

REMEMBERING IN BLACK AND WHITE: MISSOURI WOMEN'S MEMORIAL  
WORK, 1860-1910

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Doctor of Philosophy

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By

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School,  
have examined the dissertation entitled  
REMEMBERING IN BLACK AND WHITE: MISSOURI WOMEN'S MEMORIAL  
WORK, 1860-1910

Presented by Megan Boccardi

A candidate for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

And hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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Professor Wilma King

**...To my family**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	ii
LIST OF TABLES .....	v
LIST OF MAPS .....	vi
INTRODUCTION .....	1
CHAPTER ONE: “Fighting the Battles of Life”: The Founders of the Missouri Association, 1860-1865 .....	20
CHAPTER TWO: “Now you call my children your property”: Life as Little Dixie slave, 1860-1865 .....	59
CHAPTER THREE: “It is peculiarly women’s province to go about doing good:” The Founders in postwar Little Dixie .....	94
CHAPTER FOUR: “Slavery dies hard:” Freedwomen of Little Dixie and the transition from slavery to freedom, 1865-1880” .....	128
CHAPTER FIVE: “Because of what the past has made us:” The formation of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1880-1905 .....	161
CHAPTER SIX: “Illicit in their Inception”: Little Dixie Freedwomen, pensions, and the memory of the Civil War, 1885-1910.....	192
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	222
VITA.....	249

## LIST OF TABLES

Figure	Page
1.1: Twenty Founding Members of the Missouri United Daughters of the Confederacy.....	58
2.1: Twenty Little Dixie Slave Women .....	65
2.2: Little Dixie Slave Women and their Men’s USCT Information.....	84
3.1: Founder’s Age and Marital Status .....	101
3.2: Changing Occupations of the Founder’s Men .....	111
4.1: Little Dixie Slave Women and their Men’s USCT Information.....	131
4.2: Changing Population of Little Dixie .....	151
6.1: Population Shift between 1880 and 1900 .....	202
6.2: Status of African American and white populations in Little Dixie .....	205
6.3: USCT Soldier’s Most Common Injuries .....	212

## LIST OF MAPS

Map	Page
1. Little Dixie, Missouri.....	23

## INTRODUCTION

In the late nineteenth century, at the height of the memorialization movement in the United States, varying groups of women, northern, southern, white and black, used the memory of the Civil War to achieve their specific social, economic, and political goals. In Missouri, both southern sympathizing white women and African American participated in this movement. In 1898, Southern sympathizing white women of Missouri organized as the State Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Beginning in 1879, after the passage of the Arrears Act, Missouri's African American women collected evidence, testimonies, and documents to file their claims for a Federal Pension for their men's service in the Civil War. Although using differing methods, the actions of both groups of women indicate the ways in which the Civil War continued to shape their lives. Divided by slavery in the antebellum period and by the post war persistence of racial hierarchies, this close examination of the memorial work of forty Missouri women, twenty southern sympathizing women and twenty African American women, explores the ways in which their gendered experiences as mothers, wives and daughters arguably united them.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Missouri: United Daughters of the Confederacy, Missouri Division, 1899), 4; Mary Francis Berry, *My Face is Black is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005); Historical works on memorialization have taken varying approaches to the subject focusing on issues race, gender, class, and politics. Some of these works include, but are not limited to the following: C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1972); Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South: 1865-1913* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980); W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "White Women and the Politics of Historical Memory in the New South: 1880-1920," in *Jumpin' Jim Crow: Southern Politics from Civil War to Civil Rights*, eds. Jane Dailey, Glenda Gilmore and Bryant Simons (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 115-139; Whites, LeeAnn, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: 1860-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995); Davis Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); William Blair, *Cities of the*

This study begins on the eve of the secession crisis in Missouri and the events that followed during the four years of Civil War. In 1861, southern sympathizing white men of Missouri enlisted to fight for the Confederate cause. Their women remained at home working as caregivers to their families, managers of their farms, and supporters of the war effort. Two years later, African American men volunteered to serve in the Union Army, leaving their women often still enslaved in the white household and responsible for their own families. The intimate organization of the southern slaveholding household dictated that these women experienced the war together despite their loyalties to opposing sides of the conflict. Southern sympathizing women wanted Confederate triumph which included the preservation of slavery and southern culture. African American women hoped that the North would succeed in defeating the South, thereby destroying slavery and guaranteeing emancipation.

In this study, the household serves as the center of the dynamic relationship between black and white both during and after the Civil War. Elizabeth Fox Genovese describes the southern household as “a basic social unit in which people, whether voluntarily or under compulsion, pool their income and resources.” It was within this unit that relations of gender, class, and race were mediated. While the exact manifestations of the relationship between black and white women differed slightly due to circumstance, the key principles remained. The white male patriarch was the head of household, the “lord and master” of his “dependents” which included women, children, and slaves. White and black women were tied together by their labor within the

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*Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865-1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Caroline Janney, *Burying the Dead, But Not the Past*; Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*; Kathleen Ann Clark, *Defining Moments: African American Commemoration and Political Culture in the South, 1863-1913* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

antebellum household. Slaveholding white women were expected to manage the labor of their female slaves and relied on that labor for their households to function. Although both white and black women were subordinated to the authority of the white male household, white women enjoyed the privilege of their race and class. As historian Thavolia Glymph demonstrates in her work, *Out of the House of Bondage*, this resulted in an often contentious relationship between white and black women in the southern household which appeared in a variety of forms, including arguments, resistance, and abuse.<sup>2</sup>

Once the war began in Missouri and across the South, the household and its women became increasingly valuable because of the nature of total warfare which integrated all aspects of life into battle. Women's household labor during the war included managing their farms, sewing uniforms, and providing for the soldiers and the Army. Within the shared environment of the household, southern sympathizing women and slave women faced their own conflict. While their disputes over household labor did not involve guns and large armies, these struggles mattered because they were fought over the same issues that animated the sectional conflict in the first place, the institution

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<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 31, 66; Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 6; Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 17. See The southern household served as the primary location of the social, political and economic functioning of the South. It also dictated the gender, class and race relations. Some of the key works on this subject include: Joan E. Cashin, "The Structure of the Antebellum Planter Families: 'The Ties That Bound Us Was Strong,'" *Journal of Southern History* 56 (February 1990): 55-70. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*; Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Nancy Bercau, *Gendered Freedoms*; Peter Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household*; Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*; Diane Mutti-Burke, *On Slavery's Borders: Missouri's Small-Slaveholding Households, 1815-1865*; LeeAnn Whites, *Gender Matters: Civil War, Reconstruction, and the making of the New South* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005); Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War*; Nancy Bercau, *Gendered Freedoms*; Victoria Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

of slavery. So while slaveholding white women struggled under the increased challenges presented by the war to maintain their slaveholding households, enslaved African American women seized the opportunity wartime conditions created by countering the efforts of southern sympathizing white women, challenging their right to rule and breaking down thereby breaking down the power structure of slavery and the household order as a whole.<sup>3</sup>

After four long years of battle, a defeated and scarred South emerged from the Civil War. The destruction of the antebellum slaveholding household was one of the most drastic transformations of the war. Amidst the rubble of their postwar lives, both southern sympathizing white women and African American women faced the challenges of rebuilding their families, their homes, and their communities. Although the antebellum slaveholding household no longer existed, the hierarchies of race, class, and gender that existed in the household continued to shape the avenues through which both groups of women could work. While memorial work provided an avenue for both groups of women, southern sympathizing white women benefited from their race and class as evidenced by their greater access to the public arena, their resources, and acceptance by

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<sup>3</sup> For a wider discussion of white and black women and their involvement in the Civil War please see: LeeAnn Whites and Alecia P. Long, *Occupied Women: Gender, Military Occupation and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009), Nancy Bercau, *Gendered Freedoms*; Joan Cashin, *The War was You and Me : Civilians in the American Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Catherine Clinton, *Southern Families at War: Loyalty and Conflict in the Civil War South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Catherine Clinton, *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984); Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996); Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family from Slavery to Present* (New York: Vintage, 1985); Victoria E. Ott, *Confederate Daughters: Coming of Age during the Civil War* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008); George Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984) Leslie Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition From Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997; Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930*.

the public. African American women continued to struggle against racial and economic discrimination which created a greater challenge for them throughout the post-war period despite their apparent formal legal equality and rights to government recognition for their men's contribution to the war effort.<sup>4</sup>

Southern sympathizing white women of this study used memorial work as a key component in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of their men, their families, and their communities. This work began immediately after the Civil War in organizations such as the Southern Relief Association and then years later in the United Daughters of the Confederacy. By memorializing their men and asserting their heroics and sacrifice as defenders of the family rather than defeated slaveholders, white women helped ease the transition from the antebellum household to the post war family. Their work allowed the South to leave behind the past and its defeat. What rose from the ashes was a South that believed itself to be defender of the home and family, looking back to remember the dead, but not their lost culture. White women also continued their increased importance in the new family structure through this work. By celebrating the family, that which was their place, women became integral to the new social system and maintained their importance after the war.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Nancy Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms: Race, Rights, and the Politics of the Household in the Delta*; Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household*. Both Bercaw and Glymph address the continued inequalities faced by African American women during Reconstruction. Although the household structure collapsed, the system of race, gender, and class, created in that system continued. See: Peter Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

<sup>5</sup> Many historians have explored the memorial work of women after the Civil War starting with the formation of Ladies Memorial Associations after the war to the development of organizations like the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Historians have debated the motivation for women's participation in the memorial effort. Historian Caroline Janney's recent work, *Burying the Dead, But Not the Past*, contends that Ladies Memorial Associations, which began their work immediately after the Civil War, were critical in the emergence of the Lost Cause and an important continuation of women's collective consciousness and political activism through the turn of the century. Janney's work draws attention to the political activism of women, but fails to tie this activism to the war itself. This study argues that the

As white southern women mobilized to remember their dead, African American women collectively organized to aid their own communities. These women worked to rebuild families and communities in freedom that the war and slavery divided and to create autonomous black households. The service of African American men in the United States Colored Troops provided the foundation for these families by helping to secure new rights, freedoms, and citizenship. When southern sympathizing white women championed their memory of the Civil War, they consequently threatened the legacy of the Civil War for African Americans which included their men's service, emancipation, and citizenship rights. However through their own public activism, African American women contested the dominance of southern sympathizing women's memorial work, by asserting their own memory of the war. Limited by their race, class and gender, African American women utilized the tools available to them, which in Mid-Missouri did not include organizations. Instead, they honored their men and defended their memory of the war through petitions to the federal government for their right to Civil War pensions. By filing these pension claims they asserted the contribution their households made to the war effort, and defended and expanded the possibilities for their households in the post war period.<sup>6</sup>

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activism of women after the war was a direct result of the events and changes that occurred during the Civil War.

<sup>6</sup> Nancy Bercau, *Gendered Freedoms*. Other important works on this subject include Peter Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex & the Law in the Nineteenth Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); xv. Bardaglio's *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, & the Law in the Nineteenth Century South*, argues that the fundamental changes to the structure of the household that occurred after the Civil War, led to an increased dependence on law in order to regulate the society. Referencing the upheaval of the Civil War on the household, Bardaglio states, "These changes, especially after 1865, severely disrupted the traditional structure of power and authority in the households and larger society of the South." While Bardaglio's work focuses on the legal system, this work looks at the work of memorialization in dealing with the structural changes that occurred in the household; Steven Hahn's work, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggle in the Rural South From Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 163-215, discusses the political and economic significance of the formation of the black household after the Civil War. Hahn states that the

This study is based on twenty southern sympathizing white women who resided in Mid-Missouri and would eventually found the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (often called the Founders). For the Founders, the United Daughters of the Confederacy served as a central organization in the memorial efforts and each of these women took part in the creation of the organization in Missouri. Several other characteristics tied these women together, including their kinship ties, slave ownership, and the service of their men in support of the Confederacy during the war. While the original intent of this study was to parallel the experiences of African American women in memorialization to southern sympathizing white women, specifically those African American women that resided in the households of the Founders, it proved impossible to locate these slave women. Therefore, the twenty African American women of this study all were enslaved (or were the children of enslaved people) in households similar to the Founders. These household similarities included their economic, political, and social standing and their residence in the same communities and counties prior to emancipation. Each slave woman was also directly tied to a man that served in the United States Colored Troops during the Civil War and resided primarily in the Mid-Missouri region both before and after the Civil War.

Both groups of women lived in the primary slaveholding district of Mid-Missouri, known as Little Dixie. Before the war began, Missouri's Little Dixie was the

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establishment of kinship networks through the household served as the “fundamental threads of economic and political solidarity” (168); For other works that discuss the formation of the black household and transformation of the household in reconstruction, please see: Laura Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Politics of Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family from Slavery to Present*, 44-78; Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Leslie Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

agricultural center of the state and the region with the highest slave population. The area consisted of around twenty counties that bordered the Missouri River, from St. Louis to Kansas City. Southern families from Kentucky and Virginia migrated to the area decades earlier, bringing with them their southern culture and their slaves. By the early 1860s, the Little Dixie region held the most slaves, the strongest southern connections, and the political power of the state. During the Civil War, the region became the stronghold of southern sympathizing citizens. The war radically altered the environment of Little Dixie through the emancipation of slaves and the devastation of many slaveholding families in the region. Although many Little Dixie women would remain in the area after the war, many citizens of the Mid-Missouri region left to start a new life elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

Diane Mutti Burke's work, *On Slavery's Border: Missouri's Small-Slaveholding Households, 1815-1865*, has brought much needed attention to the Missouri slaveholding household both before and during the Civil War. Previous to Burke's study of antebellum slavery in Missouri, few historians offered any insight into the institution in the state. For example, Harrison Trexler's study, *Slavery in Missouri: 1804-1865*, published in 1914, focused on the large slaveholders in the state and offered little insight into the relationships within the Missouri slaveholding household. Mutti Burke's work

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<sup>7</sup> Sources consulted on Missouri from 1860-1900 include: Michael Dickey, *Arrow Rock: Crossroads of the Missouri Frontier* (Arrow Rock, Mo.: Friends of Arrow Rock, 2004); Robert Frizzell, "Southern Identity in Nineteenth Century Missouri: Little Dixie's Slave-Majority Areas and the Transition to Midwestern Farming," *Missouri Historical Review* 99 (April 2005): 238-260; Russell L. Gerlach, *Settlement Patterns in Missouri: A Study of Population Origins with a Wall Map* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1986); Lorenzo J. Greene, Gary R. Kremer and Antonio Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1980); Thomas B. Hall II and Thomas B. Hall III, *Dr. John Sappington of Saline County, Missouri: 1776-1856* (Arrow Rock, Mo.: Friends of Arrow Rock, 1975) R. Douglas Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1992); Diane Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border: Missouri's Small-Slaveholding Households, 1815-1865* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010); Christopher Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 2000); Jeffrey Stone, *Slavery, Southern Culture, and Education in Little Dixie, Missouri, 1820-1860* (New York: Taylor and Francis Group, 2006).

takes a close look at the small slaveholding household which was typical to Missouri. She demonstrates that the Missouri slaveholding household differed from slavery across the South, because the size and the location of the household altered the daily practices of slavery. Missouri slaveholders, for example, relied on practices such as hiring out to help deal with small slave populations. Owners also frequently labored alongside of their slaves. The close-knit nature of the small slaveholding household created intimate relationships between white and black. Mutti Burke asserts that these relationships did not result in increased benevolence towards slaves because Missouri's border location heightened slaveholders' anxiety about the destruction of the institution of slavery.<sup>8</sup>

Unlike Mutti Burke's average slaveholding family, a majority of the women in this study resided in households that held an above average number of slaves before emancipation. Although the average slaveholding household in Little Dixie held 6.1 slaves, compared to an average of 12.7 slaves per household in the Deep South and an average of 7.7 slaves in the upper South, many of these women lived in larger than average slaveholding households. Nine of the twenty white households owned more than twenty slaves before the war. So although they resided in a region that was typified by small slave holding households, these women resided in households with more wealth and slaves than the average. This economic difference was reflected in the political and social power of these particular families.<sup>9</sup>

Missouri's border location also generated a unique wartime experience for the women of this study. Although only a few major battles were fought in Missouri, as

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<sup>8</sup> Harrison Anthony Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1914); Diane Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*.

<sup>9</sup> Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 219; Jeffrey Stone, *Slavery, Southern Culture, and Education in Little Dixie, Missouri*, 24-25.

Michael Fellman's *Inside War* discusses, a heated guerilla war raged throughout the state in which men and women were tied together through informal networks of aid and support. For women in Missouri, this meant close involvement in the war, providing food, shelter, supplies, and aid for guerilla soldiers who lacked an official source of supply. Women at home became critical to maintaining the unofficial warfare of Missouri, with Union troops bemoaning the contradiction between the expectations of female behavior and their willingness to discard proper behavior to aid the Confederate cause. Union officials went so far as to banish southern sympathizing women from Missouri because of their importance to the bushwhackers.<sup>10</sup>

Although it perhaps seems obvious that the wartime experiences of these Missouri women led to their involvement in the memorial movement, this interpretation fundamentally challenges previous studies of women's memorial work and studies of organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Historians such as

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<sup>10</sup> As William Blair argues in his work, *Cities of the Dead*, women continued working in volunteer organizations in the years after the war in efforts to memorialize the dead. His comparison to these women as a type of guerilla fighters parallels the work of Missouri women. The subversive work of Missouri women during the war continued in the post-war period in their efforts to memorialize their dead. Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Other works consulted on Missouri in the Civil War include: Dennis Boman, *Lincoln and Citizen's Rights in Civil War Missouri: Balancing Freedom and Security* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011); Mark Geiger, *Financial Fraud and Guerilla Violence in Missouri's Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Donald L. Gilmore, *Civil War on the Missouri-Kansas Border* (Gretna, La., Pelican Publishing, 2005); Bruce Nichols, *Guerilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri, 1862* (Jefferson, Nc.: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2004); William E. Parrish, *Turbulent Partnership: Missouri and the Union, 1861-1865* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1963); William E. Parrish ed., *The Civil War in Missouri: Essays From the Missouri Historical Review, 1906-2006* (Columbia, Mo., State Historical Society of Missouri, 2006); Christopher Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*. Fellman, *Inside War*, 255. Michael Fellman's *Inside War: The Guerilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* sheds light onto the role of white women during the guerilla conflict. However, Fellman falls short in his assessment of the post-war period in Missouri. After the official end of the war in Missouri, guerilla soldiers returned to the state, many unwilling to forgo their dedication to the South. In fact, conflicts between Unionist and Confederate loyalist occurred throughout the state as soldiers returned home. The memory of the war was not easily forgotten, nor was the reason that these men fought. Fellman argues that Missourians created justifications for their fighting, most readily the protection of their family members. Bushwhackers became heroes rather than traitors to the Union state. Poetry and songs hailed leaders such as Quantrill and organized meeting of Quantrill's Raiders continued into the early 1900s. For as much as Fellman discusses the years following the war, women are silent.

Caroline Janney, in her work, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past* and Karen Cox's *Dixie's Daughters*, present the memorial work of southern sympathizing white women as unrelated to their Confederate roots. Instead they portray these women as being a different generation of women, motivated by contemporary political and social concerns. It is, however, evident that the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the African American who publically participated in memorial work did so as a direct consequence of their war time experience, not in spite of it.<sup>11</sup>

As historians Drew Gilpin Faust, Jacqueline Jones, Nancy Bercaw, and Thavolia Glymph have all demonstrated, the destruction of the slaveholding antebellum household encouraged both black and white women to assert themselves in their post war households and as this study argues, ultimately in memorial work. However, the trajectory of southern sympathizing white women and African American women differed after the war. As Drew Gilpin Faust demonstrates in her study, *Mothers of Invention*, elite southern white women worked to rebuild their households and reestablish hierarchies of race, class, and gender after the war. This required them to assert themselves in new roles outside of the home, although ultimately in defense of the household structure.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Janney, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past*; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*. Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady*. Other work on the post-war white household include: Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention*; Nancy Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*; Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*; Caroline Janney: *Burying the Dead But Not the Past*; Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family from Slavery to Present*; George Rable, *Civil Wars*; Jane Turner Censer *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 2003).

<sup>12</sup> In her work, *Mothers of Invention*, Drew Gilpin Faust exposes the upheaval of southern society, particularly its hierarchies of race, class and gender. Faust argues that during the war, elite southern women entered into new roles in both the private world of the home and public activity. Working as managers of plantations and creating groups to help make bandages or raise funds for the war effort, shifted women from their usually protected role within the home. Spurred by the threat of losing their class and race privilege, these women took to creating new roles as a means of preserving their status. As Faust explains it, these women became "mothers of invention" as a result of necessity. The experience of Faust's women came to an end of the Civil War, as husbands returned and women looked to restore the past systems of hierarchy even at their own expense. Re-establishing patriarchy and the ideology of ideal womanhood, that fostered weak women with little desire of necessity to enter the public sphere was a

The destruction of the antebellum household that devastated the lives of Missouri's southern sympathizing white women allowed for African American women to create their own autonomous households. But as both Jacqueline Jones and Nancy Bercaw point out, post war economic conditions and racial hierarchies continued to empower the white community allowing whites to reassert some level of control over the new black households. It was for this reason that African American women often continued to work for white families rather than labor for their own households. However in her study, *Out of the House of Bondage*, Thavolia Glymph finds that African American women continued to challenge white authority, even as former Confederates and slave owners regained their economic control. Like Glymph, this dissertation shows that the formerly enslaved women of Missouri continued to assert their freedom and rights despite frequent challenges from the white community.<sup>13</sup>

The current discussion of women and their efforts to memorialize the Civil War arose out of the larger discussion of memory and the "Lost Cause" in the South. Early works, such as C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South: 1877-1913*, briefly address the concept of the lost cause and memory, citing the backward looking southern tradition to be part of the divided mind of the South and its drive to a more modern society. Woodward's work set forth a growing discussion on the memorialization of the Civil War, such as Charles Reagan Wilson's *Baptized in Blood* and Gaines Foster's *Ghosts of the Confederacy*. Wilson believed that the South created a new religion for

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sacrifice willingly given according to Faust. Her brief attention to the role of Ladies' Memorial Associations and Confederate organizations such as the UDC furthers the reestablishment of the patriarchal, elite white South. Memorial work reinforced their trust in their husbands and sons by glorifying their "honor, courage and manhood."

<sup>13</sup> Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*; Jones: *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 78; Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*.

itself by transplanting its dependence on traditional religion for a new civic religion that celebrated and memorialized the Confederacy. For Wilson, the “Lost Cause” was the continued suffering of the South for fighting for the “purity and values of God.” Gaines Foster’s *Ghosts of the Confederacy* takes aim at Wilson’s approach to the “Lost Cause,” arguing that he was overplaying the importance of religious overtones in the celebrations and memorialization of the South. Foster ultimately supports the work of Woodward stating that the “Lost Cause” was a method of ushering in the New South led by the middle class elites who benefited from the development of the new urban economy. However, Woodward, Wilson, and Foster’s work all but ignore the role of women in the memorial movement, labeling them bystanders in a movement shaped and controlled by men.<sup>14</sup>

More recent work in the field, including this study, challenges the male-centric approaches of Foster, Woodward, and Wilson by illustrating the centrality of women. In Missouri southern sympathizing white women were the primary actors in the memorial movement, publically participating in this work through their involvement in organizations such as the Southern Relief Association and eventually the United Daughters of the Confederacy. William Blair’s research on Emancipation Day and Memorial Day celebrations in his work, *Cities of The Dead: Contesting the Memory of*

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<sup>14</sup> C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 155. Charles Reagan Wilson. *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause*; Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*. Other important works of the memorial movement include: Edward Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); William Blair, *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865-1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001); Fitzhugh W. Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992); Fitzhugh W. Brundage, ed., *Where These Memories Grow: History Memory and Southern Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, eds., *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Gary Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); Nina Silber, *Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

*the Civil War South, 1865-1914*, supports this interpretation. Blair contends that celebrating memorial holidays helped determine the structure of political and social power in the late nineteenth century South. He illustrates that southerners invented traditions such as Memorial Day to fend off any challenges to the elite rule of former Confederates and reassert their race privilege. But, Blair also maintains that women stepped into their roles as actors in memorialization after men were banned from participating in this type of work because it was deemed political. Labeled as “apolitical,” women’s participation posed less threat and therefore permitted to organize memorial celebrations. For Blair, women acted in memorialization, but only after legislation banned male participation.<sup>15</sup>

Although Blair’s *Cities of The Dead* recognizes women’s participation, his study still relies on the male perspective of political participation and activism. Therefore, women’s participation in memorialization only seemed significant when according to Blair, men could no longer contribute to the movement. However, as historian LeeAnn Whites demonstrates in her work *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, southern sympathizing white women entered into the memorial movement directly after the Civil War from their location of the household rather than the male location of public political participation. Their activism was a result of their experience in the war and focused on the reconstruction of the southern household and patriarch through organizations such as the Ladies Memorial Associations.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Blair, *Cities of the Dead*; David Blight, *Race and Reunion*.

<sup>16</sup> Blair, *Cities of the Dead*; LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 182; Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*. Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 7, 242-243 In her work, *Mothers of Invention*, Drew Gilpin Faust gives brief attention to the role of Ladies’ Memorial Associations and Confederate organizations such as the UDC in the reestablishment of the patriarchal, elite white South.

Although many historians have discussed the work white women's memorial work, this study examines the memorial work of both white and black Little Dixie women as it happened at the same time and within the same community. Only recently have historians started to study the importance of memory to the African-American community. For example, Mitch Kachun's *Festivals of Freedom: Memory and Meaning in African American Emancipation Celebrations, 1808-1915* and David Blight's *Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping Faith in Jubilee* both explore memory within the black community. Kachun's work asserts that African American's days of celebration constructed collective identity for the black community. Blight's work on Frederick Douglass reveals Douglass' struggle with the fading memory of the Civil War and the rights of African Americans by the end of the century. Blight asserts that Douglass realizes the significance of the war's memory and pleaded with the black community to preserve the memory. However, Blight's work is grounded in Douglass' words and ideas, not the African American community's efforts to preserve this memory. While Douglass lamented the dominance of other memories of the war, the Little Dixie women of this study were taking action and struggling to hold on to their citizenship rights.<sup>17</sup>

Unlike Blight, Kathleen Clark's *Defining Moments: African-American Commemoration and Political Culture in the South, 1863-1913* presents a gendered argument, claiming that black women played a significant role in creating and maintaining memorial activities. However, as African-American men were trying to establish their leadership, women were often asked to step back from visible roles at

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<sup>17</sup> Mitch Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom: Memory and Meaning in African American Emancipation Celebrations, 1808-1915* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003); David Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping Faith in Jubilee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989).

parades and speeches. Kathleen Clark's work supports the findings of this study, which establishes that African American women were crucial actors in memorialization and that memorial work redefined freedmen and women as emancipated rather than enslaved. However, Clark focuses on the importance of events such as Emancipation Day in defining freedom for African Americans after the Civil War. It is not evident that the twenty African-American women of this study ever attended or contributed to these events. Clarke also places women as secondary actors to men, willingly stepping aside for the benefit of their men. Her work draws attention to the need for other interpretations of this field.<sup>18</sup>

More recently, a number of historians have expanded the field of African American history by researching the significance of pension claims to the black community. These historians include Elizabeth Regosin, Donald Shaffer, Megan McClintock, and Mary Frances Berry. Two works in particular, Elizabeth Regosin's *Freedom Promise*, and Mary Frances Berry's *My Face is Black is True*, have discussed

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<sup>18</sup> Kathleen Ann Clark, *Defining Moments: African American Commemoration and Political Culture in the South, 1863-1913* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005). The historiography of African-American women's memorialization developed from studies of women's club work at the turn of the century, first looking at white women clubs and then African-American women's organizations. This research revealed that both white and black women took an active role in shaping their community through participation in local and national groups and societies, but for African-American women, their involvement focused on "uplifting the race." Studies such as Joan Marie Johnson's *Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Religion, and Club Women in South Carolina, 1890-1930* connected the club movement to the Civil War, race, and African American women's participation in memorial work. Joan Marie Johnson, *Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Religion, and Club Women in South Carolina, 1890-1930* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2004); Other important works on African American commemoration and memorial work include: Elsa Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom," *The Black Public Sphere: A Public Culture Book*, ed., Black Public Sphere Collective (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 111-50; Elsa Barkley Brown, "To Catch the Vision of Freedom: Reconstructing Southern Black Women's Political History, 1865-1880," *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965*, ed., Ann D. Gordon (Amherst: University of Mass Press, 1997), 66-69.; Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*; Joan Marie Johnson, "Ye Gave Them a Stone": African American Women's Clubs, the Frederick Douglass Home, and the Black Mammy Monument" *Journal of Women's History* vol. 17 no. 1, (Spring 2005): 62-86; Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction*; Paul A. Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race Commemoration and the Post-Bellum Landscape* (Walnut Creek, Ca.: AltaMira Press, 2003).

pension claims, although with differing approaches. Regosin's work on pensions focuses on the relationship between family structure and the pension system. She shows that the black family needed to adhere to the prescribed family structure as defined by the Federal government to receive a pension. Berry's work, which gives attention to Missouri, illustrates that after the Civil War the Federal pension system rejected claims made by African American men and women that served in or were married to Union Soldiers. Berry claims that slaves continued to file for pensions and used those pensions to organize in collective associations. Eventually the African Americans in Berry's work pushed not only for service pensions, but slave reparations as well.<sup>19</sup>

The work of both Regosin and Berry supports this study's attempt to call attention to pension claims and their significance in the African American community post-emancipation. Although African Americans in Little Dixie were limited in their means of political organization, the pension claims for service in the Union Army provided a voice to people being silenced by the efforts of southern sympathizing whites. These claims required the claimant to collect testimony from people in their community, most importantly their former owners, detailing their enslavement, their marriages, families, and the service of their men. As southern white women tried to erase the legacy of the Civil War as a war fought over slavery, African American women used the pension

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<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth Regosin, *Freedom's Promise: Ex-Slave Families and citizenship in the Age of Emancipation* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002); Donald Shaffer, *After the Glory: The Struggles of Black Civil War Veterans* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004); Mary Frances Berry, *My Face is Black is True; Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006); Megan McClintock's "Civil War Pensions and the Reconstruction of Union Families," *The Journal of American History* (September 1996): 456-480; Michelle A. Krowl, "Her Just Dues' Civil War Pensions of African American Women in Virginia," in *Negotiating Boundaries of Southern Womanhood: Dealing with the Powers That Be*, eds., Janet Coryell, Thomas H. Appleton, Jr., Anastasia Sims, and Sandra Gioia Treadway (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000): 48-69.

system to publically defend their rights and the sacrifices they and their men made for the promise of freedom.

