 23/01/2019. Elizabeth S. C. Earl Letter to Dear Mother, 22 September 1863.
[124] Cordley, *A History of Lawrence*, 251.
[125] Letter from "Neighbours and Friends" to Col. S. W. Eldridge, 1 September 1863, available at [https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/islandora/object/civilwar%3A3527] – accessed 14/02/2019.

Edwin Stanton to allow Eldridge to return to Lawrence and oversee the rebuild.[126] Completed in 1865, the hotel still stands in the centre of Lawrence as a symbol of the city's historical roots.

When the fiftieth anniversary of the Lawrence Massacre arrived, the memories of the victims of the massacre, and the grief of their relatives, were undercut by a sense of pride in the city's past and present. The ceremonies that commemorated 21 August 1863 brought the various emotional communities of Lawrence and the surrounding area into a single emotional arena. Emotions that had previously crossed county and state lines were focused on a very particular physical space. Unlike the small-scale funerals and private mourning that had taken place in 1863, the fiftieth anniversary reshaped the expression of grief by more overtly connecting it with a sense of pride.

Both grief and patriotic sentiment were at the heart of the anniversary commemoration. Charles Sumner Gleed, the speaker of the day at the fiftieth anniversary, listed several prominent victims of the massacre, with often graphic descriptions of how they were murdered in the arms of their loved ones. Noting the anguish of those who survived, 'broken in health or in heart', Gleed's address made it clear that grief had followed in the wake of the attack. But he framed this emotion around patriotism and rebirth, assuring the crowd that 'Every drop of blood spilled that day nourished the flower of liberty.'[127] This rhetorical style cemented a trend that had begun in 1870, when the decision had been made to decorate the graves of those civilians killed by Quantrill's men on Decoration Day, in the same way as military dead were remembered.[128] In this way, the victims of the Lawrence Massacre found a sense of purpose in their deaths, not just in their lives, helping to restore their collective masculine identities. Rather than dying as fleeing victims, feminised by their expression of fear, they became heroic martyrs. A granite monument had also been raised in 1895, funded by local donations, furthering the connection between the civilian dead and an ideal of sacrifice. To some extent, this had occurred at a familial level in the days and weeks after the massacre. Sarah Fitch had described Edward as a 'martyr to freedom', suggesting a sacrificial element to his life and

[126] James H. Lane et. al. Letter to "All Whom It May Concern", 5 September 1863, available at [https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/islandora/object/civilwar%3A3521] – accessed 14/02/2019.
[127] Richard B. Sheridan, '"A Most Unusual Gathering": The 1913 Semi-Centennial Memorial Reunion of the Survivors of Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence,' *Kansas History* 20 no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 187.
[128] Ibid., 178.

death, though this was undercut by her sense of confusion and disbelief.[129] Rather than a confident statement about the nature of the casualties of the massacre, this was a woman trying to come to terms with her husband's loss. It was only later, in the emotional arena of formal memory, that grief and pride became truly intertwined.

The memorialisation of the victims of the Lawrence Massacre reflects an example of the 'patriot graves' concept being extended to civilian victims of the Civil War. Lawrence's anti-slavery roots made it possible to link non-military deaths with the wider abolitionist cause, and assign a value and purpose to its lost citizens. This context meant that the long-term memory of grief in Lawrence was a very different experience to that found in other examples of guerrilla warfare. The Shelton Laurel Valley Massacre in North Carolina, for example, received more intimate, local remembrance in later years, eschewing grand ceremonies in favour of a simple plaque.[130] There, grief remained much more private than it was in Lawrence, where the emotion was transformed to reflect a collective defiance.

Defiance was a key part of the collective grieving process. Taking a Freudian view of grief, as explained by Dana Luciano, a narrative of rebuilding and improvement undoubtedly helped Lawrence to look forward and not dwell in the past.[131] Along with the rebuilt homes, businesses, and the expanded city, the presence of 200 survivors of Quantrill's raid served as physical proof that Lawrence had overcome its past troubles. This was not to say that grief and remembrance did not play an important part on the fiftieth anniversary, nor indeed on others. Minnie E. Blake, for example, relived her father's death every August – the dead were not forgotten.[132] What this shows is that anniversaries, and especially the fiftieth, acted as distinct temporal spaces given over to the memory of the dead, evidence that grief had not paralysed the collective. Luciano has compared such events to the Sabbath, a distinct time of reflection given over to focus on 'foundational beliefs'.[133] Combined with a defiant tone and a focus on rebirth, the collective emotional community of Lawrence could claim that it was never wholly consumed by melancholia.

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[129] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863.
[130] Paludan, *Victims*, 132-33.
[131] Luciano, *Arranging Grief*, 4-6.
[132] Minnie E. Blake, *The Quantrill Raid, with Introductory Poems* (Lawrence: 1929), 36-37.
[133] Luciano, *Arranging Grief*, 6.

Death in the guerrilla war challenged the bereaved in a multitude of ways. It made grief a very distinct emotion in Missouri and the western border regions from how it was experienced in the wider United States. Antebellum grieving practices were undercut by the ruination of the domestic sphere, treatment of corpses, and the apparently irrational nature of guerrilla warfare. It forced the people of Missouri to adapt to meet their realities in an effort to overcome their loss. On an individual level, this tended to result in makeshift funerals, as well as significant engagement with familial emotional communities, which provided the necessary environment in which to process and accept that the deceased was gone. A partial exception to this rule was Lawrence, wherein the town manifested a large emotional community of its own, centred on remembering the dead in a manner that imitated the national culture of mourning the war dead, restoring the damaged masculine identities of those who had died afraid and unable to protect their homes and property.

This chapter has considered purely non-violent means of expressing grief and overcoming the trauma of loss. Next, focus will turn towards anger, observing how individuals took more violent action in revenge for suffering violence. This includes those who had suffered bereavement and should be viewed as complementary to the issues discussed here.

Chapter 6. Anger

The late autumn of 1861 saw hundreds of Unionists fleeing their homes in southern Missouri, following the Union Army in its northward retreat. One of them was John Russell Kelso, who had made his Unionist sentiments known when he gave a pro-Union speech on the steps of the courthouse in Buffalo during the secession winter.[1] This, coupled with Kelso's service in the Union militia and his work as a spy in Springfield, had made him and his family targets for guerrillas and pro-Confederate neighbours. Their home was burned to the ground in October 1861 and Kelso soon found himself joining the throngs of refugees heading north in November. The weather quickly took its toll on Kelso's four-month-old son Ianthus, who fell sick after days on the road. Camped out in an open field, cradling his son in his arms, John Kelso reflected on his motivations for fighting:

> Hitherto I had been making war from motives of pure patriotism alone. I now felt that, from this time on, a new, a less noble, but no less powerful feeling would control my conduct. That feeling was an intense desire for revenge.[2]

In the four years that followed, Kelso would make good on his vow, earning notoriety as a fierce opponent of Missouri's guerrillas. His reputation would ultimately carry him to the House of Representatives in 1865. But revenge had its consequences. Frequently absent from his family, Kelso was unable to manage the strain that Ianthus's eventual death in 1862 put on his relationship with his wife, who began an affair with a friend of the family. Kelso himself was also badly wounded on several occasions, including a shotgun blast that left buckshot embedded beneath his sternum. His wounds sustained in the pursuit of revenge would continue to cause him pain until his death in 1891.[3]

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[1] Kelso, *Bloody Engagements*, 5.

[2] Ibid., 45. A similar vow was purportedly made by Bloody Bill Anderson following the death of his sister in the Kansas City women's prison collapse in August 1863. That two men on opposite sides of the guerrilla conflict associated their emotional state of anger with a physical statement suggests the importance of manifesting this emotion externally. Making a conscious decision to alter one's appearance in concert with their emotional state could be viewed as a means of answering accusations that they had lost control.

[3] Letters Received by the Commission Branch of the Adjutant General's Office, 1863-1870, M1064, 94, r0271, database with images Fold3 [https://www.fold3.com//title/833/letters-received-by-commission-branch-1863-1870] accessed 12 June, 2021.

Anger played a crucial role in perpetuating guerrilla warfare in Missouri. On both sides of the conflict, many victims of unofficial threats and violence, or of Union counterinsurgency policies, sought revenge against their oppressors as their way of achieving emotional catharsis. Some achieved this through force of arms, by becoming guerrillas or joining the state militia. Others, who did not have the necessary means to fight directly, could settle grievances through giving information to those who did. Anger created cyclical violence that ensured the guerrilla war would play out in tandem with the wider sectional conflict and even continue in its aftermath. If fear and grief were the emotions combatants aimed to instil, a way of achieving secession, then anger was an unintended consequence. It sustained the conflict; in many ways it increased the ferocity with which it was fought. In the context of Civil War era masculinity, an injury done to domestic spaces across Kansas and Missouri meant that retaliation was inevitable.

Anger occupied an uncertain place in the Civil War era United States, at once both discouraged but also accepted or even encouraged depending on person and place. By its very nature anger can be difficult to accurately observe, as it encompasses a wide range of responses that create different types of anger, each with their own meaning to different emotional communities.[4] This has led to differing scholarly opinions on the role that anger played in social and political development over the nineteenth century. Some have taken the view that anger was generally regarded as an emotion best avoided and that the nineteenth century marked an emotional shift in American society towards restraint.[5] Carol and Peter Stearns have contended that the nineteenth century was marked by a view that anger reflected a loss of control, and that the emotion gradually became restrained, setting the stage for the emotional world of the twentieth century.[6]

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[4] Rosenwein, *Anger: The Conflicted History*, 7.

[5] Barbara Rosenwein has charted the long history of the Western world struggling for control over anger, beginning with the Greek stoic philosophers and their influences on later medieval writers. The belief that anger was an emotion best avoided persisted into the history of the United States. Where Rosenwein differs from previous authors, including Carol and Peter Stearns, is in her acknowledgement that emotional communities in the modern-day United States have been unsuccessful in throwing off anger. Indeed, Rosenwein makes this point of most Western communities. See Rosenwein, *Anger*, 24-38; 59. For Rosenwein's own experiences with anger, see, 1-2.

[6] Carol Zisowitz Stearns and Peter N. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 36-109. The argument by Carol and Peter Stearns was heavily influenced by Norbert Elias's concept of the 'Civilising Process', which had become a popular thesis by the 1980s. Elias suggested that anger, as well as other emotions and practices associated with a lack of bodily control, had become restrained over time as the European middle classes sought to emulate the perceived refinement of the Early Modern royal courts. See, Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process: The*

Others have since concurred, offering an interpretation of anger as an emotion associated with youth and a lack of control.[7] This was especially the case for men, who were expected to be able to master their emotions, including their anger, to efficiently carry out their duties as protectors and property owners. Considerable effort was made to limit unnecessary violence in the regular war, where practices such as surrender were generally adhered to and helped to limit unnecessary violence and reinforce notions of honour. In Missouri's guerrilla war, surrender was often used as a tool to limit violence, and encourage guerrilla fighters to give up, though as the war dragged on summary executions became increasingly common.[8] The seemingly anarchic violence prompted the creation of the Lieber Code in April 1863, an effort to define and limit war.[9] Lorien Foote has recently noted the important role that the concept of 'retaliation', enshrined in the Lieber Code, played in defining the limits of sanctioned violence in civilised warfare.[10] The Lieber Code allowed for the execution of prisoners of war, even if innocent of inciting the outrage. An example of this in Missouri would be the infamous Palmyra Massacre in October 1862, where ten Confederate prisoners were executed following the abduction of a local Union man by guerrillas. In this case, restricted anger was used as part of a counterinsurgency strategy aimed at discouraging support for guerrilla bands, though in truth the executions did little but encourage more anti-Union sentiment. General Order No. 11 could also be considered an example of retaliation, a compromise that helped claim Union authority over the border region but providing a form of catharsis for at least some vengeful Kansans.

Actions such as the Palmyra Massacre were an integral part of the war – considered an unpleasant but necessary measure. This was even the case when violence

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History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization trans. Edmund Jephcott, 2 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

[7] E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 20.

[8] Some executions are discussed in this chapter. Surrenders of guerrillas did occur, with many ending up in Gratiot Street prison during the Civil War, being released at its conclusion. Moreover, at the war's end, a large number of guerrillas, such as Sam Hildebrand and John McCorkle, ultimately surrendered to the authorities and accepted the end of the war. Men such as the James brothers and Archie Clement may have gained fame for continuing the fight, but seem to have been the exception, rather than the rule.

[9] McCurry, 'Enemy Women and the Laws of War,' 667-710, notes that the Lieber Code became gradually harsher through the escalation of guerrilla warfare.

[10] Lorien Foote, *Rites of Retaliation: Civilization, Soldiers, and Campaigns in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 2.

spilled over into the domestic sphere, as occurred during Sherman's March to the Sea. Though the civilians and broader Southern community condemned the blurring between home and battlefield, the scorched earth policy was deemed necessary to break the Confederacy. Such violence was state-sanctioned and controlled; it was not, in theory, a series of disorderly actions conducted by individuals motivated by their own anger. By contrast, the pro-Confederate guerrillas of Missouri, and even Kansas jayhawkers, acted with very limited official authority, and almost none following the repeal of the Partisan Ranger Act in 1864.[11] The frequent refusal of surrender, coupled with practices of mutilation would suggest that the violence fomented by guerrilla warfare had gone too far, leading to the writing of the Lieber Code. This would suggest that the United States was moving towards an emotional culture defined by restraint, which led to concerns about civility in warfare.

Nevertheless, the argument that the emotional culture of the United States was shifting towards restraint is overly reliant on a long-term view of United States history, as well as sources such as advice books that do not reflect the views of the population at large.[12] When the socio-cultural contexts of the antebellum and Civil War eras are considered in more detail, the foundations of this argument are less secure. The violence and the language used in Missouri's guerrilla war are completely at odds with a notion that anger in the United States was becoming more restrained. It is certainly difficult to reconcile Lawrence and Centralia with a supposed culture of restraint. Moreover, though the nature of violence in Missouri was extreme, it was far from exceptional in the wider conflict, with atrocities committed by both sides across all theatres of conflict. Even beyond the Civil War, the legacy of conflict and the abolition of slavery would reverberate and cause lasting anger and resentment across the nation.[13]

Anger, even when coupled with aggression, held an important place in the emotional culture of the Civil War era United States. If we are to properly understand how

[11] The Partisan Ranger Act was passed by the Confederate Congress in April 1862. It was aimed at recruiting irregulars into the Confederate Army, and thereby limit the independence of guerrilla bands, fearing anarchy. An example of a partisan unit is John S. Mosby's "Raiders". The law was repealed in February 1864 after concerns of violent behaviour by guerrillas.

[12] Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*, 75. Moreover, the omission of slavery and the legacy of emancipation from the narrative leaves out a major source of humiliation, frustration, and above all hatred, that would define the emotional world of the United States in the post-Civil War era.

[13] See Chapter VII.

anger was expressed and valued in Missouri's emotional communities, then the wider nation needs to be considered first. As outlined in Chapter I, if anger was restrained then this was predominantly done in the North, whilst in the South it was conversely an important part of masculine identity. Integral to ideals of both honour and masculine control, aggression and displays of violence were an accepted, if not even encouraged, part of life. Anger and aggression were intrinsically linked to slavery, as the institution's power dynamics provided ample opportunities for one to demonstrate physical dominance and independence, as Lula Chambers recalled.[14] For poorer white slaveholders especially, beatings could provide an opportunity to exert a status only achievable in a society divided by race.[15] Some enslaved people, such as Sarah Graves's mother, were whipped for little more than 'pastime' by their enslavers, who sought to induce fear and prevent rebellion. As was the case in the guerrilla war, this could have the unintended consequence of making rebellion more likely.[16]

Elsewhere in the slaveholding South, a regimented duelling culture assisted in propping up the masculine identities of white elites. Engaging in a duel demonstrated one's willingness to defend their honour against those who had insulted their character. The archaic, performative nature of the duel served to both magnify the anger felt by the aggrieved parties, but also the resolution and satisfaction that the contest, theoretically, brought. Often, this was obtained without bloodshed, either through the intervention of seconds, or with a gentleman's agreement to fire wide. Nonetheless, duels could sometimes turn violent, a testament to the emotional impetus behind them. For example, Joshua Barton, the first Secretary of State for Missouri, died in a duel in St. Louis. He was

[14] Rachel A. Feinstein, *When Rape Was Legal: The Untold History of Sexual Violence During Slavery* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 33-34; 41, argues that dominance and independence, central aspects of white masculinity in the Civil War era, were often proven through the rape of enslaved black women. Though this did not necessarily reflect anger, sexual violence could also be used as a form of punishment, particularly if black women rejected efforts at 'courtship'. See also, Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race, and Class* (New York: Random House, 1981), 23-24. More generally, see, Thelma Jennings, '"Us Colored Women Had To Go Though A Plenty": Sexual Exploitation of African-American Slave Women,' *Journal of Women's History* 1 no. 3 (Winter 1990): 45-74.

[15] Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. X, Missouri, 81. See also, Lydia Plath, '"My master and Miss … warn't nothing but poor white trash": poor white slaveholders and their slaves in the antebellum South,' *Slavery and Abolition* 38 no. 3 (2017): 475-88.

[16] Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. X, Missouri, 131.

killed by William Rector, whose appointment as Surveyor General he had opposed, illustrating how closely anger and violence were linked with political conflict.[17]

The most famous example of political anger in the antebellum era was the caning of Senator Charles Sumner by Representative Preston Brooks in May 1856. Brooks had taken issue with Senator Sumner's verbal attacks on his cousin, Senator Andrew Butler, as well as his more general criticisms of slavery in the South and the hypocrisies of the slaveholding class. Arguing that Sumner's foul language had debased his social standing, Brooks, rather than challenging him to a duel, viciously beat him over the head with his cane in the Senate Chamber. The incident divided the Northern and Southern press, which both called for unity amongst the populace of both regions along sectional lines. The *Puritan Recorder* in Boston, Massachusetts stated that the attack had 'naturally excited great indignation amongst all parties of our citizens'.[18] Equally, the *Sentinel of Freedom* in New Jersey warned that, though 'Northern men are slow to anger and permit their deliberations and long suffering patience to be stigmatised by those of a more sudden passion at the South', their patience was quickly wearing out.[19] By contrast, the *Richmond Whig* announced that it was 'rejoiced at this', citing Sumner's reputation for foul language, which had earned him 'an elegant and effectual caning', an attitude the *New York Tribune* described as 'cowardly', likening Brooks' assault to barbarism.[20]

The differing responses by Northern and Southern commentators can be argued to have reflected both the growing sectional hostilities, but also a difference in emotional culture. The above quote from the *Sentinel of Freedom* seems to make this clear. Whilst Northerners condemned the outward display of violent anger as the unjust actions of a thug, Southerners accepted it as an appropriate and necessary response to defend the honour of family and country. This interpretation, however, oversimplifies the place of anger in the North as being an emotion that was always restrained. Displays of anger were a constant aspect of life in the North throughout the antebellum era, whether in political discourse over slavery, or through instances of violence that broke out on an individual

[17] *Missouri Intelligencer*, 8 July 1823. Freeman, *Field of Blood*, charts the growing political tensions in US politics, and the role that violence played in heightening them. As Freeman notes, the political figures in Congress all had backgrounds that were grounded in conceptions of honour, which frequently meant duelling.
[18] *Boston Recorder* (published as *The Puritan Recorder*) 29 May 1856.
[19] *The Sentinel of Freedom*, 27 May 1856.
[20] *New York Daily Tribune*, 27 May 1856.

and communal scale. Mobs frequently targeted groups such as immigrants and Catholics, spurred on by the rhetoric of elites, leading to violence such as the 1863 draft riots in New York.[21]

Northern condemnation of Preston Brooks was not rooted in an aversion to anger and violence, but rather in his motivations for the attack. Those against Brooks argued that his response had been disproportionate to the insult, as well as cowardly, because Sumner had been unarmed and was not challenged to a duel in accordance with convention. In addition to the issue of slavery, the caning of Charles Sumner illustrated the need for anger to be justified. Far from being an emotion best concealed, if proven to be necessary non-violent and violent anger could both be tolerated and even celebrated.