This dissertation is divided into three sections. The first section explores the experiences of the Little Dixie women, both white and black, before and during the Civil War. This study parallels the experiences of these women at the same time and in the same environment of Little Dixie. Therefore, the chapters alternate the stories: southern sympathizing whites, then African American women. Chapter One, “‘Fighting the Battles of Life’: The Founders of the Missouri Association 1860-1865,” and Chapter Two, “Now you call my children your property,” both focus on destruction of the antebellum slaveholding household. The first chapter is located within the twenty southern sympathizing white households of the Founders of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. This chapter establishes the economic, social, and political position of these women and their families and traces the gradual collapse of their socio-economic structure. Chapter Two is also located within the white household, but explored from the perspective of the twenty African American women of this study. This chapter focuses on the lives and work of these women, but also the destruction of slavery and how that affected their lives.

Chapter Three, “‘It is Peculiarly women’s province to go about doing good.’ The Founders in Postwar Little Dixie,” and Chapter Four, “‘Slavery dies hard.’ Freedwomen of Little Dixie and the transition from slavery to freedom, 1865-1880,” both explore the post war lives of these women and their differing trajectories. For Southern sympathizing white women, the war destroyed the socioeconomic structure of the household and left their men dead, disabled or without their economic, class and gender privilege. From this

loss, these women started to rebuild their lives and eventually even began their work in local organizations. African American women also experience great loss as the war ended with the loss of their men. However, emancipation opened a world of new possibilities and challenges for these African American women. The fourth chapter explores the process of these newly freed women building their lives in freedom.

The last section of the study deals with the memorial work of white and black women from the mid-1880s to the turn of the century. Chapter Five, “‘Because of what the past has made us:’ The formation of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1880-1905,” focuses on the formation of memorial organizations and the Civil War’s impact on the lives of these twenty southern sympathizing white women. I demonstrate that groups such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy helped these women to rebuild from their loss in the war. At the same time, Chapter Six, “‘Illicit in their Inception:’ Little Dixie Freedwomen, Pensions, and the Memory of the Civil War, 1885-1900,” looks at the public participation of African American women through their pension claims. In order to preserve the promise of the Civil War, these formerly enslaved women fought against the southern sympathizing women of their communities, not with guns or bullets, but with their own memory of the war.

## **CHAPTER ONE: “Fighting the Battles of Life”: The Founders of the Missouri Association, 1860-1865**

In January of 1862, Kate Doneghy resided on a small farm in Jackson County, Missouri, caring for her young children while her husband served in the Confederate Army. The Doneghy's had garnered a reputation as a strong southern sympathizing family, a reputation that had not gone unnoticed by Union officers stationed in the area. The Union Army sought to squash any southern sympathizing sentiment in the county early in the war, making Kate and her family a target for the aggression of the Union military. Provoked by rumors of James Doneghy's brief return home from the Confederate Army, Union soldiers planned to visit the Doneghy farm, arrest James for his disloyalty, and squelch their Confederate sympathies. When Kate opened her door on that bitter winter evening, she quickly realized that her home was surrounded by the Federal Cavalry with guns and bayonets visible from every direction. With little other option, Kate and her children exited their home to face the imposing Army and their fears. Union officers quickly discovered that James had not returned home and that he remained with the Confederate Army. But rather than return the family to their home the soldiers decided to burn down the house and ordered the family to remove any valuable possessions. At that moment, one of the young Doneghy boys approached the Union Officers holding forth the family Bible and explaining that this was their only valuable possession. Tempered by the heartfelt claim of a young boy the Union soldiers decided

to leave the home unharmed for that day. However, the Union Army would return another day and the home and farm would not survive the second visit.<sup>20</sup>

Kate Doneghy's family survived that evening in 1862, but the Union Army and the Civil War would continue to interfere in the lives of each member of the family. By 1863, the Union Army forced the Doneghys to leave Jackson County for the duration of the war. They were expelled by General Order 11, a military order which required all southern sympathizers to remove themselves from their homes or declare themselves loyal and move to a military post. Kate's husband James never returned to the farm in Jackson County, he was killed in battle along with his brother, leaving the Doneghys without a husband, father, and uncle. The death, exile, and loss of home that the Doneghy family experienced during the war only solidified the animosity they felt towards the Union Army. Decades later Kate demonstrated the lasting impact of her wartime experiences and her continued dedication to the Confederate cause by becoming a founding member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Missouri.<sup>21</sup>

The collision of warfare and family that the Civil War set into motion for southern sympathizing white families like the Doneghy, would lay the groundwork for the formation of the Missouri United Daughters of the Confederacy many years later in 1898. This chapter considers the Civil War story of twenty women and their families who would eventually become the Founders of the State Association of the Missouri United Daughters of the Confederacy almost a generation later. At the outbreak of the war, these women and their families were privileged people and undoubtedly expected to live out

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<sup>20</sup> *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri During the Sixties* (United Daughters of the Confederacy, Missouri Division, 1913; Independence, Mo.: Two Trail Publishing, 2006), 215. Citations refer to 2006 edition. (Hereafter *Reminiscences*)

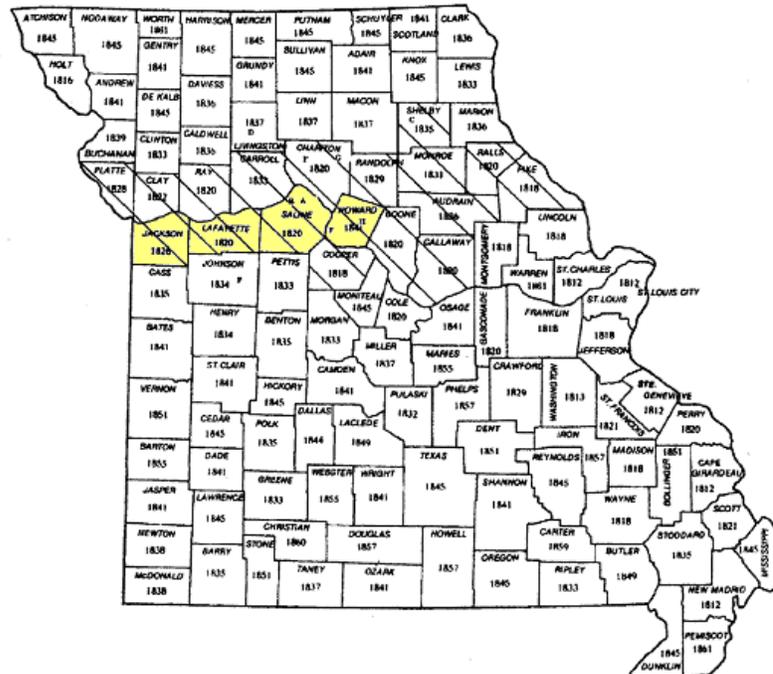
<sup>21</sup> Kate Doneghy's husband, James Doneghy, died in service during the war, and his brother, the uncle of Kate's children, died shortly after him. *Reminiscences*, 215.

their lives in security and prosperity. The four years of Civil War would change all that by drastically altering the social, political, and economic position of the founding daughters and their families. During the war many of the men would be lost, their homes would be destroyed, and their ownership of slaves abolished. The absence of men during the war altered women's position and their roles changed within the home. They found themselves managing their households, providing for family members, and helping in the war effort. Southern sympathizing white families in Missouri entered into a total war that would pervade all aspects of their lives and ultimately leave them devastated in the war's aftermath.

Before the destruction of the war began, most of the Founders of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy lived in the Little Dixie region of Missouri. Named "Little Dixie" because of its high slave population and southern ties, the region encompassed a large swath of Mid-Missouri adjacent to the Missouri River. Although the number of counties that should be included is occasionally discussed, generally eighteen counties are considered to be part of this area. Boasting the highest average slave population in the state before the Civil War, ranging from a low of twenty-two percent in Cooper County and thirty-seven percent in Howard County, the largely agricultural population was deeply invested in the institution. In the years leading up to the Civil War the population of slaves in the state would continue to grow. It increased by an estimated two thousand more slaves between 1858 and 1859. The monetary value of these slave populations also increased raising the combined wealth of the slave owners by almost two million dollars. In the heart of Little Dixie, which included Lafayette, Howard, Boone, Jackson, and Saline counties, where sixteen of the twenty Founders

resided, the slave population ranged from 5,787 slaves in Howard County to around 3,250 in Jackson County. These counties ranked in the top ten most populous slave counties in the state with an average of 6.1 slaves belonging to each slave owner.<sup>22</sup>

*Map 1: Little Dixie Missouri*



Map of Little Dixie, Missouri  
 Shaded counties indicated the highest number of UDC founders. 16 of 20 lived in this region prior to the Civil War.

Although four of the Founders and their families did not live in the heavily slave owning counties listed above, of the twenty total families in this study, nineteen either invested in slavery themselves, their parents owned slaves, or they married into families

<sup>22</sup> R. Douglas Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 219. Ancestry.com, *1860 United States Federal Census* (Hereafter *FC*); *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, October 5, 1860.

that owned slaves prior to the Civil War. While almost every woman who would become a Founder owned slaves, only thirteen percent of all Missourians owned slaves in 1860. Not surprisingly the families of the Founders were also generally wealthy land owners. Sappington women and their kin, who included the Marmadukes, were among the largest land owners with property valued at over \$100,000. Meredith Marmaduke, father in law of Founder Zemula Marmaduke (wife of Leslie Marmaduke), valued his estate at \$100,000 in real property and \$65,500 in personal property in 1860. While not every family could claim such enormous wealth, it was not uncommon for families to own six to ten slaves and their total property to be valued between \$5,000 and \$10,000. Nine of the twenty families owned over ten slaves in 1860, which was much higher than the state average of four slaves and the Little Dixie average of six slaves per household.<sup>23</sup>

The Founders enjoyed the benefits and privileges of prosperity. In 1860, Clara Wilson, who would become a member of the Kansas City Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, attended school at the Lafayette Female Academy while her family ran a farm with over twenty slaves. Not only was Clara Wilson's family invested in slavery, they could even afford to send their daughter to a female academy which was considered a privilege of the wealthy. Louisa Gaiennie and her husband Frank both owned slaves prior to the Civil War, with Frank Gaiennie's family reporting over thirty slaves and an estate valued at over \$20,000. Louisa's father owned slaves as well. Founder Lizzie Fisher's, father John Harvey, had a total estate valued at almost \$40,000 in 1860, with \$30,000 of that invested in personal property which included

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<sup>23</sup> The one founder that did not own slaves was Mary Ball. It is important to note however that it cannot be confirmed that Mary Ball and her family did not own any slaves; rather information is not available to confirm slavery in her family. *1850, FC; 1860, FC; 1870, FC; 1880, FC, 1900, FC; Ancestry.com, 1850 United States Federal Census-Slave Schedules (Hereafter, SS), 1860, SS.*

twenty-six slaves. Owning more than twenty slaves, the Harveys and Wards qualified as planters in Missouri and the rest of the South.<sup>24</sup>

Although not all of the Founders and their families owned over twenty slaves, when compared to the Missouri's average slaveholding household (four slaves) the Founders' families were substantially more prosperous than a majority of Missourians. Mary Prosser, Founder of the local Fayette Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and organizer of the State Association, was not as wealthy as others in her organization. Mary Prosser's mother, Mary Dines Prosser, came from a family that owned only five slaves in 1860, although that had increased from only one slave in 1850. Kate Doneghy and her husband James Doneghy owned six slaves when the war began in 1860. Episcopal minister Reverend P.G. Roberts and his wife Elizabeth owned a few slaves as well.<sup>25</sup>

For the Founders and their families slavery was part of their family history and their economic identity. If they themselves did not own slaves, their parents or husband's parents took part in the institution. With the exception of Mary Ball, every creator of the State Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy was part of a slave owning family or married into a slave holding family. Annie Todhunter married Ryland Todhunter, who owned thirty-one slaves in 1850. Her own father, Henry Neill, was not as wealthy, although he served as a county officer in 1860. However her grandfather, Stephen T. Neill, of Lafayette County, owned seventeen slaves. Although Anne Todhunter never owned slaves herself, the ownership of slaves by her father and her husband meant that slavery was part of her daily existence. This situation was similar to

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<sup>24</sup> 1860, FC; 1850, SS; 1860, SS.

<sup>25</sup> 1860, FC; 1850, SS; 1860, SS.

that of Felicia Beall, wife of General William Beall of the Confederate Army. Although Felicia and her husband never owned slaves themselves, General Beall's father was a slave owner. These connections fostered an expectation of financial wealth based on the potential to own slaves themselves.<sup>26</sup>

Slavery was only one defining characteristic of the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Missouri. Much like the practice of slave owning, southern allegiance in this region developed from the westward movement of southerners during the early and middle 1800s. A growing need for land and the opportunity to start fresh in a new environment brought southerners to Missouri particularly from Virginia and Kentucky. In fact, almost every Founder of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Missouri traced their lineage back to these two states. The families that came to Missouri from Virginia and Kentucky brought with them the institutions and cultural norms that flourished in their society. The movement began with the resolution of conflict between the British and the United States after the War of 1812. United States victory in the war facilitated access to the western territory. Beginning in 1816, a great number of immigrants entered Missouri, settling in the Little Dixie region because of its prime location for trade and agriculture. By 1820, twenty thousand white citizens lived in central Missouri along with three thousand slaves. The family members of the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy were amongst these settlers.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Records indicate that Mary Ball's mother may have been a slave owner prior to the war, but this cannot be confirmed through census records. Missouri Secretary of State, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri, *Soldiers' Records Database* (hereafter, *Soldier's Database*) <http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/soldiers/>; 1870-1920, FC; 1850, SS; 1860, SS.

<sup>27</sup> Little Dixie is typically described as seventeen counties that bordered or were close to the Missouri River in mid-Missouri. They were defined as having the highest slave populations prior to the Civil War. These counties are defined as Platte, Clay, Jackson, Ray, Lafayette, Carroll, Saline, Chariton, Howard, Cooper, Boone, Randolph, Shelby, Monroe, Ralls, Pike, Audrain, and Callaway. Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*, 24; Ray Allen Billington and Martin Ridge, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*

The Sappington family of Saline County demonstrates this migratory pattern through their movement to Missouri from Maryland and Virginia in 1817. The Sappington's were part of a large network of families that became prominent families in the antebellum period and would emerge as leaders in the founding of the State Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The Sappington family, led by patriarch John S. Sappington, settled in Arrow Rock, which was located in Saline County in the heart of Little Dixie. By 1860 it was one of the largest land holding families in Missouri with the estates of Sappington's kin each averaging \$60,000 in land and \$45,000 in personal property (with each male head of household claiming over fifty slaves each).<sup>28</sup>

A fellow migrant, Claiborne Fox Jackson, moved to the Little Dixie region of Missouri in the 1820 along with his brothers from Kentucky. Jackson and his brothers moved to the region to find new opportunities which could lead to their increased wealth and power. Claiborne Jackson quickly formed a relationship with the powerful Sappington family by marrying three of John Sappington's daughters in succession. John Sappington was even remembered as saying that Jackson could marry his last daughter, but to please leave his wife alone. However, Jackson's marriages formed an important alliance with a rich and powerful family. Jackson became part of the Sappington family's kinship network which included the Marmaduke, Perkins, and Harwood families, all located in mid-Missouri's Little Dixie and part of what was called the "Central Clique."

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(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 41; Daniel Walker Howe, *What God Hath Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 62-63; Rebekah Mergenthal "Borderlines: The People of the Lower Missouri River Valley and the Expansion of the United States, 1803—1855," (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2008); Michael Fellman, *Inside War*, 6-7.

<sup>28</sup> *FC*, 1860.

The “Central Clique” dominated the Democratic Party prior to the Civil War. Not surprisingly, these slaveholding families promoted political positions in support of slavery and attempted to block the development of abolitionist sentiment in the state.<sup>29</sup>

As some of the largest land owners deeply invested in slavery, the Sappingtons were prominent participants in this political clique. Many of the Sappington men and their kin would hold important state level offices. Claiborne Jackson and Meredith Marmaduke would be among the most politically prominent of the group, both would serve as the Governor of Missouri after a series of upwardly mobile positions in the Missouri government. Meredith Marmaduke began his career as a tradesman, store owner and farmer in Saline County after the War of 1812. In the 1820s and 1830s, Marmaduke served as a county surveyor and judge in Saline County and in 1840 he transitioned to state level politics as the Lieutenant Governor. In 1844, Marmaduke briefly held the office of Governor after the death of the Governor Thomas Reynolds, but returned home to Saline County after failing to win his party’s nomination for the upcoming gubernatorial race. Back in Saline County, Marmaduke rededicated himself to county politics.<sup>30</sup>

Claiborne Fox Jackson followed his own path to the Governorship of Missouri, but he too started as a merchant in the Little Dixie region. Jackson began his career in New Franklin, Missouri, working in a local mercantile in 1826. Two years later, Jackson started operating his own mercantile business under the title “C.F. Jackson and Co.”

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<sup>29</sup> Phillips, *Missouri’s Confederate*, 63-74; Authorene Wilson Phillips, *Arrow Rock: The Story of a Missouri Village* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005), 64; *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, vol. 1-2, no. 7 (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1906), 27. The Harwood family was part of the kinship network of the Marmadukes, Sappingtons, and Jacksons and the women participated as founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. They are not however included in the twenty founders of this study.

<sup>30</sup> A. Phillips, *Arrow Rock*, 64-70; *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, 26; *History of Saline County, Missouri...* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Company, 1881), 403-404.

Jackson quickly became a member of the privileged elite of Saline County with his marriage to wealthy slave owner John Sappington's oldest daughter Mary Jane Sappington in 1831. As part of the Central Clique, Jackson's political career included holding the position of Director of the Fayette Bank, Missouri House of Representatives and the Missouri State Senate, as well as the State Bank Commissioner. His career culminated with his election as Missouri's fifteenth Governor in August of 1860, on the eve of the Civil War.<sup>31</sup>

The powerful influence of Missouri's "Central Clique" extended into the war in order to protect the interests of the southern sympathizing families, most importantly the continuation of the institution of slavery. To further these goals, the "Central Clique" became the support network, particularly financially, for the Confederate cause. As historian Mark Geiger notes in his work, *Missouri's Hidden Civil War: Financial Conspiracy and the Decline of the Planter Elite 1861-1865*, Little Dixie slaveholders indebted themselves with promissory notes during the war in order to fund the Confederate cause. The Sappington's and their relations invested in almost fifty of these notes for the war.<sup>32</sup>

In the heart of mid-Missouri, community connections and family ties like the Sappingtons existed between many families. Families with similar cultural connections such as an investment in slavery, similar migratory patterns, and common political allegiances were brought together due to their close proximity and cultural connections. Seventeen of the twenty southern sympathizing white Missouri families in this study

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<sup>31</sup> C. Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*, 55-69, 95-103, 137-155.; A. Phillips, *Arrow Rock*, 91; Thomas Shackelford, *Early Recollections of Missouri*, vol. 2, no. 2 (St Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1903), 4; *History of Saline County*, 403-406.

<sup>32</sup> Geiger, "Missouri's Hidden Civil War: Financial Conspiracy and the Decline of the Planter Elite 1861-1865," (PhD diss., The University of Missouri-Columbia, 2006), 20.

lived in relatively close proximity to each other. To be specific, the town of Fayette in Howard County and the town of Arrow Rock in Saline County, which were both in close proximity to the homes of many Founders, by direct route was only a distance of about fifteen miles. The intermarriage of these families created bonds of blood in addition to already strong social relationships. For example, Letha Kuhn of Howard County and Susie Mason, both of whom would go on to be Founders of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, were related by marriage, they were sisters-in-law. Similarly, Lena Sexton and Maggie Pritchett were connected through marriage.<sup>33</sup>

Many of the Founders' households participated in agriculture as their main source of income which also connected these families. This was evidenced by the frequency of which "farmer" was listed as the occupation of the Founders' head of household on the Federal Census. Although crops varied along with the size and extent of production,

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<sup>33</sup> 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, *FC. Howard County Plat Map*, 1920. The distance between Fayette and Arrow Rock was measured as the most direct route between the two points.; Letha Kuhn was a founding member of the Missouri Association, but she is not included in the 20 found women of this study

Although seventeen founders of the Missouri organization came from the Little Dixie area and counties in close proximity, three founders were living in other southern states during the war; including Felicia Beall, who many consider to be the "mother" of the State Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. These women were perhaps predictably, members of the St. Louis branch of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The population of St. Louis is somewhat of an anomaly in the history of the founders of the Missouri United Daughters of the Confederacy because of its mobile population. St. Louis was vital to the Union war effort as it was a beacon of trade and commerce for the South. The population of St. Louis also lent its support more heavily to the Union, making it an interesting location for the development of a Confederate memorial organization. However after the war, the transitory population of the town brought in many Confederate supporters from across the South, although with different experiences from those living through the war in Missouri.

All three members lived in St. Louis in 1898, although their personal histories demonstrate the transient nature of the city's population. All of these women moved to St. Louis after the Civil War for various reasons. Felicia Beall was the wife of Confederate General William Beall who as a soldier spent considerable time in the west, and they relocated to Missouri as a commission merchant after the war. Louisa Gaiennie was the daughter of a farmer and slave owner in Louisiana and married a wealthier family that before the war owned thirty slaves. After the war the Gaiennie family moved to St. Louis to reestablish the family as merchants. Elizabeth Robert, married her Episcopal minister husband before the Civil War while they were living in her home state of Virginia. After the war, Reverend Roberts, a Confederate Chaplain, took over the Church of Holy Communion in St. Louis. Two other women are listed as members of the St. Louis Chapter and moved to the region after the Civil War. However these two women lived in Little Dixie before and during the war and shared important connections to the regions. Ann Perkins, daughters of Claiborne Jackson former governor of the state and her relative Zemula Marmaduke both were part of the Confederate culture of mid-Missouri and part of the Sappington family.

farming dominated the economy of their households. Those Founders' families with large estates such as the Sappingtons and Harveys, succeeded in becoming wealthy land owners and agriculturalists. Even those with smaller estates earned a great deal more than the average Missourian who often claimed little or no property and an estate valued at under \$1,000. The average estate for the estate for a Founders' family was closer to \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year, with a diversity of investments not only in farming, but in local banks and businesses.<sup>34</sup>

The household of Larkin Woods, the grandfather of Founder Ethel Cunningham, represents a typical farmer's household amongst the Founders of the Missouri United Daughters of the Confederacy. Emigrating from their home in Kentucky, the Woods family settled in Howard County and quickly became a respected family in the community with a growing estate and investment in slavery. In 1850, Larkin Woods' total estate was valued at \$4,000 in 1850 with nine slaves on his property. By 1860, Woods' estate increased in value to total around \$11,000 in real estate and \$21,000 in personal property. Although the Woods' estate was larger than average, his economic growth between 1850 and 1860 was common for Missouri slave owners who worked to increase their wealth through their investment in slave owning. Larkin Woods used his slave labor to produce a variety of crops and livestock, including one hundred pigs, seventy-eight sheep, twenty cows and cattle, eight mules, and some horses. His production was diversified as well as he grew or produced wheat, corn, oats, tobacco, wool, peas, potatoes, apples, hay, flax, silk cocoons, and maple syrup. For farmers like

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<sup>34</sup> *1850, 1860, FC.*

Woods, diversity ensured the wellbeing of his family along with the potential to increase his personal wealth even further.<sup>35</sup>

Women also played an important role in the household both in production and reproduction. All the families of the Missouri organization's Founders listed their wives as "keeping the home" or "at home," in the census records. Their work at home included helping with domestic labor, managing slaves, running the farm, and raising children. Records of the Woods estate indicate that home manufactures accounted for a portion of their estate value. Goods produced in the home, such as syrup or butter, provided an avenue for women to contribute to the local economy. More importantly the average family in this study numbered upwards of five children per household. Mothers and future mothers spent a considerable amount of time bearing and raising children who would then go on to help farm or care for the household.<sup>36</sup>

The production on Woods' estate depended heavily on the labor of the nine slaves that were listed as part of his property in 1850. Like most farms dependent on slave labor in the region, the Woods used their slaves for the production of large cash crops such as tobacco, but also to grow corn, wheat and oats. Two of the Woods' slaves in 1850 were women. These female slaves worked for the white women of the Woods' household doing the domestic chores and contributing to the production of home manufactured goods. They cooked, cleaned, and laundered clothing as part of their many domestic tasks. They also worked with white women in tasks such as sewing, gardening, and caring for livestock. Slave women also literally substituted for white women in the fields. Indeed, it was this protection from hard labor in the fields that underwrote slave

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<sup>35</sup> *History of Howard and Cooper Counties...* (St. Louis: National Historical Company, 1883), 423; *1850, 1860, FC; Federal Agricultural Census*, 1860, Howard County, Mo.

<sup>36</sup> *Federal Agricultural Census*, 1860, Howard County, Mo. Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 93-141.

owning women's understanding of themselves as privileged in relation to non-slaveholding white women and superior to African American women toiling in the fields.<sup>37</sup>

The world of these Missouri families would drastically change in early 1861, even before the official fighting of the Civil War began. On March 4, 1861, Missourians met to decide their allegiance after the secession of southern states called into question Missouri's loyalty to the Union. As a slave state located on the northern border of the South, Missouri's population was divided over its role in the conflict because many citizens had strong ties to the economy and culture of the South, while others remained untouched by slavery and tied to the North. On that fateful day in March, Missouri leaders decided to remain in the Union with convention delegates supporting the decision with a vote of ninety-eight to one. Although Missourians participated in slavery, Missouri like other border states deemed it unnecessary to leave the Union despite invitations from across the Deep South to join the Confederate States of America. They hoped that they would be able to continue to own slaves and remain with the Union. Unfortunately this conditional union did not guarantee a neutral position for the state and its citizens in the upcoming war, as they hoped at the time of the vote for secession.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> 1850, SS; 1850, FC. Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 215; Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 105, 93-141; Mutti Burke's work on Missouri slaveholding households in Missouri provides excellent insight into the importance of slavery in "elevating" as she states, white women above non-slaveholders and African American women. It offers an excellent depiction of the production on Missouri's small slaveholding farms.

<sup>38</sup> C. Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*, 250-253; Edward Conrad Smith, *The Borderland in the Civil War* (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1927), 220-223, For more information on Missouri in the Civil War, please see: Walter H Ryle, *Missouri Union or Secession* (Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1931), William E. Parrish, *A History of Missouri, Volume III, 1860-1875* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971); Arthur Kirkpatrick, "Missouri on the Eve of the Civil War," *Missouri Historical Review*, 55, no.1 (January 1961): 99-108.

Led by Governor Claiborne Jackson, father of United Daughters of the Confederacy Founder Ann Perkins, supporters of the Confederacy who favored secession of the state rallied against the conditional Unionist sentiment and stood for slavery and the Southern cause which they saw as inextricably linked. President Lincoln's request for troops after the firing of shots at Fort Sumter prompted Jackson and other southern sympathizers to reject Lincoln's call for over 3,000 troops from the state of Missouri and to establish instead a state militia to protect Missouri from Union invasion. Although Lincoln's request for troops set Jackson's plan into action, Jackson's request for supplies and men really began a few months earlier and proceeded with greater support and speed after Lincoln called for troops. At the same time, General Lyon and other Union supporters in St. Louis began arming the local Home Guard militia as well, setting the stage for internal conflict. In May of 1861, Camp Jackson was established in St. Louis allegedly in order to maintain neutrality; the camp, however, was filled with pro-southern men. As a result of this action, Lyon and his supporters led a raid on the camp and marched prisoners through St. Louis, which resulted in chaos. The Union supporting Home Guard opened fire, killing twenty-eight people and causing numerous injuries. The result of the "Jackson Affair" was to mobilize southerners across the state, previously content with neutrality, in reaction to what they viewed as northern aggression by the Union.<sup>39</sup>

Mobilization of southern sympathizing men across the state disrupted the formation of the Founders' families and their lives. Five of the Founders of the Missouri

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<sup>39</sup> Menra Hopewell, *Camp Jackson: History of the Missouri Volunteer Militia of St. Louis* (St. Louis: George Knapp & Co., 1861); James Covington, "The Camp Jackson Affair: 1861," *Missouri Historical Review* 55, no.3 (April 1961): 197-212; Donald Gilmore, *Civil War on the Missouri-Kansas Border* (Greta, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing, 2005), 112-117.

State Association were actual daughters of Confederate soldiers; the remaining fifteen women were old enough in 1898 to have actually experienced their brothers and/or future husband's service in the war. These women and men entered into the war looking towards a future that had previously been ensured by slavery and class status, but was now tied to the success of the Confederate nation. Many of these young men were still learning trades and attending school when the war began. In 1860, Ai Edgar Asbury, husband of Ellen Asbury, was just starting his work as a lawyer in Lafayette County. His career was disrupted when Asbury enlisted under General McBride, in May 1861, at the age of twenty-three. Promoted through the ranks, he was made a captain of Cornell's Brigade and fought at the battles of Oak Hills, Dry Wood, Lexington, and Springfield. In April of 1863, Asbury was captured and held prisoner at Johnson Island and at Point Lookout for fifteen months. Ryland Todhunter was working for his father as a trader at the outbreak of the war with no personal property in 1860 (although his father's estate was valued at over \$80,000). At twenty-two years old he enlisted in Lexington, Kentucky, and served in all of the engagements of General Hood, Johnson and Bragg. Todhunter became the Captain of his own command and also served as an Assistant Adjutant General.<sup>40</sup>

Although young and inexperienced, it was not uncommon for the men of the Founders' families like Ai Edgar Asbury and Ryland Todhunter to enter the Army as an officer or to quickly move up the ranks and by the end of the war to hold a rank of Captain or higher. The military accomplishments of these young men was undoubtedly due to their own dedication to the cause, but their social position, education and relative

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<sup>40</sup> 1860, FC; Ai Edgar Asbury, Ryland Todhunter, *Record of Service Card, Civil War, 1861-1865, Soldier's Database*; Joanne Chiles Eakin, *Confederate Records from the United Daughters of the Confederacy Files* (Shawnee, Ks.: Two Trails Genealogy), 1: 29.

class privilege also helped to raise them up throughout the ranks. The military career of Sidney Cunningham, the father of future Founder, Ethel Cunningham, illustrates the role that class background played for these men. In July of 1861, Cunningham enlisted at Fayette, Missouri, for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regular, the Missouri Infantry, commanded by John B. Clark. Only twenty years of age at the time, Cunningham entered the service as a common soldier, however by the time of his parole in 1865, he had risen to the position of Captain and possibly Sergeant Major. C.W. Minter also experienced a similar advancement in rank, enlisting as a Private in the 19<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regulars and leaving the service as a Captain.<sup>41</sup>

The men of the most prominent families among the Founders, those in the “Central Clique,” like the Sappingtons, Marmadukes, Jacksons, and Harwoods served in both the Confederate Army and the Navy. General John S. Marmaduke, nephew of Claiborne Jackson, son of Meredith Marmaduke and brother-in law to Founder, Zemula Marmaduke, served for the entire length of the war, fighting at the battles at Shiloh, Booneville, Price’s Raid, and West Port. Marmaduke was eventually captured and jailed after the battle of West Port in late 1864 and remained imprisoned for the remainder of the war at Johnson’s Island in Ohio. Henry, Vincent, and Darwin Marmaduke all also enlisted. Henry served as gunner in the Confederate Navy on the iron clad named the Merrimac, while Vincent and Darwin served in the Confederate militia.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Sidney Cunningham, Claude Minter, *Record of Service Card, Civil War, 1861-1865, Soldiers Database*; Eakin, *Confederate Records*, 2:137, 5:191; *History of Howard and Cooper Counties*, 433.