In the Civil War era United States, justification, or lack thereof, was the deciding factor in distinguishing between various forms of anger. Michael E. Woods has broadly noted the existence of an unacceptable rage that occurred without justification, and 'indignation', which was the more acceptable form of anger. Though closely connected, sharing similar physical characteristics, there was a crucial difference.[22] Indignation held an implicit morality that was not present in more traditional anger, due to its biblical roots in God's warnings to the people of Israel, or in Christ's cleansing of the Temple. Indeed, the religious roots of indignation and justifiable anger were evident in debates over the future of slavery, particularly in abolitionist arguments.[23] Benjamin Silliman warned of God's impending wrath, promising that 'He may visit us with His righteous indignation.'[24] Some went further, encouraging others to display this indignation themselves. In 1844, the Boston *Liberator*, an abolitionist newspaper, reported on the alleged flogging of John

[21] Lorien Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs: Violence, Honor, and Manhood in the Union Army* (New York: New York University, 2010), 129-32, considers the impact of the riots on perceptions of the Irish immigrant community, arguing that their fellow soldiers began to see them as ill-disciplined.
[22] Michael E. Woods, *Emotional and Sectional Conflict in the Antebellum United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 121-28. Some of the physical similarities noted by Woods are a tightness of the chest and rising blood pressure, all commonly associated with an idea of 'rage', rather than a more righteous style of anger.
[23] The role of anger in protest movements has been discussed by James M. Jasper, 'Constructing Indignation: Anger Dynamics in Protest Movements,' *Emotion Review* 6 no. 4 (July 2014): 208-13. Jasper focuses on turning the shame of the oppressed into indignation with reference to late-twentieth century protest movements. In the case of the abolitionist campaign, shame was often felt by abolitionists at the apparent contradiction of the ideals of a republic. This has been noted by Benjamin Lamb-Brooks, *Angry Abolitionists and the Rhetoric of Slavery: Moral Emotions in Social Movements* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 97. Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 154-57, has likewise connected emotions and the promotion of particular moral values.
[24] *Boston Recorder* 30 March 1854.

L. Brown, a South Carolina man accused of aiding in the escape of a female slave. Believing Brown to be a resident of Bath, Maine, the *Liberator* stated that the case 'ought to set that State on fire with righteous indignation.'[25]

In these instances, 'indignation' did not equate to violent anger, though justification of violent acts in the name of a greater cause was also practiced in the antebellum era. This was especially the case as all-out sectional conflict became increasingly likely and violence began to spread in the border regions. A notable example that treads the line between indignation and violent anger is the career of John Brown, particularly his final written words: 'I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood.' This example is evidently linked with indignation, due to its apparent connection with religious imagery, and the clearly stated goal of achieving a moral victory. Bloodshed would ensue, though it would not be the result of violent anger, instead occurring as a part of a greater battle between good and evil.

Notions of righteousness and indignation, however, though prevalent amongst middle-class emotional communities that valued restraint, did not always follow migrant communities westward. In the guerrilla war, the justification for displays of anger and violence made little to no mention of biblical or moral ideals. Moreover, it lacked the ritual formality present in official retaliations. Instead, violence and anger better reflected later discourse on lynching, with one party arguing that they were avenging a heinous crime on behalf of their community, whilst critics claimed that they were an out-of-control mob, acting in their own interests. Critical responses to lynchings during the Reconstruction era used the word 'outrage' rather than 'lynching,' which robbed the act of any legitimacy and removed communal responsibility.[26] Outrage was the key to anger and violence in the guerrilla war, born out of local disputes and very personal grievances. Only rarely did anger extend to federal officials and become formal retaliation.

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[25] *The Liberator* (Boston, MA.), 29 March 1844. The *Liberator* reported that Brown's initial sentence had been commuted from death to whipping, but were unaware that he had been released without punishment on the day of publication. A complete analysis of the case is W. Caleb McDaniel, 'The Case of John L. Brown: Sex, Slavery, and the Trials of a Transatlantic Abolitionist Campaign,' *American Nineteenth Century History* 14 no. 2 (2013): 141-59.

[26] Christopher Waldrep, *The Many Faces of Judge Lynch: Extralegal Violence and Punishment in America* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 79-84. W. Fitzhugh Brundage, 'Introduction,' in Brundage (ed.) *Under Sentence of Death: Lynching in the New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 2, likewise noted the link between lynchings and supposed communal justice.

This was the national context of anger in the antebellum era. The influence of this dynamic was also evident in the emotional communities of Missouri's guerrilla war. As pro-Confederate guerrillas, jayhawkers, and Union soldiers committed acts of violence, they argued that its cyclical nature meant that revenge justified their actions, whereas their enemies accused them of acting unjustly. Indeed, the press frequently made use of the word 'outrage' to describe irregular actions throughout Bleeding Kansas and the guerrilla war.[27]

This chapter considers anger in a violent, aggressive form, arguing that the emotion fostered a cycle of revenge in Civil War era Missouri that fed the guerrilla conflict and kept it alive.[28] In addition to the sectional and community conflicts that constituted the guerrilla war, debate raged over whether anger reflected a just cause or an outrage and proved to be one of the key emotional conflicts of the guerrilla war. Combatants and civilians on both sides of the war sought to portray the anger of their enemies as being unjust, out of control, to seize the initiative in beginning to construct the memory of the conflict.

Anger and Cyclical Violence

John Russell Kelso sought revenge through various means. Sometimes, vengeance could be attained with only the threat of violence. After leaving his family in Illinois, Kelso returned to his militia regiment and was soon posted to northeast Dallas County. As a result, he could confront those who had driven his family from their home. The man who had stolen his farmland and burned his house was a particular target of Kelso's ire. Despite his hopes that the man would 'make some war-like demonstration that would justify me in punishing him as he deserved,' Kelso was denied the opportunity. The 'utterly abject wretch' began to cry, claiming that he was sick, and that Kelso would not shorten his life by much. Satisfied, Kelso left the man in peace, though he was hanged along with his

[27] For example, the *St. Louis Daily Bulletin*, 11 December 1860, used the phrase, 'Another Abolitionist Outrage,' when describing the incident at Morgan Walker's farm, where Quantrill allegedly warned a Missouri slaveholder near Independence of an imminent abolitionist raid.

[28] Anger and violence are not invariably one and the same. One can become angry without resorting to violence, and likewise many violent actions can be enacted dispassionately. This chapter considers only violent anger, as it was this that fomented cyclical violence in Missouri through a chain of regular and irregular actions.

eldest son at the end of the war for looting. Kelso would later recall: 'my vengeance came, but not by my own hand.'[29]

As his last words regarding his neighbour suggest, however, Kelso saw violence as the most effective way of avenging himself on pro-Confederates in Missouri. While on a scouting mission in Taney County, Kelso was informed that nearby Southern families were providing safe harbour to local guerrilla bands. At dawn, his detachment surrounded one of the houses whilst Kelso approached alone, having sighted three guerrillas within. As he approached, a guard dog jumped a fence and bit him in the calf. Kelso drew his revolver and shot the dog dead, before entering the house with his shotgun drawn, where he found the guerrillas had managed to flee.

What happened next would divide popular opinion after Kelso's death in 1891, by which time the reputation of the pro-Confederate guerrillas had been redeemed and turned them into figures of legend.[30] In a favourable account, former Union soldier Wiley Britton noted that Kelso shot both the head of the household and his son, 'holding that those who gave aid and comfort to the bandits were as deserving of punishment as the bandits themselves.'[31] By contrast, a more critical biographical article in the *St. Louis Republic* noted that the man of the house was an 'old man,' gunned down without warning, whilst his son was 'a young man hardly grown,' and that Kelso had shot him in the back as he tried to flee, leaving him badly wounded.[32]

For those who had fought against the guerrillas, Kelso's anger and resulting actions were perfectly justified in the context of a guerrilla war. But those with a pro-Confederate allegiance and judging Kelso with three decades of hindsight found these excuses lacking, and suggested that Kelso's actions were devoid of restraint, leading to brutal consequences. This incident encapsulates how cyclical violence was used by participants in the guerrilla war, and its complicated legacy. Moreover, it illustrates the limitations of 'retaliation' as a concept, showing that a form of anger that was much closer to the

[29] Kelso, *Bloody Engagements*, 58.
[30] For the memory of the guerrilla war and its emotional legacy, see Chapter VII.
[31] Wiley Britton, *The Civil War on the Border* vol. II (New York: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1904), 202-03. Kelso's attitude towards looting of slaveholder's property would suggest that he agreed with this assessment that all Southerners should be held responsible. See for example, Kelso, *Bloody Engagements*, 23-24.
[32] *St. Louis Republic*, 1893. Christopher Grasso has also discussed this particular incident in detail in Kelso, *Bloody Engagements*, xxiii-xvii. Set in the wider context of cyclical violence, Kelso's actions can be explained as the brutal reality of a search for catharsis in revenge.

'savagery' displayed by the guerrillas was also present within the Union soldiers hunting them. Federal policy could only do so much to limit violence and anger in a war where neighbour fought and threatened neighbour. In a conflict driven by powerful emotional states, anger was very difficult to control and manipulate by officials.

Describing the violence of the guerrilla war, Aaron Sheehan-Dean uses the phrase 'lawful but unnecessary.'[33] Many Union officers attempted to find nonlethal solutions when dealing with captured guerrillas, as they did not wish to generate sympathy for them as had occurred after the Palmyra Massacre, though this was often not possible.[34] Judicial solutions simply did not provide 'the same emotional satisfaction' as an execution did.[35] Union soldiers found their work unrewarding due to the difficulty of engaging guerrilla bands in open battle, and also lived under the constant threat of ambush. Many felt a need to exact punishment on the guerrillas who were tormenting them.

Most important, however, was that the nature of guerrilla warfare in Missouri, being a household war, led to intrusions upon the domestic sphere and harm being wrought to the family unit. The familial space was integral to masculine identity throughout the Civil War era United States, this was the main source of outrage for those engaged in guerrilla warfare. A later image produced by pro-Confederate sympathiser Adalbert J. Volck, entitled 'formation of a guerrilla band,' makes this clear (see fig. vii), showing a guerrilla encouraging a man whose home has been destroyed to take revenge for his family and join his band. The presence of other destroyed homesteads in the background shows that this was not an isolated incident, but in fact reflective of the origins of countless guerrillas across the nation.[36] Indeed, it demonstrates that people across the nation were aware of how guerrillas were created. This was not an understanding limited to Missouri.

But the same was also true of Union men who had suffered at the hands of Confederates. John Kelso and many others like him had suffered because of the pro-Confederate population and wanted vengeance in response. The men who went into

[33] Sheehan-Dean, *Calculus of Violence*, 181.
[34] The massacre would ultimately become a part of Missouri's Lost Cause, as evidenced by the pro-Confederate narrative, *A Short, Concise but True History of the Execution of Ten Confederate Soldiers at Palmyra, Missouri, October 18th 1862* (Palmyra, MO.: Sosey Bros., 1902).
[35] Sheehan-Dean, *Calculus of Violence*, 190.
[36] As a resident of a border state, Maryland, Volck was undoubtedly aware of how cyclical violence worked to create new combatants for a guerrilla conflict.

Fig. vii., Adalbert J. Volck, 'Formation of a Guerrilla Band,' ca. 1880-1890, Confederate War Etchings, Papers and Images of the American Civil War, GL00943.16, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

battle following attacks on their families carried with them visible reminders of what had driven them to war. Performative changes to one's appearance were both a statement of intent, but also a helpful way for the pro-Confederate guerrillas to distinguish themselves. The guerrilla shirt, typically a low-cut design with floral patterns, was made by the women of guerrilla households to clothe the bands that they supplied. It served as a reminder of the 'unique bonds with their mothers, sisters, sweethearts, and wives.'[37] By extension, it therefore also spoke of the guerrilla's reason for fighting – the defence and vengeance of the domestic space. Some guerrillas went further, vowing not to cut their hair until the war was won, or as a mark of mourning for a loved one, possibly evoking the biblical tale of Samson. John McCorkle was one man who swore this oath, but was left disappointed when a friend who had joined the regular army had been forced to cut his hair due to regulations.[38] Set in this context, the scalping of defeated Union soldiers by guerrillas takes on a new meaning as a sign of their ultimate defeat. In contrast, the guerrilla shirt

[37] Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 106.
[38] McCorkle, *Three Years with Quantrill*, 47.

and the flamboyant hair and beards became symbols of the frontier masculinity they sought to embody.[39]

It was not solely the Confederate guerrillas who made these changes to their appearance. On the journey north to Illinois with his family, John Kelso had made a vow not to cut his hair until he had killed twenty-five rebels to avenge their suffering.[40] Kelso would wear his 'midnight black' hair long throughout the war, which was noted as a distinguishing feature of his appearance.[41] Like the guerrillas he hunted, Kelso made a performative statement of his anger, and his reasons for fighting. His long hair represented the domestic life he had left behind in Collinsville, Illinois.

Men were not the only people to show anger at disruption to the domestic sphere. Women were undoubtedly just as capable of experiencing and expressing anger as men were and took advantage of the guerrilla war to act upon it. In 1863, Lucinda Boyd, a resident of Greene County, discovered that her husband, Robert, was having an affair with the wife of a Confederate officer away in the army. Angered, she rode to a Union outpost and reported that Robert Boyd was an active guerrilla, hoping that he would be punished as such. For his part, Robert denied involvement with guerrilla bands and was cleared. The couple eventually divorced in 1865.[42] Though unique in its content, this case is an important example of how counterinsurgency policy could be influenced from below by people holding private agendas. Lucinda Boyd's accusations against her husband demonstrate the limits of federal authority in Civil War Missouri. Despite being aimed at bringing order to the state, reprisals and punishments often produced new combatants. But they could also be manipulated and used in less obvious ways, as the above example demonstrates.

Some women may have gone further and acted as guerrillas themselves because of their anger. Marcus O. Frost recorded the capture of a female guerrilla named Victoria Howard by the 10th Missouri Infantry near Memphis, Tennessee, suggesting that she had

[39] Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 123-42.
[40] Kelso, *Bloody Engagements*, 52-53.
[41] A section of a small newspaper clipping was included in a letter Kelso sent to an unknown recipient, with the suggestion that it be 'used as you see best', implying that Kelso was satisfied with the description. John Russell Kelso Letter to Unknown Recipient, 12 July 1865, B296, *MHS*.
[42] Case Files, Greene County, Circuit Court, Missouri Judicial Records, Folder 083, Box 6, microfilm roll no. c53608, *MSA*.

been the captain of her band.[43] In Missouri itself, later writers claimed that women had, on occasion, fought as fiercely as men. In 1892, the *St. Paul Daily Globe* claimed some 80 women in western and southwestern Missouri became guerrillas 'purely and simply'. One example given, for example, was Puss Michaels from Cass County, allegedly killed by Kansas soldiers in autumn 1863 whilst carrying two revolvers, dying 'with her boots on' in combat.[44] It is possible that these stories were exaggerated, with women like Puss Michaels acting as avatars for the Southern women tasked with maintaining the legacy of the Confederacy in Missouri. Generally, women expressed their anger by operating as crucial parts of the domestic supply line, aiding the guerrillas of their household. In the later-nineteenth century, this domestic support would become crucial in transforming long-term anger and resentment into a bespoke memory of the guerrilla war. Nevertheless, there is certainly evidence that some fought as active combatants.

It was always required to demonstrate just cause for displaying anger and engaging in cyclical violence. Where an action did not warrant retaliatory violence, this was condemned, even in wartime Missouri. Violence for violence's sake was not acceptable. As one example, in May 1862, an officer in Co. B., 5th Kansas Cavalry, Captain John R. Clark, attempted to enter a house in Springfield whilst drunk, accompanied by one of his men. The inhabitants of the house were Unionist refugees from Arkansas, an old woman identified only as "Mrs Willis", and her daughter Mary. Their Southern origins meant that they were frequently the targets of abuse from Union soldiers, so much so that a guard had to be placed on their door. When Clark arrived at the house demanding food, Mrs Willis refused him entry, at which point Clark became angry, drawing his pistol and attacking the guard. The guard shot and killed both Clark and the soldier accompanying him, but not before the latter fired a third shot that missed the guard and hit a young woman, Mary Willis, killing her instantly. Clark's fellow soldiers condemned his display, agreeing that his actions had warranted death, more so because they had been targeted at women. As a man, Clark should have acted chivalrously, not as a drunken ruffian. Joseph H. Trego, serving in Clark's regiment, simply stated to his wife that Clark

[43] Marcus O. Frost Letter to Dear Sister, 21 February 1863, Folder 1, Marcus O. Frost Papers, B203, *MHS*.
[44] *St. Paul Daily Globe*, 4 January 1892.

had been 'shot through the heart, as he should be.'[45] John Kelso sympathised with Mrs Willis's grief, asking 'What can earth ever be to her again!'[46] Clark, in his drunken rage, had lost control and committed an act of violence that was unacceptable, paying the deserved price. Without the necessary outrage to justify it, anger of this kind was simple barbarism best restrained.

Cyclical violence and an emphasis on revenge were crucial in legitimising impulsive acts of aggression. As was the case in lynchings, the target of violence was accused of a crime or slight that validated anger as a considered act of retaliation, usually against the domestic sphere. Sometimes, victims of guerrilla warfare could not, or would not, acknowledge any initial provocation or logic to a raid, wishing instead to seize early control over the memory of the attack. For example, one of the male survivors of the Lawrence Massacre deemed it 'the most vivid realisation of "Hell let loose" that could be well imagined.'[47] From the perspective of the surviving victims, as well as from Northern commentators, the Lawrence Massacre was an example of anger run wild, in which the pro-Confederate guerrillas slaughtered indiscriminately. Even in the South, there was a concern that 'inappropriate violence' against civilians was undermining the Confederate cause.[48]

By contrast, the guerrillas themselves argued that they had committed a perfectly reasonable action against their enemies. They claimed that a raid on Lawrence had long been considered because of the town's history as a jayhawker stronghold during Bleeding Kansas. As Matthew Hulbert has noted, by August 1863 Quantrill's guerrillas held a deep understanding of 'household warfare,' and likely viewed an attack on Lawrence as a practical measure to deny jayhawkers a base of operations. In this way, the attack could be considered the equivalent of the Union campaign against pro-Confederate households.[49] Even some Union soldiers and citizens were aware of this justification.

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[45] Joseph H. Trego Letter to Alice Trego, 1-6 June 1862, Kansas Historical Society, Correspondence 1862, Joseph H. Trego Correspondence, Collection No., 523.
[46] Kelso, *Bloody Engagements*, 95-96.
[47] Cordley, *A History of Lawrence*, 207.
[48] Winthrop Rutherfurd, 'The Partisan Ranger Act: The Confederacy and the Laws of War,' *Louisiana Law Review* 79 no. 3 (Spring 2019): 837. Indeed, Rutherfurd proposes that the Southern perception of guerrilla violence as being needlessly bloody ultimately contributed to the repeal of the Partisan Ranger Act in 1864.
[49] Hulbert, 'Larkin M. Skaggs and the Massacre at Lawrence,' 277.

Phillip G. Ferguson, a Union soldier stationed in St. Louis, penned a poem in his diary, entitled 'Quantrell', in his diary discussing the events in Kansas:

We couple his name with deeds of shame,
And we call him the fiend of the West.
Ah! Christian men who shudder again,
At the groans that from Lawrence arise.
Ye little know why the deadly blow,
Fell there with the shuddering skies…

His followers too have dark debts due,
From the wilderness of Kansas plains,
Their homes and lands were spoiled by the bands,
Of Jennison, Blunt, and Jim Lane.
For Lawrence was made the depot of trade
In the spoils of these bloody thieves. [50]

Here, Ferguson takes a balanced view, contrary to the more partisan interpretations of the Lawrence Massacre produced by the town's chroniclers. Though using language typical of Unionist opinions of Quantrill and his band, calling him a 'fiend' who would make Christian men shudder, he also notes the jayhawker raids of men such as Jim Lane, with Lawrence acting as a base of operations. The reality of these outrages was a known but uncomfortable truth for Unionists, who sought to portray the attack as an unjustifiable slaughter.

The greatest outrage that influenced the decision to attack Lawrence, however, was the collapse of the women's prison in Kansas City on 13 August 1863. At the time, the prison was holding seventeen female relatives of Quantrill's guerrillas, including John McCorkle's sister, Charity Kerr, and Bill Anderson's youngest sister, Jenny. Four women died in the collapse, with several more maimed and injured, including Jenny Anderson who suffered broken legs, with some claiming that the building had been deliberately compromised by its guards. Described by John McCorkle as 'one of the most brutal and fiendish acts that ever disgraced a so-called civilized nation,' justification for the raid on Lawrence was produced.[51] Far from being an indiscriminate act of violence, the Lawrence Massacre was instead portrayed by its perpetrators as an act of revenge for the deliberate murder of their women. This reasoning would have doubtless resonated with any white

[50] Philip Gooch Ferguson, 'Diary of a Soldier,' *MHS* A172.
[51] McCorkle, *Three Years with Quantrill*, 76-79.

Missourian familiar with the motives often given to justify lynchings, which often focused on threats against the white female population, with clear implications for masculinity and control. The personal nature of this outrage, which occurred immediately before the Lawrence Massacre, was unquestionably a central factor during the attack, contributing to some of the more brutal moments of the day.