<sup>42</sup> *History of Saline County*, 276, 407-408, 412; Eakin, *Confederate Records*, 5:146-147; John Marmaduke, Vincent Marmaduke, Henry Marmaduke, Darwin Marmaduke, *Record of Service Card, Civil War, 1861-1865, Soldiers Database*; United States War Department, *The War of The Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C., 1880-1902), Ser. II, Vol. 1, 320, <http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/moa/browse.monographs/waro.html> (Hereafter, *O.R.*).

While the sons, brothers, and cousins of the “Central Clique” families served the Confederacy, their family members remained in central Missouri to confront the Union Army occupation as known southern sympathizers with husbands and fathers in the Confederate Army. Claiborne Jackson’s family and its network of kin were also known for their efforts to raise troops to fight the Union Army and for agitating for Missouri to set aside its previous secession conventions and declare its independence from the Union. Their political prominence made these families increasingly valuable targets for Union soldiers, hoping to undermine support for the Confederate leaders such as Claiborne Jackson. Lizzie Jackson, sister of Ann Jackson (Ann Perkins), expressed her fears to their mother addressing the position of her family and her father’s future as a southern sympathizing governor in a Union occupied state. Action in support of the Confederacy was considered by many to be a “declaration of war against the general government,” and caused great anxiety for the family because of their obvious allegiance. However, true to her southern sympathizing roots, Lizzie also expressed her overwhelming support for the Confederate cause and her desire to deter Missouri’s “subjugation” to Union forces. Unfortunately for the Jackson family, the tension between Union and Confederate supporters in Missouri would continue to threaten their family.<sup>43</sup>

On June 3, 1861, while residing at the capital in Jefferson City, Claiborne Jackson began to sense increasing danger for himself and his family. He found himself caught between his concern for the welfare of his family and his duty as Governor to the state of

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<sup>43</sup> Lizzie Jackson to Eliza Jackson, no date, John Sappington Papers, C1027, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri (hereafter WHMC); Phillips, *Missouri’s Confederate: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000) 250-253. Daniel M. Grissom, “Personal Recollections of Distinguished Missourians-Claiborne Fox Jackson,” *Missouri Historical Review* 4 (July 1926): 504-508; William H Lyon, “Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Secession Crisis in Missouri,” *Missouri Historical Review* 58 (July 1964): 432.

Missouri, but also to the newly formed Confederacy. He hoped that the state would align itself with the Confederacy, but instead found the state deeply divided. As he put it, “if the people of the state were only united I should fear nothing but unfortunately they are, to some extent, divided.” Nevertheless, Jackson remained optimistic that Missourians would eventually decide to support the Confederacy offering words of hope to his wife and claiming that he would remain in Jefferson City and bring her to the capital once the state declared its southern loyalty. Shortly thereafter, Jackson lost his faith in the state and the possibility of seceding from the Union. He made the decision to leave the capital city and begin organizing a separate pro-southern government in Booneville, a town within the confines of Little Dixie. Jackson’s relocation caught the attention of Union General Lyon and as Union troops marched towards Booneville, Jackson fled again. This time Jackson gathered his family and friends removing them from their homes and evacuating them to Neosha, a town in the southwest region of the state. There Jackson organized a pro-Confederate state government with other Missouri legislators that abandoned the official state government in Jefferson City. Together these men worked to raise troops, funds, and weaponry for the Confederate Army. Claiborne Jackson never lived to see his work completed as he died of “health complications” in December of 1862.<sup>44</sup>

Prior to his death, the precarious situation of his family prompted Claiborne Jackson to purchase land in Red River County, Texas, and move them away from the dangers posed by the Union occupation of Missouri to the known pro-secessionist former

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<sup>44</sup> Claiborne Jackson to Eliza Jackson, June 3, 1861, in Eleanora Park and Kate. S. Morrow, *Women of the Mansion, 1821-1936*, (Jefferson City, MO. Midland Publishing Company, 1936), 48. Lizzie Jackson to Eliza Jackson, no date, John Sappington Papers, C1027, WHMC. C. Phillips, *Missouri’s Confederate*, 250-255; William Parrish, “Missouri,” in William Buck Years ed., *The Confederate Governors*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 130-139.

governor. Future Founder of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Louisa Lamb, sister of Ann Jackson (Perkins), recounted the experience of her family at their temporary home. Louisa described their new location as “dismal, surrounded by cane breaks, often invaded by Indians, and chills and fever were most prevalent.” Their mother, Eliza Jackson resided in the central cottage that contained a kitchen and dining area that served the entire family. This cottage stood surrounded by a number of small cottages occupied by the daughters, step-daughters and grandchildren of the Jackson family. Outside of these cottages were a number of small crude dwellings for the twenty slaves that moved with the family from Missouri to Texas. This homestead paled in comparison to their large estate in Howard County.<sup>45</sup>

The Jackson family depicted their frontier life in Texas as a harsh change from their comforting home in Little Dixie. In Missouri, the Jackson family’s wealth which included an estate valued at over \$100,000 and the labor of fifty slaves provided a life of comfort. In Texas, household provisions were no longer easily purchased and with only twenty slaves, the Jackson family became responsible for an increased burden of production. This included tasks such as planting a garden for food, weaving cloth and tanning hides. With her husband remaining in Missouri, Eliza Jackson became the head of household, managing the production on their Texas farm. She also supported her family, ministering to their physical and emotional needs by caring for the ill, encouraging the homesick, and helping to soothe the fears of those with men fighting in the war. Dr. Charles Lamb, husband of Louisa Lamb, remembered the challenges of home manufactured horse harnesses and homespun clothing. While driving their horses,

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<sup>45</sup> Park and Morrow, *Women of the Mansion*, 126-130. C.L. Lamb to W.B. Sappington, March 24, 1869, John S. Sappington Papers, C1027, box 3, folder 76. WHMC. C. Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*, 250-255.

Lamb explained that their leads would stretch in the rain and shrink in the sun because they could not properly cure the leather. Their homespun clothes also suffered, and as Lamb described them, “presented a sight wholly without sartorial equal.” The Jackson family “keenly felt” these “privations” because they had only been accustomed to better quality goods and a cultured lifestyle, however they all “bravely” faced the challenges of their hardship.<sup>46</sup>

Although dislocated by the war, the Jackson family remained faithful southern sympathizers commenting in their letters about the progress of the South or its great losses such as the death of Stonewall Jackson. In many ways the fate of the family was in fact tied to the success or the defeat of the Confederate Army. Southern victory seemingly promised the recognition of Claiborne Jackson’s efforts in allying Missouri to the Confederacy, a recognition that would make him a hero and return his family members to a lifestyle of privilege. The Jackson family could only speculate about what the impact of Confederate defeat might be, but allegations already against Jackson by the Missouri government concerning the money, stocks and property he took as the rightful property of the Confederate Missouri government in Neosha indicated a troublesome future.<sup>47</sup>

Whether or not the Confederacy won the war, the five years of political, economic, social, and household changes that ensued during the war, radically altered the Jackson family and their lives. The Jacksons never saw the state of Missouri become a bona fide Confederate state and as the war progressed, the political power of Confederate supporters within the state steadily diminished. As the availability of slave labor and

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<sup>46</sup> 1860, FC; 1860, SS; Park and Morrow, *Women in the Mansion*, 126-130; C.L. Lamb to W.B. Sappington, March 24, 1869, John S. Sappington Papers, C1027, box 3, folder 76. WHMC

<sup>47</sup> C.L. Lamb to W.B. Sappington, March 24, 1869, John S. Sappington Papers, C1027.

money diminished for the Jacksons, so did their social and economic privilege. Finally, the war brought change within their household, first with the death of patriarch Claiborne Jackson in 1862. Eliza Jackson fell ill in the spring of 1864, a victim of a “congestive chill.” She passed away in July of that year. Their son, Claiborne Fox Jackson Jr., also died fighting for the Confederacy in Laredo, Texas in that year. While the military and political defeat of the Confederacy was a great blow to the Jacksons, it was on a personal level in the loss of so many members of their household that the war most profoundly transformed their lives.<sup>48</sup>

The transplanted Jackson family did not have a monopoly on wartime challenges, as other families and Founders of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy also experienced the hardship of the Civil War. Women throughout the region watched their men leave to enlist in support of the Confederate cause, which for the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy was generally limited to the Confederate Army or the Missouri State Militia. However, much of the fighting in Missouri was fought through guerilla warfare on non-traditional battlefields, intertwining southern supporting families in traditional and non-traditional warfare. Family members of the organization were not always labeled as guerillas, but labels meant little in warfare that broke with conventional standards. Unable to decipher the blurred lines of warfare, the Union Army targeted these men and their families for their support and involvement in any effort to aid the Confederacy. This created a precarious position for women left at home maneuvering their way through the dangers of Union occupation and the demands

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<sup>48</sup> Eliza Jackson to My Dear Son, May 23, 1863, in Park and Morrow, *Women of the Mansion*, 129-130; Jerena Giffen, *First Ladies of Missouri: Their Homes and Their Families* (Jefferson City, Mo.: Giffen Enterprises, 1996), 80-82; C. Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*, 276; Parrish, *A History of Missouri*, 3:48-49.

of the supply-starved guerilla soldiers. Furthermore, the obvious danger facing their husbands, sons, and fathers in the Confederate States Army or Confederate Militia, did little to ease their fears. Many women rose up to meet the challenges of this wartime environment, while others struggled with the difficulties the war produced.<sup>49</sup>

Mary Dines, grandmother of future United Daughters of the Confederacy Founder, Mary Prosser, spent a year of the war with her husband banished and in exile from their home because of her husband's ambiguous allegiance to the state. As an itinerant minister for the M.E. Church South, Mary's husband, Tyson Dines, traveled throughout mid-Missouri, serving southern sympathizing families across the region. At the beginning of the war, Tyson Dines was fifty years old and living in St. Charles, Missouri, located up the Missouri River from St. Louis. The owner of five slaves in 1860, Dines invested in the institution of slavery and aligned himself socially with many of the prominent slave holding families of Little Dixie. Because of the Dines' prior residence in Howard County, they were connected socially to families such as the Jacksons, the Aulls, and the Prossers and they shared mutual friends with the Sappingtons and Marmadukes. Although not enlisted in the Confederate Army, Dines' personal, political, social, and religious ties caused the Union Army to request Dines and other ministers from the region to take an oath of allegiance to the Union. Dines refused to

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<sup>49</sup> Works that address women's work in the Civil War include: Laura Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore, Southern Women in the Civil War Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 71-83. Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 25-51; Rable, *Civil Wars*, 138-44; Scott, *The Southern Lady*, 82-86; Weiner, *Mistresses and Slaves*, 158-66; Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010). McCurry's new work, *Confederate Reckoning*, looks at the importance of women in the Civil War. Although McCurry's work deals with poor white women and women on small farms, she looks at the burden placed upon their households and the importance of these women in the war effort.

take the oath and in September of 1862, he was accused of praying for “Jeff Davis and the success of the Confederacy” and confined to the city of St. Louis.<sup>50</sup>

Although Mary Dines and her husband never admitted to any involvement in actually aiding the Confederate cause in any way, their experience during the war was typical. Many southern sympathizers were suspect based simply on their social connections. As a result, many would be banished from their homes like Tyson Dines. In her account, Mary Dines told of how she spent the long months at home without her husband. She could do little more, or so she told, than pray for his good health and the continued well-being of her family members and friends. With her husband banished, Mary depended on these other families to help provide food and protection for her own family. Tyson Dines shipped small amounts of food and supplies to Mary and his children through friends that were not currently exiled or had already been released. Throughout the one year of Tyson’s banishment, Mary and her husband communicated through letters and messages between friends, keeping in contact with each other about economic hardship and illness. Eventually the Union Army released Tyson Dines from exile in 1863, but he remained unable to preach freely and his family suffered economic hardship and illness for the duration of the war.<sup>51</sup>

Like Mary Dines, women on the Missouri home front faced the daunting task of juggling their responsibilities to their families, their community and their country. This

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<sup>50</sup> Diary of Mary Stakes Dines, Sept. 8, 1862, Mary Stake Dines Collection, C524, WHMC. For more information on loyalty oaths in Missouri, please see: Dennis Boman, *Lincoln and Citizens’ Rights in Civil War Missouri: Balancing Freedom and Security* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 2011); Fellman, *Inside War*, 46-53.

<sup>51</sup> Tyson Dines to “My Dear One,” Oct. 19, 1862, Tyson Dines to “Dear Ones,” Feb. 1863, Mary Dines Collection, C524, WHMC; William M. Leftwich, *Martyrdom in Missouri: A History of Religious Proscription, the Seizure of Churches, and The Persecution of Ministers of the Gospel, in the State of Missouri During the Late Civil War* (St. Louis: W. Book & Publishing Co., 1870), 2:170-174; Fellman, *Inside War*, 224; Dennis Boman, *Lincoln and Citizens’ Rights*, 168, 265-268. Boman’s work on citizen’s rights in Missouri addresses the use of banishment to maintain order in the state during the war.

meant protecting their home and their family while facing a war on two fronts; brutal warfare from the guerilla fighters and the battles being fought throughout their communities by the Union Army and Confederate States Army. Numerous battles occurred throughout Little Dixie, bringing Union and Confederate troops through Missouri's towns and communities, invading homes and communities. However the threat of the regular army paled in comparison to the guerilla warfare that beleaguered the Missouri population through their constant need of supplies and aid. With husbands banished, enlisted or involved in bushwhacking, Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy often sacrificed in their households to meet the provisions of the guerillas. Factors including poverty and illness made it hard to aid the guerilla fighters, however these men relied on southern civilian supporters many of whom were their kin, even to the point of their serious deprivation. As the war progressed, so did the needs of their men in the bush. In order to discourage the support of the guerilla war by southern sympathizers, Union newspapers such as the *Columbia Missouri Statesmen* printed stories of raids, robberies and the murder of Missouri citizens at the hands of guerillas. However in the case of the guerillas in Missouri, kin networks proved stronger than Union propaganda and the support of guerillas continued throughout the war.<sup>52</sup>

Hope Hill, sister of UDC member Kate Doneghy, demonstrated the sacrifice made by southern sympathizing women in support of the Confederate war effort. During

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<sup>52</sup> *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, May 1, 1863, Aug. 8, 1862, p1., Feb. 27, 1863; *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, May 20, 1864, p.3, June 10, 1864, p.2, Oct. 11, 1861, p.3. Rebekah Weber Bowen, "The Changing Role of Protection on the Border: Gender and the Civil War in Saline County," in *Missouri History: Power and Influence*, ed. LeeAnn Whites, Mary Neth and Gary Kramer (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 119-133; For a more complete discussion of guerilla warfare in Missouri and its impact on the civilian population of the state please see: Michael Fellman, *Inside War*; Richard S. Brownlee, *Grey Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958); Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

the war, Hope Hill and her husband resided in the town of Independence, located in Jackson County, Missouri. Her sister Kate Doneghy, who would become a UDC Founder, had also lived in the county but because she was deemed to be a serious southern supporter she was banished to Kentucky in 1863. Through their correspondence, Hope Hill kept her sister up to date as to the events in Missouri. In October of 1864, Hope wrote that she had “braved a storm that is beyond description,” the Battle of Westport. According to Hill, approximately 20,000 members of the Union Army, many of them members of the Kansas militia, and 10,000 Confederate troops, both regular soldiers and Missouri guerillas, bombarded Independence and the Hill’s home. Hill reported that 3,000 men even camped on their lot. Both Union and Confederate forces passed through the area and the battle was visible from the Hill’s front balcony. As a result of the fighting, the men were evacuated from Independence and Hope told her sister that “our town has been left to the women and children to care for.” The southern sympathizing women of the community helped to feed the retreating Confederate soldiers, the Hill family alone providing for over 100 men, bushwhackers and Confederate troops. Although Hill supported the Confederate cause, she lamented the cost of that support, for she did not feel as if she had enough food for her own family.<sup>53</sup>

Despite the dangers posed, some of the Founders of the Missouri Daughters of the Confederacy responded to the challenges created by the war with heartfelt support and a willingness to sacrifice for their husbands, sons, and brothers. Lizzie Jackson expressed this sentiment to her mother, exclaiming in her letter that, “If the men can not drive those dogs out of our state the women can. I feel like I want to do something for our soldiers all

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<sup>53</sup> 1860, *FC; Reminiscences*, 219; *The History of Jackson County, Missouri...* (Kansas City, Missouri: Union Historical Company, 1963), 274.

the time.” Many of the future Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy expressed the dedication voiced by Lizzie Jackson through literal means in their everyday lives. Women watched as the Union Army arrested, banished, and tried family members for supporting the Confederacy in any way possible, from writing illegal bank drafts to offering food and shelter. These women responded by continuing their support, despite the hardship. The Union Army quickly discovered that some southern supporting women presented a great challenge for their soldiers, deterring their efforts to undermine Confederate sentiment in the state. Colonel Price of the Union Army, published an article in the *Columbia Missouri Statesmen* in early 1863 complaining of “secesh women” and the way they berated Union troops at every opportunity. In response to the actions of these women, the Union Army enacted General Order #100, stating that women would be treated as enemies of the states, despite their gender because “with traitors there is no distinction.” This 1863 ruling heightened the potential punishment of future Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and their mothers, sisters and daughters, if they chose to act in support of the Confederacy.<sup>54</sup>

Although Mildred Elizabeth Powell Hereford, mother of Founder Mary Ball, acted in support of the Confederacy before the General Order # 100 was issued in 1863, her actions elicited a stern response from the Union Army. As a young woman, Miss Powell and her friend Margaret Creath stole a carriage from a local townsman in Monroe County and used the vehicle to steal \$50,000 worth of gun caps and other items for the guerillas. As the Provost-Marshal of Palmyra, William Strachan noted, these women

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<sup>54</sup> Lizzie Jackson to Eliza Jackson, no date, John Sappington Papers, C1027, WHMC; *Columbia Missouri Statesmen*, Jan. 1, 1863; *O.R.*, Ser. III, vol. III,48-64; Anya Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters: Young Women in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 240-249; Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War*, 147-151. Fellman, *Inside War*, 88-89.

used the “petticoat flag” to hide their actions from the Union army. Brigadier General of the Missouri militia, John McNeil, felt that these women were extremely dangerous to the Union Army, given that the “active disloyalty of these two women is notorious, and their beauty, talents, and superior education have made many a man a bushwhacker. For their actions, the Union Army first imprisoned Powell and Creath in their homes and then in a local inn. Eventually Miss Powell would be completely banished from the state of Missouri to Nevada, where she was forced to remain until the end of the war. While imprisoned, Powell wrote in her diary that “I’d rather die in prison than perjure myself before God and man.”<sup>55</sup>



Image of Miss Mildred Elizabeth Powell  
Taken from: Centennial Edition of the *Monroe County Appeal*, August 13, 1931.

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<sup>55</sup> *O.R.*, Ser. III, vol. III,48-64; *Reminiscences*, 176-177; Bruce Nichols, *Guerilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri, 1862*, (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company Inc., Publishers, 2004), 190.

The strongest response to the actions of southern supporting women in Missouri came in the form of General Order 11, a military act that exiled women and children from their homes by the Union Army. The decision of Union officials to use banishment as a form of punishment demonstrates the extent to which Missouri's conflict involved all members of society and saturated all aspects of their environment. As early as December of 1862, Missouri officials requested permission to banish not only combatants but civilian women as well. In August of 1863, General Order 10, under Major Plumb, dictated that banishment be used on disloyal families, rather than any other means of punishment.<sup>56</sup>

Union officials did not create this order without an understanding of the conditions of the Missouri guerilla war. Major General Dodge, a leader of the Union forces in Missouri explained to his commanding officers the necessity of banishment in the state. According to Dodge, rebel bushwhackers would continue to return to the state to fight because their families remained at home offering support. Banishing people from different "neighborhoods and sections" would necessarily affect those "permitted to remain." He explained that the banishment of citizens harboring guerillas, bushwhackers' families, and the families of "rebels" would result in beneficial effects. Union policy makers understood the household dynamics of guerilla warfare and issued orders that disabled all those who were disloyal, targeting women and families.<sup>57</sup>

General Order 11 was issued in August 25<sup>th</sup> of 1863, and widely published in local newspapers soon after. The order dictated that all persons living in the counties of Cass, Jackson, Vernon and Bates, must remove themselves from their residence fifteen

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<sup>56</sup>*O.R.*, Ser. 1, vol. 39, 205, Ser.I, vol. 22, 460-461, Ser. I, vol. 39, 100, Ser. I, Vol. 22, Part 2, 428.

<sup>57</sup> *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. 22, part 2, 472-473.

days after its issuance. Any person that could prove their loyalty to the satisfaction of the local commanding officer would be allowed to move to Kansas or any military station in the district. Although the order did not specify sex, the citizens remaining in these counties during the war were primarily women and children. This drastic order was part of the Union Army's attempt to undermine the support networks of women and disrupt southern supporters.<sup>58</sup>

Kate Doneghy, a member of the Kansas City Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy experienced General Order 11 firsthand. Living in Jackson County, Missouri, Kate was thirty years old when the war broke out and her husband James enlisted in the Confederate Army, leaving his wife to care for their six young boys, the oldest being only eleven. James Doneghy was killed in November of 1862, while serving in Barton County, Missouri. After her husband died, Kate was left alone to manage their estate which was valued at over \$24,000 in personal property and real estate that included six slaves. General Order 11 forced the Doneghy family to flee their home and to live in Kentucky for the duration of the war. For women like Kate Doneghy, their husband's official enlistment in the Confederate Army made it difficult to prove loyalty, particularly because she was in fact disloyal.<sup>59</sup>

Whether or not southern sympathizing women wanted to aid the Confederate cause, they lived in a largely southern sympathizing community that expected that they would do so. In September of 1861, the call went out to southern supporting white

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<sup>58</sup> *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, August 28, 1863; *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol.22, part 2, 472-473; LeeAnn Whites, "Forty Shirts and a Wagonload of Wheat: Women, the Domestic Supply Line, and the Civil War on the Western Border," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 1 (March 2011): 57-72; Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War*, 147-151; Fellman, *Inside War*, 95-96.

<sup>59</sup> *Reminiscences*, 215-217; James Doneghy, *Record of Service Card, Civil War, 1861-1865, Soldiers Database; 1860, FC; 1860, SS; Fellman, Inside War, 95-96.*

women of Little Dixie to forego conveniences in their daily lives for the South. The luxury of expensive clothing and goods that had previously been staples, such as sugar and coffee, became indulgences of the past, while knitting socks, weaving cloth and feeding armies became the expected work of true southern patriots. Women like Kate Doneghy, Eliza Jackson, Eliza Wood, and Lavinia Sappington became the managers of farms and plantations in the midst of warfare that would require greater organization and planning in order to provide for sons, husbands and brothers at war, and their family at home.<sup>60</sup>

To meet the medical needs of its wounded men, the Confederacy turned to its women. To care for the injured soldiers, southern sympathizing women helped convert community buildings such as churches, court houses and even homes into hospitals. Confederate Officers Clark, Shelby and Jackman used the Methodist Church in the town of Glasgow, in Howard County, to create a makeshift hospital for wounded Confederate soldiers. Women also made personal sacrifices for the care of wounded soldiers. Founder Elizabeth Robert spent most of the war years living in Virginia, while her husband served as a chaplain for the army of Virginia under Robert E. Lee. During these years, Elizabeth Robert volunteered as a nurse for the Confederacy in Richmond. Volunteering at Clopton Hospital exposed Elizabeth to the damages caused by war, not only the lack of medicine and food for the once prosperous South, but the bodies of men no longer healthy and strong. Although the South initially limited female involvement in nursing, Southern women took an active role as nurses and caregivers during the war. While nursing, Elizabeth experienced firsthand a breakdown of traditional gender roles because women were needed to help nurse their men. She expressed her horror at the

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<sup>60</sup> *Reminiscences*, 105; *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, September 20, 1861.

exposure of women to male bodies in various forms of undress and disfigurement with skin torn from their arms, open wounds, malaria, measles and typhoid fever. According to Robert, only her loyalty to the South and her husband, rallied her spirits and allowed her to continue serving at her hospital, but performing her work tested her personal strength.<sup>61</sup>

At home on their farms, the Founders of the Daughters of the Confederacy stepped into the position of heads of households, a daunting task amidst the devastation of war, particularly in light of the growing desire for emancipation amongst the slave population. As previously discussed, the Founders and their families heavily invested into the institution of slavery. With their husbands away, slaveholding white women often found themselves left to manage the labor of their slaves. Once the war began, household production, which depended on slave labor became increasingly important to the war effort. However, as the war progressed and slaves began to assert their autonomy, contentious relationships between white and black members of the household often appeared in a variety of forms, including arguments, resistance, and abuse.<sup>62</sup>

Mary Sappington, a member of the large Sappington, Marmaduke, and Jackson family, member of the Missouri United Daughters of the Confederacy and the aunt of future Founders, Louisa Lamb and Ann Perkins, experienced first-hand the dissolution of slavery in her home. Mary's husband, William Sappington, was a wealthy man both

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<sup>61</sup> UDC Scrapbook, United Daughters of the Confederacy, John S. Marmaduke Division, C2996, WHMC; *Reminiscences*, 105; Jane Schultz, *Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 17-19.

<sup>62</sup> Please see: Stephanie Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 117-138; Nancy Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*; Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Women's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon, 1982); Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention*; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*; Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*; George Rable, *Civil Wars*.

prior to and during the Civil War with an estate valued at \$50,000 in real estate and \$43,000 in personal property. In 1860, the Sappington's owned 38 slaves. Mary's husband did not enlist in the Army, but William Sappington played a key role in the Confederate war effort by participating in an illegal network of bank drafts written to support the Missouri National Guard and the guerillas. As president of the local branch of the Bank of the State of Missouri, Sappington spearheaded this illegal funding operation. Sappington's actions led to his banishment from his home in Saline County to St. Louis.<sup>63</sup>

By the fall of 1863, Mary Sappington was managing her household with her husband exiled from home. William Sappington's banishment kept him away from their home in Saline County at least intermittently from 1863 through 1865 and during that time for a continuous period of at least a year. Writing to her husband, Mary noted, "It seems as if it has been almost a year since you left me, longer than you ever left me since we have been married now twenty years." Early in the management of the plantation, Mary completed the tasks necessary to maintain the farm with relative ease. In September of that year, Mary noted that the slaves successfully gathered apples, made cider, harvested and stored potatoes, and picked the cotton. She also ordered her slave shoes and clothing for the winter.<sup>64</sup>

The first indication of conflict between Mary and her slaves occurred shortly after Shelby's Raid in October of 1863. Sappington depended on her slaves to perform the plantation labor, assigning certain slaves leadership roles, including one older male slave

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<sup>63</sup> C. Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*, 250-253. *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, October 5, 1860; 1860, FC; Geiger, "Missouri's Hidden Civil War," 20.

<sup>64</sup> Mary Sappington to her husband William Sappington, 1863; Mary Sappington to her husband William Sappington, Sept. 1863, Unprocessed Sappington papers, WHMC.

named Bateman. With winter approaching, the Sappington family needed coal for their home. Mary sent Bateman to purchase the fuel, but he returned empty handed claiming that other slaves “take it off.” A similar situation occurred when Mary sent her slaves to gather the livestock for the winter. The slaves were unable to find all of the animals. As Sappington explained to her husband that, “The county has been in such confusion since Shelby’s raid....” The disorder created by the raid manifested in the Sappington slaves beginning to show signs of rejecting the authority of Mary Sappington. In order to maintain her position of authority, Mary continued to order her slaves to perform necessary tasks and to plan for their winter needs, which included acquiring new clothing and shoes.<sup>65</sup>

Shortly after Shelby’s Raid, the Sappington household experienced another event that tested the relationship between Mary and her slaves. In November of 1863, General Order 135 officially approved the recruitment of colored troops into the Union Army. The order further brought about the demise of the institution of slavery because it allowed all able bodied men to achieve their freedom by enlisting in the Union Army. In 1860, Missouri’s total black male population was estimated at around 21,200. Of that total population, 8,344 men were credited with joining the Union Army in the state, almost forty percent of the total age eligible population. At least 600 African American men entered the Union Army from Howard County alone. Compared to other slave states, this number was enormous, as most of the states in the Confederacy had less than ten percent of their black population enlist.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> William Sappington to Mary Sappington, October 19, 1863; Mary Sappington to her husband William Sappington, October 30, 1863, Unprocessed Sappington Papers, WHMC.

<sup>66</sup> O.R., Ser. 3, III, 1032-1036; John Blassingame, “The Recruitment of Negro Troops in Missouri During the Civil War,” *Missouri Historical Review* 58, no. 3 (April 1964): 326-337; *History of Howard and*

After the passage of General Order 135, the slave system on the Sappington farm eroded. In the fall of 1864, Mary Sappington recognized the demise of slavery in her own home. In a letter to her husband Mary expressed her fears regarding the troubled times they lived in, which included the dissolution of slavery and the events which would follow that occurrence. Sappington said, "I intend to try and summon all the courage I can and not give up...." She discussed her plans for their home and their slaves, questioning whether the slaves should remain on the plantation or "had I better try to put them out, they will have no employment, but that is a small matter I know." William Sappington responded that, "as to the negroes it does not matter much anyway," and reminded her that if she felt unsafe she could leave their home.<sup>67</sup>

Ultimately, Mary Sappington decided to remain at their home. She explained to William, "I do not want to go if I can stay... I think that home is the best place for me at this time." She continued to run her household as the system of slavery and the household crumbled. Mary relied on the labor of her slaves to keep her home and farm functioning, but this dependency offered an unreliable source at best. Slaves began to leave the farm, taking with them their labor and the Sappington's property. The Sappingtons lost valuable items including carriages, horses and supplies, not to mention the value of each slave's production. One slave told Sappington that he "intended to have" the horse, wagon and harness that he took. Mary's husband William encouraged

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*Cooper Counties*, 279-282; *History of Saline County*, 344-373; Berlin, et.al, *Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 63-65.

<sup>67</sup> Mary Sappington to William Sappington, 16 August 1864, William Sappington to Mary Sappington 25 August 1864, Unprocessed Sappington Collection, WHMS; Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 97-113; Rable, *Civil Wars*, 114-121; Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 83-85.

her to let “troublesome slaves” leave, but still Mary felt discouraged, unable to stop her property from walking or in this case riding away.<sup>68</sup>

The Sappington slaves were fighting their own battle against the institution of slavery by openly resisting the authority of Mary Sappington, the current head of household. Every time they did not bring back supplies or stole items from the home, they were eroding the power structure of slavery and therefore establishing their own freedom. These efforts even impacted the larger war effort, because as the structure of the antebellum household collapsed, so did the South and its structural support. Mary Sappington was not unaware of the fact that she might lose the battle being fought at her home and within her community every day. Her sister, Penelope Breathitt, served as a constant reminder of what might happen on her own farm. Mary commented on her sister’s plantation writing that, “things are not going on as they ought, some of them on the place wont do anything, there is very little doing on the farm, they appear to doing for themselves.” She even sent her own slaves over to assist her sister’s farm. Regarding her own slaves, Mary commented that, “they are very slow, but appear to be doing moderate work.”<sup>69</sup>

Throughout the end of the war, Mary continued to manage the Sappington farm despite the unraveling of the slave system. She faced daily struggles with her slaves, but she continued to fight against the demise of slavery through continued efforts to assert her authority over her slaves. In 1864, Mary again prepared for the winter by ordering new shoes and coats for her slaves, and planned to sell her crops to purchase supplies for the winter. She ordered her slaves to plant wheat in the fields and break hemp. She

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<sup>68</sup> Mary Sappington to William Sappington, 30 August 1864, Unprocessed Sappington Collection, WHMC.

<sup>69</sup> Mary Sappington to William Sappington 16 September 1864, Unprocessed Sappington Collection, WHMC.

discussed plans for her slave's labor and their future necessities. Ultimately Mary Sappington's experience reflects the nature of the wartime household; the conflict between slave and free, and the desire to hold on to the institutions that gave southern sympathizing slave women their status. Sappington struggled each day to fight against her own slaves and the demise of slavery, maintaining the authority of the white planter class, and the household structure.<sup>70</sup>

When the Civil War ended in May of 1865, the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy emerged scarred by war. The Founders of the State Association felt the impact of war on their political, economic, and social institutions. At the beginning of the war, these families assumed that their lives would remain more or less the same, however even before the war ended the long years of conflict brought about many traumatic changes. Throughout the war, the Founders and their families saw their household systems break down and men leave their homes to join the Army, many whom would never return. They witnessed their wealth disappear and women become even more significant in the operation of the home. The Founders' support of the Confederate cause translated into personal sacrifice and loss in their everyday lives, from the donation of food to the army to the loss of slave labor.

By the end of the war in 1865, few southern sympathizers in Missouri could predict what changes would come in the future. In a letter to the Sappington Family, a fellow southerner, William Price, stated that "I think that the killing war is over and now we will have the political and financial killing. You will soon lay surrender and now I hope the bushwhackers will do also." However Price was wrong in his assessment, because the political and financial killing already occurred in the state, as the dominance

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

of the “Central Clique,” southern Missouri Democrats and the economic institution of slavery came to an end. Families were already devastated by the loss of men, banishment from their homes, and economic hardship. Perhaps Price was not clear about the changes that had occurred during the years of warfare because as a man, he was enlisted in the Army and not able to see the impact of the war on his home and community. The Founders of Missouri Daughters of the Confederacy were, however, witnesses to the blunt trauma of the war, and would live to see the ways in which that would over the years change their lived forever.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> William Price to unknown, May 1865, John S. Sappington Papers, C1027, WHMC.

**Table 1.1: Twenty Founding Members of the Missouri United Daughters of the Confederacy**

*Woman's name, Husband/father's name, Location of UDC Chapter, and Residence during the Civil War*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Husband's Name</i>	<i>Chapter location</i>	<i>Family location during the Civil War</i>
Elizabeth Robert	P.G. Robert	St. Louis	Virginia
Felicia Beall	William Beall	St. Louis	Tennessee
Ann Perkins	John Perkin (husband) Claiborne Jackson(father)	St. Louis	Saline Co./ Howard Co. MO
Louisa Gaiennie	Frank Gaiennie	St. Louis	Louisiana
Zemula Marmaduke	Leslie Marmaduke	St. Louis	Saline, Co., MO
Clara Wilson	R.E. Wilson	Kansas City	Howard Co., MO
Mary Ball	R.E. Ball	Kansas City	Jackson, Co. MO
Mattie. Minter	Claude Minter	Kansas City	Jackson, Co. MO
Kate Doneghy	James Doneghy	Kansas City	Jackson, Co. MO
Maggie Pritchett	Stonewall Pritchett	Fayette	Howard Co., MO
Lizzie Fisher	Charles Fisher	Fayette	Howard Co., MO
Louisa Lamb	Charles Lamb (husband) Claiborne Jackson(father)	Hannibal	Saline Co./Howard Co., MO
Ethel Cunningham	Sidney Cunningham (father)	Fayette	Howard Co., MO
Susie Mason	H.P Mason	Fayette	Howard Co./ Boone Co., MO
Mary Prosser	Lewis Prosser (father)	Fayette	Howard Co., MO
Lena Sexton	Paul Sexton	Fayette	Howard Co./ Boone Co., MO
Ellen Asbury	Ai Edgar Asbury	Higginsville	Lafayette Co., MO
Annie Todhunter	Ryland Todhunter	Higginsville	Lafayette Co., MO
Clementine Williams	Milton Williams (father)	Fayette	Howard Co., MO
Annie Aull	William Aull	Fayette	Howard Co., MO

## CHAPTER TWO: “Now you call my children your property”: Life as Little Dixie slave, 1860-1865

When the Civil War began in the spring of 1861, Mary Cropp lived in Howard County, Missouri on the farm of her owner, Bennett Cropp. In her eighteenth year of slavery, Mary Cropp spent her days as a house slave on the Cropp farm, mostly working as a cook. However as the property of Bennett Cropp, Mary’s daily labor ultimately depended on the type of work deemed most valuable to production on Cropp’s farm. While enslaved in the Cropp household, Mary entered into a relationship with another slave, George McCreary, who lived on a nearby farm. Within the institution of slavery, the formation of a relationship between two slaves on separate farms such as the Cropp/McCreary pairing largely rested on the consent of the slaves’ owners, which was a consequence of the legal restrictions embedded in the institution. As a result, Cropp and McCreary spent time together only when their owners permitted. Within the slave community, Cropp and McCreary were recognized as husband and wife, but within the structure of the white household, the marriage was extralegal and ultimately the couple would remain separated on their respective farms.<sup>72</sup>

The war that started between North and South that same spring brought about changes for Mary Cropp, her “husband” George McCreary, and for slaves across Missouri and the South. The Civil War took its toll on the institution of slavery by

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<sup>72</sup> Elizabeth Cropp Pension Claim for George McCreary (Pvt., Co. G, 65<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 309014, Civil War and Later Pension Files; Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Group 15; National Archives, Washington, D.C (hereafter, Civil War Pension Files); *1860, FC*. Numerous studies address the institution of slavery and the slave master relationship. Key works that address this topic include, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*; Herbert Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* ( New York: Pantheon Books, 1976); Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*; Mutti Burke, *On Slavery’s Borders*, 200; In Diane Mutti Burke’s *On Slavery’s Border*, Burke argues that abroad marriages such as Cropp and McCreary’s were common in Missouri because of the small number of slaves held on many farms.

prompting slaves to challenge the authority of their white owners, eroding white control and eventually leading to the emancipation of African Americans in the United States. In 1864, Mary Cropp's husband enlisted in the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the United States Colored Troops and for his service was granted his freedom. Although Mary Cropp remained a slave within the household of her owner, George McCreary's enlistment was one indication of the dissolution of slavery in the state. George died in the service of the Union Army, missing the birth of his child and the full impact of the Civil War upon slavery. By January of 1865, the state of Missouri emancipated its slaves, freeing Mary and her new born daughter, Elizabeth. Bennett Cropp would no longer be able to dictate the labor and relationships of Mary Cropp. Four years of warfare changed Mary's life.<sup>73</sup>

The wartime experiences of the enslaved women of Little Dixie altered their social, political, and economic location, ultimately leading to their emancipation. For women of color, the progression of the war brought about the destruction of their enslavement and the potential for a better future, moving them from a position of dependence and enslavement within the white household to a position of independence within an autonomous black household. Emancipation was only one of the factors at work in changing the lives of these women. Just as Mary Cropp lost her husband and gave birth to her child, the changes brought on by the Civil War were evidenced in a variety of ways, including the creation of new families, the death of husbands and sons who enlisted in the United States Colored Troops and the increased agency and independence amongst the slave population. This chapter examines twenty African American women in Little Dixie living in white households prior to emancipation,

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<sup>73</sup> Elizabeth Cropp Pension Claim for George McCreary; 1850, *FC: 1860, FC*. Francis Newton Thorpe, *The Constitutional History of the United States, 1861-1865* (Chicago: Callaghan & Company, 1901), 3: 67.

particularly focusing on their lives, their labor and their relationships with white members of the household. It also examines the life altering impact of the Civil War on these women and their families. The war would have far reaching effects on the lives of Little Dixie women, changing their position from slave to free, and consequently affected the economic, social and political direction of their lives as well.<sup>74</sup>

The institution of slavery was firmly entrenched in Little Dixie long before the Civil War began in 1861. Slavery made its way into Missouri as settlers from Virginia and Kentucky moved to the region early in the nineteenth century. The availability of fertile land and navigable streams and river transportation attracted settlers to the Mid-Missouri region and soon the region of Little Dixie claimed the highest slave population in the state. It was within this fertile and highly populous slave area that these twenty women, or the Little Dixie slaves, resided.<sup>75</sup>

The Little Dixie slaves were a group of women that shared common identifying characteristics, although not specific bonds such as club membership and family ties. These identifying characteristics included their residence in Little Dixie, and specifically within similar communities and neighborhoods, although on differing farms. Each woman experienced the Civil War in some different way and every woman saw a husband, son, father, brother or member of their slave community enlist to fight as a

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<sup>74</sup> Many historians have looked at the experiences of African American women in Little Dixie. One of the most recent studies on the subject, by Diane Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, explores the nature of small slaveholding households in Missouri through the Civil War. Burke argues that slavery in Missouri was not more benevolent than other locations throughout the South; however the institution was shaped by the size of the typical holdings within the state. For example, the system of labor in Missouri depended not only on the labor of slaves, but the labor of the white family as well. Other works that have explored slavery in Missouri include: Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri*; Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie*; Greene, Kremer and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage*; Robert Duffner, "Slavery in Missouri's River Counties, 1820-1865" (PhD diss., University of Missouri, 1974); Jeffrey Stone, *Slavery, Southern Culture, and Education in Little Dixie, Missouri*.

<sup>75</sup> Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 1-3.

member of the United States Colored Troops. Perhaps most importantly, the members of the Little Dixie slaves remained in Missouri and within the region of Little Dixie for most, if not all, of their lives with little exception. While many African Americans, both men and women, left this region after the war, these women stayed, living in or in close proximity to the locations of their enslavement. Finally, these women also lived very near the members of the future Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy; some were even former slaves of the Founders or their kin. If they were not the former slave of a Founder, they lived within a household of similar size, wealth, and political ideology as the future Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.<sup>76</sup>

Slavery in Little Dixie was distinctive to the region, varying from other areas of Missouri and the rest of the South. Within Mid-Missouri, only four percent of the slave owning population could claim the title of planter, which indicated the ownership of twenty or more slaves, a small number in comparison to the twelve percent of slave owners in the Deep South that held that classification. However, Little Dixie possessed anywhere from two to four times the slave population of the rest of Missouri, creating a different environment for slaves living there. Although perhaps not dominated by planters, the region could claim a dense slave population, with percentage enslaved varying from seventeen percent in Jackson County to thirty-seven percent in Howard County. A majority of the enslaved African American women of this study lived on farms with an above average number of slaves. So, while the average in the region was

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<sup>76</sup> As Diane Mutti Burke points out in her work on African Americans in Missouri, *On Slavery's Border*, the sources available for slavery in Missouri are scarce. Burke opened her study to all of Missouri in order to compensate for a lack of sources. This study, maintains its focus on the Little Dixie region, but since sources are unavailable for the exact slave of the future founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Little Dixie slaves are not these exact women. Instead these women lived within the same communities, in similar households and most importantly remained there after the war.

six, most of these women lived in a slave community of ten to fifteen slaves, and almost a third lived on plantations with communities of over twenty slaves. Only two women definitely belonged to a household with less than six slaves and that was the result of a slave owner giving a portion of his estate to his children. The rest of the twenty-two women lived in households with numerous other slaves; four women lived on farms with than forty slaves, the largest number on one farm was sixty-eight slaves as listed in the 1860 census.<sup>77</sup>

Although most of the Little Dixie slaves lived on larger than average farms, the few that lived on farms that had six slaves or less experienced a different life in slavery than those living on the larger slave plantations. One Little Dixie slave woman, Mary Eliza Bright, lived within both of these environments. Born in 1848, Mary Eliza Bright began her life as slave in Howard County. Mary Bright went by a two different names, Mary Fisher and Mary Jackson, before her marriage to her husband, Nelson Bright. Mary Bright belonged to John Bondurant, a farmer who owned ten slaves and an estate

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<sup>77</sup> The definition of a planter varies in studies of antebellum slavery. For the purposes of this work, I am using the definition of planter that has been used by other historians of Missouri most importantly: Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 219-222; Geiger, "Missouri's Hidden Civil War," 64; Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 4. As R. Douglas Hurt argues in his work, *Agriculture and Slavery in Little Dixie*, the situation of Little Dixie slaves differed from other slaves in the state and within the larger South. Although many lived on farms with above average numbers of slaves, most did not reside on huge plantations that existed elsewhere in the South. This presents a comparison between Missouri slave women and slave women in other areas. For example, in her work, *A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina*, Leslie Schwalm looks at African American women through the same period of time as this study. Schwalm argues that the war had destabilizing effects on slavery, but she also points out that the large slave communities of the low country planters provided some protection from their owners. Additionally, during the War, many white men and women abandoned their homes, leaving the slaves the freedom to further the destruction of slavery as they began to create their own culture, farm the land and begin autonomous lives, before the war even ended. This did not occur in Little Dixie. For the most part the Little Dixie slaves lived with their owners until the end of the war, and although having an above average slave community for Missouri, they generally were not living within a community that could help ease the pressures of slavery. Schwalm's study is only one of a few studies of African American women in their transition from slavery to freedom. Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 219. *1850, FC; 1860, FC*. Mary Bright and Mary Cropp are the only slaves with census information that verify them living on a farm with less than 6 slaves. At least three other women do not have verifiable information regarding their situation in slavery in Little Dixie.

valued at \$4,000 in 1850. Like many slaves, Bright's ownership changed throughout her time as a slave. Upon John Bondurant's death, Bright became the property of his daughter Nancy, and her husband, Silas Ransberger. Mary Bright's life at the Ransberger's home probably differed greatly from her previous life with Bondurant. Unlike Bondurant, who owned an above average number of slaves, the Federal Census listed Ransberger as owning only two slaves and working as a tailor with an estate valued at only \$600.<sup>78</sup>

Being one of only two slaves on a farm meant that the multitude of tasks and jobs that were divided amongst a larger slave population would fall to an individual slave to perform on their own. For example, a female slave performing domestic work would perform a variety of roles within the household, including cooking, sewing, and laundry. The expectation was that the individual would be responsible for a range of tasks, rather than a focus on one particular job. Living within a small slave population also meant a closer relationship with the owner that often resulted in more direct supervision and attention. Many slave women also worked as a nurse for their owner's families, for example Sarah White, a Little Dixie slave woman, nursed the children of her owner, Fountain Roberts, from the day of their birth through their childhood. This did not mean that women would not work in the fields. Female slaves would be required to help during the most labor intensive times of the year, such as harvest.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Mary Bright Claim for Nelson Bright (Pvt., Co. G, 65<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 509,200, certificate no. 430,100, Civil War Pension Files; Burke, *On Slavery's Borders*, 116, 129.

<sup>79</sup> Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 93-141; For a larger discussion of slave life please see: John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Herbert Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom*; George Rawick, *From Sunup to Sundown: The Making of the Black Community* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1972).

**Table 2.1: Twenty Little Dixie Slave Women**  
*Woman's Name, Husband/son's name, and Residence during the Civil War*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Husband</i>	<i>Resided</i>
Adaline Crews	Lonny Crew	Howard
Almeda Patterson	Martin Patterson	Howard
Carey Morrison	Lewis Morrison	Callaway
Celia Harvey	Charles Harvey	Howard
Charlotte Birch	Jack Birch	Howard
Elizabeth Cropp	George McCreary	Howard
Ellen Pearson	William Pearson	Howard
Harriet Sappington	George Sappington	Boone
Jane Smiley	Thomas Smiley	Howard
Julia Maupin	Oliver Henry	Howard
Maria Garth	James Garth	Howard
Margaret Tarwater	Preston Allen	Chariton
Mary Bell	Spotswood Rice	Howard
Mary Hereford	Aaron Hereford	Chariton
Mary (Molly) Bright	Nelson Bright	Howard
Nancy Young	Mark Patrick	Johnson
Priscilla Boggs	Howard Boggs	Howard
Sarah White	Jerry White	Saline
Sarah Darby	John Darby	Howard
Sarah Francis Prather	Jordan Prather	Chariton

Although most of the slaves living in Missouri experienced the intimate relations of a small slave community, the majority of the Little Dixie slaves lived on larger than average farms. In fact the experience of the Little Dixie slaves paralleled the future Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The Founders generally owned an above average number of slaves with a few families owning forty or more slaves. The Little Dixie slaves generally lived in above average slave communities, with a few in larger communities as well. Almost all of the slave families lived on farms with ten or more slaves, which meant a large community of slaves to interact with on the farm. However even on larger than average farms in Missouri, slaves performed a variety of tasks in close proximity to their slave owner. Many Missouri slave owners worked alongside of their slaves, rather than hire an overseer. For example, slave owner Abiel Leonard, who owned fifteen slaves in 1860, used the task system on his farm and saw no need for an overseer.<sup>80</sup>

The experience of the Little Dixie slaves differed not only because of the size of the slave population, but also its agricultural production. Along with the highest slave populations in the state, the mid-Missouri region also contributed the highest amounts of product to be sold at market. Like many areas of the southern “frontier,” Missouri produced a diverse agricultural economy. Before the Civil War, Missouri’s economy centered on hemp, tobacco and livestock, three labor intensive products that benefited from the contribution made by slave labor. However other crops such as wheat and corn

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<sup>80</sup> Burke, *On Slavery’s Border*, 49-50; Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 219. Abiel Leonard Papers, C1013, WHMC; Abiel Leonard did not own any of the Little Dixie slaves, but as a resident of Howard County. He is an excellent example of the functioning of a farm with an above average number of slaves.

also played a predominant role in Missouri's economy. Slavery made large scale production of all of these crops possible.<sup>81</sup>

Planting tobacco required long tedious hours and constant supervision of the crop. The long process began in January with the sowing of numerous tobacco seeds in order to guarantee a sufficient number of plants. Planting this early required the covering of seedlings to protect them from the potential winter frosts, and then the constant hoeing and the pinching off of leaves in order to spur greater production from each plant. After harvesting the crop, tobacco required processing for shipping and sale. Little Dixie produced the highest amount of tobacco in Missouri, with a total of 5.5 million pounds in 1860 and 2.8 million of those pounds coming from Howard County.<sup>82</sup>

Jane and Thomas Smiley belonged to Joseph Patton and his mother Sarah Patton before the Civil War. The Pattons resided in Howard County, which produced more than half of the tobacco produced from Missouri. Like many of the farms in Little Dixie, the Pattons owned and raised a large number of pigs for sale and personal usage but were primarily invested in tobacco production. In 1860 the Patton farm raised a total of 23,000 pounds of tobacco. Other than Jane and Thomas, it is unclear how many slaves the family owned, but in the 1860, they listed \$8,800 in personal property which would include slaves. Given the production of tobacco on the farm, it is safe to assume that Thomas spent most of his time working on the production of the crop and that Jane might

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<sup>81</sup>Sam Bowers Hilliard, *Atlas of Antebellum Agriculture* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 1984), 36-38. Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 215-222; John Solomon Otto, *The Southern Frontiers, 1607-1860: The Agricultural Evolution of the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989), 100-104. Diane Mutti Burke, "Relations Between Mistresses and Slave Women in Antebellum Missouri" *Missouri History: Power and Influence*, ed. LeeAnn Whites, Mary Neth and Gary Kramer (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 65.

<sup>82</sup>Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 100. Stone, *Slavery, Southern Culture, and Education in Little Dixie Missouri, 1820-1860*, 25. *Missouri Intelligencer*, March 13, 1824, January 25, 1826.

have worked within the home. During the busiest times on the farm, Jane might have worked in the field as well, helping to harvest and prepare the tobacco for sale.<sup>83</sup>

Although tobacco required a great deal of supervision and time, hemp production required back breaking labor for which Missourians depended on their slave labor. Production of hemp occurred year round. Hemp farmers sowed their tobacco in April and continued to labor in the crop until the following March when it was time to ship the harvest. In between slaves were required to tend to the plants, harvest and cure the crop, which were all difficult tasks. By 1850, the large slave holding counties of Howard, Lafayette, and Saline dominated the hemp market in the state, not surprising for counties that claimed an average of over seven slaves per household. In 1860, Missouri produced a total of 17,295 tons of hemp, which made it the largest producer of hemp in the country. Of that enormous production, the region of Little Dixie produced fifty-one percent of the hemp production in the state, with Lafayette and Saline Counties producing the highest totals.<sup>84</sup>

Sarah White and her husband, Jerry White, both lived on the hemp producing farm of Fountain Roberts in Saline County, Missouri, before the Civil War. Fountain Roberts' estate totaled over twenty-five thousand dollars and he owned thirteen slaves in 1860. Six of those slaves, including Jerry White and Sarah White, were over the age of eighteen and only three of those six slaves were male. The rest of his slaves were young children, which meant that Jerry, Sarah and the four other adult slaves performed a majority of the hard labor. On his farm, Roberts did not invest heavily in livestock,

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<sup>83</sup> Jane Smiley Pension Claim for Thomas Smiley (Pvt., Co. A, 67<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 479826, certificate no., 471163, Civil War and Later Pension Files: *Federal Agricultural Census*, 1860, Howard County, Mo.

<sup>84</sup> Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 110, 123. Stone, *Slavery, Southern Culture and Education*, 26. *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, May 28, 1858, August 26, 1853, and November 26, 1858.

although he did own seventy pigs which required minimal care or supervision. Over two thousand bushels of corn, sixteen tons of hay and one ton of dew rotted hemp served as the farm's main cash crops for income. Jerry White most likely labored towards the production of all three of these crops, but hemp required the most labor from start to finish. Even with the development of agricultural technology that allowed for greater hemp production, the six adult slaves on Roberts' farm still toiled in the field breaking, pressing, and bailing 2,000 pounds of hemp.<sup>85</sup>

Other than hemp, Missouri farmers raised commercial livestock for cash. Raising livestock for market played a critical role in Missouri since the settlement of the state in the early 1800s. Particularly early in Missouri's agricultural history, Little Dixie farmers focused on swine husbandry. Consequently, Missouri developed a flourishing pork market. By the time of the Civil War, Missouri's livestock diversified with markets in cattle, sheep and Missouri's famous mules. For example, many farmers invested in sheep for their meat and wool. The intermittent shearing of sheep required sporadic bursts of hard labor, but not a consistent labor force. Although raising livestock did not necessitate the same intensive and consistent labor as hemp production, it still required laborers and the production of corn as feed.<sup>86</sup>

One slave, Mark Patrick, the husband of Little Dixie slave Nancy Young, worked on a farm with varied production which included swine and sheep as significant portion of their market production. Mark Patrick's owner, James Patrick, owned a farm in

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<sup>85</sup> Sarah White Pension Claim for Jerry White (Pvt., Co. F, 67<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 217,518, certificate no. 372,166, Civil War and Later Pension Files. *Federal Agricultural Census, 1860*, Saline County, Mo.; *1860, FC*. According to R. Douglas Hurt, hogs are notably easy to raise or at least can be raised with little attention to their feeding, breeding etc. Missouri farmers simply let the hogs roam the brush and then sought them out when it was time for the slaughter. They notched the pigs ears to mark their ownership. Raising swine provided income, but allowed for labor to be used on the production of other goods such as hemp. Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 113-127.

<sup>86</sup> Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 125-151.

Johnson County, Missouri, before the Civil War. The Patrick farm listed nineteen slaves as property and was valued at almost twenty thousand dollars in both real and personal property. In 1860, the Patrick farm raised over seven hundred bushels of wheat, twenty-five hundred bushels of corn and over twelve hundred pounds of wool from the sheep on the farm. The nineteen slaves on the farm including Mark Patrick, raised the crops but also cared for the livestock, sheared the sheep, and slaughtered animals.<sup>87</sup>

The labor of slave women on the Missouri farm reflected the nature of a small slaveholding southern household. On larger plantations slave women often maintained a specific role on the farm, either in domestic work or as a field hand. However, necessity guided the labor of slave women on the farms of this study and throughout much of Missouri. When required, slave women worked in the field alongside of their men and often times with their white owners. Slave women also worked in the home, providing a number of services including, cleaning, cooking and nursing children. White women often labored with their slaves because production required their labor. Therefore the twenty enslaved women of Little Dixie often referred to their work in general terms. For example, Mary Hereford's husband, Aaron Hereford, worked in a tobacco factory and on farm as a slave, but Mary only mentioned that she worked for the Hereford family. Margaret Snell similarly recalled her husband cutting tobacco, but never clearly defined her own labor. Almeda Patterson mentioned her job after emancipation as a cook, but

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<sup>87</sup> Nancy Young Pension Claim for Mark Patrick (Pvt., Co. K, 65<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 786257, Civil War and Later Pension Files; *Federal Agricultural Census*, 1860, Johnson County, Mo.

never her specific tasks in slavery. Because these women performed a variety of jobs within the white household, they did not label or categorize their labor.<sup>88</sup>

On both small and large farms, women also provided a second form of labor in the form of reproduction. Women not only provided valuable labor within the home, but served as a means of increasing the production of a farm and the wealth of their owner by the birth of their children, which then became the property of the owner. For small slave owners, looking to increase their slave ownership without the expenditure of purchasing a slave, the birth of slave child provided a low cost solution. Although it is not evident that the women of the Little Dixie slave populations were encouraged to have children or sought out for that purpose, a number of them did have children while in slavery. For example, Sarah White, living in Saline County, gave birth to six children while enslaved by Fountain Roberts. Roberts owned thirteen slaves, which although an above average

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<sup>88</sup> Mary Hereford Pension Claim for Aaron Hereford (Pvt., Co. K, 65<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 356,565, certificate no. 415,631, Margaret Snell Pension Claim for Sanford Snell (Pvt., Co. H, 65<sup>th</sup> USCT, Inf., Civil War) pension application no. 375,872, certificate no. 260,377; Almeda Patterson Pension Claim for Martin Patterson (Pvt., Co. K, 67<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 313,228, certificate no. 570,242, all in Civil War Pension Files. Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 32-62; Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Borders*, 59-69. The relationship between white and black women in the household has been explored by a number of historians, most notably Elizabeth Fox Genovese's *Within the Plantation Household*. According to Genovese, the expectation of race, class and gender shaped the relationship that formed and ultimately divided these women as they shared space of the household and domestic labor. However, Genovese argues both of these groups of women shared their place as a dependent on the white male patriarch. Thavolia Glymph's work, *Out of the House of Bondage*, also explored the white/black relationship in the household, but reveals that white women related more closely to the white patriarch using the privilege of class and race to trump the connection of gender between these women. Therefore these women often acted as patriarchs, using violence, harsh treatment and authoritative control over their slaves. Diane Mutti Burke's *On Slavery's Border* looks at how this relationship played out in the small slaveholding household of Missouri. According to Mutti Burke, the small household of Missouri complicated the relationship between white and black women. Slave holding white women wanted to separate themselves from their slave counterparts to follow the race and gender expectations of the culture, but necessity required them to live and work together, which violated the social norms. White Missouri women still attempted to fulfill these societal expectations when possible, but the delineation between the two groups of women was not precise. This study agrees with Mutti Burke, although these slaveholding households are above average size. It seems that necessity shaped the relationship between white and black women, but when possible, white women asserted their control over African American women.

slave population, mostly comprised of slaves under the age of thirteen but held the potential for increased work and value as they became adult slaves.<sup>89</sup>

While production and organization of the farm dictated the labor of the Little Dixie slaves, it also played an important role in the creation of slave culture and community. Apart from their labor, slaves created their own marriages, families, and culture, despite the restrictions created by the legal codification of slavery. In the antebellum period, marriages occurred within the slave community through informal ceremonies or before a preacher or a minister; however these marriages held no legal standing in Missouri or the rest of the South. To create legalized unions would recognize slaves as more than property, threatening the legal codes of slavery. Although not all of the Little Dixie slaves married before or during the Civil War, five women (or whom information about their marriages is available), definitely married prior to the war. These slave ceremonies signified the dedication to which slaves pursued the creation of families and relationships, despite their enslavement. Once married, slaves often experience the trials of separation from their loved ones, living on different plantations or being sold away to different farms. Out of necessity slaves would maintain relationships by visiting their partners on Sunday afternoons or simply terminating a relationship when the separation became too hard to span. No matter how these enslaved peoples decided to

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<sup>89</sup> Sarah White Pension Claim for Jerry White; David Barry Gaspar, *More than Chattel: Black women and Slavery in the Americas* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1996), 194. Jennifer Lynn Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 6-7; Nicole Rousseau, *Black Woman's Burden: Commodifying Black Reproduction* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 63-66. Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*.

recognize their marriages, the creation of these relationships served as the basis for slave families and communities.<sup>90</sup>

One couple that demonstrated the tenacity of slave marriages, George McCreary and Mary Cropp, resided in Howard County on the plantations of two different slave owners, Benjamin McCreary and Bennett Cropp, respectively. Mary Cropp lived and worked on the farm of Bennett Cropp in Boonslick Township, who in 1860 claimed an estate with a total value of \$7,000 in both real estate and personal property. A middling farmer in Missouri, Cropp listed a little more than half of his total wealth in personal property, which included his two slaves, seventeen year old Mary Cropp and a thirty-three year old male slave. Only ten years earlier, Cropp had owned three other slaves that included a twenty-two year old woman and two young male slaves, and as a result of this diminishing slave community, Mary looked elsewhere to form relationships. George McCreary lived on the farm of Benjamin McCreary in Chariton Township, which bordered Boonslick Township and the residence of the Mary Cropp. McCreary owned a large estate which valued totaled over thirty thousand dollars, twenty thousand of which was in personal property. Although it is not clear how many slaves McCreary owned, his

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<sup>90</sup> Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Borders*, 198-201. As historian Herbert Gutman argued in his important work, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom 1750-1925*, although slavery often challenged the construction of families and cultures, slaves created family and culture despite these challenges. Since his work, many historians have expanded on this demonstrating the pervasiveness of slave culture and family, including Brenda Stevensons's *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South*, Wilma Dunaway's *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003) and the more regionally focused Jeffrey Stone's work, *Slavery, Southern Culture and Education in Little Dixie, 1820-1860*. These works continue to demonstrate the development of slave families and communities despite differences of region and situation. Lorenzo J. Greene, Gary R. Kremer and Antonio Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 21. Harriet Frazier, *Slavery and Crime in Missouri, 1773-1865* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., 2001), 30-38, 151. Other works on slave marriage and family include: Dunaway, *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*; Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom*; Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*; Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*; Stevenson, *Life in Black and White*; White, Deborah Gray, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999).

large investment in personal property and the enlistment of at least four of his adult male slaves in the United States Colored Troops during the Civil War, indicates a larger slave community.<sup>91</sup>

Despite being on separate farms, George McCreary and Mary Cropp formed a relationship that existed outside of the legal restrictions of slavery. McCreary and Cropp received permission to marry from their owners and their marriage took place sometime in the early 1860s in a church with an African American preacher named, Major Hardin. The marriage held no legal standing. After their marriage, Cropp and McCreary returned back to their separate farms unable to cohabitate. Rather than resign themselves to their separation and end their marriage, George McCreary and Mary Cropp chose to continue their marriage by interacting with each other on a limited basis. Every Saturday evening, George would travel the short distance between his master's home and his wife's master's home to visit Mary. Although not an ideal situation, both McCreary and Cropp managed to create a family during the small pieces of time that they shared. Their situation remained this way until George McCreary entered into the service of the United States Colored Troops in 1864. After he left, Mary Cropp gave birth to their daughter Elizabeth.<sup>92</sup>

A different slave family, Thomas and Jane Smiley found each other after a series of trades and deaths brought them both to the home of Joseph Patton in Moniteau, Howard County, Missouri. Thomas Smiley, who was also called Sam Smiley, first

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<sup>91</sup> Elizabeth Cropp Pension Claim for George McCreary. *1860, FC; 1860, SS*. Descriptive Recruitment lists, *Soldier's Database*.