Indeed, those guerrillas who survived the conflict and lived long enough to tell their stories went further, ascribing their whole careers as outlaws to Union atrocities committed against their families. John McCorkle's memoirs, written near the end of his life, built upon the post-war redemption of the guerrillas in Missouri to argue that his actions, and those of his peers, were reasoned within the context of guerrilla warfare. Initially serving in the Missouri State Guard, McCorkle had been captured and paroled in 1861, taking the oath of allegiance with every intent to 'remain a quiet, law-abiding citizen.'[52] This was made impossible, however, by the counterinsurgency tactics of the Union Army. On one occasion, McCorkle was ordered to pay a $5,000 dollar bond for singing 'We'll Hang John Brown's Body', after he had already been robbed by the state militia 'before the ink was hardly dry' on his parole. On another, Union soldiers threatened to arrest his cousin, Mollie Wigginton, if McCorkle and her brother George did not join the state militia. Stating that this would take him away from the field, and thus his ability to support and contribute to the household, McCorkle argued that he was left with little choice but to join up with Quantrill.[53]

Guerrilla families suffered violence at the hands of Unionists. According to masculine principals, this left an obligation on the survivor to avenge the dead, whether women, as in the case, of Lawrence, or a male relative. Sam Hildebrand's brother Frank was hanged by a Unionist mob led by Firman McIlvaine, following the murder of a local man in November 1861. The execution drove Hildebrand into the bush in a war of vengeance against those responsible and consequently, in June 1862, Hildebrand shot and killed McIlvaine as he tended to his crop of rye, avenging his brother.[54] Stories claimed

[52] Ibid., 21.
[53] Ibid., 20-24.
[54] Sam Hildebrand, James W. Evans, and A. Wendell Keith, *Autobiography of Samuel S. Hildebrand, The Renowned Missouri "Bushwhacker" and Unconquerable Rob Roy of America* (Jefferson City MO.: State Times Book and Job Printing House, 1870), 43-45; 59-64. Hildebrand noted that the mob who hanged his brother were dissatisfied at the inability of law enforcement to legally hang Frank Hildebrand. They therefore decided to take matters into their own hands, and became a lynch mob. This is similar

that Quantrill himself had been driven to a life of violence because of the alleged death of a brother at the hands of jayhawkers during the Bleeding Kansas years.[55] Anger caused the guerrillas to wage an irregular war, which was frequently inseparable from the private conflicts that had initially driven them into the bush. But rather than make them out of control monsters, the guerrillas presented their anger in such a way as to make it a part of what made them such effective fighters. In Hildebrand's case, he was only able to ambush McIlvaine after spending two nights alone in the bush, waiting for the perfect opportunity to strike with a long-range shot that required practice and a steady hand.[56]

The guerrillas argued that their anger did not manifest itself in a blind rage but was rather a simmering emotion that motivated and sustained them throughout their campaigns. As evidence that they remained in full control of their anger, guerrillas were keen to point out that they did not deliberately set out to harm women and children. This was a common theme in later accounts of the Lawrence Massacre, as guerrillas and their allies sought to account for 21 August 1863, casting themselves in the role of avenging heroes. From the perspective of their victims, however, the anger expressed by the guerrillas during the Lawrence Massacre was far from controlled, but rather wild and indiscriminate. Sarah Fitch described the guerrilla who killed her husband as:

> a ruffian, a demon, burst open the door – oh that face! it haunts me day and night, a coarse, brutal, blood thirsty face – inflamed with hellish passions and strong drink for he was evidently intoxicated – with horrid oaths he said not one of us should leave[.][57]

This description matches the fears that nineteenth-century Americans held over the expression of anger, which Sarah Fitch saw as having taken hold of this guerrilla. At odds with the masculine ideals of the day, his emotions made him a common 'ruffian,' in contrast to her husband Edward, whose calm demeanour and lack of fear made him the very model of masculinity. The guerrilla's face was instead contorted with rage, he swore,

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justification to that found in white-on-white lynchings, which emphasised the failures of the judicial system. See, Christine Arnold-Lourie, '"A Mad Man's Deed: A Maniac's Hand": Gender and Justice in Three Maryland Lynchings,' *Journal of Social History* 41 no. 4 (Summer 2008): 1032-33.

[55] McCorkle, *Three Years with Quantrill*, 25-28.

[56] Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 148-49.

[57] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863.

and he compounded his emotional instability with alcohol.[58] The exact nature of the emotion being expressed could therefore be a matter of perspective. For Sarah Fitch, a settler from New England who held emotional values very distinct from the guerrilla who confronted her, the guerrilla's emotional state was horrifying. This was far removed from the noble ideal of revenge that the guerrillas themselves sought to embody.

Other individual acts of violence attested to by surviving victims suggest that the massacre was the result of blind anger that went beyond the limits of justifiable retaliation. D. W. Palmer, the owner of a gun shop on Massachusetts Street, was burned out of his property by drunken guerrillas. Together with another man, he was tied up and thrown into the shop to be burned alive, perhaps as punishment for supplying the arms that jayhawkers had used on Missourians.[59] The guerrillas themselves thought of their anger as a just and righteous tool. Indeed, many likely believed that they were carrying out the massacre without showing any overt anger, but rather the collectedness and restraint warranted during a military action. By contrast, to their victims the guerrillas appeared as little more than drunken savages, their emotional states instead perceived as making them monsters rather than soldiers. Ultimately, this emotional perspective would prove a key battleground for those charged with creating a memory of the conflict.[60]

An important part of anger in the guerrilla conflict and its emotional legacy was how the victims of pro-Confederate guerrillas themselves also exhibited anger. Most accounts of the Lawrence Massacre produced by the townspeople and their descendants emphasise emotions such as fear and grief, the better to paint the conflict as a black and white contest between good and evil.[61] If anyone noted anger as an emotional

[58] The association of guerrillas and alcohol has been noted by Joseph M. Beilein Jr., who argues that whiskey, the drink of choice for the guerrilla, helped to make him a more effective fighter, able to commit atrocities and maintain his morale. See, Beilein Jr., 'Whiskey, Wild Men, and Missouri's Guerrilla War, in McKnight & Byers (eds.) *The Guerrilla Hunters*, 236-59. But alongside the practical advantages that alcohol offered should be considered its role in creating a guerrilla emotional style. Combined with the guerrilla shirt, long hair, and his equipment, whiskey was another tool that helped them to embody their style of frontier masculinity.

[59] Cordley, *A History of Lawrence*, 216.

[60] For more, see Chapter VII, esp. page 210-20.

[61] Rev. Cordley's *History of Lawrence* makes heavy use of this imagery, contrasting the people of the town with the guerrillas. Cordley, who wanted to portray Lawrence as a model for the nation itself, a bastion of abolitionism that had progressed through war and emerged stronger. The town's citizens themselves emulated this spirit through their resolve and dedication.

consequence of the massacre, then it was acknowledged only as a respectable 'indignation,' removing any notion of retaliatory violence from the narrative. The noted orator Reverend Robert Collyer, visiting the ruins of Lawrence, described his tears of 'choking indignation,' whilst the *New York Herald* pronounced that the name of Quantrill would awaken 'feelings of hate and indignation.'[62] These urban middle-class emotional communities ascribed a religious morality to the anger of the people of Lawrence that did not adequately reflect the strength of their hatred towards the guerrillas. For the communities who had suffered and survived guerrilla attacks, more violent anger was expressed openly.

The sole guerrilla casualty of Quantrill's raid was Larkin Milton Skaggs, an older guerrilla who had participated in Bleeding Kansas and ridden with Quantrill for some time prior to the raid on Lawrence. The exact details of how Skaggs met his end have been lost over time. All that can be said for certain is that Skaggs became separated from his comrades and was pursued by vengeful townspeople as he attempted to flee Lawrence. Some accounts describe him being shot from his horse by William Speer, who had lost two of his brothers earlier that morning, before being finished off by a Native American named White Turkey. The former slave Andrew Williams, by contrast, gave full credit to William Speer for killing Skaggs.[63] Others place total responsibility for Skaggs's death on non-white individuals, with one report stating that he was clubbed to death by White Turkey and a second Native American after being captured. All accounts then note that, after Skaggs was dead, his body was mutilated by vengeful townspeople, who dragged him through the streets attached to a horse.[64]

In the words of Matthew C. Hulbert, Larkin Skaggs's death 'posed a serious threat to the commemorative agenda' for the Lawrence Massacre.[65] White middle-class authors sought to demonstrate that any extreme expression of anger came from non-whites living in Lawrence, as this would maintain the clear moral divide between Lawrence and the guerrillas. The implication, therefore, is that the anger displayed during Skaggs's death

[62] *Massachusetts Weekly Spy*, 21 October 1863; *New York Herald*, 24 August 1863.
[63] Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 380-82; Dobak (ed.), 'The Narrative of Former Slave Andrew Williams,' 240.
[64] Hulbert, 'Larkin M. Skaggs and the Massacre at Lawrence,' 266-73, offers an overview of the conflicting narratives surrounding Skaggs's death.
[65] Ibid., 263.

was unacceptable. It should be noted, however, that these accounts were produced in the early-twentieth century, ahead of the semicentennial commemorations of the Lawrence Massacre. Whilst time and the contentious memory of the conflict may have influenced how anger was perceived, on 21 August 1863 and its immediate aftermath this was not the case. Instead, Skaggs's death and the treatment of his body fit into a wider pattern of retribution following the Lawrence Massacre. Importantly, there is a question over whether Skaggs was in fact the only Confederate victim of the townspeople's wrath. Andrew Williams's account of the massacre clearly describes a second man, allegedly a spy for the guerrillas, who was lynched on 22 August:

> the next day after the Rade the fuiew men that was lucky a nough to ascape and Save thir lives found a man that was living in lawrece at the time of the Rade he was Seen going a Round with the Bush wackers By woman that lived thir Showing them whre men hide So they could kill them our men taken [him] to a Barn hung him to a Joyce made him get up on a dry goods Box and taken [it] out from under him and be four he was dead Shot him half a dozen times while hanging[.][66]

The Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* also reported the lynching, naming the victim as John Calloo, a citizen of Lawrence who had evacuated his family the night before the massacre, and then ridden in with Quantrill.[67]

This alleged lynching must be viewed alongside the death of Skaggs. Both were killed by vengeful townspeople, and both had their bodies mutilated post-mortem, which shows that the treatment of Skaggs did not occur as an isolated instance of uncontrolled anger but was rather a considered act of retaliation. Instead of handing over their prisoners to the Union authorities, the townspeople chose the more cathartic option of dispensing their own justice.[68] As was the case with other white-on-white lynchings, community outrage legitimised mob violence as an appropriate expression of anger.[69] That Skaggs and Calloo were lynched by surviving male townspeople is particularly significant. If the attack had indeed 'unmanned' the male victims, then this retaliation served to reaffirm their ability to protect their homes and families.[70] In this way, the anger

[66] Dobak (ed.), 'The Narrative of Former Slave Andrew Williams,' 240.
[67] Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, 27 August 1863.
[68] Sheehan-Dean, *Calculus of Violence*, 181.
[69] Arnold-Lourie, 'A Mad Man's Deed: A Maniac's Hand,' 1032-33.
[70] Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 29-31.

shown by the townspeople compares to that felt by the guerrillas themselves, with both motivated in large part by assaults on the domestic sphere. The townsfolk evidently felt that the killings were a just response to the massacre. No attempt was made to deny or disguise the deaths of Skaggs and Calloo. It was only in later accounts, written by men such as Richard Cordley and aimed at presenting the townspeople as peaceable and defenceless, that the guerrilla casualties came to be omitted.

Indeed, some victims of the Lawrence Massacre went further in their efforts to restore their masculine identities.[71] Jim Lane, who had fled the town in his nightgown, organised a group of volunteers to pursue the guerrillas to the state line on 22 August, with many choosing to follow the jayhawker. Among them was George E. Young, a merchant who had hidden in a cellar during the attack and only narrowly escaped.[72] Evidently desiring to prove his manliness, Young borrowed a revolver and horse, riding with Lane and his party in pursuit of the guerrillas. During the pursuit, ten guerrillas were killed.[73] This response by Lane and his followers was impulsive, the decision to pursue the guerrillas being made immediately after many of the riders had experienced the trauma of the attack, with all the fear, grief, and shame that it had entailed. In riding after the guerrillas, the townspeople changed from victims to hunters. Now, it was the guerrillas who were fleeing a fight, reversing the gender dynamics of the raid.

It is not necessarily the case that Lane's band were acting out of anger, though the timing of the ride, in addition to our understanding of masculinity and the importance of control, would suggest it likely played a role. Moreover, it fits into a wider pattern of anger and retribution by Kansans living on the Missouri border. In the days and weeks after the Lawrence Massacre, Jim Lane continued to act as a figurehead for Kansans and loyalist Missourians seeking vengeance against the guerrillas and their families. This became a considerable problem for Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield, the commander of the Department

[71] Jennifer S. Lerner and Dacher Keltner have proposed a model of 'appraisal tendency,' arguing that fear encourages an individual to take fewer risks, and anger more. A lack of control over a given situation, and the uncertainty around that, promotes emotions of fear, whereas when a person expresses anger, they anticipate greater individual control and certainty. A similar dynamic can be applied to men like George Young, who had no control during the massacre and were therefore fearful, but found a way to regain control after the fact, turning their fear into anger. See, Jennifer S. Lerner and Dacher Keltner, 'Fear, Anger, and Risk,' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 81 no. 1 (2001): 147.

[72] See Chapter II page 53.

[73] See, for example, Report of John Ballinger, Captain, First Missouri State Militia Cavalry, 27 August 1863, *OR* Series I, Volume 22, pt. 1, 586-87, which discusses guerrilla casualties during the pursuit.

of the Missouri, who was responsible for trying to bring and maintain order to Missouri. In the wake of his initial pursuit of the guerrillas, Lane demanded that he be allowed to lead a reprisal raid into Missouri, with the aim of ending the possibility of future guerrilla attacks in Kansas. Schofield's refusal to allow this led Lane to accuse him of 'imbecility and incapacity,' and demand that Lincoln replace Schofield with someone more sympathetic to Kansas, but the general remained firm in his stance.[74] Though Schofield continued to hold the support of Lincoln and Halleck in Washington, his popularity amongst Kansans and loyalist Missourians plummeted. The *Westliche Post*, a German newspaper, accused Schofield of willingly protecting the guerrillas, lamenting that in Kansas, 'faith in the existence of liberty must vanish more every day,' comparing the military strategy to a Shakespearean farce.[75] Whilst many observing the guerrilla conflict from farther afield believed in limiting vengeance and conducting civilised warfare, for those directly involved in the conflict the matter was very different.

This divide was evident in the question over a retaliatory raid into Missouri, but also in the reception to General Order No. 11. Issued by Brig. Gen. Thomas Ewing, commander of the District of the Border, on 25 August 1863, the order expelled disloyal citizens from Jackson, Cass, and Bates counties, as well as the destruction of all grain not harvested by 9 September. The aim was to deprive the guerrillas of the households that supported and sustained them through the domestic supply line.[76] For some, the measure seemed unnecessarily cruel, aimed solely at punishing largely innocent women and children for the actions of bandits whom they could not control. Immortalised by George Caleb Bingham's famous painting of Southern families being forced from their homes, the controversy surrounding General Order No. 11 followed Ewing throughout his later career.[77] It may very well have led to his defeat in the Ohio Gubernatorial election in 1880, and his ultimate retirement from political life.

By contrast, those directly affected by guerrilla violence agreed that Order 11 was justified in its scope. Wiley Britton noted that 'Two years' experience had shown that the only way to stop the guerrilla war in that section was to remove all Southern families from

[74] *OR* Vol. XXII, Part II, 475.
[75] *Westliche Post*, 16 September 1863.
[76] McCurry, 'Enemy Women and the Laws of War,' 693.
[77] See Chapter III page 76-81.

it.'[78] The reaction in Kansas was likewise positive towards the new measures, which went some way towards placating Lane. Indeed, some expressed concern that Order 11, far from being too harsh, was in fact too lenient towards the Southern population of Missouri, the *Leavenworth Bulletin* arguing that all citizens still living in the border counties would surely be disloyal:

> If they really are Union men they have a wonderful faculty of keeping their sentiments from the knowledge of Quantrell and his followers. It is not so; these people are not loyal[.][79]

The differing opinions regarding the imposition of mass banishment after the Lawrence Massacre suggests that anger and retribution were considered differently on the Kansas-Missouri border compared to the rest of the nation. To those affected first-hand by the guerrilla conflict, only the strongest reprisal would provide the necessary security and catharsis to allow them to move on from the attack. Many Union soldiers fighting guerrillas felt this way. In October 1863, Brig. Gen. James Totten complained to Maj. Gen. Schofield that soldiers of the 1st Nebraska Infantry were on the brink of mutiny. One soldier had been arrested after 'hurrahing for Jim Lane' and calling for further reprisals against the Confederate population. He, along with several other prisoners who had already demanded his release, was freed by some 200 of his comrades. Officers and NCOs of the regiment did little to prevent the mutiny.[80] A similar attitude was also displayed by John Forbes Benjamin following the Centralia Massacre in September 1864, who wrote that 'one universal demand for vengeance goes forth from every loyal breast.'[81] For those soldiers tasked with hunting guerrilla bands, often without success, massacres such as Lawrence and Centralia had to be answered.

Soldiers from Kansas were particularly resolute in their desire to see pro-Confederates punished. Though the removal of Southern families from the border counties named in General Order No. 11 was, in theory, meant to be done without unnecessary violence, in practice this was not the case. The experience of Mattie Tate and her neighbours, who were forced to watch as their husbands, fathers, and brothers, were

[78] Wiley Britton, *The Civil War on the Border*, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), 147.
[79] *Leavenworth Bulletin*, 28 August 1863.
[80] Brig. Gen. James Totten to Maj. Gen. Schofield, 12 October 1863, *OR* XXII Part II, 640. The 1st Nebraska was redeployed to the west to combat Native Americans as a cavalry unit in November 1863. It is possible that this was done to remove them from Missouri where they could cause unrest.
[81] John Forbes Benjamin Letter to John Paddock, 30 September 1864, Benjamin Papers.

taken away by Kansas soldiers to be summarily executed, is testament to this fact.[82] These incidents were nothing particularly new to the border counties. In January 1862, James Richards was murdered by soldiers from the 7th Kansas Cavalry, "Jennison's Jayhawkers", at his home in Cass County, despite testimony from his wife and neighbours that he was a loyal Union man.[83] This was the consequence of nearly a decade of fighting along the Kansas-Missouri border, and the belief expressed by the *Leavenworth Bulletin* that anyone living in a border county should be considered an enemy. In the border regions, any value of restraint was dwarfed by outrage, and the need to avenge earlier violence. From this, we can see the limitations of formal 'retaliation' as Lorien Foote describes it.[84] Vengeance confined within the rules of civilised warfare could only offer limited catharsis. Whilst it may have been an acceptable retaliation from the perspective of Brig. Gen. Ewing, those directly affected by guerrilla warfare often wanted more. Mattie Tate's story is evidence of the limits of retaliation and the ability of Union officers to enforce them. A need for revenge trumped concepts of civilised behaviour and created cyclical violence.

Even those largely insulated from guerrilla warfare could find themselves dragged into its cyclical violence. Dwight Coleman was one of the victims of the Lawrence Massacre, having travelled there from St. Louis to conduct some business shortly before the attack. Some time after the massacre, one of Dwight's two brothers, Clark C. Coleman, journeyed to Lawrence in the hope of finding out how his brother had died and to collect what belongings he could. The mood of the Coleman family was evidently one of anger towards the guerrillas, with correspondence between the surviving brothers calling Quantrill's guerrillas 'damnable murderers – hell-deserving fiends.'[85] Clark Coleman was evidently so convinced by this that he decided to enlist in the 7th Kansas Cavalry on 1 January 1864, serving as a private in K Company until the end of the war.[86] The timing of his enlistment, coming as it did whilst he was in Kansas attending to his brother's

[82] See Chapter V page 132.
[83] Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Individual Citizens, Missouri State Archives, Microfilm, Reel F1390, James Richards, Cass County.
[84] Foote, *Rites of Retaliation*.
[85] T.E. Coleman Letter to Clark C. Coleman, 30 December 1863, Coleman Family Papers, One Folder, A143, *MHS*.
[86] Civil War Service Records, Union Records, digital images *Fold3* [http://fold3.com] – accessed 12/02/2020, 7th Kansas Cavalry K Company, entry for Clark C. Coleman, citing NARA microfilm publication *Indexes to the Carded Records of Soldiers Who Served in Volunteer Organizations During the Civil War, compiled 1899 - 1927, documenting the period 1861 – 1866* M542 roll 0002.

belongings and gravesite, means that his emotions must surely have played a role in his decision to enlist in a regiment notorious across Missouri for its connections with jayhawker raids. Having become a part of the guerrilla war, Clark Coleman had likewise been drawn into the culture of outrage and the cyclical violence that stemmed from it. As was the case with John Russell Kelso, the suffering of the family unit had created another soldier to fight the guerrilla conflict.

Long-Term Consequences

Not all people affected by guerrilla warfare in Missouri could so easily fight back, whether that meant taking to the bush as a guerrilla, or joining the Union Army in its counterinsurgency efforts. Nevertheless, the circumstances of guerrilla warfare meant that there were a variety of ways in which one could take advantage of context to act on anger. The effects of actions such as the practice of informing, which could lead to banishment or imprisonment, were discussed in Chapters II and III. Here, the emotional impetus behind the decision to collaborate is considered in more detail as a consequence of anger and a desire for revenge.

Elihu H. Shepard was a veteran of the Mexican War. Offered a commission as a colonel following the Camp Jackson Affair in May 1861, Shepard had reluctantly turned it down on the grounds that he was aged sixty-five, lamenting that 'were I ten years younger I would accept [the commission].'[87] Instead, Shepard had retired to his estate near Kaolin, Iron County, where, in the antebellum years, he and his wife had enjoyed 'a place remote from noise, tumult, envy or danger'.[88] That contentment was quickly shattered by the guerrilla war. In the following months, Shepard first witnessed an old comrade from the Mexican War robbing parishioners leaving a church service, before his foreman, Josiah Morgan, was murdered by a guerrilla band led by Samuel Trollinger.[89] These actions, however, did not bring Shepard into the war directly, despite hitting close to home.

[87] Elihu H. Shepard, 'Autobiography, Vol. II,' 85, Barclay Shepard Papers, 1847-1925, Box 6, A096, *MHS*.
[88] Ibid., 84.
[89] Ibid., 87; 105. For Shepard's testimony against Trollinger to the Union Provost Marshal, see, Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Individual Citizens, Missouri State Archives, Microfilm, Reel F1407, Samuel Trollinger, Iron County.

The tipping point only came when Shepard's estate was directly threatened in the summer of 1864. Covered in Union overcoats, William "Devil Bill" Carty led his guerrilla band onto Shepard's farm, the disguises ensuring that the inhabitants would not flee. Revealing themselves to be guerrillas, Carty's men held Shepard and his workers at gunpoint whilst they ransacked the estate, stealing food, money, and clothing. Shepard and Carty came face to face during the raid when Carty considered taking Shepard's clothing, ultimately deciding against it because of the height difference between the two. Mocking Shepard that he was 'no bigger than a rat,' Carty left the estate, having left Shepard 'very angry and desirous of revenge[.]' As soon as the guerrillas were out of sight, Shepard saddled a horse that had been hidden and rode to find Union soldiers, warning locals along the way to hide their valuables. Shepard soon found a group of soldiers, along with some willing civilians, and an ambush was set for Carty and his band. A number of guerrillas were killed, and Carty was wounded in the ankle and thrown from his expensive horse, which made its way back to Elihu Shepard's farm. On finding it, Shepard took the horse, complete with saddle and bridle, to the Provost Marshal at Pilot Knob, who gave him a receipt for the sale, 'which I [Shepard] intend to keep as a relick of glory in our family for all time to come.'[90] Shepard's pride in his trophy illustrates the emotional catharsis he had found in the wake of achieving his revenge.

As was the case with countless others throughout Civil War era Missouri, an attack on the domestic sphere had left Elihu Shepard angry and in need of retribution. Unlike men such as John Russell Kelso, however, Shepard was not able to join the army or a guerrilla band.[91] Though unable to fight back against William Carty directly due to his age, Shepard nevertheless found a way of acting on his anger and exacting his revenge. What was initially a personal conflict between Shepard and Carty soon came to involve many more people, who acted as the instruments of Shepard's revenge. Recognition of this offers a useful way of interpreting Missouri's guerrilla war, not as a singular conflict, but instead as a series of individual actions that spawned further violence, fuelling a lengthy

[90] Shepard, Autobiography, 97-103.

[91] Elihu Shepard did offer his services to Missouri's "Old Guard", enrolling in 1864 after Carty's attack. The Old Guard was made up of elderly volunteers who could not otherwise serve in the Union Army, but who wished to defend their homes if called upon. Though they did not see any combat, the unit was drilled during Price's Raid. Elihu Shepard's name appears on the roll of the company when it was disbanded in July 1865. See, Roll of the Company of the Old Guard, St. Louis, MO., A0286, *MHS*.

guerrilla war. In Shepard's case, a single raid, unremarkable in the grander scheme of the Civil War in Missouri, led to an ambush that impacted Carty's ability to operate in Iron County. Likewise, it could be said that the hanging of Frank Hildebrand gave rise to Sam Hildebrand, with one unexceptional incident of mob violence spawning the career of one of the state's most notorious guerrillas. Cyclical violence altered the dynamic and the participants of the conflict on both sides of the guerrilla war.

Shepard's revenge against William Carty also raises the issue of the consequences of revenge, and the long-term continuation of cyclical violence and revenge. In the wake of his raid on Shepard's estate and the subsequent ambush, the guerrilla developed a private vendetta against Shepard. Throughout the remainder of the war, Shepard was unable to live safely at his estate near Kaolin, and was forced to move to St. Louis, leaving his property in the care of a local widow. Carty continually harassed the estate, attacking a second time to deliver a message that Shepard would only be able to return if he paid him $200 in gold.[92] Undoubtedly, this constant threat played a significant role in the decision of many in the Kaolin area to leave their homes as refugees.[93] Other guerrillas likewise plagued the area, including Samuel Trollinger, who had killed Shepard's foreman at the start of the war. When Trollinger was gunned down in an ambush, Shepard was relieved that one of 'my most dangerous and inveterate enemies from whom I had often fled,' was dead, confirming how personal guerrilla violence could be.[94]

Even after the war, however, Shepard was still unable to return to Kaolin due to the continuing threat posed by William Carty, who remained active in the area. In the spring of 1866, Shepard was robbed of two horses and a mule. Suspecting Carty of the theft, Shepard returned to St. Louis, avoiding the routes that Carty was known to patrol. In May 1866, whilst walking through the city, Shepard was accosted by a man representing Carty, who demanded payment for the horse that Shepard had sold at Pilot Knob following the ambush in 1864. A very personal feud persisted into post-war Missouri as a direct consequence of Shepard's decision to avenge himself on Carty. The irony of this was that it was the initial disruption of Shepard's property and domestic sphere that had begun his

[92] Shepard, Autobiography, 117.
[93] Ibid., 88. Shepard states that, at the beginning of the war, nineteen families resided in the area around his estate, but that by 1865 only four remained.
[94] Ibid., 115.

quest for revenge. What that meant, however, was that Shepard was ultimately unable to experience the contentment at Kaolin that he had previously valued so dearly. Forced to remain in St. Louis, 'to avoid being murdered by his [William Carty] associates as my foreman had been in 1861,' Shepard died there in March 1876.[95]

Similarly, John Russell Kelso's quest for revenge after his family were made refugees was marked by Susie Kelso's affair with another man, a friend of the family. The man in question, Dr. Hovey, had supplanted Kelso in not just his wife's affections, but also his children's, who were 'loud in his praise because he sometimes gave them money of evenings to attend shows and concerts in the town [Springfield].' Kelso would afterward admit his bitterness that this had occurred whilst he was 'braving death for my country in a thousand forms.'[96] The family unit he sought to avenge was undermined in his absence, as it was also for so many guerrillas who took to the countryside, raided Lawrence, and were then helpless to save their families from banishment out of the border counties. Alongside the wider ramifications of guerrilla warfare, cyclical violence also had consequences that were often specific to the individuals who perpetrated it. These individual stories are an important part in reconstructing the greater picture of what anger meant in Missouri's guerrilla war.

Anger was a crucial emotion to the guerrilla war. It produced new combatants for the conflict and sustained both guerrilla bands and the Union forces which pursued them. To understand the guerrilla war in Missouri means understanding anger; one could not exist without the other. At a broader level, this is hugely informative for Civil War historians, revealing the limitations of restraint, and how little formal policy could ultimately achieve in controlling anger.

For many across Kansas and Missouri, the anger they had felt during the conflict would never leave them. Instead, it would remain a permanent barrier to reconciliation. In February 1871, a former jayhawker named Conover Ainsworth was attempting to court a woman from Jackson County, Missouri, without success. Devastated, Ainsworth asked why she continued to refuse his advances. The woman informed Ainsworth that he had burned her family's home down whilst raiding across the border during the war, her anger

[95] Ibid., 123-24.
[96] Kelso, *Bloody Engagements*, 178.

having never left her. Apparently ridden with guilt, Ainsworth committed suicide by drinking poison shortly afterward.[97] In the aftermath of guerrilla warfare, the scars of the conflict remained, with grievances kept alive through memory. For defeated pro-Confederates especially, humiliated following the end of slavery and the failure of rebellion, anger was kept alive as a simmering resentment. This continued hostility would shape Missouri and its memory of the guerrilla conflict in the decades to come.

[97] *Leavenworth Bulletin*, 25 February 1871.

Chapter 7. Emotional Legacies

On 20 February 1915, the *St. Joseph Gazette* ran an article informing its readers of Frank James's death two days previously. Focusing on his career as an outlaw of the Old West, rather than his time as a guerrilla fighter in Quantrill's band, the article presented its readers with an impression of a quiet, honourable man, who had 'clung to his determination to live right' following his surrender. Even when desperate for money, the *Gazette* claimed that James never betrayed his promise to not write an autobiography or allow anyone else to author one on his behalf. Frank James had been redeemed, romanticised as a relic of a bygone era, rather than the violent bandit that he and so many guerrillas had been labelled during the Civil War. [1]

At the same time, black Missourians across the state found themselves the victims of lynch mobs intent on maintaining white supremacy. In August 1915, Clay County saw a search party of some 300 men hunt an unidentified black man accused of raping the wife of Henry Stafford near their home in Liberty. The mob's intentions were clear. The *St. Joseph News-Press* reported that 'talk of lynching is heard frequently,' whilst further south in Vernon County, the popular belief was that 'if the Clay County folk get hold of the brute he won't last long.'[2] Though this individual appears to have been able to evade his would-be killers, hundreds of other black men across Missouri were not so fortunate. As former guerrillas died in peace, African Americans were regularly hunted and savagely killed by the white population.

It is unlikely that this image of Missouri, fifty years after the end of the Civil War, would have come as a surprise to anyone in 1865. Even as the Radical Republicans, led by St. Louis lawyer Charles D. Drake, rewrote the state constitution to abolish slavery, they knew that an uphill battle awaited them. The new Drake Constitution has been described, despite its shortcomings, as 'arguably the most progressive in the former slave states' by John W. McKerley.[3] Not only did the constitution abolish slavery in Missouri, but it also cemented the disenfranchisement of former Confederates, barred any disloyal citizens

[1] *St. Joseph Gazette*, 20 February 1915.
[2] *St. Joseph News-Press*, 06 August 1915. *The Metz Times*, 13 August 1915.
[3] John W. McKerley, '"We Promise to Use the Ballot as We Did the Bayonet": Black Suffrage Activism and the Limits of Loyalty in Reconstruction Missouri,' in Earle and Burke (eds.), *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri*, 209.

from holding office, and required those in positions such as lawyers to take the Ironclad Oath. The issue of black suffrage, however, illustrated the fatal divisions between Missouri Unionists. Radicals protested that the Drake Constitution had compromised by not providing provision for black suffrage, whilst conservatives would never accept equality between whites and freedmen on the ballot. These concerns were heightened by the fact that some white men were being denied access to the polls as former Confederates. There were also ethical and legal concerns surrounding this disenfranchisement, which further undermined the position of Missouri's Unionists. Ultimately, the Drake Constitution was approved, albeit by a margin of just 1,862 votes out of 85,478 cast.[4] With former Confederates prevented from voting, it was clear that a singular vision for Missouri did not exist even among Unionists.

The divisions over the Drake Constitution reflected the contentious nature of slavery's demise in Missouri. As scholars such as Aaron Astor and Nicole Etcheson have noted, Missouri Unionists' western identity meant that many were fighting to preserve a democracy that they believed was grounded in the existence of slavery.[5] Fearful at the prospect of a faltering white supremacist society, conservatives appeared increasingly in step with a resentful pro-Confederate population, whose warnings about Republican governance had been proven accurate. Missouri therefore had the base for a Lost Cause movement to develop and thrive.

Emotions were integral to Missouri's Lost Cause. In the aftermath of the Confederate defeat, many white Missourians who had supported secession experienced the humiliation of losing their rights, at the same time as liberties were granted to the newly emancipated black population. This humiliation in turn led to anger, a desire to find renewed purpose and meaning, which fuelled the early growth of the Lost Cause movement. As well as supplying an impetus for the Lost Cause, emotions, specifically anger, also provided inspiration for its content. Lost Cause writers reconstructed the emotional worlds of the guerrillas, using anger to explain their reasons for going to war, and why the conflict proved so destructive. In this way, Missouri's Lost Cause carried with

[4] David D. March, 'The Campaign for the Ratification of the Constitution of 1865,' *Missouri Historical Review* 47 no. 3 (April 1953): 223-32.
[5] Aaron Astor, 'The *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*: White Supremacist Discourse in Post-Civil War Western Missouri,' Earle and Burke (eds.), *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri*, 202.

it a kind of emotional inheritance. The emotional style so valued by guerrilla fighters and their families was passed down to future generations of neo-Confederates, helping to preserve a memory of the guerrilla war that persists to the present day.

Humiliation and Anger During Reconstruction

In April 1865, the guerrilla war was coming to an end. Mirroring the collapse of the Confederate armies across the South, many guerrilla bands had either surrendered or been destroyed by Union forces. Bill Anderson had been killed in October 1864 and Quantrill had made for Kentucky, where he would be killed in June 1865, just a few weeks before Jim Jackson was shot dead near the Missouri-Illinois border. Much of the countryside was in a state of disrepair. Four years of guerrilla conflict had 'left their traces upon the state,' with farms in ruin and buildings abandoned.[6]

Refugees and banished citizens began to trickle slowly back into the state, working to restore some semblance of the lives they had once lived. Others remained out of state, but were active in trying to recover the property that they had been forced to leave behind. Winiford J. Hancock, who had fled Missouri in 1861, had left her piano in the care of Martin Ingram, of Greene County. When Ingram was accused of disloyalty, much of his property, including the piano, was seized and auctioned off with other contraband property in March 1865. Hancock spent much of the period 1866-70 in court, attempting to reclaim either the piano, or damages equivalent to its value. Citing Article XI Section IV of the Drake Constitution, the defence argued that, as a supporter of the Confederacy, Hancock had voided her right to her property, which had been legally taken by the Union militia.[7]

The use of the Drake Constitution here is significant, as it demonstrates the ways in which the new order in Missouri affected ordinary people through its application. Having been narrowly pushed through by the Republicans in control of the constitutional convention, the Drake Constitution ultimately satisfied no one. It did not afford voting

[6] Unidentified Author, *Diary 1866*, 12-19, *MHS*.

[7] Winiford J. Hancock vs. Sam Pharris; Thomas Patterson, Greene County Circuit Court, Box 2, Folder 020, Microfilm Roll Number c53606, *MSA*. Ultimately, the case was concluded in favour of Hancock, the court ruling that the piano was her lawful property. The defendant, Pharris, argued against the decision, on the grounds that the Drake Constitution should have meant the court ruled in his favour. Pharris requested a new trial be held, though the outcome of this request is not recorded.

rights to African Americans, which displeased the Radicals, whilst Liberal Republicans and Democrats were alarmed at the removal of rights from white men at the apparent expense of granting liberties to former slaves.[8] Naturally, however, the people most dissatisfied with the Drake Constitution were former Confederates, who were denied access to the polls, in addition to the ignominy of witnessing the downfall of the Confederacy and slavery.

The emotional worlds of the postbellum South were informed by the gendered nature of its society. If battle was to be the ultimate test of manhood, then Confederate men had, to some degree, failed it by being bested. And as a consequence of this defeat, their property, homes, and families had been forever changed – a failure of their masculine duty. They were left humiliated. Humiliation acted as the critical factor in developing the emotional worlds of white southerners during Reconstruction. Serving as an emotional 'threshold', the anger, and eventually pride, that many neo-Confederates came to experience all stemmed from the humiliation of Southern defeat. LeeAnn Whites, in her study of gender in the Civil War and Reconstruction-era South, argues that the Confederate defeat precipitated a crisis in masculinity amongst white southern men, who found their domestic structure irreversibly altered by the collapse of slavery. Though approaching the period by using gender, rather than emotions, as her primary analytical tool, Whites does specifically refer to the humiliating nature of occupation, albeit noting that this was only likely to be temporary in the minds of white southerners.[9] Whilst occupation itself would only be temporary, the memory of the humiliation would persist long into the future, encouraging the development of Lost Cause movements and undercutting efforts at reconciliation.[10]

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[8] Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 171-79, charts some of the reasons that Republicans, Democrats, and Germans of both political parties had for opposing the Drake Constitution, noting that, ultimately, efforts to compromise largely only succeeded in alienating voters from both sides of the political divide.

[9] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 134.

[10] Scholarship is shifting on the issue of reconciliation, and the lasting effects of wartime humiliation. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge MA.: Harvard University Press, 2002), proposed that, in the long-term, white northerners and southerners reconciled because of their collective belief in white supremacy, leading to the ultimate failure of Reconstruction. See also, Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Heather Cox Richardson, *West from Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America After the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007). This argument was most seriously challenged by Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); who drew a distinction between 'reunion' and 'reconciliation'. On a regional level, other scholars have built upon

The initial humiliation of defeat spawned the anger that fuelled the Lost Cause movement, and is worthy of specific discussion, rather than being treated as a temporary blip in the emotional worlds of the defeated. The historian of emotions must be cautious when dealing with humiliation, as it always reflects a multifaceted emotion. William Ian Miller has studied humiliation extensively, connecting it with honour cultures throughout historical literature, including the Icelandic sagas, Miller's primary area of expertise.[11] There are, however, some problems facing any historian interpreting humiliation that must be considered. Miller, by his own admission, focuses principally on social humiliation, rather than on humiliation caused by nationally significant events like the Southern defeat in the Civil War. Opening his work with an anecdote recounting how he and some of his colleagues conspired to humiliate another academic as punishment for their obnoxious behaviour, we can see that this is a very different way of manifesting humiliation than being defeated in war and having one's social order overturned. It necessitates a very different response, namely a change in behaviour, whereas pro-Confederate Missourians felt no impulse to reassess secession and slavery. In Miller's anecdote, the humiliated academic had largely brought this on himself, and experienced, as an offshoot of his humiliation, shame at his actions.[12] Shame, however, implies the existence of guilt, an acknowledgement of wrongdoing, which few, if any, Confederates experienced. Had shame been experienced on a wide level during Reconstruction in Missouri, then it may have facilitated a far greater degree of reconciliation than actually

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Janney's work to further explore the difference between reunion and reconciliation. In Missouri, Jeremy Neely, *The Border Between Them*, has suggested that the Kansas-Missouri border region found reconciliation especially difficult, owing to the level of violence it experienced during the Civil War era.

[11] William Ian Miller, *Humiliation: And Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (Ithaca NY.: Cornell University Press, 1995), esp. 93-130. Miller's argument is that humiliation frequently relies on a broad concept of 'prestige', comparing the mythical warrior Achilles's quest for fame to that of an academic seeking recognition. Using a broad concept such as this allows for comparisons to be drawn across vast time frames and, indeed, we can apply this as a broad thesis to Reconstruction-era Missouri. 'Prestige' in this instance could refer to the social status that white slaveholding Missourians had lost as a result of the Reconstruction Amendments and perceived occupation. Pursuing such comparisons when conducting in-depth research into a specific time and place is problematic. A thirteenth-century Icelander would have reacted to humiliation very differently from a nineteenth-century Missourian, as both the stakes and scale of humiliation are simply not comparable.

[12] In a review of Miller's work, Roberta Frank describes two 'cousins' of humiliation: shame and embarrassment. Both of these fit the social discomfort focus of Miller's thesis, however the 'violence' aspect suggests that anger could be considered another relation. As argued in this chapter, when shame and guilt are neither felt nor admitted, then anger and resentment towards the person or group responsible for humiliation is a likely response. See, Roberta Frank, 'Review,' *Speculum* 69 no. 4 (October 1994): 1231-32.

occurred.[13] Instead, white southerners, feeling no guilt, responded to treatment that they viewed as illegal and disproportionate with anger and resentment. Therefore, when dealing with humiliation, it is important to recognise the personal humiliations of everyday life versus those caused by seismic shifts in the political and social spheres, as Kathleen Woodward has argued.[14] Moreover, shame and guilt, though intimately connected with humiliation, are not inevitable responses. Humiliation can, in fact, result in anger, which was certainly the case in Missouri following the Confederate surrender.

Writing a letter to her cousins from Rolla, in June 1865, Lizzie C. Gilmore demonstrated contrasting emotions to the defeated pro-Confederates in the city. A committed Unionist, like almost all of her family, Gilmore was exuberant at the Confederate surrender, particularly the arrest of Jefferson Davis. Describing Davis's capture in Georgia the previous month, whilst allegedly attempting to disguise himself in women's clothing, Gilmore gloated:

> Well cousins how do you like the way Jefferson D has come out with his confederate government I think (as the old saying is) that he come out at the little end of the horn I presume the gentleman feels rather sheepish now in his petticoats he ought to have known better than to a took to the brush with his hoops and petticoats but I presume he had got used to wearing them so he didn't think[.][15]

In many ways, this humiliating end to the Confederate government epitomised the humiliation of the South as a whole. As Jefferson Davis had been seen as emasculated during his capture, so too had the defeated rebel soldiers, stripped of their independence and their enslaved property. At the same time as Gilmore was

[13] Sara Ahmed has argued that shame can bring about a spirit of national reconciliation, with the acknowledgement of a wrong committed helping to restore pride in the 'capacity to bear witness,' confirming that, despite everything, a nation can 'mean well.' Ahmed's given example is white Australia's efforts to come to terms with its treatment of aboriginal peoples, and her robust argument makes a convincing case as far as Australia is concerned. Applying Ahmed's thesis to the US South, this meant that reconciliation was made that much harder in the short-term. See, Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotions* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004) 107-113.