<sup>92</sup> Little Dixie is typically described as seventeen counties that bordered or were close to the Missouri River in mid-Missouri. They were defined as having the highest slave populations prior to the Civil War. These counties are defined as Platte, Clay, Jackson, Ray, Lafayette, Carroll, Saline, Chariton, Howard, Cooper, Boone, Randolph, Shelby, Monroe, Ralls, Pike, Audrain, and Callaway counties. Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, ix-xi; Michael Fellman, *Inside War*, 6-7; *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, October 5, 1860; *1850-1900, FC*; Elizabeth Cropp Pension Claim for George McCreary.

belonged to the Reeves family in Kentucky. As a young man, Benjamin Reeves left Kentucky to start a new life in Missouri taking with him his father's slave, Thomas Smile. Reeves settled in Moniteau around 1856, and over time acquired an estate worth around eight thousand dollars and ten slaves. Thomas Smiley remained with Ben Reeves until 1857 when Reeves married and consequently decided to trade some of his slaves with his brother-in-law, Joseph Patton. Reeves selected Thomas Smiley to be traded and so he went to live with Joseph Patton. In return, Reeves received the wife and children of another slave that he owned; uniting that divided family. Including Thomas Smiley, the Pattons owned eight slaves, a number slightly higher than the average number of slaves on a farm in Missouri. Thomas Smiley met his future wife, Jane, amongst the slaves already residing at the Patton farm. They were wed in the early 1860s, shortly before Thomas enlisted in the Union Army in January of 1864.<sup>93</sup>

Not every slave couple included in this study lived on separate farms or went through an arduous series of sales and trades to be untied. Both Jerry and Sarah White worked on the farm of Fountain Roberts in Arrow Rock, a town in Saline County, Missouri. Sarah and Jerry were two of Robert's thirteen slaves on a farm that produced crops such as hay, corn and hemp. On the farm, Jerry worked the fields and Sarah worked within the home serving as nurse for the family. Lawson Roberts, the son of Fountain Roberts, recalled that from his birth in 1850 and throughout his childhood, Sarah cared for him. Jerry and Sarah lived and worked together for a number of years, sharing a cabin on the Robert's farm before their marriage in 1862, which was performed by an African-American exhorter. They had six children together, many before their

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<sup>93</sup> 1860, FC; 1860, SS; Jane Smiley Pension Claim for Thomas Smiley, Thomas Smiley, *Record of Service Card, Civil War, 1861-1865, Soldier's Database*.

unofficial marriage in 1862 and all before Jerry enlisted in the United States Colored Troops in January of 1864. It is not clear if Fountain Roberts allowed the children of Jerry and Sarah to remain with their parents or if he sold them to another owner; however, Fountain owned seven slaves under the age of thirteen in 1860. Since Sarah White's approximate age was thirty in 1860, those were possibly her children.<sup>94</sup>

Whether married or single, life in slavery necessitated an existence full of regulations and expectations for the Little Dixie slave women and their families. Although slaves tried to work around these restrictions by creating their own families and culture while in bondage, they still resided within the white household and ultimately under the control of the white male patriarch. As a result, their lives often reflected that reality. One Little Dixie slave women, Ophelia Craddock's husband, Ed, was a child during the last years of slavery, but his enslaved parents recounted their experiences to him. Ed Craddock and his mother belonged to Miles Meredith Marmaduke, whose wife was a future Founder of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Marmaduke owned a large plantation in 1860 with sixty-eight slaves and an estate valued at almost \$200,000. It was within this environment that the Craddocks experienced slavery.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> *1860, FC; 1860, SS 1860*; Sarah White Pension Claim for Jerry White; Jerry White, *Record of Service Card, Civil War, 1861-1865, Soldier's Database*. Although evidence was not available that indicated whether or not slave children remained with their families for the Little Dixie slave women, Mutti Burke's work indicates that families of her study were frequently separated. R. Douglas Hurt's study of Missouri slavery agrees with Mutti Burke as well; Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 217-230; Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 230-233.

<sup>95</sup> "Ed Craddock," Library of Congress, *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938*, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/> (Hereafter, *Born in Slavery*); *1860, FC*. William E. Foley, *The Genesis of Missouri: From Wilderness Outpost to Statehood* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 131-58; Harriet Frazier, *Runaway and Freed Missouri Slaves and Those Who Helped Them* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2004), 23-30. Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 24-50; Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri*, 57-80. Although Craddock and his mother belonged to the Sappington Family, it is unclear where his father lived or who owned him. However, Robert Craddock resided in Saline County Missouri and owned seven slaves.

Craddock and his parents witnessed firsthand the often harsh nature of the institution of slavery. Physically and mentally, slaves suffered under the restrictions of personal freedoms enforced by their owners. According to Craddock, slaves who violated the slave/master relationship, threatening the power of the white male patriarch, faced harsh retribution for their actions. For example, one slave somehow angered his master, and although the specific circumstance is not given, the man received the harsh punishment of being chained to a hemp brake overnight. While suffering the emotional punishment rendered by the separation from his slave community, the man also suffered physically. During his stay outside chained to the hemp break, the slave froze to death. Within their daily lives, owners required slaves to carry passes which gave the slaves permission to travel. Owners patrolled for slaves that traveled without passes and “flogged” those slaves unable to present a pass. In order to enforce this rule, owners assembled groups of three men to act as patrollers of the neighborhood looking to find slaves that left their farms without permission. Slaves lived with the constant fear of punishment for partaking in any of these activities.<sup>96</sup>

Mary Bell, the daughter of United States Colored Troops veteran Spotswood Rice, recalled her family’s experience in slavery. Born in 1852, Mary Bell, her mother, two brothers and three sisters belonged to Kitty Diggs from Howard County, Missouri. Although she belonged to Diggs, Mary Bell spent a large amount of her time as a hired out slave working for different families in the region, separated from her friends and family at a young age. At seven years old, Mary Bell went to live with a Presbyterian minister in order to care for his three children and one year later went to the home of a

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<sup>96</sup> “Ed Craddock,” *Born in Slavery*; Mutti Burke, *On Slavery’s Border*, 182-197; Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 5-6, 31-41.

local baker and cared for his children as well. In these positions Mary fulfilled a variety of tasks, including handing out meals to the rest of the slaves laboring the fields, working in the kitchen and collecting eggs. Mary's father, Spotswood Rice, also lived apart from his family, as the slave on the large tobacco plantation of his owner, Benjamin Lewis. Lewis operated an impressive tobacco business based on the labor of his fifty-five slaves. In 1860, his personal estate totaled almost \$370,000, with eighty percent of that value in personal property. Spotswood Rice served as a tobacco curer on the plantation, an important trade in the success of Lewis' business. Given Spotswood Rice's critical position, he remained on the Lewis plantation and was only able to see his family twice a week, when he would travel to visit them on Wednesday and Saturday nights.<sup>97</sup>

Rice's separation from his family was only one of the many trials he suffered as a slave. His daughter Mary Bell recalled that her father often arrived to visit them bearing the wounds of a beating from his overseer. On those occasions, Mary Bell's mother would clean and "grease" her husband's wounds and wash his clothes so that he could return with his injuries less noticeable. On one occasion, the overseer severely beat Rice, and in response he ran away from the plantation, despite the protestations of his wife. Rice succeeded in maintaining his freedom for three days, but during that time he was not able to cross into a free state or lose the riders that continued to search for him. After living under buildings and running from the patrol, Rice turned himself into a local slave trader, too hungry and too tired to continue his quest for freedom. Although Rice longed to be sold to another farm or plantation, he soon returned to the plantation of Benjamin Lewis and the likelihood of continued beatings.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> "Mary Bell," *Born in Slavery*.

<sup>98</sup> "Mary Bell," *Born in Slavery*.

While both white and black families lived through the same five years of Civil War, inextricably tied together by the nature of slavery and the southern household, African American families experienced the impact of the war at different times and in different ways. In many ways both groups saw the war as a catalyst for change. The southern sympathizing white family saw the war as a means of protecting slavery and their political, social, and economic systems. The African American family saw the war as a mean of emancipation and also the opportunity to gain the rights so long refused to them by the institution of slavery. As the war progressed, southern sympathizing white women saw their men die, their fortunes evaporate, and their elite status disappear. For the slave women of Little Dixie, the war also took their men and changed their lives, but as the war progressed so did the potential for change in their lives. By the end of the war in 1865, these women no longer lived as property within the white household, but instead enjoyed the freedom of emancipation and the potential of its privileges.

At the beginning of the war, the life of African Americans in Little Dixie remained very similar to their existence before the war began. Most slaves continued to labor on the farms and plantations of their owners, even as the war began to take away eligible white men for service. While the Civil War took away the sons, husbands, and fathers of southern sympathizing white women from the start of the war, the men of the Little Dixie slave women remained with their families until later in the war. The recruitment of African American soldiers began outside of Missouri in surrounding states such as Kansas and Illinois in the early years of the war, providing a location for slaves who had the courage to run away from their owners to enlist. One slave, Richard Bruner, from Saline County, Missouri, followed his freedom to Kansas early in the war. Bruner

managed to run away from his owner's farm in 1863 and enlisted in the 18<sup>th</sup> United States Colored Infantry and served three years fighting for the Union. Although Bruner succeeded in his escape, it seems that most of the men of Little Dixie's slaves chose to remain at their homes until it became legal to enlist within the state of Missouri.<sup>99</sup>

In November 14, 1863, the Union Army finally set up a system for the recruitment of slaves within the state of Missouri, although with some stipulations. General Order 135, issued by Major General Schofield, authorized Assistant Provost Marshals in Missouri to begin recruiting slaves and free black men for service in the Union Army. However, this recruitment could only occur at recruitment stations as opposed to riding around the counties recruiting slaves from farms. This measure was a means of ensuring slave owners that Union men were not "stealing slaves" from their farms. Despite these precautions slave holders frequently accused the Union Army of thievery. Brigadier General Odon Guitar, commanding officer of Northern Missouri, received numerous letters from loyal Union slave owners complaining that the army stole their slaves. In another effort to appease Union supporting slave owners, compensation in the amount of three hundred dollars was provided for allowing their slaves to enlist.<sup>100</sup>

Whether slave owners allowed their slaves to leave or the enslaved men left without the permission of their owners, African American men enlisted in the United

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<sup>99</sup> "Richard Bruner," *Born in Slavery*.

<sup>100</sup> *O.R.*, Series 3, Vol. 3, 1009-1010; Ira Berlin, et al., eds., *The Black Military Experience*, Series II in *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 188-189; Ephraim Wilson to Odon Guitar, July 27 1863, f. 7 and Orders from Gen Schofield, 1863, Odon Guitar Papers, C1007, WHMC. For more information of the service of African American men in the Union Army please see: Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1987); Leslie S. Rowland, Joseph P. Reidy and Ira Berlin, *Freedom's Soldiers: The Black Military Experience in the Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); John David Smith, *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Keith P. Wilson, *Campfires of Freedom: The Camp Life of Black Soldiers During the Civil War* (Kent, Oh.: Kent State University Press, 2002).

States Colored Troops in large numbers. Over forty percent of the total age eligible black male population, which totaled 8,344 men in Missouri, enlisted in the Union Army. According to Mary Bell, whose father Spotswood Rice enlisted in the USCT 67<sup>th</sup> in February of 1864, Rice promised his owner that he would remain on the plantation, despite his opportunity for freedom. Bell claimed that her father remained for six months on the Lewis plantation, but then decided to enlist with eleven other slaves. According to Bell, her father went to Kansas City to enlist, with patrollers following them, only to find the twelve men enlisted and no longer slaves. While it seems likely that parts of Bell's story did not occur exactly as she remembered, since her father enlisted in the city of Glasgow, in Howard County, where he resided, it is evident that many slaves left their resisting owners behind to gain their freedom and to fight for their rights.<sup>101</sup>

A majority of the Little Dixie men who enlisted in the United States Colored Troops entered into either the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment or the 67<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Of the seventeen Little Dixie men who enlisted, only three entered into a different Regiment, two in the 68<sup>th</sup> and one in the 62<sup>nd</sup>. This meant that a majority of the men went through a similar experience during their time in service. For those in the service of the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment, originally known as the Second Regiment, Missouri Volunteers of the African Descent, the beginning months of their service set the precedent for the length of their service. The 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment was formed at Benton Barracks, St. Louis, in December of 1863 and remained there for two months while the men were enlisted and prepared for their service. The Regiment endured horrible conditions while in St. Louis. Outfitted for battle with eight hundred Enfield rifled muskets, these men were armed, but lacked the

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<sup>101</sup> Ira Berlin, et.al., *Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 65. Spotswood Rice, *Record of Service Card, Civil War, 1861-1865, Soldier's Database*; "Mary Bell," *Born in Slavery*.

basic necessities for survival. Many men arrived to enlist in thin clothing and unprepared for the harsh exposure of the winter months without hats, shoes, and even food. As a result, many of the men suffered from a variety of diseases and even ailments such as the freezing of their hands, feet, and ears, which then required amputation, and their discharge from service.<sup>102</sup>

Each Missouri Regiment of the United States Colored Troops spent their initial months at Benton Barracks under the same conditions of the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment, although for varying lengths of time. Once the Regiment left the Barracks, with many of the men already in poor health, they would spend the next year and a half or more of their service suffering through a variety of poor conditions that reflected the overall inferior treatment of the enlisted colored soldiers. The 62<sup>nd</sup> Regiment, for instance, only stayed at Benton Barracks for a little over twenty days in January of 1863, before quickly moving on to their station at Port Hudson, Louisiana. From Port Hudson, the 62<sup>nd</sup> USCT moved all across Louisiana and into Texas, ending their service in Brownsville, Texas. During the first two months of service at Port Hudson the soldiers camped at a post located in the swamps with only impure water to drink. This contributed to the general decay of the soldiers' health. By September of 1864, the Regiment "suffered severely" from scurvy, causing a large number of men to lose their teeth. Despite the trials of their physical condition, these African American soldiers were also continually called upon to perform fatigue duty, which generally meant labor intensive tasks such as ditch digging and working on the fortifications of the post. The records of the 62<sup>nd</sup> USCT indicate the displeasure of the men and their leaders at their continued assignment to fatigue duty,

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<sup>102</sup> United States War Department, *Supplement to the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* (Wilmington, N.C.: Broadfoot Publishing Co., 1994),78:496.

which under General Orders no. 21, should have been equally divided among the races and not specifically assigned to the African American troops. In October of 1864, the Regiment briefly moved from fatigue duty to guard duty and according to the records, the Regiment began to perform, “the function of soldiers, not of slaves.” However, this reprieve lasted only a few days and by November of 1864, they were again ordered to work on fortifications.<sup>103</sup>

The men that enlisted in the 65<sup>th</sup>, 67<sup>th</sup>, and 68<sup>th</sup> Regiments of the United States Colored Troops experienced hardships much like those in the 62<sup>nd</sup> Regiment. Company I of the USCT 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment attributed the high death rate among their soldiers to their continued exposure to the elements, despite the damage they had already experienced as a result of their exposure to severe cold in the early months of their enlistment. Company C of the USCT 67<sup>th</sup> reported a loss of forty eight men, almost half of their company, by mid-year 1864, from disease and the continued excess of fatigue duty throughout their time in the service. The men of Little Dixie’s slave community personally endured this harsh treatment, which for many of them resulted in the contraction of illnesses and chronic diseases. For example, Mark Patrick, husband of Nancy Young, and member of the USCT 65<sup>th</sup>, company K, suffered from rheumatism and chronic diarrhea throughout much of the war.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> *Supplement to the Official Records*, 78:397-404.

<sup>104</sup> *Supplement to the Official Records*, 78:455, 78:480; Nancy Young Pension Claim for Mark Patrick.

<i>Table 2.2: Little Dixie Slave Women and their Men's USCT Information</i> <i>Woman's name, Soldier's name, and USCT service information</i>		
<i>Little Dixie Slave Woman</i>	<i>USCT Soldier's Name</i>	<i>USCT Regiment and Company</i>
Adaline Crews	Lonny Crews	65 <sup>th</sup> /F
Almeda Patterson	Martin Patterson	67th/K
Carey Morrison	Lewis Morrison	65 <sup>th</sup> /H
Celia Harvey	Charles Harvey	68 <sup>th</sup> /C
Charlotte Birch	Jack Birch	65 <sup>th</sup> /H
Elizabeth Cropp	George McCreary	65th/G
Ellen Pearson	William Pearson	62 <sup>nd</sup> /E
Harriet Sappington	George Sappington	68 <sup>th</sup> /G
Jane Smiley	Thomas Smiley	67th/A
Julia Maupin	Oliver Henry	67th/A
Maria Garth	James Garth	67 <sup>th</sup> /B
Margaret Tarwater	Preston Allen	65 <sup>th</sup> /K
Mary Bell	Spotswood Rice	67 <sup>th</sup> /A
Mary Hereford	Aaron Hereford	65th/K
Mary (Molly) Bright	Nelson Bright	65th/G
Nancy Young	Mark Patrick	65 <sup>th</sup> /K
Priscilla Boggs	Howard Boggs	67 <sup>th</sup> /G
Sarah White	Jerry White	67 <sup>th</sup> /G
Sarah Darby	John Darby	67th/D/E
Sarah Francis Prather	Jordan Prather	65 <sup>th</sup> /K

Harriet Sappington's husband, George Sappington, enlisted in the 68<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the United States Colored Troops on March 21, 1864 and was mustered into service shortly after on March 30<sup>th</sup> at Benton Barracks. Throughout George Sappington's term of service the letters he sent home to his wife detailed his struggles with illness. On July 6, 1864, the First Sergeant of Sappington's company sent a letter to Harriet Sappington informing her that her husband was "very sick" and was in a Memphis, Tennessee, "hospital." This illness attacked Sappington after his Regiment left Benton Barracks in late May and was travelling to their destination in Memphis, Tennessee. Although his Sergeant believed that George would recover from this sickness, he agreed to send home to Harriet Sappington any money George possessed, including any profit from the sale of his revolver. According to the military record of George Sappington, his sergeant was wrong in his assessment of George's health, because Sappington died the next day on July 7<sup>th</sup> from chronic diarrhea.<sup>105</sup>

Much like George Sappington, many of the male kin of the Little Dixie's slave women who enlisted in the United States Colored Troops contracted various diseases, which in some cases led to their death. Soldiers' records indicate that most of the men suffered from some type of ailment during their service. There is, for example, John Darby, who lived and worked alongside of his mother in Howard County on the farm of Ira Darby before the war. In January of 1864, Darby enlisted into the 67<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the United States Colored Troops at Fayette, Missouri. Darby survived over a year and

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<sup>105</sup> Harriet Sappington Pension Claim for George Sappington (Pvt., Co. G, 68<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 213,179, certificate no. 192,796, Civil War and Later Pension Files; *Supplement to the Official Records*, 78:491.

half of service, until he succumbed to cholera while finishing his service at Lake Providence, Louisiana, in August of 1865.<sup>106</sup>

Once enlisted into the United States Colored troops, the experience of the soldiers demonstrated the continual poor treatment of African-Americans despite their service for the Union Army and their new found freedom. As evidenced by the continual use of the colored troops to perform heavy labor or “fatigue duty,” enlistment in the army did not necessarily mean a pleasant experience for the men. One white Union officer from Saline County, Francis Audsley, discussed the treatment and opinions of white soldiers working alongside colored soldiers. When his brigade joined with a Regiment of African American soldiers, the men in his brigade “charged around” and complained about being forced to work alongside of the men. Although Francis Audsley himself admired the work of the colored troops, most of the white Union soldiers preferred not to work or fight along with the former slaves.<sup>107</sup>

While their men went off to fight in the war, some Little Dixie slave women remained behind, unable to gain their freedom through enlistment or by running away. Instead these women continued to live on the farms and plantations of their owners, not yet emancipated. The women who remained within the white household made the decision to remain for a variety of reasons. Mary Cropp stayed on her owner’s farm because she was pregnant. Unlike her husband in the Union Army, Mary had no guarantee of food or shelter if she was to leave the farm. So Cropp remained within the white household. Sarah White, the wife of Jerry White, also remained on the farm of her

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<sup>106</sup> Sarah Darby Pension Claim for John Darby (Pvt., Co. E, 65<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 322,907, certificate no. 356,017, Civil War and Later Pension Files; Pension Claim of Sarah Darby; John Darby, *Record of Service Card, Civil War, 1861-1865, Soldier's Database*.

<sup>107</sup> Francis Audsley to Harriet Audsley, Nov. 20, 1864, Francis Fairbank and Harriet Elizabeth Audsley Papers, C2374, WHMC.

owner Fountain Roberts after her husband enlisted in Company G of the United States Colored Troops 67<sup>th</sup> Regiment, in January of 1864. Sarah was the mother of six children, some of whom most likely lived at the Roberts' farm with her. Rather than try to seek employment and food for herself and her family or place herself and her children in danger, Sarah continued to work on the Roberts' farm as the nurse for their children.<sup>108</sup>

While many owners lacked the wherewithal or the desire to provide for their slaves, the farm still provided a place to live and the possibility of food and work, particularly as warfare in Missouri threatened to harm all of its citizens. For instance, Mary Bell, a slave living in Howard County, was only ten years old when her father enlisted in the Union Army. Remaining on the farm of her owner, Kitty Diggs, provided her with at least minimal security. Bell had shelter, food, and she remained with her family members. Her father, Spotswood Rice, could also locate his daughter with relative ease.<sup>109</sup>

Mary Bell lived on the Diggs' plantation, located in the township of Glasgow in Howard County, Missouri. In 1860, Bell's owner Catherine Diggs (or Kitty as Mary called her) and her husband F.W. Diggs owned a farm with 26 slaves, valued at \$27,480 with \$22,480 in personal property. In 1850, F.W. Diggs listed his profession as druggist and by 1860 he was the Mayor of Glasgow. Bell's mother, two sisters, and three brothers also lived on the Diggs' plantation. Her father, Spotswood Rice, belonged to a prominent tobacco farmer, Benjamin Lewis, and lived a short distance away from his family. Born

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<sup>108</sup> *Liberty Tribune*, February 12, 1864; Elizabeth Cropp Pension Claim for George McCreary. Sarah White Pension Claim for Jerry White.

<sup>109</sup> Elizabeth Cropp Pension Claim for George McCreary; "Mary Bell," *Born in Slavery*; Spotswood Rice to Kittey Diggs, 3 Sept. 1864, enclosed in F. W. Diggs to Genl. Rosecrans, 10 Sept. 1864, D-296 1864, Letters Received, ser. 2593, Department of the MO, U.S. Army Continental Commands, Record Group 393 Pt. 1, , in Ira Berlin, Joseph Reidy, Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, Ser. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 689-690; Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*, 75-115, Jones, *Labor of Love*, 40-43.

in 1852, Mary Bell was a young girl in slavery at the time of the Civil War, but she nonetheless performed a number of different jobs. Bell described the “hard times” of slavery and her labor while enslaved to Kitty Diggs. Diggs hired Mary Bell out to two families, because she was not needed at the Diggs’ farm. As previously mentions, Bell, worked for a Presbyterian minister’s family and then a local baker. She nursed the children, worked the kitchen, gathered eggs, and called the other slaves in for dinner. Bell claimed that “neither family was nice to me.” When Mary Bell’s father, Spotswood Rice, enlisted in the Union Army, his service created harsher conditions for Bell and her family.<sup>110</sup>

Life in slavery during the Civil War was fraught with potential danger for Missouri slaves that remained on the plantation or the farm. Slaves were vulnerable from attacks on all fronts, including the Confederate Army, the Missouri guerillas, the Union Army, and their owners. Slaves remaining in the southern sympathizing white household faced the possibility of conflict with their owners, sometimes on a daily basis. The freedom that the male slaves of Little Dixie achieved in their service to the Union Army intensified the difficulties for the women and children remaining behind. Slaves that left to enlist in the Army generally cost the owners the investment in the slave and the value of their labor. Although some owners were compensated for the loss of their slaves in the amount of \$300.00, for many slave owners that hardly covered their loss. At the same time, the family members of those disloyal slaves remained behind and were possibly the victims of the increased aggression of their owners as a result of their financial loss. For example, Perry McGee, the husband of Little Dixie slave Celia McGee, lived on a farm in Howard County when the war started. McGee recalled that as

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<sup>110</sup> 1860, *FC*; 1850, *FC*; “Mary Bell,” *Born in Slavery*.

a young boy around the age of twelve, Union soldiers carried him away from his home. According to McGee, the Union soldiers fleeing from Confederate troops during Price's Raid in 1864, stopped by his home and offered him a job "to wait on de captain." Without any answer they lifted him onto a horse and brought him back to camp where he became a source of labor and entertainment for the men. McGee worked both cleaning horses and performing tricks such as handsprings and headstands. A few days after his capture, he was rescued by one of his owner's sons.<sup>111</sup>

Mary Bell's experience demonstrates the increased tension that often existed between a slave and her owner and the continued effort of the African American community to secure their freedom and the demise of slavery. The relationship between Bell and her mistress, Kitty Diggs, became greatly strained by the enlistment of Bell's father. Mary Bell believed that her father's enlistment meant her eventual emancipation as well. Bell expressed this to her owner Kitty Diggs, which resulted in an escalating conflict between Diggs, Bell and her father Spotswood Rice. Aware of this conflict, Rice wrote to his daughter Mary Bell and his other children, asking them to stay "contented with whatever may be your lots," while living with Diggs. Rice planned on traveling with the Union Army to the home of Kitty Diggs and emancipating his children from her control. Rice had seemingly already tried to free his children or at least made clear his intention to do so, because their owner, Kitty Diggs, claimed that Rice previously tried to steal his children from her. The perspective of Diggs infuriated Rice who claimed it impossible for a man to steal his own children. As Rice tried to assert his

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<sup>111</sup> "Perry McGee," *Born in Slavery*; Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*, 75-115; Jones, *Labor of Love*, 40-43.

authority over his children, Diggs continued to assert her own will as the head of household and their owner.<sup>112</sup>

Although Mary Bell was not emancipated like her father, her belief in her future freedom and the reminder of her father's free status (through his letters) served as a constant reminder to Diggs of her diminishing power over her slaves. Spotswood Rice encouraged his daughter to vocalize her coming freedom to Diggs, when he wrote, "You can tell her that She can hold to you as long as she can." Rice also revealed his plan to free his daughter by using his "power" as a soldier of the United States Army to fight against Diggs. In order to emancipate his children, Rice planned on marching with the Union Army from his location at Benton Barracks to Howard County, with as many as eight hundred white men and eight hundred black men. Clearly Rice's own freedom and the promise of change that the Union Army and the Federal government produced seemingly bolstered Rice's position and overturned the previous balance of power between slave owner and slave. He claimed that if the Army failed to emancipate his children, the government would shortly ensure their freedom. Rice's actions intertwined the formal field of battle with the battle ground at home, demonstrating the importance of the victory not just on the battlefield but in the household as well.<sup>113</sup>

Spotswood continued his assault on Diggs, and indicating the intensity of emotional fervor about the enslavement of his children, claimed that Diggs would be his

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<sup>112</sup> Spotswood Rice to Kitty Diggs, Sept.3, 1864, enclosed in F. W. Diggs to Genl. Rosecrans, 10 Sept. 1864, D-296 1864, Letters Received, ser. 2593, Department of the MO, U.S. Army Continental Commands Group 393 Pt. 1, , in Ira Berlin, Joseph Reidy, Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, Ser. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 689-690; *Stephanie Camp, Closer to Freedom*, 117-138; Michael Fellman, "Emancipation in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 83 (October 1988): 36-56.