[14] Woodward suggests the existence of two different kinds of humiliation to separate the extreme examples of humiliation from the more quotidian. She refers to this as 'Humiliation (capital H)' and 'humiliations (small h)', with the former including acts such as rape and torture, whilst the latter would encompass acts such as Miller's humiliation of a fellow academic. In 1865 Missouri, humiliation had been caused by a sudden political and social shift, which was then experienced by former Confederates on a daily basis. See, Kathleen Woodward, 'Global Cooling and Academic Warming: Long-Term Shifts in Emotional Weather,' *American Literary History* 8 no. 4 (Winter, 1996): 773.

[15] Lizzie C. Gilmore, Letter to Cousins N. W. and M. C. Green, 25 June 1865, Lizzie C. Gilmore Correspondence, 1861-65, 1 Folder, R0346, *SHSMO*. See also, Whites, *Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 132.

celebrating the arrest of Jefferson Davis, Rolla's rebel population was angry and bitter at their humiliating defeat. Arson attacks were made against stores in the financial district, near government stores, with damages amounting to some $300,000. That federal stores appear to have been specifically targeted suggests that this may have been the work of embittered pro-Confederates.[16] At the same time, soldiers who had been away on service in the rebel armies were steadily returning to Rolla, Gilmore noting that many of the defeated rebels were former acquaintances of hers.[17] As defeated, humiliated rebels greeted their families, their jubilant neighbours were celebrating victory. A sense of the resentment that this contrast in emotions fomented can be found in a letter authored by W. J. Clasbey in August 1865. Clasbey was an ardent supporter of secession and had left Missouri for Nebraska Territory during the war in search of a new life for his family on the frontier. Writing to his brother-in-law in Andrew County, Missouri, Clasbey complained that 'the abolitionists of MO say that the dregs of that society has gone to the bottom and of course they having risen to the top are Lords of the day; but I say that the scum allways rises to the top.'[18] For Clasbey, the Union victory had done nothing to persuade him towards reconciliation. Quite the contrary, as abolitionists acted as 'Lords of the day,' he continued to resent them as 'scum.' The victors celebrated, whilst the defeated wallowed in humiliation.

Compounding this humiliation were the realities of what exactly defeat meant. Of course, the biggest change that the Civil War had wrought was the abolition of slavery, angering white Missourians dependent on the institution for their economic and social status. Initial signs of the anger and uncertainty that Emancipation would bring were clearly visible in Missouri during the Civil War. As first the Emancipation Proclamation, and then more importantly the enlistment of African American soldiers were announced, it had become clear to Missourians that slavery and white supremacy as they knew it were coming to an end. Some white Missourians presented a degree of sympathy and understanding with runaway slaves. In Chillicothe, Lucy Waddle acknowledged 'It is natural they should wish to be free, however I hope they may find liberty more sweet than

[16] *The Warrensburg Standard*, 24 June 1865.
[17] It is not unlikely that at least some of these returning soldiers had acted as guerrillas, and were involved in the arson attacks against businesses near the government buildings in Rolla.
[18] W. J. Clasbey Letter to Alex M. Bedford, 13 August 1865, Folder 16, Bedford Family Papers, 1849-1870, *SHSMO*, C2610.

many of their race.'[19] Waddle was speaking of two enslaved people specifically, 'Amanda' and 'Ben', who had fled their owner, Eleanor McCoy, who was Lucy Waddle's sister. She spoke particularly fondly of Amanda and was astonished that 'such a faithful servant' would want to leave. Lucy Waddle's concerns may have come from a position of real sympathy, whether out of a genuine fondness for Amanda and Ben, or from the paternalistic attitude that many white enslavers held towards African Americans in the Civil War era.[20] Certainly, the difficulties awaiting self-emancipated enslaved people were well-known to white Missourians, as some attempted to return to their enslavers, whilst others were forced to survive in the squalid refugee camps.[21] Other white Missourians, however, believed that the problems encountered by enslaved people were of their own making, and held a more aggressive view, which was rooted in a commitment to the belief that black people were inferior to whites. This was reflected in pro-Democrat media claims that African Americans would ultimately 'waste' freedom on idleness and debauchery.[22]

Following abolition, white Missourians expressed a deep-rooted anger at the changes it wrought. In February 1863, Susan A. Staples, of Independence, Jackson County, complained that increasing numbers of enslaved people were fleeing, whilst those who remained were 'so impudent that there is no living with them.'[23] The loss of cheap labour was also increasing the prices of basic goods, placing further strain on those whose wealth had been invested in the slave economy.[24] By July 1865, Missouri's economy was in a desperate position. Eugenia Bronaugh described the situation in Cooper County to her husband, noting the plight of former Confederate soldiers, many of whom were 'penniless'. One man in particular had caught Bronaugh's attention, a 'Mr Douglas', who was apparently a wealthy man before the war, but who by the end had just one suit of clothes and seven dollars to his name. Bronaugh concluded her description of Douglas by saying that he was searching for 'something to do.'[25] Given the importance of

[19] Lucy Waddle, Letter to Ellen McCoy, 1 September 1863, Folder 12, Ellen Waddle McCoy Papers, *MHS*, A266.
[20] See, Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 145-60.
[21] See Chapter IV page 127-30.
[22] See for example, *Weekly Perryville Union*, 12 June 1868.
[23] Susan A. Staples, Letter to Mary W. Mason, 1 February 1863.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Eugenia Bronaugh Letter to John A. Bushnell, 6 July 1865, accessed at [https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/islandora/object/civilwar%3A2269] – 04/05/20.

independence and economic prosperity to the masculine identities of white men in the United States, especially in the developing West, such change proved deeply humiliating to those affected. As freedmen gained liberties and employment, once prosperous white men like Douglas found themselves unemployed and facing personal ruin.

At a state-wide level, the humiliation caused by the South's defeat had created a need for many white Missourians to rediscover their lost masculine identities, which had been inexorably tied to their positions in a slave society. The anger at experiencing this humiliation manifested itself as a very reactionary form of remembrance. White Missourians frequently harkened back to an idealised image of the antebellum era and the absolute white supremacy that it represented. In doing so, they sought to persuade themselves and posterity that slavery had been a benign institution, and that they had been unfairly treated by a tyrannical Republican Government.

The emotional impetus behind the early Lost Cause can best be seen in the *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*.[26] A pro-Democrat, pro-white newspaper, the *Caucasian* was founded in April 1866, soon after the passage of the Drake Constitution, which had served as the formal mark of the defeated Confederates' humiliation. Indeed, early editions of the *Caucasian* offered advice to former Confederates denied access to polls, recommending that they sue judges or, if absolutely necessary, take an oath of allegiance 'as you would take anything else forced upon you.'[27] Clearly, therefore, one of the earliest goals of the *Caucasian* was to undermine the new social and political order in Missouri. The *Caucasian* did attempt to influence events beyond the state, reaching a brief period of national recognition when its editor, Peter Donan, became noted as a supporter of Horace Greely during his ill-fated presidential campaign in 1872, convincing the Democratic party to back the Liberal Republican.[28] For the most part, however, it was primarily concerned with the past and future of Missouri.

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[26] The *Lexington Weekly Caucasian* has featured prominently in studies of Reconstruction-era Missouri and the fallout of the guerrilla conflict. Lewis O. Saum considered the presence of the *Caucasian*'s editor, Peter Donan, on a national level, highlighting the notoriety of the newspaper, and its impact on the elections of 1872 and 1876. Lewis O. Saum, 'Colonel Donan, Mark Twain, and the Campaign that Failed,' *Missouri Historical Review* 87 no. 2 (January, 1993): 131-49; Saum, 'Donan and the Caucasian,' *Missouri Historical Review* 63 no. 4 (July 1969): 419-50.

[27] *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, 27 June 1866.

[28] Aastor, 'The Lexington Weekly Caucasian,' 193.

The general message of the *Caucasian* espoused ideals of white supremacy, reporting on each new development of Reconstruction as further evidence of Republican betrayal, and a threat to the racial order of society. For example, after the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, the *Caucasian* joined African Americans in mock celebration: 'You're all citizens – voters – sovereigns – of the glorious American republic, while five hundred thousand white men are disenfranchised aliens.'[29] The language used by the writers of the *Caucasian* was deliberately emotive, evidently reflecting the widespread anger and frustration that defeated Confederates felt in the wake of humiliation. Consider the above quotation, which emphasises the alleged injustice of black men receiving civil liberties at the expense of white men. Indeed, the *Caucasian* went so far as to describe African Americans as 'sovereigns', playing on white fears that the political sphere was being controlled by former slaves, intent on supplanting whites at the top of society. Two years after the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, the *Caucasian* lamented the existence of prominent African American politicians, complaining that Reconstruction had made:

> African savages, chattering Congo apes, our Legislators, as in all the Southern provinces; burly, skunk-scented nigger barbers, our Lieutenant Governors, like Dunn and Pinchback in Louisiana; our Secretaries of State, like Lynch in Mississippi; and our Supreme Judges, like Wright in South Carolina.[30]

In this extract, the *Caucasian* can be seen the combining Reconstruction era fears of politically active former slaves with the centuries-old racist language of white supremacy. It demonised African Americans to present a nightmare scenario that had arisen out of the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Using this emotive language, the *Caucasian* was advocating for a return to the absolute white supremacy of the antebellum era. By the 1870s, the paper had begun to

[29] *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, 16 April 1870.
[30] *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, 20 April 1872.

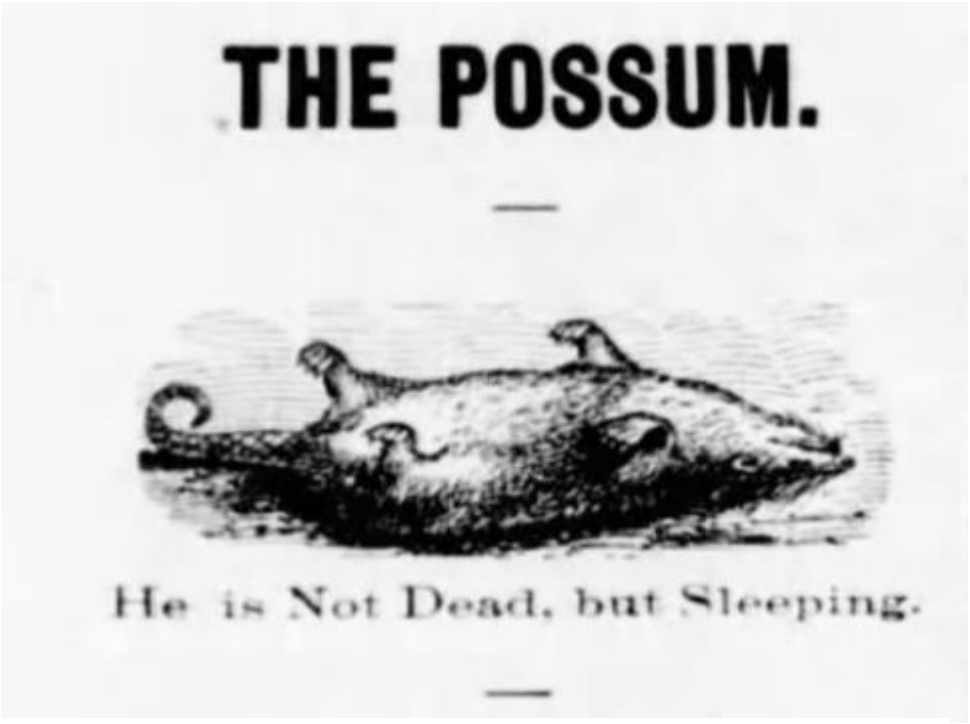

Fig. viii, *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, 6 July 1872, accessed on Newspapers.com.

suggest that the South had not been truly defeated, making frequent use of the image of a possum, (see fig. viii) to suggest that the Confederacy was 'not dead, but sleeping.' On a practical level, the possum reflected the *Caucasian*'s political strategy of supporting Liberal Republican candidates, such as Greely in the 1872 election, who would be likely to remove restrictions placed on former Confederates. The possum should also be read as a coping mechanism against the humiliation of defeat, with pro-Confederates attempting to convince themselves that humiliation was simply something that would have to be endured on a temporary basis. Naturally, this would reverse the social and political gains made by the newly emancipated black population in Missouri.

Violence was a common feature of the *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*. In Missouri, Reconstruction-era violence perpetrated by former Confederates was framed as being defensive in nature, as Missourians protecting their homes against new waves of Northern immigration. Alleged 'carpet baggers' were a common target of the *Caucasian*, which revelled in stories of any misfortune befalling them, and those forced to move on as a result. One immigrant was shot at shortly after his wedding in Calhoun, Henry County, and was said to have been 'still running' days later.[31] Racial violence also appeared

[31] *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, 2 July 1870.

prominently throughout the *Caucasian*'s publication history. The newspaper stopped short of explicitly promoting racial violence, but did little to condemn those incidents it reported. Indeed, in the case of the Nashville and Memphis riots in 1866, the *Caucasian* celebrated the white aggressors as merely acting in the interests of whites throughout the South.[32] Of particular note was the reaction of the *Caucasian* to racial violence in the North. In September 1872, at Pattenburg, New Jersey, a group of African American labourers were assaulted by a group of 'mostly Irish' workmen following a smaller brawl. Outnumbered and unarmed against hundreds of white men with clubs and pistols, four African Americans were killed.[33] Reporting on the incident, the *Caucasian* noted an irony that this had occurred 'right in the heart of loyal nigger-loving Yankeedom.' By contrast, the paper argued that had a similar massacre taken place in the South, 'where there is a good deal more reason for it, would have brought down the whole Yankee army upon the nigger killers.'[34] The notion of unfair treatment for Southern states would have resonated with Missourians still reeling from the effects of Reconstruction and the imposition of restrictions that were severe enough to be challenged before the Supreme Court. The Court was ultimately split on the issue of requiring an oath of allegiance from those in certain professions, including teachers and preachers.[35]

The *Lexington Weekly Caucasian* was one part of a broader pattern in Missouri. The *Caucasian*'s language reflected the anger that so often manifested itself in lynch mobs throughout Missouri and Kansas over the Reconstruction period. Racial violence had a long history in Missouri even before the Civil War, acting as a way for white settlers to maintain their control over enslaved people.[36] Lynching was a central aspect of this violence. This ghastly punishment for transgressions, real or imagined, was intended to exert white authority by instilling fear in the enslaved population. Missouri's emotional culture heavily influenced the motivations of lynch mobs. Lynchings, though designed to induce fear within the black population, were in fact also heavily motivated by fearful

[32] Aastor, 'The Lexington Weekly Caucasian,' 194-95.
[33] *Harper's Weekly*, 12 October 1872.
[34] *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, 5 October 1872.
[35] Martha Kohl, 'Enforcing a Vision of Community: The Role of the Test Oath in Missouri's Reconstruction,' *Civil War History* 40 no. 4 (December 1994): 295.
[36] See, Douglas R. Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 245-72, for a general introduction to violence within Missouri's slaveholding households.

emotions amongst whites invested, directly or indirectly, in the institution of slavery.[37] Throughout much of the antebellum era, pro-slavery whites had been aware of any challenges posed to the existing social order, especially so during the Bleeding Kansas period, when abolitionist raids from Kansas and the prospect of another neighbouring free state raised tensions to a boiling point. This was in addition to the threats posed by enslaved people themselves, who found their own ways to defy white authority through acts of resistance within the slaveholding household, or the more extreme act of running away.[38] As was so often the case, the fear and uncertainty surrounding the future of slavery led to white Missourians lashing out violently in an effort to assert their control throughout the antebellum era.[39] In responding with violent anger, slaveholders were drawing on ideals of honour that many had brought with them to Missouri from the South. Violence did not only demonstrate physical control. It also reinforced white manhood and honour in the face of challenges to the slaveholding way of life.[40]

These emotions were amplified by the ultimate destruction of slavery in Missouri following the passage of the Drake Constitution, as reflected in the *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*. In regions such as the Ozarks, the social changes wrought during Reconstruction led to increasingly multi-racial communities due to rising numbers of black labourers entering what were previously white communities. Violence from whites was a common reaction to these changes, which occurred throughout the South during the later

[37] The importance of the emotions of those affected by lynchings and the trauma they induced in African Americans should not be understated. See, Kidada E. Williams, *They Left Great Marks on Me: African American Testimonies of Racial Violence from Emancipation to World War I* (New York: New York University Press, 2012); Karlos K. Hill, *Beyond the Rope: The Impact of Lynching on Black Culture and Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 104-18.

[38] Stephanie M. Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), is one of the most in-depth treatments of enslaved people's resistance within slaveholding areas.

[39] Thomas G. Dyer, '"A Most Unexampled Exhibition of Madness and Brutality": Judge Lynch in Saline County, Part 1,' *Missouri Historical Review* 89 no. 3 (April 1995): 269-89, discusses the lynching of four enslaved men following the murder of Benjamin Hinton, a white man, in Saline County 1859. Thomas G. Dyer, '"A Most Unexampled Exhibition of Madness and Brutality": Judge Lynch in Saline County, Part 2,' *Missouri Historical Review* 89 no. 4 (July 1995): 367-83, discusses the aftermath of this incident, and the continued practice of lynching in the Reconstruction era and beyond.

[40] McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 292-305, discusses the sociocultural importance of 'mob law' to the antebellum South. See also, Kris DuRocher, 'Violent Masculinity: Learning Ritual and Performance in Southern Lynchings,' in Friend, *Southern Masculinity*, 46-65. See also, Anna Koivusalo, 'Honor and Humiliation: James Chesnut and Violent Emotions in Reconstruction South Carolina,' *American Studies in Scandinavia* 50 no. 1 (2018): 37-38.

nineteenth century.[41] As lynchings continued unabated across Missouri through Reconstruction and beyond, they reflected the worst emotional impulses of the age. The fear and rage at the gradual decline of slavery before the Civil War had only been magnified by the Thirteenth Amendment and the Drake Constitution. Some victims were lynched after being accused of crimes such as theft. Joe Hardice, for example, was hanged by a mob in Higginsville, Lafayette County, on 17 August 1874, after being accused of stealing a horse.[42] Those lynched under accusations of the more serious crime of raping white women, however, reflected a deeper underlying anxiety and rage that came with the end of slavery. Rape accusations demonstrated the panic at the collapse of the slave society and age-old fears of miscegenation and the downfall of the social boundaries separating white from black. In October 1875, for example, a black man was lynched in Chariton County, part of the 'Little Dixie' region that had once been the slaveholding heart of Missouri. Accused of the attempted rape of the wife of William Virgil, he was dragged from his cell on the night of 3 October and given 'a swift but just punishment.'[43]

Another incident from Little Dixie likewise demonstrates how lynchings aimed to restore a sense of the racial order that had passed with the end of slavery. In November 1870, in Saline County, a black man named William Bland was lynched a few miles south of Miami, accused of raping a young girl. After 'making a full confession,' which presumably involved torture to force a confession, Bland was hanged by the side of the road and left there for three days. During this time, a note was pinned to his chest stating: 'Let this man hang.'[44] Such performative aspects of lynchings are essential in understanding their nature and importance. Photographs of perpetrators posing with dead bodies, newspaper accounts, and ballads, were all designed to magnify the singular message that a clear racial hierarchy still existed even in the wake of emancipation and

[41] For lynchings in the Ozarks in southwest Missouri and northern Arkansas, see Kimberly Harper, *White Man's Heaven: The Lynching and Expulsion of Blacks in the Southern Ozarks, 1894-1909* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2010). The threat of lynching was also important, driving many African Americans from their homes. See, *St. Joseph Gazette*, 20 February 1915; Kidada E. Williams, '"The Wounds that Cried Out": Reckoning with African Americans' Testimonies of Trauma and Suffering from Nightriding,' in Gregory P. Downs and Kate Masur (eds.) *The World the Civil War Made* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 159-82.
[42] *The Daily Journal of Commerce*, 19 August 1874.
[43] *The Troy Herald*, 6 October 1875.
[44] *The Missouri Republican*, 28 November 1870.

the humiliation of the defeated South.[45] In the case of William Bland's murder, the note pinned to his chest was another example of this performativity, serving as a clear message to anyone who saw the body, and anyone who read an account of the lynching, that this was the inevitable consequence of overstepping the racial order.