<sup>113</sup> Spotswood Rice to My Children, September 3, 1864, enclosed in F. W. Diggs to Genl. Rosecrans, 10 Sept. 1864, D-296 1864, Letters Received, ser. 2593, Department of the MO, U.S. Army Continental Commands, Record Group 393 Pt. 1, National Archives.

enemy and would burn in hell. According to Rice, Diggs rejected his previous offer to buy his children for forty dollars, and now he would treat Diggs as his enemy in life. Rice filled his letter with charges against Diggs, claiming that he would have the power to execute vengeance on the person that held his child from him. He also argued that when he would finally confront Diggs face to face, she would “know how to talke to me” and “know how to talk rite too,” because the government gave him “cheer” and Diggs would be unable to help herself. <sup>114</sup>

The efforts of Mary Bell and her father, Spotswood Rice, represent an attack on slavery at the most intimate level, the household. While the North fought to end slavery by defeating the South, Bell and Rice, fought to end slavery by destroying Kitty Diggs’ authority over the slaves within her own home and by asserting the power of Rice as Bell’s father. Instead of allowing Diggs to decide Mary Bell’s future, both Rice and Bell asserted Rice’s control over his own dependent/child, a fundamental breakdown in the institution of slavery. When Bell followed her father’s decisions instead of Kitty Diggs’ instructions, Bell was shooting a bullet through Diggs’ position as head of household. By challenging Diggs, the relationship between slave and owner changed, taking control away from the owner.

The relationship between Mary Bell and Kitty Diggs demonstrates the conflict that occurred between white and black women while living within the wartime household. Mary Bell and Kitty Diggs fought over slavery and emancipation; the fundamental issues of the Civil War. The opposing positions of slaveholding white women and African American women were grounded in the institution of slavery long

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<sup>114</sup> Spotswood Rice to Kitty Diggs, September 3, 1864, enclosed in F. W. Diggs to Genl. Rosecrans, 10 Sept. 1864, D-296 1864, Letters Received, ser. 2593, Department of the MO, U.S. Army Continental Commands, Record Group 393 Pt. 1, National Archives.

before the war began, but escalated in importance within the wartime household and resulted in a war at home. Mary Bell faced these fights by asserting her position and struggling to win a personal battle at home that held a great significance to their daily lives. Much like two armies heading into unavoidable battle, conflicts between these people could not be avoided. Each woman was forced to deal with these clashes on a daily basis, serving as a constant reminder of the meaning of the Civil War and that they were living with their enemy.

The response of Spotswood Rice to the owner of his daughter, Kitty Diggs, demonstrates another important change that occurred during the Civil War for enslaved African Americans. Although many would not see their emancipation until after the war ended, many recognized the destruction of the institution of slavery and the freedom and power it gave them during the war. Much like Rice, who felt empowered by his enlistment in the Union Army and his acquisition of freedom, other slaves took action in a similar way. For example, the slaves on farms such as Mary Sappington's, a slave owner in Saline County, and future Founder of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, began to take property from the farm, such as carriages, aware of the demise of the white household, and slavery. The institution was slowly crumbling in Missouri and for the slaves living there that meant the beginning of a new life.<sup>115</sup>

The slave women that left their farms often found themselves without homes, employment or money, placing them in a vulnerable predicament. They often turned to the Union Army looking for food and shelter, but the Union Army in Missouri lacked the supplies and wherewithal to provide for the thousands of slaves that expected aid. In

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<sup>115</sup> Mary Sappington to her husband William Sappington, 1863; Mary Sappington to her husband William Sappington, Sept. 1863, Unprocessed Sappington papers, WHMC.

Saline County, the Union post at Marshall overflowed with runaway women and children that needed assistance. Colonel George H. Hall appealed to his senior officers in Jefferson City, asking for assistance or “great suffering must ensue.” Hall described these women saying, “They have nothing and have no shelter.” His commanding officer instructed Hall to return the slaves to their former owners, where they would at least have shelter. In St. Louis, Ladies Contraband Relief Societies formed in an effort to help African Americans in their transition to freedom by offering shelter, employment and education. However, despite their efforts, many slave women were left to fend for themselves in the contested environment of wartime Little Dixie.<sup>116</sup>

By the end of the Civil War, life had drastically changed for the enslaved Little Dixie slave women and their families. Only a few years earlier, these enslaved women were tied to their owners and working the land for their benefit. They could not legally marry their men or chose where they were going to live. But over the course of the war, this gradually changed. Their husbands’ enlistment in the Union Army, the war’s impact on the white household and their own efforts to challenge their owners’ authority all led to the end of slavery. In fact even before the war ended, Missouri’s government voted to emancipate its slaves, in January of 1865. All of these events significantly altered the lives of the Little Dixie slave women and started a process of change that would continue throughout their continued transition from slavery to freedom.

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<sup>116</sup> Col. George H. Hall to Major James Rainsford, Sept. 18, 1863, Unentered Letters Received, ser. 2594, Dept. of the MO, RG 393 Pt. 1; E.B. Brown to Col. Geo. H. Hall, Sept. 22, 1863, vol. 225 D Mo, p. 44, Letters Sent, ser. 3372, District of Central MO, RG 393 Pt. 2 No. 217; Testimony of Ladies Contraband Society before the American Freedmen’s Inquiry Commission, (2 Dec. 1863), filed with O-328 1863, Letters Received, ser. 12, RG 98: All in Ira Berlin, et al., eds., *The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Upper South Series 1*, vol. 2 of *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 579-584.

### **CHAPTER THREE: “It is peculiarly women’s province to go about doing good:” The Founders in postwar Little Dixie**

Founding member of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Louisa Lamb, lived a life of privilege for her first twenty four years. Before her marriage, Louisa was a dependent in her father, Claiborne Fox Jackson’s household, which provided the security of wealth and status. Jackson’s estate value totaled over \$100,000 and included almost fifty slaves. Additionally, her family dominated state level politics, placing them among the politically elite of Little Dixie. In 1859, Louisa married Charles Lamb, a well-respected Missouri doctor. As a successful physician, Lamb amassed an estate valued at over \$25,000, including seven slaves. Louisa lived comfortably in both households, accustomed to class, race, and social advantage. Only six years later, Louisa’s life was entirely transformed by war. By 1865, her father, her mother, and her brother were dead, the South was defeated, and what remained of her family was torn apart. At the age of twenty four, Louisa was living in relative poverty, the wealth of her husband and her father was lost during the war and her prominence in Missouri society was also erased by Union victory. Louisa Lamb and her family faced a new reality shaped by the defeat of southern sympathizing Missourians and the Confederacy.<sup>117</sup>

The aftermath of the Civil War was a period of transition and rebuilding for women like Louisa Lamb, who would eventually become the Founders of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The war altered the social, the

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<sup>117</sup> 1860, *FC*; 1870, *FC*. *History of Saline County*, 403-406; Phillips, *Missouri’s Confederate*, 217. Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 14-16, 73; Anya Jabour, *Scarlett’s Sisters: Young Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 240-247. Both Ott and Jabour discuss the way the war changed the lives of young women, particular the expectation of their future in contrast to the post war reality.

economic, and the political situation of these women, leaving behind only remnants of their former lives and an indeterminate amount of loss. Defeat shaped their lives in every way from the personal ruin of their households to the shared devastation of their once prosperous communities. Every day choices reflected the loss brought on by the Civil War and altered decisions made by the Founders, from their marriages to their household production. From 1865 to 1885, these southern sympathizing Missouri women moved forward with their lives, dealing with the postwar chaos, adjusting to the transformation of their society, and trying to reclaim their place as respectable citizens.<sup>118</sup>

The families of the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy encountered loss in all avenues of their lives. They experienced this hardship in the form of material loss to their families: the death of their men, the destruction of homes, the end of slavery, and their financial ruin. Homes echoed with the silence of voices snuffed out by war and were haunted by the men that returned as only a fragment of their former selves. Each family experienced these material losses, although they differed in scope and pervasiveness, particularly the economic devastation resulting from the abolition of slavery. Poverty entered homes once filled with plenty, and the emptiness of the slave quarters and the fields made obvious the end of slavery. Some women, such as Louisa Lamb and her sister Anne Perkins, lost their homes as a result of the economic devastation the war had on their families. On a much broader scale, each Founder

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<sup>118</sup> Numerous works discuss the impact of the Civil War on the lives of white women in the post war period. Although they often disagree with how the women responded to the change, they all agree that their lives were completely altered. Important works on this topic include: Catherine Clinton, *Tara Revisited: Women, War, and the Plantation Legend* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995), 169-174; Laura Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore: Southern Women in the Civil War Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004 )171-186; Laura Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 107-113; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 249-50; Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 137-142; Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 129-131; Scott, *The Southern Lady*, 91-102.

experienced the war's impact on the Little Dixie region, taking towns that were once hubs of commercial and economic strength and leaving them battered and devastated.<sup>119</sup>

The war also devastated the Little Dixie region at more intimate levels of the household. Before the war, the antebellum slaveholding household provided the basic organizational structure of the South, serving as the means of political, social and economic interaction. As the heads of households, white men held the power and privilege of ruling over their dependents, which included their wives, their children, and their slaves. They also bore the responsibility of providing for and protecting his household dependents. A white woman's position of dependence in the household dictated her role, which included her contribution through "woman's work." This work included anything from sewing to managing slaves and was a necessary part of the household function, but was not valued as equal to the contributions of the patriarch. Slaves felt the "double burden" of both patriarchy and slavery because they were both dependents and the bound labor force of the white household. In their role as dependents, their labor made a critical contribution to the success of the household and ultimately its male head.<sup>120</sup>

The war ruptured this household structure starting at its foundation in the ownership of slaves. Slavery crumbled during the war as slaves asserted their right to

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<sup>119</sup> For works that discuss the loss of men during the Civil War please see: Drew Gilpin Faust, "Number on Top of Numbers": Counting the Civil War Dead" *The Journal of Military History* 70 (Oct. 2006); 995-1009; Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008); David Hacker, *The Human Cost of War: White Population in the United States, 1850-1880* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999) 41-43; Robert Kenzer, "The Uncertainty of Life: A Profile of Virginia's Civil War Widow's" in Joan E. Cashin ed., *The War Was You and Me: Civilians in the American Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 112-135. Works that discuss the post war household include: Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household*, 115-12; Turner, *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood*, 6-7; Edwards, *Gender Strife and Confusion*, 107-11.

<sup>120</sup> Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 38-39. For other works that discuss the household please see: McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*; Nancy Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*.

freedom by rejecting the authority of their white owners or simply left the household. Without the slaves to labor in the fields, white men could no longer depend on agriculture for their livelihood. With their slaves and their profession gone, these men also lost their money and economic standing. They became recognized, not as leaders and respected member of the community, but as traitors to the Union and the disreputable losers of the war. Their act of treason against the Union also meant their political disenfranchisement from Missouri's political system. They systematically lost all that made them "men." At the same time, their women moved into a position of increased importance during the war. With their men serving in the Confederate State's Army or as guerilla soldiers, women stepped up to positions of leadership within their homes. They managed farms, supervised slaves, and ran households. Additionally, their work which included the domestic production of goods such as food and clothing played an important role in supporting the Confederacy. As their men faltered, women established themselves as significant actors in their families and communities. Despite having lost their standing, their power and the basic structure of their society, the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy moved forward with their lives. Futures that were filled economic security and status in 1861, transformed into a struggle to rebuild and pull together their shattered lives.<sup>121</sup>

Four years of warfare not only changed the societal structure of Little Dixie, it altered the physical bodies of the Founders of the Missouri Association. By the time the war ended, these women were four years older, a significant change for this particular group. Thirteen of the total twenty founding members of the Missouri Association (or sixty-five percent) lived through the entire war. Born before the war began, their average

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<sup>121</sup> Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 144-145; Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*, 107-144.

age in 1865 was twenty years old. Five years earlier their average age was only fifteen. These women experienced their “coming of age” during the Civil War. “Coming of age” was the transformation of a young woman into adulthood and included important events such as menstruation and receiving an education. Young women also increasingly took on new responsibilities in preparation for the pinnacle of this process, marriage. When a young woman married, she was no longer a child. As the Civil War ended, the Founders of the Missouri Association were ready to enter into adulthood.<sup>122</sup>

Eight of the thirteen Founders, who were of marital age, married between the years 1865 and 1875. Those seven members of the founding twenty born after the war, between 1869 and 1876, were the children of marriages occurring in that same period. So, although those seven Founders did not live through the war, their parents were of the same generation as the older Founders, the generation that lived through the war. In total, eighty-five percent of the Founders or their parents were in their teens when the war began and ready to marry by the war’s end. Seventy-five percent of the Founders of the Missouri Association or their parents married in the ten years following the Civil War. Only three Founders entered into marriage before the Civil War and one married during

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<sup>122</sup> 1860, *FC*; 1870, *FC*; 1880, *FC*. Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 6-13. This study agrees with Ott’s classification of women “coming of age” to be between twelve and eighteen. As Ott notes, young women experienced significant changes between their early teens and their twenties. Noted events included menstruation and receiving an education. The adolescent period officially ended with marriage usually occurring in the early twenties. This is significant for two reasons. First, the founding members of the Missouri Association understood the events of the war and the changing world around them because of their age. They were not too young to comprehend that the war was devastating their society. Secondly, that devastation altered their “coming of age” process. As young women living at home before the war, the Founders and their families lived in prosperity and relative security. After the war these women would start their own families without that security, without slavery and without the guarantee of inheritance or class and race status. Other works that address the importance of age: Anya Jabour’s, *Scarlett’s Sisters: Young Women in the Old South*; Jane Turner Censer’s *North Carolina Planters and Their Children, 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984).

the war. Annie Aull, the only Founder not accounted for in any of these groups, came from a marriage that occurred in 1859, and she was only seven in 1865.<sup>123</sup>

The age of the Founders of the Missouri Association also directly corresponded to the death of male family members during the war. Since most of the Founders' fathers, brothers and sons did not enter into any type of service for the Confederacy; they did not die. As the fathers of fifteen years old women, many of the Founders' fathers were too old to serve and therefore their brothers were too young, and their sons were not yet born. That does not mean their families did not experience the loss of their relatives; instead for many of the Founders it simply means the loss did not take place in their immediate families. Those Founders above the median age did lose husbands. For example, Founder Kate Doneghy married before the war and lost her husband during the conflict. At the war's end, all of the younger Little Dixie Founders married men who had enlisted in the aid of the Confederacy.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> 1860, FC; 1870, FC; 1880, FC.

<sup>124</sup> Faust, *Republic of Suffering*, 148. The relationship between the founding members of the UDC and a fallen soldier is highly significant. Historian Caroline Janney argues in her work *Burying the Dead, But Not the Past*, that Founders of memorial organizations experience no loss of life during the war and that their motivation for memorialization was purely political. However this dissertation argues that these women experienced a great deal of loss not just through the death of a soldier, but in the loss of their wealth, slaves, land, etc. Additionally, these women were directly tied to surviving Confederate soldier through marriage. Their memorial work reflected the service of their husbands and although had political implications, directly related the Civil War.

While a majority of the Founders escaped the death of family members during the war, a few of Founders felt the anguish of losing a husband, father, and brother. Kate Doneghy, Founder of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Jackson County, Missouri, watched her husband James enlist in the Confederate Army in 1862 along with his brother John Doneghy. Both James and John Doneghy died as soldiers of the South, only a few days separated from each other in August of 1862. Founders Anne Perkins and her sister Louisa Lamb also lost family members. Their father Claiborne Fox Jackson, his wife Eliza Jackson, and his son Claiborne Fox Jackson Jr., all died throughout the long years of warfare. Claiborne and Eliza Jackson both died from illness during the war, Claiborne from stomach cancer and Eliza from a congestive chill. Their family members believed that the stress of the war and the harsh conditions of their living environment played a role in their demise, particularly Eliza Jackson, living on the frontier of Texas. The younger Jackson died in the service of the Confederate Army in Laredo, Texas, after his father enlisted him in the Missouri Militia as part of his effort to raise troops for the South. Buried outside of Missouri during the war, only in 1871 were the bodies of both Claiborne Jackson and his wife moved to Missouri for

In 1865, Founders Ellen Gaw Asbury, Mattie Minter and Lizzie Fisher reached the ages of twenty-two, sixteen, and twenty-one respectively. The war seriously limited their potential choice of husbands. It is estimated that over 30,000 men fought for the Confederacy from Missouri, and although there are no exact figures available, thousands of them died. Across the entire South, eighteen percent of white men of military age/marital age, died. Finding a husband presented a challenge for women of marriageable age because of this loss, but because of the stigma associated with remaining single, many women overlooked a suitor's shortcomings. For example, serious injury plagued many of those men who were lucky enough to survive the war; scarring them both physically and mentally. Other women accepted men that were significantly older or no longer wealthy. Despite these complications, Ellen Gaw Asbury, Mattie Minter and Lizzie Fisher each married a returning Confederate soldier within ten years of the war's end.<sup>125</sup>

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reburial at the family cemetery. Unable to locate their brother Claiborne Fox Jr.'s body, he remained in Texas in an unmarked grave.

*Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri During the Sixties*, 215; Missouri Soldiers Enlistment Card of James Doneghy, *Record of Service Card, Civil War, 1861-1865, Soldier's Database; 1860, FC*; Park and Morrow, *Women of the Mansion*, 126-130; E.D. Pearson to W.B. Sappington, January 10, 1872, John Sappington Family Papers, C1027, box 3, folder 79, WHMC; *Jefferson City People's Tribune*, February 7, 1872; *Missouri Statesmen*, April 12, 1871.

<sup>125</sup> 1870, *FC*, 1880, *FC*. E. Susan Barber, "The White Wings of Eros: Courtship and Marriage in Confederate Richmond," in *Southern Families at War: Loyalty and Conflict in the Civil War South*, ed. Catherine Clinton (Oxford: Oxford University, 2000), 126-127; Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 124-125. Jane Turner Censer, *The Reconstruction of Southern White Womanhood, 1865-1895*, 32-50. Historian Jane Turner Censer argues in her work, *The Reconstruction of Southern White Womanhood, 1865-1895*, that a notable increase occurred in the number of women choosing to remain single after the Civil War. She notes that this was possibly because of the large number of men killed in the war, but also reflects the changing dynamics of southern families. Despite Censer's findings, all the founding members of the Missouri Association married. Other works that address marriage after the war include: Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, & the Law in the Nineteenth Century South*; Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*; Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*.

<i>Table 3.1: Founder's Age and Marital Status</i> <i>Woman's name, Age in 1865, and Marital status</i>				
<i>Name</i>	<i>Age in 1865</i>	<i>Marital Status</i>		
		<i>Married before 1865</i>	<i>Married between 1865-1875</i>	<i>Parents married between 1865-1875</i>
Elizabeth Robert	31	X		
Felicia Beall	21		X	
Ann Perkins	19	X		
Louisa Gaiennie	15		X	
Zemula Marmaduke	12		X	
Clara Wilson	20		X	
Mary Ball	b.1869			X
Mattie Minter	16		X	
Kate Doneghy	35	X		
Maggie Pritchett	b.1870			X
Lizzie Fisher	21		X	
Louisa Lamb	24	X		
Ethel Cunningham	b.1874			X
Susie Mason	b.1869			X
Mary Prosser	b.1876			X
Lena Sexton	b.1871			X
Ellen Asbury	22		X	
Annie Todhunter	10		X	
Clementine Williams	b.1876			X
Annie Aull	7	parents in (1859)		

In November of 1865, Ellen Knox Gaw, future Founder of the Missouri Association married her husband Ai Edgar Asbury. The Gaw family was a highly

respected family in Little Dixie, owning and operating a dry goods business in Lafayette County both before and after the war. The war took its toll on the Gaws, costing them a great deal of property, specifically \$15,000 in personal property which included twelve slaves. After returning from his years of service in the Confederate Army, Ai Edgar Asbury settled in Little Dixie looking to start his career. He originally planned to practice law; however, post-war legislation prohibited former Confederate soldiers from this profession and others as well, including preaching as a minister or holding political office. The mercantile business presented a viable alternative for Ai Asbury, particularly because it provided Ellen Gaw's family with measurable wealth prior to the war and his brother was already working for the Gaw family as a merchant. So, Ai Asbury started his career with the Gaw family business after the war and married Ellen Gaw shortly thereafter.<sup>126</sup>

Fifteen of the twenty Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy or their parents followed Ellen Gaw Asbury's path and married following the war. Lizzie Fisher married her husband Charles after he returned home from his service in the Confederate Army. Mattie Minter also married her husband Claude Minter after the war and began a family. Creating new families contributed to the reconstruction of these people's lives. As they started their own families, they also began to reestablish the gendered hierarchy of the pre-war household. Although slavery was abolished, marriage and children bolstered these defeated men, making them responsible for dependents and

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<sup>126</sup> "Ai Edgar Asbury," *History of Lafayette County, Mo...*(St. Louis, Mo.: Historical Company, 1881), 641-644. The Iron Clad Oath restricted Missourians from practicing law, preaching and a number of professions after the Civil War. Joseph Ranney, *In the Wake of Slavery: Civil War, Civil Rights, and the Reconstruction of Southern Law* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 2006), 36-37; Isidor Loeb, *Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions in Missouri* (Columbia, Mo.: The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1920), 21.

reassuming their role as head of household. Especially for young men that served in the defeated Confederate Army, starting their own lives and families outside of their father's home, constituted an important step towards regaining part of their power lost during the Civil War.<sup>127</sup>

Founders of the Missouri Association and their families also reconnected with other southern sympathizers through marriage. Although wrapped in words of romance and love, marriage held political and social significance. Many of the age eligible men in the region served the Confederacy and when a woman married a former soldier it demonstrated their continued support for the South and its defeated men. These men and women entering into marriage with someone that shared their values, beliefs and experiences frequently married into families that resembled their own. These families were slave owning before the war, they shared political allegiance, and they both experienced the post war consequences of their allegiance to the Confederate cause. Marriage not only contributed to the reestablishment of white men's position in the social order, it also served to strengthen ties between families and build community among southern sympathizers.<sup>128</sup>

The Sappington, Marmaduke, and Jackson families were already known for their proclivity to marry cousins or within specific families before the war. This tradition continued after the war and became common among other Founders as well. The Marmaduke men frequently married their cousins, or in the case of Leslie and Darwin Marmaduke, both married sisters from the Crawford family of Alabama. After the Civil War, Meredith Marmaduke and Lavinia Marmaduke both married members of the Bruce

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<sup>127</sup> Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 119-121; Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*, 131-132; Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*, 188-189.

<sup>128</sup> Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 120-122; Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household*, 142-143.

family of Missouri, with Meredith marrying Mary Bruce and Lavinia marrying William Bruce. Intermarriage of southern sympathizers was also common among other Founders' families, including the Sexton family. Lena Sexton, future Founder of the Fayette Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, was the sister in law of Octavia Water, Paul's sister. Octavia's daughter, Maggie Waters, married Stonewall Pritchett. Maggie Pritchett would also become a founding member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Founders Mena Mason and Letha Kuhn were also sister-in-laws.<sup>129</sup>

Although common, not all of the Founders married familial relations. Others relied upon community ties, economic partnerships, and family friendships to help determine their husbands. Although Little Dixie experienced an influx of new residents during the late 1860s and early 1870s, all the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy married into established families that lived in Little Dixie and Missouri before the war began. Miss Mary Prosser followed this pattern exactly. The Prosser family established themselves in Little Dixie in the early 1840s, migrating from the state of Virginia. Mary's grandfather, Lewis Prosser, worked as a physician, while her father farmed for his family and became a clerk in the dry goods business. After spending several years in these professions, Prosser joined together with Tyson Dines, a well-respected minister of Little Dixie, to invest in a mercantile business. After partnering with Dines, Lewis Prosser also married his daughter Mary Dines. In this instance, their

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<sup>129</sup> 1870, *FC*; 1880, *FC*; *History of Saline County History*, 403-406; Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household*, 142-143; The Crawford sister's lived in Alabama prior to their marriages to the Marmaduke brothers. Zemula and Mary's father, James Crawford worked as a commission merchant and was extremely wealthy. His estate in 1860 was valued at \$140,000 in real estate and \$300,000 in personal property which included over 140 slaves. Bruce Family was also wealthy. In 1860 the Federal Census listed the value of Aaron Bruce's (William Bruce's father) estate at \$90,000 in real estate and \$27,000 in personal property which included twenty-three slaves.

shared community and eventually business partnership brought Lewis and Mary together.<sup>130</sup>

Both new and old marriages alike faced the harsh realities of economic devastation after the war, as many Founders and their families went from positions of wealth and prosperity to relative deprivation. Without the potential to inherit their parents' wealth the Founders' men needed to find a source of income. Although their families previously dominated agricultural production in the state, the Founders' men did not return to farming. For some, this was because they lost their land during the war or sold it after the war ended for money. The predominant issue was, however, the loss of the slaves. These men moved away from agriculture, choosing instead to abandon the profession rather than hire on paid labor and adjust to the new technologically driven farming that entered the region. Instead they found jobs as bankers, lawyers, merchants and business men, while immigrants into the Mid-Missouri area farmed the land once owned by the Founders' families. By 1880, only one family of the founding twenty members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy still worked in agriculture.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Prosser's name was spelled both Louis and Lewis. *History of Howard and Cooper Counties*, 403; 1880, *FC*; Parrish, *A History of Missouri*, 3: 99. Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household*, 144; Susan Lesbock, *Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860* (New York: Norton, 1984), 15-23; Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress*, 59-65.

<sup>131</sup> 1870, 1880, *FC*; *History of Howard and Cooper Counties*, 403. Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 126; Geiger, "Missouri's Hidden Civil War," 162-182; Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie*, 301-306; Parrish, *A History of Missouri*, 3: 229-232. Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household*, 129-131; Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 119-121; Scott, *Southern Lady*, 106-107. For other works that discuss economic change in the post war period please see: Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Riedy, *From Slavery to Agrarian Capitalism in the Cotton Plantation South, 1800-1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* (New York, 1986). Studies indicate that farming continued in Missouri, but by a different population of people. The large immigrant population that entered the state continued farming on small farms, working on crops such as corn and wheat. Those with large farmers prior to the war that grew crops such as hemp faltered. The economy of Missouri also shifted in the years after the Civil War. Please see the following readings which discuss the nature of Missouri's postwar economic transition: Timothy R. Mahoney, *River Towns in the Great West: The Structure of Provincial Urbanization in the American Midwest, 1820-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990),

The children of former Missouri Governor and Little Dixie social elite, Claiborne Fox Jackson, Anne Perkins and Louisa Lamb, experienced these changes in perhaps the most drastic reversal of fortunes among the Founders. The Jackson family returned to Saline County, Missouri, from Red River County, Texas where they had refuged during the war. The most obvious way in which their lives were transformed was through the loss of family members. While living in Texas during the war, Claiborne Jackson, his wife Eliza, and his son Claiborne Fox Jr., all died. At the same time new members joined the family, when during the war Ann Jackson married John Perkins and both Ann (Perkins) and Louisa (Lamb) gave birth. Once the newly configured Jackson family returned to Missouri, the Perkins family and the Lamb family both began a new chapter of their lives.<sup>132</sup>

Huge financial losses further complicated wartime familial change for Ann Perkins. In 1860, before the war began, her father Claiborne Fox Jackson boasted an estate valued at \$49,000 in real estate and \$71,500 in personal property, which included his forty-eight slaves. The financial position of his family was secured through his last will and testament which divided his estate between his wife and his five children, leaving one third of it to his wife and the rest to be equally divided among his children, including his two daughters Ann Perkins and Louisa Lamb. Based on the value of his estate in 1860, each child would receive around \$16,000 in estate and property. The economic toll of the Civil War on the Jackson family was great. Without any significant

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William E. Parrish, *A History of Missouri*; Stanley Engerman, "The Economic Impact of the Civil War." *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History* 3, no. 3 (1966): 176-199; Mark Geiger, "Missouri's Hidden Civil War."

<sup>132</sup> Jerena East Griffin, *The First Ladies of Missouri* (Jefferson City, Mo.: Griffin Enterprises, 1996), 80-82; Park and Morrow, *Women of the Mansion*, 129-30; *History of Saline County*, 403-406; Christopher Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*, 274-276; Richard Lowe and Randolph Campbell, "Slave Property and the Distribution of Wealth in Texas, 1860," *The Journal of American History* 63, no. 2 (Sept. 1976): 316-324.

revenue brought in from their Missouri farm and with the continued costs of providing for their family, the once prosperous family faced economic ruin.<sup>133</sup>

When the Jackson family returned to Saline County all that remained of Claiborne Jackson's estate was his land and home. But without the capital to invest in labor and supplies, the land became a burden. Founders Anne Jackson Perkins and Louisa Lamb moved into their own homes that were separate from their father's estate, but still maintained control over the remaining portions of his land and home. In the spring of 1871, disaster struck when Fox Castle, the Jackson family's prewar home, burned to the ground and the family could not afford to rebuild it. Shortly thereafter, the burden of paying taxes on their father's estate became too much and William Sappington (uncle to Jackson's children) confiscated the land. Their debt totaled over \$5,000 in back taxes on the land and property. Sappington expressed no sympathy and as possessor of a deed of trust on the land simply confiscated it, erasing the legacy of Claiborne Jackson and his wealth.<sup>134</sup>

Although Ann's inheritance promised her numerous slaves and property, her family's estate totaled only \$1000 in 1870, a small number compared to her previous wealth. The war devastated the wealth of her family, leaving Ann Perkins and her husband with no other alternative but to work a small farm in Saline County by themselves, but after a few years they gave it up as hopeless. John Perkins became a clerk in a shop and later invested into an agriculture equipment sales business. By 1900

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<sup>133</sup> *1860, FC*; Last Will and Testament of Claiborne Fox Jackson, 1862, Will Book B, Saline County, 138-140, microfilm reel 11591, Missouri State Archive, Jefferson City, Missouri, Missouri Arrow Rock Wills.

<sup>134</sup> E.D. Pearson to W.B. Sappington, January 10, 1872, John Sappington Family Papers, C1027, box 3 folder 79; William S. Jackson File, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Missouri Records, C3188, folder 150, WHMC; *Jefferson City People's Tribune*, February 7, 1872; *Missouri Statesmen*, April 12, 1871; Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*, 295.

he had settled on practicing law, a far cry from his early work. The experience of Louisa Lamb, Ann's sister, was similar. She settled in the northern part of Missouri in Marion County after the war. Her husband, Charles Lamb, was a physician in Hannibal, Missouri. In 1870, his estate was valued at only \$300. Although Charles Lamb was a successful doctor before the war began, he was unable to maintain his wealth and property during the war. In 1870, his total wealth only represented one percent of his prewar estate which amounted to \$20,250 in real estate and \$5,000 in personal property, including the ownership of seven slaves.<sup>135</sup>

Economic despair spread through the Jackson family as Ann and Louisa's brothers and sisters suffered a similar fate. When Claiborne Jackson and Eliza Sappington married, they already had children with previous spouses. Dr. John Sappington, father of Eliza and grandfather to all of Eliza's children, expressed concern about their wellbeing. He was primarily concerned that Claiborne Jackson would inherit his twenty-five slaves and 4,500 acres of property in Saline County, leaving his grandchildren destitute. Prior to his death, Sappington tried to ensure their protection by setting up individual estates for his grandchildren. Sappington managed their each grandchild's assets, protecting and enlarging their personal wealth. In 1853, he made further efforts to secure his grandchildren's wealth by dictating in his will the division of \$55,000 worth of land amongst his heirs and the remaining estate split into seven parts, with the grandchildren receiving one seventh. However, Sappington's efforts were in vain. He died in 1856 and by 1870, his grandchildren saw little evidence of their

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<sup>135</sup> *1860-1900, FC; History of Howard and Cooper Counties*, 433. Park and Morrow, *Women of the Mansion*, 126-130. *1870, FC*. Joan Eakin Chiles, *Branded As Rebels: A List of Bushwhackers, Guerrillas, Partisan Rangers, Confederates and Southern Sympathizers from Missouri During the War Years* ( Lee's Summit, MO : J.C. Eakin & D.R. Hale, 1995), 22.

grandfather's work. For example, Eliza's son Erasmus Pearson, worked as a preacher with five children and an estate worth \$1500 and his brother John worked as a physician with an estate of only \$100.<sup>136</sup>

Many of the other Founders of the Missouri Association shared the economic decline experienced by the Jackson family and their kin. Parents of the Founders with established wealth saw their fortunes disappear during the war. Mary Dines and her daughter, future Founder Mary Prosser, spent most of the war living outside of St. Louis, while their father/husband was imprisoned in the city for his support of the Confederacy. After the war, they relocated back to Little Dixie. Reverend Dines and his family survived the war, although they were targeted by the occupying Union forces because they feared his influence as a preacher would help rally support for the Confederacy. His difficulties continued into the postwar period because the new Drake Constitution would again limit his ability to preach the Gospel. Once a prosperous family with an estate totaling almost \$7000; in 1870 the Tyson family lived on an estate valued at around \$100. Dines also turned to business for his profession, opening a dry goods business with Lewis Prosser.<sup>137</sup>

Sidney Cunningham, father of future Founders Ethel and Mary Cunningham, returned home to Missouri after serving the Confederacy with only a silver twenty five cent piece. Together with his wife Mary, daughter of Larkin Woods, whom he married in

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<sup>136</sup> 1850-1870, *FC*; *History of Saline County*, 421; Sappington Family Papers, C2889, WHMC; Michael Dickey, *Arrow Rock: Crossroads of the Missouri Frontier, Friends of Arrow Rock Publishing* (Arrow Rock, Missouri, 2004), 172. Thomas B. Hall, "John Sappington," *Missouri Historical Review* 24 (January 1930): 177; Thomas B. Hall, II and Thomas B. Hall III, *Dr. John Sappington of Saline County, Missouri: 1776-1856* (Arrow Rock, Mo.: Friends of Arrow Rock, 1975).

<sup>137</sup> Diary of Mary Stakes Dines, Mary Stake Dines Collection, C524, WHMC.; "Civil War Parole of Tyson Dines, 1862," Dines, Mary Stakes Collection, C524, WHMC; William M. Leftwich, *Martyrdom in Missouri*, 435; *History of Howard and Cooper Counties*, 403; 1860, *FC*; 1870, *FC*. The Drake Constitution passed in 1865, limited the ability of southern sympathizing preachers to return to the pulpit. 1870, *FC*; Loeb, *Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions*, 454-460. Parrish, *History of Missouri*, 3: 254-55.

1867, the Cunninghams tried to build a new life together. Sidney Cunningham spent a few years trying to find his chosen profession, exploring options such as teaching and medicine, but ultimately settling on becoming an apothecary. This career brought in some money, but his estate in 1870 was only around \$1,200, which seemed miniscule in comparison to the large estate of his wife's father, Larkin Woods, that in 1860 was valued at more than \$32,000 in real and personal estate.<sup>138</sup>

Even those families that managed to hold on to a portion of their antebellum wealth throughout the war, experienced some financial loss. Future Founder Ellen Gaw Asbury and her husband, Ai Asbury, managed to retain some of their antebellum financial position. Ai Asbury worked at Ellen's father's dry goods store in Fayette, Missouri. Their enormous wealth prior to the war was still dramatically decreased. Phillip M. Gaw, Ellen's father boasted a prewar estate of almost \$34,000 but after the war this fell by almost a half to \$15,000. His son-in-law, Ai Asbury worked for his dry goods business and reported a solid, \$8600 estate. Phillip Gaw primarily suffered the loss of personal property, which generally represented slave ownership before the war. His personal estate fell from \$26,500 in 1860 to only \$500 in 1870. Additionally, post war inflation meant the value of these estates changed during the war, making an estate that remained the same, really worth less. Most remarkably, only William Sappington managed to retain most of his estate during the war and even claimed a slightly larger estate in 1870. The other Founders, including the other Sappington and Marmaduke

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<sup>138</sup> 1870, *FC*.

family members, experienced a dramatic loss of economic status, essentially undermining their elite financial status and position of the prewar years.<sup>139</sup>

Overall the economic situation of most of the Founders of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy looked bleak in the early years after the war. Even those best able to maintain their financial assets during the war felt the impact of emancipation. The end of slavery wreaked havoc on the southern household order by liberating African-Americans from the domination of white slave owners, and in doing so eradicated their labor force and destroyed their capital investment in human property. The families of the Founders were greatly invested in the institution of slavery, with most families owning more than the state average of six slaves. As a result they saw the greatest economic loss with the emancipation of the slaves, as evidenced by the fact that their estate values fell at least by half. Since every founding member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, except for perhaps one, held some relationship to slavery either through their family or their husbands' family, they all felt the economic loss of their slaves.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> 1860, FC; 1870, FC. "Ai Edgar Asbury," *History of Lafayette County, Mo...* (St. Louis, Mo.: Historical Company, 1881), 534-535. Geiger, "Missouri's Hidden Civil War," 96-98; Clarence Long, *Wages and Earnings; in the United States, 1860-1890* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 109-118.

<sup>140</sup> 1860, SS; Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*, 116-124; Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 139-166; Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 300-307; Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 149-155.

<b>Table 3.2: Changing Occupations of the Founder's Men</b>				
<i>Founder's name/husband's name, Husband's occupation (may also be father when noted)</i>				
<i>Founder's Name/ Husband's Name</i>	<i>Husband's Occupation in 1860</i>	<i>Husband's Occupation in 1870</i>	<i>Husband's Occupation In 1880</i>	<i>Husband's Occupation in 1900</i>
Elizabeth Robert/ P.G Robert	clergyman	clergyman	clergyman	n/a
Felicia Beall/ William Beall	military	merchant	commission merchant	n/a
Ann Perkins/ John Perkins	agriculture	agriculture	business clerk	lawyer
Louisa Gaiennie/ Frank Gaiennie	agriculture	n/a	general commission merchant	owns advertising company
Zemula Marmaduke/ Leslie Marmaduke	agriculture	n/a	farm implement	alcohol business
Clara Wilson/ R.E. Wilson	druggist	n/a	commission traveler	merchant booker
Mary Ball/ R.E. Ball	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Mattie Minter/ Claude Minter	agriculture	agriculture	commission merchant	elevator company
Kate Doneghy/ James Doneghy	agriculture	n/a	merchant	merchant
Maggie Pritchett/ Stonewall Pritchett	n/a	minister	school teacher	lawyer
Lizzie Fisher/ Charles Fisher	agriculture	agriculture	agriculture	agriculture
Louisa Lamb/ Charles Lamb	doctor	doctor	doctor	deceased (son is a restaurant owner)
Ethel Cunningham/ Sidney Cunningham (father)	agriculture	physician	county clerk	capitalist
Susie Mason/ H.P. Mason	newspaper	newspaper	newspaper	editor
Mary Prosser/ Lewis Prosser (father)	agriculture	agriculture	owner of dry goods store	owner of dry goods store
Lena Sexton/ Paul	n/a	n/a	apprentice tailor	tailor
Ellen Gaw Asbury/ Ai Edgar Asbury	lawyer	store clerk	owner of dry goods store	owner of dry goods store/banker
Annie Todhunter/ Paul	agriculture	agriculture	agriculture	stock broker

Ryland Todhunter				
Clementine Williams/ Milton Williams (father)	agriculture	agriculture	trader	land lord
Annie Aull/ William Aull	merchant	merchant	merchant	lawyer

While the Founders and their men were dealing with their postwar economic devastation, they were also experiencing political disempowerment. Before the Civil War, the Founders' men dominated state level politics, holding office in various positions including Governor. After the Confederate's defeat, Missouri Radicals now in office, set out to restrict the political activity of men who aided in the Confederate cause, starting with the passage of the Drake Constitution on April 10<sup>th</sup> of 1865. The new Constitution required a Test Oath of loyalty which stated that, "no person shall be deemed a qualified voter who has ever been in armed hostility to the United States...or has ever given aid, comfort, countenance, or support to persons engaged in any such hostility." Further Amendments to the Constitution banned the practice of law, preaching the gospel and working as an educator for southern sympathizers unable to take the oath. These restrictions could hardly be avoided by the male members of the Founders' families, leaving them politically powerless to help support their families.<sup>141</sup>

While southern sympathizing white men saw their worlds crumble around them, newly freed black men were for the first time empowered to take up the position of heads of their own households. The freedom of former slaves served as a constant reminder of

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<sup>141</sup> Isidor Loeb, *Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions*, 19- 22; *Saline County History*, 374; *History of Howard and Cooper Counties*, 1883, 278-282; "Charles D Drake, 1865 MO Constitution," *Missouri Historical Review*, 54 (1 October 1959): 1. Parrish, *History of Missouri*, 3:118-122; Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*, 287; Thomas S. Barclay, "The Test Oath for the Clergy in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, 19 (October 1924): 345-381.

the inability of southern white men to win the war, protect their families, and control their households. The fact that many of their former male slaves enlisted in the Union Army and made a critical contribution to the defeat of southern sympathizers simply served to further fuel their discontent. For example, in Howard County, Missouri, 930 slaves met the requirements for active duty in the Union Army and over 600 slaves enlisted. In total, forty percent (or 8,344) of African American Missouri men enlisted in the Union Army. Unable to express themselves through formal political channels and shamed economically, southern sympathizing men and women lashed out at the former slaves in written, verbal, economic, and physical attacks against the free black community.<sup>142</sup>

The *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, a southern sympathizing newspaper published in Lafayette County after the Civil War, became a voice for former slave owning southerners across Little Dixie. The newspaper became a venue for those looking to express their resentment and frustration over their defeat in the war and the end of slavery. Articles depicting the African-American community as an idle population that survived by stealing livestock and produce from the local white community were common. Citizens of Little Dixie confirmed these claims, by sending in long lists of property, they claimed as having been stolen by freedmen. Other articles described the various “wrongs” allegedly committed by freedmen against their families, particularly against women. The most common complaint centered on the charge of “idleness” amongst the black population as many white households turned to the black community

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<sup>142</sup> 1860, SS; *History of Howard and Cooper Counties*, 279. Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 292-307; Blassingame, “The Recruitment of Negro Troops in Missouri,” *Missouri Historical Review* 58 (April 1964):326-38; Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland, eds. , *The Black Military Experience*, 188-189, 236-238. Ira Berlin, et.al., *Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 65. Other works that discuss the tension between former owners and their slaves include: Bardaglio, *Reconstruction the Household*; Bercau, *Gendered Freedoms*; Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*; Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*; Ott, *Confederate Daughters*; Tuner Censer, *Reconstructing Southern White Womanhood*.

to hire as wage laborers. Reports from Lexington claimed that many white men searched to hire labor, but only succeeded in finding a black community unwilling to work. In reality, these African American men and women were not idle, but laboring in their own households rather than white households.<sup>143</sup>

Written attacks against the free black community posed a relatively mild threat compared to the growing white violence against them in Little Dixie. The *Columbia Statesman*, a Little Dixie newspaper, reported an increasing number of attacks against the black community in the years following the Civil War, with the most incidents occurring in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Attacks against African-Americans, particularly men, included assault, mob violence and lynching. In 1872, Governor G. Gratz Brown was even moved to send an investigative team to Saline County, after reports surfaced of a massacre of free people of color, although the white citizens of Saline denied the claim.<sup>144</sup>

Many of the violent attacks against the black community occurred after they were accused of criminal behavior. Reports of unlawful behavior, whether true or fabricated, served to reinforce the resentment of the white community or perhaps were generated out of that resentment and spurred them to violence. Accusations of rape, which were relatively infrequent prior to the Civil War, became more common during the immediate post-war period. As African American men formed their own families, charges of rape portrayed them as sexually deviant and violent, rather than responsible heads of

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<sup>143</sup> *Lexington Caucasian*, May 1866. Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 59-60; Laura Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*, 147-52, 166-67; Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract*, 189.

<sup>144</sup> *Columbia Statesman*, 1860-1880. Issues of the *Statesman* that report issues with the black community include but are not limited to: February 24, 1865; May 19, 1865; September 8, 1865; September 29, 1865; October 6, 1865; June 28, 1867; May 1, 1868; June 19, 1868; December 25, 1868. *Columbia Statesman*, January 12, 1872; *History of Saline County*, 383; Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*, 85-89, 117-119, Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 149-150.

households. This helped to undermine the success of black men in their role as heads of households, while white men faltered. Punishment for these supposed crimes often occurred before the accused received a trial. Accusation became a powerful tool for southern sympathizing Missourians looking to regain their lost power over the black population. This reaction reiterated to the black community that while slavery ended, the former white slave owners would not allow a straight forward transition from slavery to freedom.<sup>145</sup>

In addition to the rise of a free black community, the postwar environment of Little Dixie served as another reminder to the Founders' men of their failure during the Civil War. Little Dixie suffered during the years of warfare in Missouri, taking once thriving towns and turning them into vanquished communities. The economic impact of the war resulted in the sale of land in the Little Dixie region as southern sympathizing men moved from agriculture to employment as lawyers, businessmen and bankers. Land sales drew a diverse population of settlers into the region. They purchased the land for small farms and produced crops such as corn and wheat. In Saline County, one third of the population in 1870 arrived in the county in the five years following the Civil War. Thirty-five percent of this new population came from non-slaveholding states including Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, and Ohio and foreign countries such as Germany and Ireland. In Howard County, similar population shifts occurred with almost twenty

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<sup>145</sup> Before emancipation reports of slaves raping a white person would have been scarce for two reasons: one, the slaves were under the control of white men that could freely punish them and two, southern slave owners would not report a rape publicly to avoid the perception that slaves could act out against the white population. 1860, SS; Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*, 91-92; Hannah Rosen, *Terror in the Heart of Freedom: Citizenship, Sexual Violence and the Meaning of Race in The Postemancipation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 165, 172-173; Lisa Lindquist Dorr, *White Women, Rape, and the Power of Race in Virginia, 1900-1960* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2004); *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth Century South* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999); Diane Miller Sommerville, *Race and Rape in the Nineteenth Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004);

percent of the population arriving in the county after the war and almost thirty percent from non-slaveholding regions. This led to the transformation of the region from one dominated by southern sympathizers to a community of strangers and foreign neighbors from different cultural backgrounds.<sup>146</sup>

This modification of the population brought about important changes for the families of the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. While these families lost land and wealth, the new immigrants to the community purchased the land that once belonged to slave owning families and changed the dynamics of the community. The disenfranchised southern sympathizing male population could only stand by as these new residents, with the right to vote, ousted them politically and were able to vote candidates into office that represented their beliefs. The new residents entered their churches, organizations, and businesses, much like the Union Army that occupied the state during the war. Additionally, many of these new settlers were Germans. The German population in Missouri supported the abolition of slavery prior to the war and the Union. For the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and their families, these new citizens served as a constant reminder of the Union troops that defeated the South.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>146</sup>Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 300-306; Geiger, "Missouri's Hidden Civil War," 196; Ravindra G. Amonker and Russell L. Gerlach, *The Changing Population of Missouri: Trends and Patterns* (Springfield, MO.: Southwest Missouri State University Center for Social Research, 1988); *History of Saline County*, 375-377; Plat maps of Saline and Howard County, 1876, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri (hereafter, SHSM); Miles Eaton, "The Development and Later Decline of the Hemp Industry in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 46 (March 1960): 344-59; Robert Frizzell, "Southern Identity in Nineteenth Century Missouri: Little Dixie's Slave-Majority Areas and the Transition to Midwestern Farming," *Missouri Historical Review* 99 (April 2006): 238-260; Russell Gerlach, *Settlement Patterns in Missouri*; Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 304. Robyn Burnett and Ken Leubbering, *German Settlement in Missouri: New Land, Old Ways* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996), 69.

<sup>147</sup> Plat maps of Saline and Howard County, 1876, SHSM; Robert Frizzell, "Southern Identity in Nineteenth Century Missouri: Little Dixie's Slave-Majority Areas and the Transition to Midwestern Farming," 238-260; Geiger, "Missouri's Hidden Civil War," 142-98.

For Founders of the Missouri Association, the changing environment of their once homogenous communities must have seemed chaotic and confusing with the influx of new settlers, freed African Americans, and roaming soldiers. And in many cases, what started off as post war disorder became criminal activity within their towns. Local newspapers of the Little Dixie region printed articles daily about stolen property, in Howard, Jackson, Lafayette and Saline Counties where the founding members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy resided. As previously discussed, many southern sympathizing whites blamed African Americans for the increased crime in their towns. But other reports claimed that returning soldiers in the county were responsible for much of the increased reports of robbery and horse thievery. The *Marshall Progress* of April 1867 referred to the increased crime as a “confederation of villainy and public plunder.” In reality, people blamed whoever they wanted to label as a criminal. Governor Fletcher responded to this criminal activity by ordering thirty-four companies of the state militia to put down lawlessness in Saline County, in December of 1866. However, citizens of Saline County continued to stay away from towns such as Miami because of the threat of “personal insult and injury.”<sup>148</sup>

The husbands, sons and fathers of the Little Dixie Founders responded to the increased misconduct in their community by creating a new organization of men to help police their towns and neighborhoods. Southern sympathizing men joined with Union supporters in Saline County in April of 1866 to create the Honest Men’s League. The Founders’ men, including brother of Founder Anne Perkins, Colonel W.S. Jackson,

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<sup>148</sup> *Saline County History*, 376-378; *Marshall County Progress*, April 5, 1867; Bowman, *Lincoln and Citizen’s Rights in Civil War Missouri*, 263-280; Fellman, *Inside War*, 231-266; John Starrett Hughes, “Lafayette County and the Aftermath of Slavery, 1861-1870” *Missouri Historical Review* 75 (October 1980): 51-63; Geiger, “Missouri’s Hidden Civil War”, 193.

participated in the organization. The vigilante group intended to stop any kind of crime within their communities. Although the League did manage to initiate a few raids, ultimately the group failed to reduce lawlessness in the region. Neither the Honest Men's League nor the Missouri Militia successfully dealt with the increased crime. Little Dixie remained a hotbed of criminal activity in the 1870s, with crimes ranging from petty thievery to raids on homes and murders. Eventually the problem of violence and crime during these postwar years escalated to levels that required Governor Fletcher to declare martial law in parts of Little Dixie, such as Lafayette County. Communities were devastated by these traumatic years and the damage was palpable. Visitors to the city of Lexington in Lafayette County saw the effect of this violence and the aftermath of war in the city. Prior to the war, Lexington was a prosperous city with commerce and business that was second only to St. Louis and in the post war years it stood as a dilapidated city, "...with bitterness and opposition expressed one to the other." The city survived as only a shell of its former self.<sup>149</sup>

Organizations such as the Honest Men's League demonstrated the desire of the Founders' men to reestablish their control over a rapidly changing world. Forming vigilante groups reflected their inability to do so. The premise of these organizations, which was really to send armed white men into town on horseback to "keeping the peace," also set the precedent for other less "honorable" organizations like the Klu Klux Klan. Much like their response to the free black population, southern sympathizing

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<sup>149</sup> *History of Saline County*, 375-377. *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, May 2, 1866; John Starrett Hughes, "Lafayette County and the Aftermath of Slavery, 1861-1870" *Missouri Historical Review* 75 (October 1980): 54-58.

males responded with intimidation and violence. As early as 1868, local newspapers began reporting on the activities of the Klan in Howard and Saline Counties.<sup>150</sup>

Although the participants in the organization are unknown, accounts of the society in southern sympathizing newspapers, such as the *Saline County Progress*, declared that membership in the association derived from the best and most respected families in the county. These biased accounts portrayed the creation of the Klan as honorable local men rising up to protect the families of mid-Missouri from the criminal activities that had become prevalent throughout the region due to the incompetence of the Governor and state organizations such as local militias. The Klan associated this violence with the groups of people who posed the greatest threat and or challenge to their authority, specifically the newly freed black community and Union sympathizers (for example, German immigrants). The *Saline County Progress* published Klan supportive material, which included a petition to Governor Fletcher, threatening a violent response from the Klan if the state militia remained active. According to the petition, the state militia was not capable of protecting the southern sympathizing citizens of Saline County. However, the militia also represented the continued presence of the victorious Union Army in Little Dixie, a constant reminder of southern defeat.<sup>151</sup>

The Ku Klux Klan was active throughout Little Dixie until the early 1870s, but gradually diminished early in the decade. One of the last reported incidents occurred in

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<sup>150</sup> *Saline County History*, 378-379; John Starrett Hughes, "Lafayette County and the Aftermath of Slavery, 1861-1870," 54-58. Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 155-157; Rosen, *Terror in the Heart of Freedom*, 186-190.

<sup>151</sup> *History of Saline County*, 378-379; LeeAnn Whites, "Stand By Your Man: The Ladies Memorial Association and the Reconstruction of Southern White Manhood" *Gender Matters: Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Making of the New South* (New York: Palgrave MacMillian Publishing, 2005), 85-95; Kathleen Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of Southern California Press, 1991); Michael J Martinez, *Carpet Baggers, Calvary and the Ku Klux Klan: Exposing the Visible Empire During Reconstruction* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007); Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971)

1872, when Saline County sheriffs arrested a number of “respected citizens” for Klan activity. The decline in violence within the state corresponded with two key developments. The first was the passage of Anti-Klan Enforcement Acts of 1871, which imposed both fines and jail time for anyone found to be involved in intimidation. This was followed by the Amnesty Act of 1872 which removed voting restrictions against former Confederates. The second development was the increased activity of southern sympathizing women in organizations aimed at dealing with the crisis of the defeat southern sympathizing population in a more constructive way than violence.<sup>152</sup>

The Founders of the Missouri Association first began actively participating in the rebuilding of their society in 1866 by raising funds for the destitute citizens of the South. The tumultuous postwar environment of Little Dixie and the rest of the South necessitated a response from the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and women across the state. Southern sympathizing families suffering from economic hardship, left without homes, or food, looked to the rest of the South for aid. The Founders in Little Dixie created Southern Relief Associations to help these impoverished families living in Missouri and across the South. The Southern Relief Associations, formed in Missouri claimed that their duty was to help provide for families that had suffered in “defense of the South.” By providing support through the donation of goods and money, southern sympathizing families made obvious that defeat would not stop their continued solidarity for the South.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1990), 195-197; Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*, 286-287; William E. Parrish, *Frank Blair: Lincoln's Conservative* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998), 273; Michael Les Benedict, *The Fruits of Victory, in Restoring the Union, 1865-1877* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1986), 57-60.

<sup>153</sup> *Lexington Caucasian*, July 1866. Circular of [the] Missouri Southern Relief Association, 1866, Clarence Ivord and Idress Head Collection, C970, folder 167, WHMC; Howard Louis Conrad, ed., *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri* (St. Louis: The Southern History Company, 1901.); 435. An interesting point on

The women of Howard County were the first to organize a Relief Association in Little Dixie. Members raised funds by holding female friendly events such as “fancy tables” and fairs within the community and by allowing husbands to collect donated stock and produce for donation. In March of 1866, the Howard County organization posted an appeal to the women of Boone County in the *Howard County Advertiser*. They called for the women to arrange for a fundraising fair to be held in June for suffering orphans and families, saying, “It is peculiarly women’s province to go about doing good...for the destitute homeless of a tender age.” Shortly thereafter, organizations blossomed across the Little Dixie region, following the lead of the women of Howard County. The women of Howard County appealed to the dominion of women, which was family, children, and the home, asserting their place in aiding these troubled people without overstepping their boundaries and disrespecting their men.<sup>154</sup>

Women challenged each other not to be “outdone” by other communities in their fundraising. In response to the leadership of Howard County women, the women of Boone County created the “Boone County Southern Relief Association” in April of 1866, and their call echoed this same sentiment. Their announcement in the *Columbia Missouri Statesman* stated, “Southern Orphans: Ladies of Boone county are raising funds for the relief of southern orphans, as to not be out done by other women.” Shortly thereafter,

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Southern Relief Associations; most associations throughout the country were located in the Union states, such as the very large SRA in New York City. But both Maryland and Missouri were Union slave states in the Civil War, and both formed SRAs after the war. I believe this is evidence of their southern sympathy and identification as southerners. Anne Middleton Homes, *The New York Ladies' Southern Relief Association, 1866-1867: an account of the relief furnished by citizens of New York City to the inhabitants of the devastated regions of the South immediately after the Civil War, Volume 21* (The Mary Mildred Sullivan Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1926); Ladies Southern Relief Association of Maryland, *Report of the Ladies Southern Relief Association of Maryland: September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1866* (Baltimore: Kelly and Piet, 1866).

<sup>154</sup> *Fayette Advertiser*, April 5, 1866; *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, April 27, 1866, June 1, 1866, and May 25<sup>th</sup> 1866.

groups in Howard, Jackson, Lafayette, and Saline counties created official Southern Relief Associations, each raising funds for southern families. The families of future Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy took an active role in each of these counties club, with members from the Minter, Asbury, Price, and Aull families. In Saline County, Mary Sappington, wife of William Sappington, member of the central clique and notorious financial backer of the Missouri bushwhackers, served as president. The organization raised \$1400 of which \$1000 went directly to the needy in Saline County.<sup>155</sup>

The formation of Southern Relief Associations provided a bridge for women's work during the Civil War into the postwar period. During the war, women were called upon to aid the Confederacy by providing clothing, food, bandages, etc. This "women's work," became critically important to the success of the Confederate Army and their men. When the war ended, Relief Associations provided the women of Little Dixie with the opportunity to transition their war time production into new types of "women's work," which included fundraising, caring for orphans and destitute former Confederates. This work also helped to bolster the image of the defeated former Confederates. Relief Association members framed their work to remove the blame of Confederate defeat from their men. Instead of blaming men for the loss of the war and the inability to protect their families, the future Founders of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy claimed they would "never repudiate the claims of the dependents of the noble dead who have fallen in defense of the South." Southern Relief Associations across

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<sup>155</sup> *Columbia Missourian Statesman*, April 27, 1866, June 1, 1866, and May 25<sup>th</sup> 1866. *History of Saline County*, 377.

Little Dixie became a means of honoring the valiant Confederate soldiers that sacrificed to protect the South. The men were not failures, but rather heroes.<sup>156</sup>

Southern Relief Associations were short lived in Missouri, ending around 1867. But, women found other opportunities to continue their postwar work in memorial organizations, particularly in communities with large battlefields. These memorial groups set forth to remember the fallen soldiers of the Confederacy as heroes of the South and Missouri, erasing the failures of their men both during and after the war. By presenting these men with a new image, that of a hero and valiant soldier, they were helping to ease some of the disappointment that was felt as their men's position within the household and southern society drastically changed. The nature of guerilla warfare in Missouri, which mainly occurred through small skirmishes and conflicts, translated to a relatively small number of battlefield cemeteries. This was in direct contrast to states like Virginia that saw numerous large scale battles and therefore the creation of large military cemeteries. Ladies Memorial Associations generally worked at these large cemeteries, so unlike other areas of the South, Missouri women did not have the need to form numerous associations.<sup>157</sup>

In the Little Dixie region, the Founders of the Missouri Association found little reason to participate in these memorial organizations. The largest battle in Missouri, the Battle of Wilson's Creek, led to the formation of a military cemetery and the Springfield Memorial Association, but was located hundreds of miles from Mid-Missouri. A few

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<sup>156</sup> *Lexington Caucasian*, July 1866; *Fayette Advertiser*, April 5, 1866; *Columbia Missourian Statesman*, April 27, 1866, June 1, 1866 and May 25<sup>th</sup> 1866. Works that discuss the importance of women's post war work include: Faust, *Mothers of Invention*; Janney, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past*; Ott, *Confederate Daughters*, 129-148; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 9-10.

<sup>157</sup> Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 16-22; Janney, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past*; Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 182-195. Janney's work on LMAs in Virginia highlights a region with numerous battlegrounds. This study of Missouri points to the regional differences within memorial work, suggesting that women found other means of activism that was still important in the postwar period.

small cemeteries drew the attention of small groups of women, but never led to the formation of an official organization. For example in Jackson County, a small group of citizens worked to erect a cemetery for the six Confederates that died at the Battle of Lone Jack. This group raised funds to purchase headstones and erect a Confederate monument at the battle site in 1871. After completing its work, the group disbanded but the town held yearly memorial events on the anniversary of the battle on August 16<sup>th</sup>. Southern sympathizing Missourians embarked on similar work across the state, building small cemeteries for the Confederate dead. By and large, the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy worked on a small scale level to construct cemeteries and provide headstones for the Confederate dead within their community.<sup>158</sup>

Community organization also occurred in the celebration of memorial holidays and similar events in Little Dixie. Throughout the Mid-Missouri region individual towns and communities remembered the Confederacy and its valiant soldiers through celebrations such as Decoration Day. As early as 1866, southern sympathizing white women planned Decoration Days in order to beautify the graves of their deceased men. These gatherings served as important functions in the lives of southern sympathizing Founders and their families. Decoration Days fostered the group identity of southern sympathizers in Little Dixie. Much like marriages and social connections that often

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<sup>158</sup> The Springfield Memorial Association formed after the war to create a monument for the Confederate dead at Wilson's Creek. It also dealt with the task of reburying dead soldiers that began to become exposed after the earth settled, prompting accounts of arms and legs sticking out of the ground throughout the area. This memorial association would ultimately create a monument and rebury the dead, but was very regionally focused and did not include the labor of the Founders of the UDC. "Association for burying the Confederate dead is organized at Springfield" *Jefferson City Peoples Tribune*, December 8, 1869; *Weekly Missouri State Times*, August 23, 1867; *Weekly Missouri State Times*, August 23, 1867; *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, September 3, 1869; L. E. Meador, "History of the Battle of Wilson Creek," *Battle of Wilson Creek: Seventy-seventh Anniversary, August 10 and 11, 1938, Souvenir Program*. (Springfield, MO: Wilson Creek Camp No.30, Dept. of Missouri, Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, 1938), 1-37; Jonathan Fairbanks and Clyde Edwin Tuck, *Past and Present of Greene County Missouri* (Indianapolis: A. W. Bowen and Company, 1915), 552-557.

occurred within the southern sympathizing population, memorial events and celebrations continued to strengthen these ties. The celebration of Decoration Day indicated that despite the defeat of the Confederacy, southern sympathizing women still viewed their vanquished men as heroes, which helped bolster the white male patriarch.<sup>159</sup>

The years directly following the Civil War presented great challenges for the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and their families. For these women, accustomed as they were to luxury and privilege, their economic decline during the war challenged them to restructure their lives. The most drastic change was the emancipation of their slaves, which altered the economic and social structure of their households and ultimately led to new careers for the Founders' men. Additionally, new rights for the African American community and the restriction of rights for the southern sympathizing community created anger and confusion, which often led to violent retribution. Finally, their formerly close-knit communities ruptured with the influx of foreigners, Union soldiers and liberated African Americans.