The social and political context of Reconstruction in Missouri left fertile ground upon which a Lost Cause movement could flourish and remember the guerrilla war. Though the Drake Constitution was ultimately repealed in 1875, the conflict that it had inaugurated could not be withdrawn. The humiliation at not just the military defeat of the Confederacy, but also at the realisation of what defeat would actually mean, left many searching for some way to find value in the past four years, for proof that they, as pro-Confederates, were justified. The Union had been restored, but its citizens had not, and in many cases would not, reconcile. These divisions would be cemented in the coming years as the anger that humiliation had fostered imposed itself on Missouri through the reconstruction of the memory of the guerrilla war.

The Construction of Missouri's Lost Cause

In creating a guerrilla Lost Cause, however, pro-Confederates in Missouri faced a number of obstacles that they would have to overcome in order to create an acceptable narrative for people to idolise. The first was the problematic fact that Missouri had sent many of its sons to fight in the Federal Army during the Civil War, either in other states or, even worse, in the Missouri State Militia, where they engaged in counterinsurgency campaigns against fellow Missourians. Most significant was that Missouri had never formally seceded to join the Confederacy, remaining an officially Union state, albeit with separate governments claiming legitimacy. This humiliating 'stigma of wartime Unionism,' as Matthew Hulbert puts it, ostracised Missouri from fully engaging with the same Lost Cause narrative broadly used by the former Confederate States.[46] Any Lost Cause would have to reflect the war as it was fought on the Kansas-Missouri border. This, however, posed a second problem,

[45] Amy Louise Wood, *Lynching and Spectacle: Witnessing Racial Violence in America, 1890-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009). On ballads specifically, see Bruce E. Baker, 'North Carolina Lynching Ballads,' in Fitzhugh Brundage (ed.) *Under Sentence of Death: Lynching in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 219-45.
[46] Hulbert, *Ghosts of Guerrilla Memory*, 46.

namely that the ugly realities of guerrilla warfare did not match the honourable, Christian ideal of warfare exemplified by the Lost Cause ideal of Robert E. Lee. In contrast to regular warfare, Quantrill, Anderson, and other guerrillas had used hit-and-run strategies that had directly involved women and children, most notably the Lawrence Massacre. Consequently, Missouri required a bespoke Lost Cause that met these challenges and allowed it to engage with the wider Confederate memory in the southern states.[47]

The *Lexington Weekly Caucasian* served as an early example of the efforts to craft this Lost Cause, arguing that guerrilla fighters were battling despotism just as David had after fleeing to Ein Gedi to escape King Saul.[48] Undoubtedly the most influential driving force behind Missouri's Lost Cause movement, however, was John Newman Edwards. A committed Confederate officer, Edwards followed Shelby to Mexico in the wake of the military collapse of the South, returning to Missouri in 1867, where he founded the *Kansas City Times* in 1868. Over the following decade, Edwards began to reshape the perception of the guerrilla in popular culture, reframing him as a chivalrous freedom fighter, rather than as a criminal.

John Newman Edwards's work was heavily influenced by the crisis in masculinity that followed the Southern defeat.[49] The culmination of his work was the publication of *Noted Guerrillas* in 1877, a part biographical account of the guerrilla war that detailed the lives of important bushwhackers. Heavily reliant on mythological allusions and exaggeration, *Noted Guerrillas* moulded the pro-Confederate guerrilla into the archetype of Southern manhood – a figure to be revered and emulated. Where masculine ideals had been threatened by defeat, Edwards provided a group of heroes who had fought to the end to defend their homes, untainted by the stain of surrender. By marketing itself as a work of history, the book was acclaimed for providing a 'reliable' account of the guerrilla war, in comparison to the dime novels that were growing in popularity across the West.[50] The book succeeded, and was widely read by Missouri's pro-Confederate population, but

[47] The variations in the Lost Cause from state to state is currently an understudied area. See, Michael J. Goleman, *Your Heritage Will Still Remain: Racial Identity and Mississippi's Lost Cause* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2017); Anne E. Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). For Missouri, see Hulbert, *Ghosts of Guerrilla Memory*.
[48] *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, 14 May 1870.
[49] Whites, *Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*.
[50] *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, 27 April 1877.

masked the realities of guerrilla warfare, with scholars having noted that Edwards's efforts to legitimise the guerrillas leaves them too organised.[51] Actually, the guerrilla war was frequently fought on a local ad hoc basis, arising out of grudges within communities. As a history of the guerrilla war, *Noted Guerrillas* is highly misleading. In only offering a view of how Edwards wanted posterity to remember the guerrillas, however, it also encapsulates the trends of Missouri's guerrilla Lost Cause.

John Newman Edwards has dominated scholarly discussion of the Lost Cause in Missouri. Upon his death in 1889 due to the effects of alcoholism, the *Kansas City Times* compiled the various obituaries from papers across Kansas and Missouri. Statements such as '[John Newman Edwards'] name is engraved on the hearts of thousands, and it will be spoken with reverence by coming generations,' are testament to the influence he wielded by the end of his life, a result of his efforts to construct the Lost Cause movement.[52] Early biographical sketches concurred with this assessment, focusing on Edwards's post-war career as his crowning achievement.[53] Of particular note is Matthew C. Hulbert's more recent work, which considers exactly how Edwards navigated the contextual problems described above, and produced a Lost Cause narrative that could sustain Confederate memory in Missouri.[54]

Michael Fellman argued that Edwards had 'bled both the hero and the foe of their human, emotional qualities,' reducing the guerrilla to the generic hero that dominated classical folklore.[55] This was only true up to a point. The guerrilla found in *Noted Guerrillas* felt no fear or anxiety, never showing anything that would be considered emotional weakness, beyond perhaps a longing for home and hearth. But he did feel anger, often coming as a result of grief at the loss of a loved one. Indeed, the emotion fuelled him, causing him to take up arms in the first place, and was a vital part of what made him so fearsome in combat.

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[51] Hulbert, *Ghosts of Guerrilla Memory*, 46.
[52] *Kansas City Times*, 12 May 1889, quoting the *Winfield Telegram*.
[53] Ray Lavery, 'The Man Who Created a Folk-God out of Jo Shelby and Created a Legend for Jesse James,' *Trail Guide* 6 no. 4 (December, 1961): 1-15; Dan Saults, 'Let Us Discuss a Man: A Study of John Newman Edwards,' *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* 19 no. 2 (January 1963): 1-10.
[54] Hulbert, *Ghosts of Guerrilla Memory*, 43-62; Matthew C. Hulbert, 'How to Remember "This Damnable Guerrilla Warfare": Four Vignettes from Civil War Missouri,' *Civil War History* 59 no. 2 (2013): 143-68; Hulbert, 'Constructing Guerrilla Memory: John Newman Edwards and Missouri's Irregular Lost Cause,' *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 2 no. 1 (March 2012): 58-81.
[55] Fellman, *Inside War*, 251.

In some ways, there was a paradox at the heart of Edwards's portrayal of the guerrilla's emotions. Anger was shown to be central to the guerrilla's identity, acting as a motivating factor and justifying the actions he took during and after the war. Yet anger was also seen as a problematic emotion, one that, like fear, needed to be mastered if one could prove themselves to be a man. Outlets such as duels provided a performative space that controlled anger. Even working-class parallels of duelling included similar ritualisation, for example insults and eye-gouging, that allowed anger an acceptable outlet.[56] John Newman Edwards therefore needed to highlight the masculine ideal that his guerrillas embodied, without allowing their anger to become out of control and undermine guerrilla manhood. He did this by sanitising the violence in *Noted Guerrillas,* reflecting the delicate balance between a cultural desire for emotional control, and the recognition of the violence and ferocity of the guerrilla war. Edwards's guerrillas never lose emotional control, never becoming the wild and contorted figures that their victims so often described.[57] Instead, it was the justified, controlled anger that the guerrillas themselves described both during the war and when reminiscing about their time as bushwhackers.

One of the critical tasks that John Newman Edwards accomplished was successfully navigating Missouri's wartime Unionism, and in the process bringing the state closer to the South. Some of his arguments were based more in pragmatism, making the argument that guerrilla warfare was the only way that the South could hope to obtain victory. Edwards lionised guerrilla violence as a better path to victory than the regular military campaigns that had ultimately led to defeat, with the revolver becoming to the guerrilla what the sword was to the knights of folklore.[58] In this way, Edwards made the case that, despite not formally seceding, these guerrillas had become Southern by fighting the war the way it ought to have been fought, even if this was done so on an unofficial basis. Anne E. Marshall argues that a similar process occurred in Kentucky, with violence against African Americans and Unionists serving to help the border state create a Confederate identity that it had not earned through secession.[59] John Newman Edwards

[56] Bruce, *Violence and Culture*, 32.
[57] See Chapter VI page 183-84.
[58] Hulbert, *Ghosts of Guerrilla Memory*, 51. Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 143-64.
[59] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*.

was using violence in much the same way, though in his case he was arguing that the violence necessary for this Confederate identity to stick had already happened during the guerrilla war. His guerrillas had become rebels on a local level and had in fact seceded from the Union, albeit under a black flag, rather than a Confederate flag.

Edwards forcefully argued that the Confederate high command had made insufficient use of guerrilla warfare during the Civil War. He implied that a widespread guerrilla war would have negated the advantages the North held in terms of manpower and industry. In *Noted Guerrillas*, this argument was presented in an imagined conversation between William Quantrill and the Secretary of War in Richmond, 1862.[60] Quantrill is shown spending much of his time at the meeting defending himself and his men from claims of 'barbarism' in a thinly veiled rebuttal of the accusations made by Unionists during and after the guerrilla war. Edwards's claimed that Quantrill had recognised that 'the cordon is being drawn around the granaries of the South', and that international opinion was against slavery. Only the black flag would give the Confederacy a chance to succeed, regardless of its apparent 'barbarism'.[61]

But in justifying the practice of guerrilla warfare, Edwards also made connections between the guerrillas and the emotional culture of the wider South, furthering the pro-Confederate argument that Missouri had a right to be remembered as a disloyal state. In Chapter IV, it was argued that guerrillas, and indeed those who fought them, went to great efforts to justify their displays of anger, which had frequently manifested externally in attacks on the domestic sphere.[62] John Newman Edwards adopted similar practices, presenting guerrilla violence as being the result of grief and the humiliation of occupation by Northern aggressors. The crimes of Kansas jayhawkers and the Union Army were presented as the reason for the guerrilla war's 'sanguinary hue'.[63] Edwards devoted much of his time to the hardships endured by the men of Quantrill's band, as they were the

[60] Edwards did not give the name of the 'Secretary of War', presumably because his information was sketchy and he did not have an exact date for the meeting, if it ever occurred. The Secretary of War could have been either Judah Benjamin or George W. Randolph.
[61] Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 156-59.
[62] Ibid., 453. According to Edwards, Thrailkill had remained in Mexico, fighting for Maximillian, whilst others who went to Mexico with him left the country to serve as far afield as Algeria, though no names or evidence for this was given by Edwards.
[63] Ibid., 21.

most notorious in the public imagination. Mirroring the claims made by men such as Cole Younger and John McCorkle, Edwards described how,

> [A] large majority of Quantrell's original command had over them the shadow of some terrible crime. This one suffered a father murdered, this one a brother waylaid and shot, this one a house pillaged and burnt, this one a relative assassinated, this one a grievous insult while at peace at home, this one a robbery of all his earthly possessions, this one the force which compelled him to witness the brutal treatment of a mother or sister.[64]

Edwards therefore presented the guerrillas' actions as being retaliatory in nature, as people who had suffered just as much under Schofield and Ewing as the wider South had under Grant and Sherman.

Edwards, a native Virginian, was undoubtedly aware that the emotional turmoil he presented would not only engender sympathy and understanding for his subjects but would also make them appear more Southern. The way that Edwards justified guerrilla violence was very clearly rooted in ideals of honour and acceptable outlets for violent behaviour, which, as Dickson D. Bruce shows, served as an essential part of Southern identity.[65] For Bertram Wyatt-Brown, this was rooted in the emotional dichotomy Southern men encountered in their youth, with the expectation that they be assertive and aggressive, whilst also showing obedience to often distant parents.[66] Whilst this perhaps underestimates the level of emotional freedoms and outlets that young men actually had, justifiable, retaliatory violence very clearly played a role in Southern conceptions of honour. John Newman Edwards himself evidently believed in this as a mark of manhood, as he engaged in a duel with Emory S. Foster, a former Union colonel and editor of the *St. Louis Evening Journal*, on 4 September 1875, after the latter called him a liar in an editorial.[67] The duel itself was fought in Winnebago County, Illinois, with pistols at twenty paces. Both men fired and missed, with Edwards demanding that a second shot be taken.

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[64] Ibid., 21. Indeed, John McCorkle had been driven to the bush in large part because of the assessments levied against paroled Confederates, matching the 'grievous insult while at peace at home'. See, McCorkle, *Three Years with Quantrill*, 21-24.

[65] Bruce Jr., *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South*.

[66] Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behaviour in the Old South*, esp. 173-74. See also, Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *The Shaping of Southern Culture: Honor, Grace, and War, 1790s-1890s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

[67] Edwards had accused the citizens of Winnebago County, Illinois, of hoarding the spoils of Sherman's March to the Sea after they reacted negatively to a proposed speech from Jefferson Davis. Foster replied to Edwards's claims by stating he 'lied deliberately, and with the direct purpose of insulting the mothers, wives and sisters of men who served in the Federal Army.' *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 5 September 1875.

Foster, however, declared that honour had been satisfied and declined Edwards's demand.[68] That Edwards wanted the duel to continue is illustrative of the type of Southern emotional state he practiced. He infused the guerrillas of his narrative with similar character traits. Just as Edwards had raised the black flag against Foster and demanded that blood be spilled, so too did pro-Confederate guerrillas, emulating the emotional culture of the South and furthering their reputation as Lost Cause heroes, as proof of Missouri's Confederate identity.

Missouri's pro-Confederate guerrillas were also connected to the traditions and culture of the South through references to Southern traditions of what some called 'People's War'.[69] Though Edwards linked his guerrillas to various partisans throughout history, including the Spanish in the Peninsular War, the comparison that would have been immediately recognisable to his audience was with Revolutionary War hero Francis Marion.[70] Nicknamed 'The Swamp Fox', Marion had harried British troops in South Carolina with irregular tactics, with his legacy as a Southern folk hero secured following William Gilmore Simms's biography in 1833.[71] There were, of course, notable differences between Marion and the guerrillas of Missouri, primarily in the nature and scale of the violence. Edwards acknowledged these differences in such a way as to both excuse the actions of his subjects, including the grim aspects of guerrilla warfare such as mutilation, whilst also maintaining their ties to a Southern heritage. The principal difference, Edwards argued, was in 'the excesses of the civil war', which necessitated retaliation, and thus created a 'more enterprising by far, more deadly' guerrilla than seen in other conflicts.[72]

The nature of these 'excesses' as they are described by Edwards are worth considering, as it demonstrates the ideal of guerrilla warfare he wanted people to remember. Violence in *Noted Guerrillas* was largely bloodless, setting the standard for other Lost Cause works and media in Missouri. The passage describing the Centralia Massacre in September 1864 exemplifies Edwards's literary style. Bloodless violence serves to highlight the patriotism and martial skill of the guerrillas, rather than the grim realities of guerrilla combat, with the narrative becoming a work of hagiography far more

[68] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 5 September 1875.
[69] Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 10.
[70] Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 26.
[71] William Gilmore Simms, *The Life of Francis Marion* (New York: Henry G. Langley, 1833).
[72] Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 30.

than it is a historical account of the massacre. The Union dead are given simply as numbers, evidence of the marshal prowess of the Confederate guerrilla:

> Five men had shot down fifty-two. Arch Clements, in the appointment made afterwards, had credited to him fourteen, Oll Shepard ten, Peyton Long nine, Frank James eight, and Jesse James, besides killing Major Johnson and others in the charge upon the dismounted troopers, killed in the chase an additional eight.

By contrast, the few guerrillas who were killed at Centralia are given personalities and stories, with Frank Shepard 'a giant in size and as brave as the best,' and Peyton Long 'a beardless boy from Howard County, who in his first battle after becoming a guerrilla was shot dead.'[73] The scalping and mutilation that occurred after the massacre is ignored, lest it dent the heroic image of Anderson's guerrillas. Indeed, the practice of scalping is only lightly referred to in Lost Cause myths, despite it being an important statement of guerrilla prowess and manhood.[74] John McCorkle claimed that jayhawkers and their Native American allies had scalped women and children, but it was otherwise left absent from his account of his time with Quantrill.[75] John Newman Edwards did cover scalping, and acknowledged that the practice was widespread in the wake of the Lawrence Massacre, but laid the blame for this particular escalation squarely at the feet of the Union militia. After Abe Haller was scalped in Jackson County, his comrades are said to have declared, 'We had something to learn yet boys… and we have learned it. Scalp for scalp hereafter!'[76] Again, Edwards used the concept of retaliatory anger to insulate his subjects from accusations of brutality.

John Newman Edwards had therefore navigated the problems of wartime Unionism and brutality to provide white Missourians with a Confederate past that they could take pride in. The final element of his bespoke guerrilla Lost Cause was to create a pantheon of heroes who could sit alongside national figures of the Confederacy such as Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. In many respects, Edwards had gone some way to achieving this on a macro level by redeeming their violent actions as being understandable and necessary. Yet in the case of the most famous guerrillas, such as Quantrill, Anderson,

[73] Ibid., 300-01.
[74] Beilein, *Bushwhackers*, 118-21.
[75] McCorkle, *Three Years with Quantrill*, 95.
[76] Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 207.

and Archie Clement, he went further into biographical territory, creating heroes for white Missourians, rather than a faceless band of guerrillas.

There were two means by which Edwards, and other Lost Cause authors went about shaping prominent guerrillas into Lost Cause icons. The first, connected to the generally bloodless portrayals of violence, was to imbue the guerrilla with superior physical and mental faculties, capable of astonishing marksmanship, bonded with their horses to become as 'centaurs'.[77] In the process, they became idealised images of a western manhood intimately connected with that of the antebellum South. The second way that guerrillas could become a Lost Cause ideal was in the reconstruction of their emotional worlds. In some ways, Edwards had done this on a wider scale through broadly associating guerrilla violence with Union atrocities. Regarding prominent figures such as Quantrill and Anderson, however, Edwards went further, making them archetypes of the distinct guerrilla honour that he wanted remembered. In the case of Anderson, for example, his anger became his defining characteristic in Edwards's narrative, justified by the 'murder' of his sister in the collapse of the women's prison in Kansas City in August 1863.[78] Indeed, Edwards repeated the claim that the collapse had been deliberately caused by Union soldiers undermining the prison walls, emphasising the vendetta narrative.[79] Despite Anderson having been active as a guerrilla long before the death of his sister, Edwards emphasised that prior to this, he had been a quiet man, 'who took more delight in a book than in a crowd.' Complete with descriptions of the dead and mutilated girls left by the prison collapse, Edwards turned Anderson's anger into an inevitable result of grief. Indeed, Anderson's personal mission to avenge and protect the women of his family would surely have resonated with a white Missouri audience fearful at the societal upheaval the Thirteenth Amendment had brought. Newspapers across the state reported claims of African American men raping white women, playing on age-old racist portrayals of black men as violent and lustful. With this context in mind, Bill Anderson's anger, far from making him the bloodthirsty killer many considered him during the guerrilla war, instead made him someone to be emulated.

[77] Edwards used this word several times in *Noted Guerrillas*. On the first occasion, he combined the literal bonding of man and horse with an allusion to Bucephalus, the horse of Alexander, tying the guerrilla to a broader martial legacy. See, ibid., 15.
[78] Ibid., 165.
[79] See, Harris, 'Catalyst for Terror,' 290-306.

William Quantrill was likewise shown as having been driven to action by Northern aggression. John Newman Edwards repeated the claim that Quantrill had watched his brother's murder at the hands of abolitionist jayhawkers during Bleeding Kansas, a story which had been circulated since at least 1860, when Quantrill was involved in the fight at Morgan Walker's farm near Independence.[80] This tale became embedded in the memory of Missourians, and continued to be reported as fact throughout the nineteenth century, despite being fictitious.[81] It was necessary to justify Quantrill taking to the bush, connecting him with the grief experienced by so many other guerrillas, who had lost loved ones at the hands of federal soldiers and jayhawkers. Unlike Anderson, however, Quantrill never appears as a particularly violent individual in Lost Cause literature. In many ways, this was the result of Edwards's sanitisation of guerrilla emotions, with Quantrill avoiding rage, as well as the tears and depression sometimes associated with grief. Instead, he remains even tempered, refraining from alcohol and gambling, and maintaining 'a very gallant bearing towards women'.[82] This allowed Quantrill to become the guerrilla equivalent to Robert E. Lee, 'their voice in tumult, their beacon in a crisis, and their hand in action.'[83] Together with his more ruthless men, such as Anderson and Clement, Quantrill exemplified the chivalrous, knightly figure that early Lost Cause writers wanted the guerrilla to be remembered as. More than anyone else, Quantrill came to personify the 'stock romantic dragon-slaying hero' described by Fellman, albeit not utterly emotionless.[84] Quantrill experienced grief and anger, just as many thousands did across Kansas and Missouri. What made him worthy of remembrance, in Edwards's eyes, was that he responded well to these emotional challenges, becoming worthy of emulation by future generations.

The result of the efforts of people like John Newman Edwards was that, by the end of Reconstruction, Missouri had the foundations of a Lost Cause movement. A reconstructed memory of the guerrilla war had emphasised righteous anger to justify the

[80] Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 46-48. The story of Quantrill's brother was alluded to by the *St. Louis Daily Bulletin*, 11 December 1860.
[81] For example, see *St. Joseph Gazette* 27 July 1898. Modern historians unanimously agree that this story has little basis in fact. That the story was circulating as early as 1860 suggests that it could have been a misreported event that was adopted, or perhaps even started, by Quantrill himself or someone close to him.
[82] *St. Louis Globe Democrat* 27 May 1888.
[83] Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 31.
[84] Fellman, *Inside War*, 251.

guerrilla's actions, and shape him into a figure that served both as proof of a Confederate past, and someone to be admired in a world upheaved. Moreover, notable guerrilla fighters had become folk heroes, capable of standing alongside figures such as Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson, as Southern patriots. As early as 1872, the *Caucasian* was including Bill Anderson and William Quantrill alongside such figures as archetypes of Southern patriotism.[85] In the final decades of the nineteenth century, this Confederate past would become even more embedded in Missouri's culture, furthering a romanticised image of antebellum life and the pro-Confederate guerrillas.

Memory of the Guerrilla War post-Reconstruction

The emotional inheritance crafted by John Newman Edwards left visible marks on the future memory of the Confederate guerrillas in Missouri. During the guerrilla war the people of Missouri had been beset by fear, grief, anger, and homesickness. Lost Cause remembrance of the guerrillas countered this by promoting positive emotions, eliciting a patriotic sentiment that masked much of the ugly truth of guerrilla warfare. The emotions experienced by the guerrillas themselves had, as described above, been simplified, with anger carrying none of its potential trappings, whilst grief became little more than a noble motivational factor. On its release, *Noted Guerrillas* became widely read across Missouri, and attracted positive reviews for 'thoroughly [illustrating] a feature of the civil war that has never yet been touched upon or thoroughly understood.'[86] For many people across Missouri, Edwards' vision of the guerrilla war provided a sanitised understanding that they sought, albeit inaccurate.

Some sense of how the romanticised vision of guerrilla violence can be gleaned from literary sources such as the *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*, which gives some idea of how widespread Lost Cause memories of the guerrilla war were across Missouri even in 1913. Mrs R. T. Bass of Independence, Missouri, for example, authored a glowing recollection of Quantrill, reminiscing that he was 'little like the horrible bloodthirsty bandit' that so many had claimed, and suggests the survival of pro-guerrilla

[85] *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, 20 April 1872.
[86] *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, 27 April 1877.

sentiment on the Kansas-Missouri border.[87] Such sources, however, limit the scope of remembrance to an often urban, upper middle-class sphere, and do little to suggest how remembrance of the guerrillas persisted in rural communities.

The rising prominence of folk songs in the later nineteenth century, and their continued circulation into the twentieth, offers some insight into this.[88] Folksongs are recognised as having a significant emotional value to communities and regions, reflecting integral aspects of their history and culture.[89] Music could act as a unifying factor for nations, inspiring patriotic emotions in times of crisis, however, pro-Confederate folksongs during Reconstruction and beyond show that music detailing regional history could instead promote divisive sentiment.[90] In Missouri, ballads celebrating the lives and actions of pro-Confederate guerrillas were an integral aspect of normalising the Lost Cause and its values. Most romanticised the guerrilla as the knightly figure described by John Newman Edwards, fearless and far more skilled in battle than their Union foes. 'The Call of Quantrell' claimed that 'For none are so strong, so mighty in fight/ As the warrior who battles for our Southern right,' offering some indication of the lasting impact that Edwards's work had on Lost Cause memory in Missouri.[91] Indeed, perhaps even more than *Noted Guerrillas*, ballads such as 'The Call of Quantrell' better reflect the emotionless heroes that Fellman found in Edwards's work.[92] Another popular song of the Ozarks region of southern Missouri and northern Arkansas, entitled 'Charlie Quantrell' referred to both

[87] Mrs R. T. Bass, 'Recollections of Quantrill,' *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*, 234.
[88] The importance of folk songs and ballads to reinforcing a distinct cultural identity for separate regions and localities has been noted in scholarship of American folklore and folksongs. Simon J. Bronner, 'Regions, Borders, and Nation in American Folklore and Folklife,' in Simon J. Bronner (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of American Folklore and Folklife Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 509-39, argues that regional identities are frequently social constructs rather than a physical reality. Guerrilla ballads would have played an important role in developing these cultural identities. Howard Wight Marshall, *Play Me Something Quick and Devilish: Old-Time Fiddlers in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2012), 9-18, noted the development of three distinct musical styles in Missouri according to region: Ozark, Little Dixie, and North Missouri, all of which were deeply divided between Union and Confederacy during the Civil War. See also, Vance Randolph, *Ozark Folksongs*, 4 vol. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1946-49).
[89] Peter Narvaez, '"I Think I Wrote a Folksong": Popularity and Regional Vernacular Anthems,' *Journal of American Folklore* 115 no. 456 (Spring, 2002): 269-82. Narvaez refers to an 'emotional investment' that builds communal identity. Barbara Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling*, 227-47, notes that music can reflect particular emotional styles and expressions.
[90] See for example, Laura Lohman, *Hail Columbia!: American Music and Politics in the Early Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 210.
[91] 'The Call of Quantrell,' quoted in Fellman, *Inside War*, 259-60. See also, Henry M. Belden, *Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk Lore Society* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1955), 353-54.
[92] Fellman, *Inside War*, 251.

the raid on Lawrence, and more generally to the code of guerrilla honour.[93] In this, it is very similar to 'The Call of Quantrell' in repeating the standard claims of the guerrilla's martial superiority. Lines describing 'A brave man or woman he would not annoy,' speak to the perceived justice inherent in guerrilla violence, as well as a pro-Confederate mentality that characterised jayhawkers and other opponents as cowardly backstabbers. Jim Lane's flight at the beginning of the Lawrence Massacre is noted as a specific example, with the jayhawker leader's fear contrasted with the guerrilla's bravery: 'He saw them a-coming and got in a fright/ He crawled in a corn-crib to get out of sight.' The guerrilla remained unafflicted by negative emotions of fear, whereas his opponents proved emotionally inferior.

What separates this particular folksong from others like it, however, is the suggestion it makes that Quantrill operated as a social bandit. The song claims that 'He robbed from the wealthy/And gave to the poor,' in an apparent connection between the guerrillas of the Civil War era, and the outlaws of the American West. John Newman Edwards had accounted for the later careers of members of the James-Younger gang by portraying them as extensions of the outlaws' wartime service under Quantrill and Anderson. This had close ties to the popularity of the Robin Hood legend in American literary culture, with writers such as Mark Twain and Washington Irving having Americanised the tale in their work.[94] 'Charlie Quantrell' drew on this trend to aid in justifying the actions of the legendary guerrillas, despite there being no evidence of Quantrill ever charitably distributing loot. Nevertheless, with decades separating Quantrill's life and his popular memory, the guerrilla bandit had become a romanticised part of life in the Ozarks, a mythical figure around whom people could build their identities and Confederate heritage.[95] The realities of guerrilla warfare were less important than the need for a heroic past amongst defeated Confederates and their descendants.

For those surviving guerrillas, even famous outlaws such as Frank James, there was somewhat less fanfare in the immediate aftermath of the war. Generally, they retreated

[93] The name 'Charlie' was derived from a pseudonym used by Quantrill in the 1850s, Charles Hart, and suggests that this was used as a nickname amongst those who knew him best.
[94] Stephen Knight, 'Remembering Robin Hood: Five Centuries of Outlaw Ideology,' *European Journal of English Studies* 10 no. 2 (August 2006): 158.
[95] Song performed by Fred Berry, 13 January 1960, available online at [https://digitalcollections.uark.edu/] – accessed 03/03/2021.

into a quiet civilian life, moving between various jobs and speaking only rarely about their experiences. On occasions when some spoke with reporters, as Thomas J. Marshall did in 1888, it was in private and, in Marshall's case, not without some suggestion of ongoing trauma. Meeting a reporter in a Chicago bar, Marshall 'shuddered as he spoke, and nervously emptied his glass' when recounting his career under Quantrill.[96] Far from the romantic hero remembered in folk songs, Marshall lived an ordinary life far from the Missouri countryside he had roamed, and possibly carrying emotional trauma from his wartime memories. Dead fighters who had given their lives for their country and families were more effective folk heroes. Those who remained alive initially existed as an uncomfortable reminder of defeat and the unspoken realities of guerrilla warfare, as was often the case throughout the postbellum United States, as wounded veterans conflicted with an imagined ideal.[97]

As time wore on, however, and the Lost Cause began to take a proper hold over white Missourians, the surviving guerrillas were able to emerge into the public sphere once again, now as peaceable citizens. Most significant were the reunions of Quantrill's men that began in September 1898. Having been hitherto ignored in traditional sites of Confederate mourning, particularly Decoration Day celebrations, guerrilla reunions served to rectify this problem. Jeremy Neely has demonstrated that these reunions demonstrated the shortcomings of reconciliation, particularly on the Kansas-Missouri border, reflecting the ongoing resentment and anger among 'old-stock Southern sympathisers.'[98] Indeed, works such as the *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri* do evidence the ongoing emotional tension that persisted into the twentieth century. These works, and guerrilla reunions, were greeted with an equal hostility from those communities that had suffered at the hands of guerrillas. Most notable was Lawrence, Kansas, where the survivors of Quantrill's raid held their own reunions and commemorations on the semicentennial anniversary of the massacre. Quite unlike the Lost Cause literature of Edwards and guerrilla biographies, the speakers of the day recalled graphic details of the violence that took place, such as the death of D. W. Palmer,

[96] *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, 8 March 1888.
[97] James A. Marten, *Sing Not War: The Lives of Union and Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 2011).
[98] Neely, 'The Quantrill Men Reunions: The Missouri-Kansas Border War, Fifty Years On,' Earle and Burke (eds.), *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri*, 249.

shot and left to burn alive in his store.[99] Tensions had already flared as a result of the guerrilla reunions, specifically the August 1908 event to commemorate the Lawrence Massacre, which had attracted anger from the people of Kansas.[100] Such events served as emotional arenas, with communities reliving the anger and grief that had defined the guerrilla war, and maintaining the divisions that had persisted since 1854.

Some guerrilla reunions took on a conciliatory stance. During the Spanish-American War and the First World War, American flags largely replaced Confederate ones in a display of patriotism typical of nations faced with external threats.[101] Yet, given the circumstances, it seems that this was less a sign of genuine reconciliation on the part of the guerrillas, and rather an impulse outburst of patriotic emotion. An example of this would be the temporary replacement of German immigrants, rather than Kansas jayhawkers, as the principal villains of the guerrilla war. From this, it can be argued that patriotic emotions, the rally 'round the flag effect, cause memory and its associated emotions to adapt to the circumstances as necessary. Confederate flags were matched with stars and stripes, and during such times of crisis many Americans found 'new ways to cement their reunion,' as David W. Blight argued regarding the Spanish-American War.[102] Yet for many Americans, even these national crises failed to inhibit a lasting sense of reunion. Ex-Confederates often simply took the opportunity to argue that 1861 and 1898 both reflected struggles for American values of liberty, tying their Confederate patriotism to their support for the United States in a time of war.[103] Rather than ultimately lead to a clear sense of national reunion, post-war gatherings of former guerrillas most often served as an arena in which to experience and display nostalgia for an imagined Southern antebellum past. This was most often manifested in the patriotic waving of Confederate flags, though the very presence of the guerrillas themselves has been noted as an emotive reminder of a fading rural past as Missouri's cities became ever more

[99] Sheridan, 'A Most Unusual Gathering,' 187.
[100] Ibid., 189.
[101] Neely, 'The Quantrill Men Reunions,' 253-54. For more on patriotic responses to external threats, see generally Colley, *Britons: Forging a Nation*.
[102] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 347.
[103] Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 225. David C. Turpie, 'A Voluntary War: The Spanish-American War, White Southern Manhood, and the Struggle to Recruit Volunteers in the South,' *The Journal of Southern History* 80 no. 4 (November 2014): 859-92, has also noted that, in the South, there was difficulty in persuading many Southern men to volunteer for service. Turpie argues that Southern manhood meant many felt a greater loyalty to their families and homes than to Cuban independence.

sprawling.[104] What these reunions represented underscored any efforts to reconcile with the North.

Of the attendees at guerrilla reunions, the ones who elicited the strongest nostalgia amongst white pro-Confederates were former enslaved people. Of the black men who rode in Quantrill's guerrilla band, John Noland is perhaps the best known today. During the Civil War, Noland rode with the guerrillas for at least three years. He allegedly acted as a scout, spy, and camp servant for Quantrill, including a reconnaissance of Lawrence prior to the raid.[105] Together with Sam Jackson and Henry Wilson, who also rode with the guerrillas as cooks, he served a useful purpose as evidence of a loyal slave whom Lost Cause advocates highlighted during the reunions.[106] John Noland's former comrades claimed that he could 'fight as hard as any of them when the situation required,' whilst strangers would 'gaze in silent wonder' at the former 'guerrilla'.[107]

Kevin M. Levin has recently demonstrated that African Americans who acted as 'camp slaves' were turned into Confederate 'soldiers' by Lost Cause writers, despite their freedom still being denied them.[108] Something similar was possibly done to John Noland, who, on the rare occasions he spoke of his wartime service, played down his role, claiming that he was largely in 'the position of a servant', rather than a fighter. He told William Connelley that Quantrill started his raid on Lawrence before Noland gave him any information.[109] Despite Noland's reticence in discussing or embellishing his role in Quantrill's guerrilla band, his former comrades said otherwise. Both they, and future Lost Cause advocates such as the Sons of Confederates veterans, portrayed John Noland as a man who could 'fight as hard as any' alongside them. It was useful for Lost Cause advocates to show enslaved people actively fighting alongside their enslavers against the North, as it helped to justify slavery as an institution. On the Kansas-Missouri border, this was even more important because it tapped into long-standing claims made by slaveholding Missourians that their particular small-scale slavery was benign when

[104] Neely, 'The Quantrill Men Reunions,' 252.
[105] Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 310.
[106] Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 192.
[107] *St. Joseph News-Press*, 26 August 1905. *The Kansas City Star*, 27 August 1905.
[108] Levin, *Searching for Black Confederates*, 123-51. Levin specifically references John Noland's life on page 143, noting that despite Lost Cause claims that Noland was a freedman by 1861, this is not supported by the historical record.
[109] *St. Joseph News-Press*, 26 August 1905. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 310.

compared to the plantations found across the Deep South.[110] That three African American men could be claimed as having willingly and actively fought to protect slavery justified the continued belief that black and white Missourians had both been better off with slavery.

The role of enslaved people in the domestic supply line also featured in memoirs and other Lost Cause writings.[111] During the war, slaveholders clearly understood that many enslaved people yearned for freedom and were active in their attempts to secure it, which necessitated the use of guerrilla bands as slavecatchers.[112] In later Lost Cause narratives, however, writers made significant use of the 'faithful servant' trope, highlighting the 'willing' role enslaved people played in resisting the Union occupation alongside their enslavers. Elizabeth McKinney recalled 'faithful servants' refusing to accept offers of freedom from Union soldiers, and always their enslavers what information the soldiers had let slip.[113] This of course ignored the reality that many enslaved people were afraid of Union soldiers, just as they were of their enslavers. John Newman Edwards recounted a story of Cole Younger being concealed by 'an old negro woman' from a search party, hiding him beneath blankets while she railed at the jayhawkers for disturbing her.[114] It is possible that this story was apocryphal, as Cole Younger made no mention of it in his own memoirs, despite it being such a close escape.[115] If so, it reinforces the need for white Missourians reflecting on the guerrilla war to use it as an opportunity to justify slavery by manufacturing a memory of loyalty within small-scale slaveholding households. Remembering the role that enslaved people played as a part of the Civil War era Missouri household served as an important accompaniment to that played by men such as John Noland, highlighting the benefits of everyday slavery, in addition to the more extraordinary examples.

[110] Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 171-72.
[111] See the arrest of Collins Coy, discussed in Chapter IV page 113.
[112] See Chapter IV page 116.
[113] Elizabeth Ustick McKinney, 'A Reminiscence of the War Between the States,' in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri*, 143.
[114] Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 154.
[115] Younger did, however mention one instance of an enslaved woman, 'Aunt Suse', who withstood torture by jayhawkers and did not reveal the whereabouts of the family wealth. It is possible that this 'Suse' was the woman described by Edwards. See, Younger, *The Story of Cole Younger*, 70.

Unionist Memories

The Lost Cause idealisation of guerrillas was juxtaposed with the memories of Unionist victims across Missouri who had suffered as a result of guerrilla atrocities. Just as the idealisation of the pro-Confederate guerrillas produced barriers to reconciliation, so too did the lingering memories of Bloody Bill Anderson's raid on Glasgow, Chariton County, or Quantrill's attack on Lawrence, Kansas. Unionist memory undercut any possibility of complete reconciliation. Speaking of North Carolina's Unionist population and the memory of the guerrilla war in that state, Barton A. Myers described 'islands that preserved local memory of Unionism,' isolated amidst the state's broader Lost Cause movement.[116] In Missouri and on the Kansas-Missouri border, it seems that something similar occurred, with trends towards reconciliation undercut by areas where the memory of the conflict remained divisive. These memories proved important aspects of people's identities, whether on a familial or a regional level.

Elizabeth Thompson's recollections of her involvement in Anderson's raid on Glasgow in October 1864 reflect a piece of emotional inheritance that she passed on to future generations of her family. Putting her tale in writing, one of Elizabeth's nieces described its telling, emphasising the familial setting and happy memories of gathering either, 'in her library before the blazing logs, or in summer on her vine covered porch, listening to her dramatic stories.'[117] As well as transmitting the emotions experienced during the guerrilla war, the story itself aided in bonding Elizabeth Thompson with her nieces and nephews.

Elizabeth's story was, in some ways, similar to Lost Cause narratives. It idealised antebellum Missouri's small-scale slaveholding system, describing content enslaved people who had no desire for freedom, even in the wake of the Emancipation Proclamation.[118] Indeed, following the attack on Glasgow, Benjamin Whitehead Lewis was attended to by 'the faithful Zeb' until his death in 1866. Showing a distinctly Western attitude towards slavery and its remembrance, where Elizabeth Thompson's account

[116] Barton A. Myers, *Rebels Against the Confederacy: North Carolina's Unionists*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 173 n.30. See also, Andrew L. Slap, ed*., Reconstructing Appalachia: The Civil War's Aftermath* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2010).
[117] 'Aunt Lizzie's Story,' *MHS*.
[118] Ibid., Berenice Morrison-Fuller writes that Anderson's victim in the raid, Benjamin Whitehead Lewis, owned slaves who did not wish to be freed, as they would be 'helpless as babes in the woods.'

differed was in its presentation of guerrillas and their motives. Far from the chivalrous knights of *Noted Guerrillas*, they were instead roaming the state torturing and killing 'for some personal spite,' her memory having removed the honour from their revenge. The emotional world she described was also vastly different to that found in Lost Cause works. Unlike the anger described in Edwards's work, Elizabeth Thompson passed down a memory of men out of control, manifesting in their torture of Benjamin Lewis and hurling objects such as bowls across the room. When their ransom demands could not be met, the guerrillas unleashed 'a volley of cursing and swearing' that turned the air 'blue with horrible profanity.' Meanwhile, their victims were gripped with fear, Thompson claiming that, 'Poor Zeb and the other servants would have turned white with fear had they been able to change colour.' She herself had a pistol concealed at her home, with the fact that 'In those days women, as well as men, were armed,' evidencing the constant anxiety that people lived with in Civil War era Missouri.[119]

In Lawrence, Kansas, the memory of Quantrill's raid in August 1863 persisted long after the guerrillas had left, becoming a piece of Kansas history that left an indelible mark on its citizens. Determined to honour the sacrifices made by their citizens, the citizens of Lawrence reframed the massacre as being a part of the wider sectional conflict over slavery, their dead killed due to abolitionist principals. On an individual level, victims were commemorated by those closest to them, who carried the memories of their loved ones down through the ages. Some had glorified the civilian deaths as sacrifices made in the name of black liberty, for example Sarah Fitch, who had remembered Edward as a 'martyr to freedom,' and named their infant son in his honour, securing her husband's legacy within their family, as well as the memory of those who murdered him.[120] Meanwhile, the city of Lawrence commemorated the dead on a wider scale, likewise connecting the deaths of civilians at the hands of Quantrill's guerrillas with the broader conflict. On Decoration Day, anyone killed in the massacre, soldier or civilian, received equal treatment. Reunions were alleged to have been held informally every 21 August, with the survivors quietly remembering their own escapes, and their lost friends and relatives.

Ultimately, a more formal ceremony and memorial was held on the bicentennial anniversary, cementing the importance of the massacre to the identities of its citizens.

[119] Ibid.
[120] Sarah Fitch Letter to Dear Parents, 2 September 1863.

Indeed, the symbol of Lawrence depicts a phoenix rising from the ashes of '1863'. Importantly, these reunions were held in opposition to the veterans of Quantrill's band holding their own gatherings, bringing both the people of Lawrence, and other former Unionists, into conflict with them. A letter written by Jacob T. Murdock, a resident of Kansas City who had served in the 3rd Missouri Cavalry (Union), demonstrates the animosity that guerrilla reunions continued to generate amongst those who had suffered and fought against them. Writing of the 1903 reunion, Murdock asked:

> How any creatures in the semblance of man in this age of enlightenment, could hold a reunion and look into each other's faces, relate their crimes and exult in the part they played in the darkest deeds in the annals of depravity, having lived all those years under our flag of the free in the blaze for our civilisation, is beyond my ken.[121]

Where guerrilla warfare was concerned, reconciliation was tempered by a lasting animosity that was often merely exacerbated through memorialisation.

The emotional legacy of the guerrilla war proved difficult to cast off, and would be a huge influence on Missouri's future in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Across Missouri, pro-Confederate organisations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy could flourish openly, propagating a myth of guerrilla warfare that lionised the actions of Missouri's guerrillas. In this way, a Southern past was manufactured, drawing large numbers of Missourians together behind a common heritage. But in areas affected by guerrilla warfare, where the memories of how both sides had fought the conflict, this memory would limit reconciliation and define regional collective identities. This was most notable along both sides of the Kansas-Missouri border, which had seen the worst of a decade of fighting. But some areas in the interior of Missouri also found reconciliation difficult due to the emotional legacies of guerrilla warfare, for example Glasgow, Chariton County, where Bill Anderson's raid in 1864 lived long in the memory. The emotional impact of guerrilla warfare did not just impact Missouri during the 1860s, but would reverberate long after the conflict had ended.

[121] *Lawrence Daily Journal* 16 September 1903.

Conclusion

Emotions were central to Missouri's guerrilla war. The individual emotional worlds of Missourians, shaped over the long years of Bleeding Kansas, drew people into broader emotional communities that ultimately began a guerrilla conflict. The fear, anxiety, grief, and anger that they experienced would sustain guerrilla warfare throughout four long years of civil war, extending violence beyond Missouri's borders. Emotions were also the primary way through which people remembered and relived their Civil War experiences – they shaped the commemoration and later meanings of the conflict. Importantly, it was not solely the pro-Confederate guerrillas whose emotional worlds affected the war, but also the emotions of non-combatants, from civilians to enslaved people.

At a broader level, we have seen that emotions helped to determine the direction of the guerrilla war. They influenced the aims and objectives of both pro-Confederate guerrilla bands, and the Union forces combatting them. Fear was a key objective for both sides, an emotion that, it was hoped, would discourage support for either the Union or the Confederacy, and secure Missouri for either the South or the North. This was what encouraged many instances of guerrilla violence, as well as tactics such as mutilation – they aimed to instil fear at a broader level than simply the community or person under attack. The Union Army likewise weaponised fear to discourage guerrilla warfare. Sometimes this was done through violence, often via Kansas jayhawkers, and at others through official policy, particularly banishment. Grief was also used as a weapon by both sides. The mutilation of bodies, the full denial of a body to bury and mourn, served as a punishment to both the deceased and their friends and relatives. Instead, they were forced to adapt their grieving practices, much as families were obliged to do because of the regular war and the destruction that took place on battlefields.

But guerrilla warfare, aimed at eliciting certain emotional states, also had unintended consequences. One that predominantly affected Union forces was the number of refugees produced by the conflict. Whilst refugees themselves were usually motivated to leave their homes out of some degree of fear, their plight created a very different emotional response from those they hoped would aid them. Entering a world defined by a dichotomy between pity and contempt, refugees in Missouri found enormous challenges ahead that many would not survive. As a result, and also because of

the fear, grief, and banishment that guerrilla conflict had wrought, anger was fomented across the state, and over the western border in Kansas. Often, acts of violence only created fear in the short term. Grief led many to seek revenge, and rather than draw support away from one side, encouraged people to join the conflict.

Anger, the unintended consequence of fear and grief, was primarily responsible for creating the cyclical violence that defined Missouri's guerrilla war. Theoretically an emotion that needed to be restrained to prove one's manhood, anger instead became an essential part of the manly identities of men on both sides of the conflict. The guerrilla war had created a paradox in the emotional culture of the Civil War era United States. In the war's aftermath, and even into the twentieth century, the more immediate anger that produced the careers of men like Bill Anderson and John R. Kelso turned into resentment. A more long-term form of anger, this was a key factor in causing and shaping the narrative of the Lost Cause in Missouri. The veneration of pro-Confederate guerrillas, reframing their violence and anger as noble deeds, changed the course of Missouri's future. The guerrilla war, how it was fought, its memory, cannot be properly understood without insight into the emotional worlds that created it.

Emotional history can fundamentally change how we conceive guerrilla warfare. It helps to personalise the causes and effects of this kind of conflict, which frequently originated from personal grudges and experiences of violence. Some might question how helpful this is. One issue surrounding emotional history, particularly where emotions such as fear are concerned, is the idea that emotions are inherently irrational. If this were true, then it would undermine the work done so far to understand Missouri's guerrilla war as a coherent war.[1] But emotions are almost never an irrational, animalistic reaction. They are instead informed and shaped by the societies in which we live, with each emotion leading to a considered response. Far from being irrational, emotions were at the heart of the cyclical violence that defined guerrilla warfare and made it the logical conflict identified by recent historians.

Another concern is how far historians can identify the emotions being experienced. In other words: if someone records feeling anger, how do we know that they really felt that? In some cases, there is simply no reason for the individual to lie or

[1] Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*.

otherwise manipulate their emotional state – Sarah Fitch's letter to her in-laws stands as one example; there was no reason for her to be dishonest. In the case of other sources, however, particularly memoirs, it is possible that emotions have been exaggerated or manufactured. But this does not render the source useless. The purpose of emotional history is not simply to definitively identify what emotions are expressed, but rather *why* people might present their emotional states in such a way. Therefore, when guerrillas remembered their anger, presenting it as a very noble emotion that drove them to fight, our job is to consider the reasons for this, why the guerrilla interpreted his anger in such a way. In Chapter VII, the manipulation of emotional states was demonstrated to be an important aspect of the Lost Cause and the memory of the guerrilla conflict. Even though the emotions being remembered were unreliable, it explains a great deal about the nature of nineteenth-century anger. It tells us what was considered acceptable and what was not. If this can be recognised more widely, then a greater variety of emotional histories can be explored, not limited to just immediate emotional experiences, but also their legacies.

Emotional history still has much to offer the study of the American Civil War. As more and more scholars apply our knowledge of nineteenth-century emotions to military and political history, we can arrive at new understandings of how and why the Civil War was fought. This can be done at varying degrees of scale, as shown in this thesis. On a micro-level, this can be used to explore what it meant to be a soldier in the Civil War, as James J. Broomall has shown in his study of the emotional worlds of Confederate soldiers.[2] These types of works can aid us in understanding the nature of the challenges faced by families who found themselves abruptly separated from each other and had to adapt to new forms of emotional expression. As volunteers fighting for their national identity and for the home, men in service had gender obligations to meet that made the expression of emotion difficult. In addition to the practical difficulties of, for example, finding a scribe for letter writing, men were limited in the emotions that they could express, their private community having gained a new audience. New methods of communication created fresh challenges for the expression of emotion.

[2] Broomall, *Private Confederacies*, 12-108. See also, Aaron Sheehan Dean (ed.), *The View from the Ground: Experiences of Civil War Soldiers* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2007).

Emotions played a central role in determining official policy – the very course of the guerrilla war itself. It is essential that we consider how true this was of the wider Civil War, not just of Missouri. An analysis of how nineteenth-century emotional culture influenced the rules of warfare, and the development of the Lieber Code, can bring fresh understanding to our conceptions of the Civil War as an example of a 'modern war'. Indeed, with various aspects of the Lieber Code coming under renewed scrutiny, emotional history can fit into this trend. One prominent new work from Lorien Foote examines 'retaliation' in the Civil War. Enshrined in the Lieber Code, retaliation was a highly ritualised aspect of the conflict, with military protocol explicitly allowing for punishments to be made against prisoners of war even if innocent of any offence or crime.[3] In considering the role of emotions in this part of the Lieber Code, we might consider what role nineteenth-century conceptions of anger played in developing this system. Perhaps an ideal of emotional restraint clashed with a need for catharsis, with retaliation emerging as an acceptable means of showing anger. This might be complicated through further examination of guerrilla warfare, and how forms of retaliation such as those discussed in Chapter VI fit, or rather did not fit, into this wider practice. Likewise, we can bring emotions into other aspects of military practice, such as surrender, that have also seen fresh discussion in recent years. Emotions can assist in pinpointing the origins and developments of these aspects of the Civil War and bring about new understandings of the nineteenth-century United States.

Beyond these broader questions, emotional history offers a useful means for historians to continue research into guerrilla warfare. Indeed, emotions are key to understanding cyclical violence and the processes of guerrilla fighting before, during, and after the Civil War. As we seek a deeper understanding of the nature of guerrilla warfare across multiple states, emotions will surely play an important role.

[3] Foote, *Rites of Retaliation*, 2. Foote makes a compelling case for the importance of retaliation to the Civil War and its role in defining the limits of violence and notions of civilised warfare. On page 16, Foote notes that retaliation could sometimes go too far, raising concerns that 'savage passions of revenge' were not being contained.

Why Guerrilla Warfare?

As this thesis has demonstrated, there are many nuances to guerrilla warfare that we have yet to fully understand. Blurred lines between the battlefield and the domestic sphere did more than just affect military policy – they also had an enormous emotional impact on non-combatants, who found themselves thrust into the path of conflict. Another important aspect of this style of warfare was the culture of rumour, which has been emphasised throughout. Rumour was an important means by which civilians could influence the war around them and goes some way towards disproving any notions of passivity among non-combatants. This thesis has only examined these regarding Missouri and Kansas, but they were equally important in other states, from Kentucky to North Carolina. These states had very different socio-cultural contexts compared to Missouri and require distinct and considered analysis. In producing these, we will reach a more complete understanding of what guerrilla warfare was, and moreover what it actually meant.

For some, this may appear an unnecessary goal, one that assigns too great an importance to a tangential aspect of Civil War historiography. Despite the work of Daniel Sutherland, who, among others, has proven the relevance of guerrilla warfare to the wider sectional conflict, some have criticised the field. Two notable scholars who have argued that guerrilla warfare has received too much attention are Gary W. Gallagher and Kathryn Shively Meier. In a recent state-of-the-field article, they noted that guerrilla studies, 'may confuse those outside the subfield who assume the amount of scholarship on the topic is in direct proportion to how guerrilla activity shaped the progress and outcomes of the Civil War.' They further argue that a turn towards guerrilla studies was motivated by the post-Vietnam world, 'rather than the military questions that captivated Civil War-era Americans.'[4] Gallagher and Meier are not alone in making this argument, which reflects a broader concern with the 'dark turn' in Civil War scholarship.

As this thesis has demonstrated, however, guerrilla warfare was a topic that actually concerned huge numbers of Americans – not least those who lived under its shadow. For the people of towns such as Lawrence, Glasgow, and Osceola, the campaigns

[4] Gallagher and Meier, 'Coming to Terms with Civil War Military History,' 492-93.

being conducted in the Eastern and Western Theatres were significant in terms of their nation's future. But they would not immediately affect the lives of people living in Kansas and Missouri. The pressing concern for thousands of people living in those states was guerrilla warfare. They did not consider their experiences in the relative way that Gallagher and Meier do. The lives of Sarah Fitch, Mattie Tate, Elizabeth Thompson, and the countless others who lived through guerrilla warfare, were not defined by decisions made in boardrooms and encampments in the east. If we are to ever reach a complete understanding of how people lived in the Civil War-era United States, then we cannot ignore or marginalise an aspect of the conflict that affected people's lives on a daily basis.

We also live at a time when it is increasingly important that we understand guerrilla warfare. Gallagher and Meier made an astute point that the focus on guerrilla studies has grown in the post-Vietnam world. Since the Korean Armistice Agreement in 1953, guerrilla warfare has been by far the most common type of war fought by the United States, and indeed the wider world. The recent US military withdrawal from Afghanistan has prompted comparisons with the defeat in Vietnam. This may lead to wider examination of the Civil War's guerrilla conflicts as historians grapple with America's history of guerrilla warfare. Elsewhere, other countries around the globe, for example Palestine and Ethiopia, continue to experience guerrilla warfare, with dire consequences for civilians caught in between combatants. The need to fully understand the emotional impact of guerrilla warfare has, therefore, arguably never been greater. It is a real and pressing concern for scholars of a variety of disciplines and offers a new means through which nineteenth-century historians can engage critically with the wider world. Other fields have made great strides in this regard. Guerrilla conflicts have become ever more common since 1990 and have attracted the attention of scholars in a variety of disciplines. Political scientists have questioned the morals of guerrilla tactics, and of counterinsurgency policies, that tackle the blurred line between civilian and combatant.[5] Psychologists have written at length about the trauma that guerrilla warfare leaves on

[5] See for example, Michael L. Gross, *The Ethics of Insurgency: A Critical Guide to Guerrilla Warfare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), who argues that guerrilla warfare is, generally, morally reprehensible due to the use of 'human shields', intentional or otherwise, as well as battle tactics such as the use of IEDs. Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2012), examines the policies of US forces during the 2003 Invasion of Iraq, where the achievement of a swift victory justified the accidental deaths of civilians, in contrast to more drawn-out conflicts in Afghanistan.

civilians across the globe, seeking to uncover the non-visible wounds of conflict and the legacies that they leave behind.[6] Others have looked at recent incidents of guerrilla warfare, finding common trends that can predict future conflicts and the lessons to be learned.[7] Civil War historians can do the same.

Within the United States itself, the need to understand Missouri's guerrilla warfare has been made clear. The Missouri Lost Cause has, over the past three decades, again risen to prominence within the state. Its lasting influence was made clear in 1992, with the reburial of William Quantrill's remains. Initially buried in Louisville, Kentucky, at least some of Quantrill's bones were returned to his mother in Dover, Ohio, by the newspaperman William W. Scott in 1887, from whom the Kansas Historical Society received five bones and some hair. These then lay in storage for over a century. After years of haggling, the Sons of Confederate Veterans were able to secure the bones and hair, which were reburied at the Confederate Memorial Site in Higginsville, Missouri on 24 October 1992. In a testament of the importance of guerrilla memory to neo-Confederate identity in Missouri, the ceremony featured emotives typical of patriotic displays. An honour guard dressed in Confederate uniforms fired a 21-gun salute as the flag-draped coffin was lowered into the earth, whilst Quantrill's distant descendent intoned that 'He's finally getting his just due.'[8]

Pro-Confederate guerrillas continue to be idolised, or at the very least trivialised, in other aspects of Missouri's present-day culture. In sport, the University of Missouri and the University of Kansas adopted the name 'The Border War' to describe their rivalry on the football field until 2012, when Missouri left the conference they shared. As Jennifer L. Weber has shown, this name, far from reflecting a rivalry rooted in the guerrilla war, was actually coined as little more than a marketing strategy in 2002 that became an essential part of the identities of both teams and their fans. With the adoption of Quantrill as an

[6] See for example, J. M. Schultz, D. R. Garfin, Z. Espinel et. al., 'Internally Displaced "Victims of Armed Conflict" in Colombia: The Trajectory and Trauma Signature of Forced Migration,' *Current Psychiatry Reports* 16 no. 475 (2014): 1-16; Regina Saile, Verena Ertl, Frank Neuner, and Claudia Catani, 'Does war contribute to family violence against children? Findings from a two-generational multi-informant study in northern Uganda,' *Child Abuse and Neglect* 38 no. 1 (2014): 135-46.

[7] Omar Ashour, 'Sinai's Insurgency: Implications of Enhanced Guerrilla Warfare,' *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 42 no. 6 (2017): 541-58; Jocelyn S. Viterna, 'Pulled, Pushed, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army,' *American Journal of Sociology* 112 no. 1 (July 2006): 1-45.

[8] *The Springfield News-Leader*, 25 October 1992.

unofficial mascot on t-shirts and banners, as well as celebrating the raid on Lawrence, the episode serves as a reminder of how the memory of Quantrill and other guerrillas was sanitised by Lost Cause advocates in Missouri, and the resulting problematic memory that persists today.[9] Elsewhere, the memory of guerrillas and outlaws continues to be a part of Missouri's print culture. In June 2021, the *Lexington News* reprinted a report from the *Lexington Weekly Caucasian* verbatim. Describing Jesse James's alleged attempt at surrender in April 1865, and subsequent shooting, the *Caucasian* asked what might have occurred had James been 'allowed' to surrender. It placed the blame for James's continued violence squarely on the people of Lexington.[10] Reprinted uncritically, without comment, it is a clear reminder that the guerrilla war warrants a similar treatment to that received by pro-Confederate statues, and other symbols of the Lost Cause.

Far from being a niche exercise, an examination of an ancillary part of Civil War history, the study of the guerrilla conflict is both highly relevant, and rife with exciting opportunities for further study. Indeed, more, not fewer, works are needed on guerrilla conflict. As stated, Kansas and Missouri experienced one guerrilla conflict that was largely separate from that experienced in Kentucky, and wildly different from what occurred in Confederate states such as North Carolina. With different populations and antebellum contexts, the emotional worlds of these states held distinct values that changed the nature of guerrilla warfare for both combatants and civilians. It is imperative that these are understood and compared as we develop the field of guerrilla studies. Moreover, this must be done by broadening the scope to include those groups who have hitherto received little attention when compared to the guerrilla fighters themselves. This thesis has sought to blend the emotional experiences of civilians, enslaved people, Unionist guerrilla hunters, and the guerrillas themselves, highlighting the role of each group in affecting the guerrilla war. This approach should be adopted more widely in future studies. It answers calls within the existing scholarship to consider a variety of historical agents, and moreover broadens the relevance of the field by showing how guerrilla warfare complicates established aspects of Civil War historiography.[11] This can be applied

[9] Jennifer L. Weber, 'William Quantrill is my Homeboy: Or, The Border War Goes to College,' Earle and Burke (eds.), *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri* 259-75.
[10] *The Lexington News*, 23 June 2021.
[11] Astor, 'Logic of Bushwhacking,' 115-17; Daniel E. Sutherland, 'Afterword,' in McKnight and Myers (eds.), *The Guerrilla Hunters*, 361.

to, for example, self-emancipation by enslaved people. As shown in Chapter IV, guerrilla warfare in Missouri created a very different context in which refugees moved, offering both new dangers, but also new ways of resisting oppression, developing our understanding of self-emancipation, and its variations from state to state.

Wider study of guerrilla warfare in the Civil War era can develop and complicate our understanding of various topics and themes of nineteenth-century American history. But to do this, we need more studies to consider the guerrilla war as a distinct subject, worthy of in-depth discussion, and with a much broader scope than just guerrilla fighters. Counterinsurgency policies, the men who enacted them, and above all the role of non-combatants, are all promising areas that demand further research. They are essential to uncovering the variation and nuances of the Civil War era United States.

Sarah Fitch remained in Lawrence, Kansas, with her children after the Lawrence Massacre. In 1869 she remarried, moving a few years later to Kansas City, before finally settling in Council Bluffs, Iowa in 1876. Sarah lived in Council Bluffs for the rest of her life. She died of dropsy in 1902, survived by her second husband and four children, including Edward Payson Fitch Jr., christened days after his father's murder. In Lawrence, Sarah's death made the front page of the *Lawrence Daily Journal*, which reprinted an obituary from the *Daily Nonpareil* of Council Bluffs. Along with Sarah's work in the women's club, and her reputation as a faithful, church-going woman, her Civil War years featured prominently. Her obituary recounted Sarah's experiences of the Lawrence Massacre and the death of Edward Fitch, noting that among the guerrillas were 'the notorious James and Younger boys'.[12] Entwined with the tales of famous outlaws and a violent frontier, the story of Edward's murder and Sarah's grief lasted across the centuries. In 2013, on the sesquicentennial anniversary of the Lawrence Massacre, the *Lawrence Journal-World* reprinted Sarah's letter to her in-laws, bringing her emotional world to the attention of a modern audience.[13] In doing so, Sarah's story was finally presented as its own, unattached to the careers of famous guerrillas. Instead, Sarah's letter was allowed to tell its own unique tale of her fear and grief – what it felt like to experience the Lawrence Massacre

[12] *Lawrence Daily Journal*, 6 February 1902.
[13] Sara Shepard, 'A Survivor's Letter,' [https://www2.ljworld.com/news/2013/aug/18/survivors-letter/] – accessed 09/07/2018.

as a victim. Her letter, and the emotions it expresses, remains one of the most effective ways of understanding the consequences of Missouri's guerrilla war.

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