But out of this chaos, emerged new possibilities for the southern sympathizing women of Missouri. The beginnings of a memorial activity brought these women together in organizations that demonstrated their continued allegiance to the South and their willingness to act upon their political beliefs. Associations that raised money for the poor and destitute of the South also united women and allowed them to publicly demonstrate the importance of their work for the good of the region. These groups also began to address the situation of their men in the post war period. Through their

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<sup>159</sup> *Lexington Caucasian*, June 13<sup>th</sup>, 1866; *Sedalia Daily Democrat*, May 21, 1875; *Missouri State Times*; May 22, 1868, June 5, 1868; UDC Scrapbooks, WHMC; Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 5-6, 77-84; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 4-5; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 42; Janney, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past*, 58-68; Paul Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape* (New York: AltaMira Press, 2003), 24-25.

activities, southern sympathizing women began to redeem the image of their men as valiant soldiers of the South, not defeated losers. This would prove to be just the beginning of a long journey to help recast the South and the memory of the Civil War.

#### **CHAPTER FOUR: “Slavery dies hard:” Freedwomen of Little Dixie and the transition from slavery to freedom, 1865-1880”**

As a widowed mother of six children, Sarah White’s life looked grim in 1865. Sarah’s husband Jerry died of small pox during his service in the Union Army and she now suddenly found herself without a home or employment. But for the first time in her life, at the age of thirty-five, Sarah White was also free. She had spent the first half of her life working on the farm of Fountain Roberts, a slave owner in Saline County, Missouri, in the heart of Little Dixie. When her husband enlisted in the United States Colored Troops, she remained behind on Fountain Robert’s farm, not yet emancipated and still under the control of her white owners. While freed from slavery, the transition to freedom would be a hard one. She would be presented with numerous challenges along the way. As the head of her household, Sarah would be called upon to provide for more than just herself. She had her six dependent children to feed, shelter, and clothe, all the while negotiating the complicated relationship between the free black and southern sympathizing white community in postwar Missouri. With relatively few options available, Sarah continued to work and live on Robert’s plantation. Although legally emancipated, she was still for all intents and purposes subordinate to the same white household that owned her under slavery.<sup>160</sup>

This chapter explores the lives of the twenty formerly enslaved women of Little Dixie and their families from 1865 to 1880, as they adapted to their newly granted freedom. On the face of it, the legal status of African Americans within Little Dixie

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<sup>160</sup> Sarah White Pension Claim for Jerry White.

changed radically with the abolition of slavery, transforming them from property into citizens. However, the actual lived experience of what the emancipation legislation dictated was not so simple. Freedom apparently promised legal marriages, autonomous black households, paid employment, and the creation of schools and churches. But as the Little Dixie Freedwomen emerged from their lives in slavery, they faced an uphill struggle to access these newly acquired opportunities. One of the greatest obstacles many of these women faced was the loss of their men in the service of the United States Colored Troops, or the return of men who were so physically damaged by war as to be unable to contribute much to their households. For these women, finding employment that would provide a living wage and obtaining their own homes was of critical importance, but they faced these challenges with little to no financial support. The white community further complicated their struggle by using violence to deter the free black community and fought any progress made by the black community through whatever means possible.<sup>161</sup>

The twenty Freedwomen of Little Dixie that this chapter is based upon shared many common experiences both during and after the war. During the War, all of these women were enslaved. Each shared their gender, their location in slavery in mid-Missouri, and two-thirds shared a relative proximity in age. When the war ended the similarity of their experience continued. Each woman survived the war, received her freedom and most remained in Little Dixie. The Freedwomen each also participated in a relationship with a soldier who had enlisted in the United States Colored Troops. Eighteen of the women were wives of soldiers and two were daughters. When the war

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<sup>161</sup> Ira Berlin, et al., eds., *The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor*, 2:562-564; Greene, Kremer and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 88; Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 300-306;

ended and the Union Army discharged these soldiers, many of them returned home suffering from debilitating physical and mental injuries, they were only ghosts of their prewar selves. Others did not return at all. The varying degrees of injury suffered during the war qualified each of these soldiers, their wives, and their daughters, to file a pension claim with the United States government.<sup>162</sup>

Although the state of Missouri officially emancipated its slaves on January 11<sup>th</sup> of 1865, the breakdown of slavery actually began during the war. The Little Dixie slave women and their families destroyed slavery by enlisting in the Union Army (if male), by running away, and more broadly, by rejecting the authority of their white owners. Slave self-emancipation intensified conflicts between enslaved people and their southern sympathizing white slave owners. As the institution of slavery deteriorated, this hostility increased. When African American men left to enlist in the Army, white owners responded by increasing the work load of women and children left behind. Other slave owners refused to feed these women and children or expelled them from their homes. The Union Army reported thousands of slaves, particularly women and children, arriving at Army posts looking for aid and protection from their white owners.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Two members of the Little Dixie women married men that were too young to enlist in the war, but most likely saw men from their communities and families enlist in the USCT.

<sup>163</sup> Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 88-92. Col. George H. Hall to Major James Rainsford, 18 Sept. 1863, Unentered Letters Received, ser. 2594, Dept. of the MO, RG 393 Pt. 1; E.B. Brown to Col. Geo. H. Hall, 22 Sept. 1863, vol. 225 DMO, p. 44, Letters Sent, ser. 3372, Dist. of Central MO, RG 393 Pt. 2 No. 217, in Ira Berlin, et al., eds., *The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor*, 2: 579. *Lexington Weekly Union*, November 28, 1863. Lt. Wm Argo to Brigadier General Wm. A. Pyle, 21 Mar. 1864, A-III 1864, Letters Received, ser. 2593, Dept. of the MO, RG 393 Pt. I, in Ira Berlin, et al., eds., *The Destruction of Slavery: The Upper South Series 1*, vol. 1 of *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 481-482; Ira Berlin, et al., eds., *The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor*, 2:556-558.

<b>Table 4.1: Little Dixie Slave Women and their Men's USCT Information</b> <i>Woman's name, Soldier's name, and USCT service information</i>		
<i>Little Dixie Slave Woman</i>	<i>USCT Soldier's Name</i>	<i>USCT Regiment and Company</i>
Adaline Crews	Lonny Crews	65 <sup>th</sup> /F
Almeda Patterson	Martin Patterson	67th/K
Carey Morrison	Lewis Morrison	65 <sup>th</sup> /H
Celia Harvey	Charles Harvey	68 <sup>th</sup> /C
Charlotte Birch	Jack Birch	65 <sup>th</sup> /H
Elizabeth Cropp	George McCreary	65th/G
Ellen Pearson	William Pearson	62 <sup>nd</sup> /E
Harriet Sappington	George Sappington	68 <sup>th</sup> /G
Jane Smiley	Thomas Smiley	67th/A
Julia Maupin	Oliver Henry	67th/A
Maria Garth	James Garth	67 <sup>th</sup> /B
Margaret Tarwater	Preston Allen	65 <sup>th</sup> /K
Mary Bell	Spotswood Rice	67 <sup>th</sup> /A
Mary Hereford	Aaron Hereford	65th/K
Mary (Molly) Bright	Nelson Bright	65th/G
Nancy Young	Mark Patrick	65 <sup>th</sup> /K
Priscilla Boggs	Howard Boggs	67 <sup>th</sup> /G
Sarah White	Jerry White	67 <sup>th</sup> /G
Sarah Darby	John Darby	67th/D/E
Sarah Francis Prather	Jordan Prather	65 <sup>th</sup> /K

The tension that mounted during the war between the slaves of Little Dixie and their former southern sympathizing slave holders escalated to outright violence and murder after emancipation. In March of 1865, Brigadier General Clinton B. Fisk, described the post emancipation environment of Little Dixie. According to Fisk, “Slavery dies hard...I hear its expiring agonies and witness its contortions of death.” Former slave owners treated their former slaves with “wicked barbarity,” driving them from their homes without food or clothing. The notorious bushwhacker, Jim Jackson, and his gang rode throughout Little Dixie putting up notices that threatened African Americans who remained in the region. Jackson claimed that all emancipated slaves needed to leave the area by February 15 or else be killed. Furthermore, any white citizen that employed a freed person would also be killed. On February 24<sup>th</sup>, 1865, Columbia, Missouri, newspaper, *The Statesmen*, reported the murder of Lewis, a former slave of Dr. John Jacobs. Jackson hung Lewis and attached a note that read, “killed for not going into the federal arms.” Lewis was working as a paid laborer for his former owner. Only a few weeks later, Jackson hanged two freedmen working for their former owner and threatened to kill the former owner as well. Fisk further reported that African Americans fled Jackson’s reign of terror, “concentrating in towns and garrisoned places,” such as Columbia, in Boone County. It was within this dangerous environment that the formerly enslaved women of Little Dixie began their lives in freedom.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Brig Genl. Clinton B. Fisk to Jas. E. Yeatman, Esq., 25 Mar. 1865, vol. 284 DMO, P. 276, Letters Sent, ser. 3530, Dist. Of North MO, RG 393 Pt. 2 No. 226, in Ira Berlin, et al., eds., *The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor*, 489; William E. Parrish, *Missouri Under Radical Rule: 1865-1870* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965), 107; “Murder by Bushwhackers—A Negro Hung,: *Columbia Statesman*, Feb. 24, 1865; “Three Negroes Hung By Bushwhackers,” *Columbia Statesman*, March 24, 1865, p3; “A Crazy Negro,” *Columbia Statesman*, March 31, 1865, p3; E.T. Russell to Gen’l, Feb 21, 1865, Letters Received, ser. 3537, Dist. Of North MO, RG 393 Pt. 2 No. 226, in Ira Berlin, et al., eds., *The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor*, 616; Greene, Kremer, and Christensen, *Missouri’s Black Heritage*, 91. Leslie Scwalm, *A Hard Fight For We*, 149-150. Scwalm argues that in order to enjoy their new freedom, African American

In the case of the Little Dixie women, their age played an important role in the direction of their lives. Although not an exact figure, the Little Dixie women averaged about twenty years of age when the war ended. Much like the southern sympathizing white founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Freedwomen began their lives in freedom by creating families. When the war ended, nine women began new relationships and families. Eight previously began relationships during the war primarily between 1860 and 1863, before their men enlisted. In all, fifteen of the twenty women were married between 1860 and 1875. Two women, Priscilla Boggs and Celia Harvey, married later. While Priscilla married her husband Howard in 1884, Celia Harvey did not marry Charles until 1900, but this was her third marriage.<sup>165</sup>

Nine of the Little Dixie Freedwomen (or forty-five percent) married surviving USCT veterans within ten years of the war's end. Mary and Aaron Hereford legally married in Howard County on July 31, 1869, two years after his discharge from the USCT. Before his enlistment in the Company K of the USCT 65th, Aaron was involved in a relationship with Caroline Hite, a fellow slave on William Hereford's farm in Chariton County. When Aaron left to fight for the USCT, Caroline began living with another man, and when Aaron returned home, he ended their relationship. Mary Hereford was also involved with another man named, Aaron Brown, but he died

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women needed to survive the first few months of emancipation. This was also the case for the freed women of Little Dixie. In addition to violence, freed peoples faced epidemics of disease, starvation and unfit living conditions.

<sup>165</sup> Scwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*, 151-156; Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South From Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 165-169; Tera Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 36-40; Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860-1870* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 102-110; Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*, 99-116; Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*, 46-47; Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York: Pantheon Book, 1977), 363-431. Howard Boggs Pension Claim (Pvt., Co. G, 67<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 500,146 certificate no. 482,482 and Celia Harvey Pension Claim for Charles Harvey (Pvt., Co. C, 68<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 897978 certificate no. 1087982, both in Civil War Pension Files.

sometime before the war ended. Fellow Little Dixie Freedwoman, Carey Morrison, married USCT soldier, Lewis Morrison, in 1868. Although previously married to a freeman named Calvin McDowell, he died before the Civil War ended, leaving Carey without a partner. Little Dixie Freedwoman, Julia Maupin, also married her husband, USCT soldier Henry Maupin in 1868. When the war ended, Freedwoman Adeline Crews lived at the home of her aunt and uncle, Andy and Amy Robinson in Howard County. After Lonny Crews mustered out in January of 1867, he returned to Howard County and met Adeline. From the time of his return, Lonny and Adeline remained together, never separated or with another person. A Justice of the Peace, named Matthew Arnold, married the couple in 1872.<sup>166</sup>

Adeline and Lonny Crews' legally recognized marriage signified a marked shift in the rights of the freed people after the war. Although many African American women and men married while enslaved, their status as slaves in the white household took precedence over their relationships. The legal recognition of African American marriages after emancipation recognized and protected relationships that before the war had only been sacred to the couples and their own community while under slavery. The legal recognition of these women's marriages not only demonstrated the dedication of the couple to one another, but also gave some substance to the rights and privileges of citizenship granted to them as free women. Historians Steven Hahn and Laura Edwards have even argued that the formation of African American families served as the first political act of the newly freed population. About fifty percent of African American couples that held ceremonial marriages prior to the emancipation decided to remarry after

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<sup>166</sup> Mary Hereford Pension Claim for Aaron Hereford and Adeline Crews Pension Claim for Lonny Crew (Pvt., Co. F, 65<sup>th</sup> USCT, Inf., Civil War), application no. 1150000, certificate no. 894873, both in Civil War Pension Files.

the war for legal recognition of their relationship. However many that were already married, did not feel the need to do so. Among the Little Dixie freed women, there is little evidence to suggest that the eight women that were married while enslaved remarried after emancipation. But as evidenced by their continued commitment to each other after the war ended; their marriages were binding.<sup>167</sup>

When the Civil War ended, the Little Dixie Freedwomen and African Americans across the South began the process of locating their family members and bringing their families back together. Slavery and the Civil War displaced African Americans from their kin and communities making reunions difficult. Slave owners separated, sold, and traded, black men, women, and children in order to fulfill their economic needs. The Civil War compounded the problem of separated families as the husbands and fathers of the Freedwomen enlisted in the service of the United States Colored Troops and women and children left their white owners' households. When the Little Dixie Freedwomen tried to locate their men, factors such as survival during the war, the length and location of their husbands' service and the ability to communicate with their men, all impacted the reunion process. Although some African American men and women decided not to

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<sup>167</sup> Gutman, *The Black Family*, 414; Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*, 243-247; Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*, 99-103; Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South From Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 165-169; Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*, 46-47. Donald R. Shaffer, "In the Shadow of the Old Constitution: Black Civil War Veterans and the Persistence of Slave Marriage Customs," in *Southern Families at War: Loyalty and Conflict in the Civil War South*, eds. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 59-75. Gutman argues that freedman sought to legalize marriages after the Civil War. However as Shaffer argues, Gutman's evidence only points to half of the freed people in his study remarrying after emancipation. Shaffer found, as does this study, that many freed people already considered themselves married and did not remarry. This becomes problematic when asked to prove marriages when applying for veteran's pensions later on.

continue with their prewar relationships, fifty-five percent of the Little Dixie women sustained their relationships with their men and entered freedom together.<sup>168</sup>

Although African American men often left their families behind on farms and plantations to serve in the Union Army, one can only imagine that it was difficult to separate from family members without knowing if and when you might see them again. Spotswood Rice, father of Little Dixie Freedwomen, Mary Bell, lived separately from his family while enslaved, but still close by on a neighboring plantation, but whenever he was permitted he would visit with his family. When Rice enlisted in the USCT, he was stationed at Benton Barracks for the duration of the war. During that time he wrote letters to his children, although if they ever personally received the letters is unclear. However, it is evident that his children's owner, Kitty Diggs, did receive them. In his letters, Rice expressed to his children his desire to be united with them. He said, "I have not forgot you and want to see you as bad as ever." Rice also sent a letter to the owner of his children expressing his desire to free his children from her home and bring his family together. Although in the service, Rice's communication maintained his connection with his family, and helped to reunite his family members.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Michael P. Johnson, "Looking for Lost Kin: Efforts to Reunite Freed Families after Emancipation," in *Southern Families at War*, ed. Catherine Clinton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 15-34; Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 226-230; Leslie Schwalm, *Emancipation's Diaspora: Race and Reconstruction in the Upper Midwest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 10-15; It is important to note that in this study, not every woman was married before the war, so they did not necessarily reunite with their service men. Some began their relationships in emancipation. It is also important to note that in this study, I am looking at the reuniting of newly freed women with their husbands and fathers that enlisted. That is not to say that they did not try to locate other family member or member of their slave community. In fact many formed community ties with slaves that shared their owner after the war. However, my sources did not indicate that these women were reuniting with, for example mothers or children that had been separated from them. For the most part, the children of the Little Dixie slave women remained with their mothers, or were born after emancipation. Also, these types of reunions may have been happening, but not documented in these sources. Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*, 245.

<sup>169</sup> Ira Berlin, Joseph Reidy, Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, Ser. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 637. Spotswood Rice to Kittey Diggs, [3 Sept. 1864], enclosed in F. W. Diggs to Genl. Rosecrans, 10 Sept. 1864, D-296 1864, Letters Received,

Rice's experience in bringing his family back together after their separation in slavery and his service in the Union Army was somewhat atypical compared to the rest of the Little Dixie Freedwomen and their families. One key difference was Rice's ability to read and write. This was a powerful tool in locating his family and keeping in contact with them during the war. African Americans realized the importance of education, and so after the war it became a focus of the black community. This resulted in the creation of black schools in Little Dixie and most notably the creation of Lincoln Institute (now Lincoln University) by the soldiers of the USCT 62<sup>nd</sup> and 65<sup>th</sup>. The second difference was the date of Rice's reunion with his family. Unlike many of the Little Dixie Freedwomen, Rice succeeded in reuniting with his family during the war. By 1864, Rice's wife Orry, and most like his children, were with him at Benton Barracks.<sup>170</sup>

Spotswood Rice's reunion with his wife and children in 1864 was not typical amongst the Little Dixie Freedwomen trying to locate their men after their service in the Union Army. The war ended in April of 1865, but a soldier's service often extended beyond that date, which meant a postponed reunion for Little Dixie Freedwomen and their men. These men primarily enlisted in the winter of 1863-1864 and stayed in the Union Army until they mustered out in 1867. Occasionally a soldier received an early discharge if he suffered an illness during the war. For example, the Army discharged Howard Boggs in 1864 after declaring that he had "no physical stamina" and would "never be of any service to the government." The other Little Dixie men served for over

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ser. 2593, Department of the MO, U.S. Army Continental Commands, Record Group 393 Pt. 1, in Ira Berlin, Joseph Reidy, Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, Ser. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 689-690; "Mary Bell," *Born in Slavery*.

<sup>170</sup> Ancestry.com, *Missouri Marriage Records, 1805-2002*, 430. Arnold Parks, *Lincoln University: 1920-1970* (Charleston, Sc.: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), 7-8; Lawrence O. Christensen and Gary Kremer, *A History of Missouri: Volume IV, 1875-1919* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 4:112; Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 102; Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*, 97-98.

four years during which time their ability to communicate with their families was limited.<sup>171</sup>

Since communication between Little Dixie women and their men was difficult, women who remained in close proximity to their location in slavery facilitated their reunions. When Jack Birch mustered out of Co. H of the USCT 65<sup>th</sup>, he looked for Charlotte in her location at the time of his enlistment in Howard County. Two different accounts exist of Charlotte and Jack's reunion, but both indicate that Jack easily located her. Cornelia Harvey, a friend of the family and slave with Jack Birch on the Birch farm in Howard County, recalled that "after the rebellion he sent for her and she went to him." Another friend and fellow soldiers in the USCT recalled the event differently, claiming that "it was some little time after we returned from service maybe a couple of weeks when Birch left here saying he was going to Howard Co. this state to get his wife and in a little while he returned bringing said applicant with him." Similarly to Birch, Jane Smiley stayed in Saline County until her husband Thomas returned there in 1867. And, both Julia Ferguson and Sarah Prather continued to live in their same communities, reuniting with their men in the first half of 1867.<sup>172</sup>

Rather than stay within the white household, many women chose to run away from their owners, taking an active role in attaining their own freedom. Little Dixie

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<sup>171</sup> Howard Boggs Pension Claim. Howard Boggs was not married prior to the war, but is an example of the varying dates of discharge for these men. Ira Berlin, Joseph Reidy, Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom's Soldiers*, 46-47; Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 132-133.

<sup>172</sup> Ira Berlin, Joseph Reidy, Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, Ser. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 637. Spotswood Rice to Kitley Diggs, [3 Sept. 1864], enclosed in F. W. Diggs to Genl. Rosecrans, 10 Sept. 1864, D-296 1864, Letters Received, ser. 2593, Department of the MO, U.S. Army Continental Commands, Record Group 393 Pt. 1, in Ira Berlin, Joseph Reidy, Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation*, 689-690; "Mary Bell," *Born in Slavery*; Charlotte Birch Pension Claim for Jack Birch (Pvt., Co. H, 65<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 399,295, certificate no. 383,439, and Sarah Francis Prather Pension Claim for Jordan Prather (Pvt., Co. K, 65<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War) both in Civil War Pension Files.

Freedwomen Almeda Patterson remained on the farm of her owner, James Patterson, working “around as I could,” after her husband, Martin, enlisted in USCT 65<sup>th</sup>. In late summer of 1864, after spending the whole summer on the Patterson farm, Almeda left the home of her owner with her mother, sister and other Patterson slaves. Although Almeda’s specific reasoning for leaving is unknown, it seems likely that she wanted her freedom. After leaving the Patterson farm, Almeda repeatedly moved throughout the state. She first travelled to Marshall, Missouri, in Saline County, where she witnessed the burning of the courthouse in August of 1864. The Union Army then brought Almeda to the Union Post at Warrensburg. Almeda remained in Warrensburg for perhaps a year and then made her way to Saint Louis looking for employment, where she found also cooking for a French family. After his term of service ended, Martin traced Almeda’s travels across the state, stopping at each location looking for Almeda. Although a difficult process, he finally found her in St. Louis, where they remained for over a year.<sup>173</sup>

Forty-five percent of the Little Dixie Freedwomen who were in relationships with men before the war, never reunited with their men at all because they died in service. Sarah White, Elizabeth Cropp, Harriet Sappington, Maria Garth, and Margaret Tarwater all lost their men. It was not uncommon for the soldiers of the USCT to not return home to their wives, daughters, and sisters. African American divisions of the Union Army faced horrific conditions and poor treatment while serving, which often resulted in their death. For example, almost half of the men in Company C of the USCT 67<sup>th</sup> (48 men)

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<sup>173</sup> Almeda Patterson Pension Claim for Martin Patterson. It should be noted that Almeda told variance of this story in her pension testimony. The story described here is corroborated by others testimony in her pension file. Almeda first claimed to stay at the Patterson farm the entire war, waiting for Martin. She claimed that he returned and they farmed in Fayette for a couple of years. She later said that this was not true and that they never returned to Fayette after the war. She also claimed to reunite with Martin at the court house in Saline County and was married to him in a ceremony under the new constitution. This also does not fit with Almeda’s presence in Saline County. Regardless, the reunion of Almeda and Martin followed a complicated path.

died by mid-1864 as a result of disease and excessive fatigue duty. High mortality rates plagued the colored regiments from Missouri along with general poor health, amputations and other physical impairment. Those men that survived their term of service generally suffered from permanent physical injury.<sup>174</sup>

Harriet Sappington's husband George died while serving in the United States Colored Troops. Sappington enlisted in the 68<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the United States Colored Troops on March 21, 1864 and was mustered into service at Benton Barracks shortly after that on March 30<sup>th</sup>. Like many African American soldiers in the United States Colored Troops, Sappington became ill only a few short weeks after enlisting. On July 6, 1864, the First Sergeant of Sappington's company sent a letter to Harriet Sappington informing her that her husband was "very sick" and in the "hospital." The illness attacked Sappington after leaving Benton Barracks in late May while travelling to their destination at Memphis, Tennessee. Although the First Sergeant believed that George would recover from this sickness, he agreed to send any money or property to Harriet, if George did indeed die. The next day, of July 7<sup>th</sup>, George died from chronic diarrhea.<sup>175</sup>

Diseases such as chronic diarrhea and small pox rapidly spread throughout the soldiers of the United States Colored Troops, killing many of the Little Dixie men within the first few months of their service. Maria Garth's husband James enlisted on February 8<sup>th</sup> 1864 at Glasgow in Howard County. He mustered into service on February 15<sup>th</sup> at Benton Barracks and died only five months later on July 18<sup>th</sup> of chronic diarrhea while stationed at Port Hudson, Louisiana. Sarah White's husband Jerry enlisted in the USCT on January 22<sup>nd</sup> of 1864 and mustered into service on February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1864. He died from

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<sup>174</sup> *Supplement to the Official Records*, 78:455, 78:480.

<sup>175</sup> Harriet Sappington Pension Claim for George Sappington.

small pox at Benton Barracks only eight weeks later on March 27th. Elizabeth Cropp's father, George McCreary, enlisted in Company G of the USCT 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment in February of 1864 in Glasgow and he died of an unspecified disease.<sup>176</sup>

Along with reuniting with their soldier husbands and sanctifying their relationships with legal marriages, the Little Dixie women faced the necessary tasks of finding homes and employment. This was no easy task, as indicated by the death of thirty-one African Americans in Boone County from starvation and exposure, only five weeks after they were emancipated. As a result, large numbers of African Americans left Little Dixie and moved to cities such as St. Louis or Kansas City with better opportunities for employment or to Free states, creating physical distance from their enslavers. As Leslie Schwalm's work, *Emancipation's Diaspora: Race and Reconstruction in the Upper Midwest*, points out this transition actually began during the war. The black population saw a significant decrease in numbers at the end of the war as they left the region. Between 1860 and 1870, the African American population of Lafayette County decreased by forty percent.. Saline County's black population decreased by twenty-five percent from 1860 to 1870, and Howard County's population decreased by twenty percent in that same decade.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> George Sappington, *Record of Service Card, Civil War, 1861-1865, Soldier's Database; Supplement to the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, 78:491; *Liberty Tribune*, February 12, 1864. Elizabeth Cropp Pension Claim for George McCreary; Maria Garth Pension Claim for James Garth (Pvt., Co. B, 67<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 210,858, certificate no. 175,489, Civil War Pension Files; Jerry White, George McCreary, James Garth, *Record of Service Card, Civil War, 1861-1865, Soldier's Database*; Margaret Humphries, *Intensely Human: The Health of the Black Soldier in the American Civil War* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

<sup>177</sup> "Fatality Among the Blacks," *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, February 17, 1865, pg 3. *1860, FC; 1870, FC*. Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 73-75, Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*, 119-120. Leslie Schwalm's *Emancipation's Diaspora* discusses the movement of African Americans not just to cities, but into the Midwest, post emancipation. Many of the locations bordered on Missouri, such as Keokuk, Iowa. Leslie Schwalm, *Emancipation's Diaspora: Race and Reconstruction in the Upper Midwest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

<b>Table 4.2: Changing Population of Little Dixie</b> <b>Four Counties Between 1860-1900</b> <i>The table charts the growing white population in the region and the decreasing African American population.</i>						
<b>1860</b>	<b>Black Pop.</b>	<b>White Pop.</b>	<b>Total Black Pop. (including mulattos)</b>	<b>Total Pop.</b>	<b>% Black</b>	<b>% White</b>
<i>Howard</i>	5888	10060	5888	15948	37%	63%
<i>Saline</i>	4884	9824	4884	14708	33%	67%
<i>Lafayette</i>	6394	13724	6394	20118	32%	68%
<i>Jackson</i>	3954	18969	3954	22923	17%	83%
<b>1870</b>	<b>Black Pop.</b>	<b>White Pop.</b>	<b>Total Black Pop. (including mulattos)</b>	<b>Total Pop.</b>	<b>% Black</b>	<b>% White</b>
<i>Howard</i>	4727	12484	4727	17211	27%	73%
<i>Saline</i>	3647	18474	4082	22556	18%	82%
<i>Lafayette</i>	3829	19155	4180	23335	18%	82%
<i>Jackson</i>	5047	50422	5477	55899	10%	90%
<b>1880</b>	<b>Black Pop.</b>	<b>White Pop.</b>	<b>Total Black Pop. (including mulattos)</b>	<b>Total Pop.</b>	<b>% Black</b>	<b>% White</b>
<i>Howard</i>	4159	13204	5220	18424	28%	72%
<i>Saline</i>	4012	25004	4938	29942	16%	84%
<i>Lafayette</i>	3749	21352	4398	25750	17%	83%
<i>Jackson</i>	8168	75523	9788	85311	11%	89%
<b>1900</b>	<b>Black Pop.</b>	<b>White Pop.</b>	<b>Total Black Pop. (including mulattos)</b>	<b>Total Pop.</b>	<b>% Black</b>	<b>% White</b>
<i>Howard</i>	4210	14523	4211	18734	22%	78%
<i>Saline</i>	4808	29227	4810	34037	14%	86%
<i>Lafayette</i>	3707	28088	3726	31814	12%	88%
<i>Jackson</i>	19186	177,138	19218	196356	10%	90%

Four Little Dixie Freedwomen, Almeda Patterson, Charlotte Birch, Mary Bell, and Priscilla Boggs joined the large numbers of African Americans leaving Little Dixie during the war. All four of these women resided in Howard County while enslaved and represented four of over one thousand African Americans that left the county by 1870. As previously discussed, Almeda Patterson left the Little Dixie region during the war and ended up working for a French woman in St. Louis. When Almeda and Martin reunited

after the war, they decided not to return to Howard County or any location in Little Dixie. Over the next few years, the Patterson maintained a transient lifestyle, moving when opportunities for employment became available in another community or town. Eventually, after several years of moving, Almeda and Martin settled in Kansas City.<sup>178</sup>

Mary Bell, Charlotte Birch, and Pricilla Boggs also left Little Dixie, but they all moved to St. Louis after their men were discharged there. For example, after his release from the Union Army, Jack Birch remained in St. Louis with a few of his fellow soldiers, bringing Charlotte down from Howard County after a few months. Although many of Jack's fellow soldiers chose to leave St. Louis, the Birches stayed in St. Louis for the rest of their lives. As previously mentioned, Mary Bell, her father, Spotswood Rice, and her family lived in St. Louis. Bell's father was stationed at Benton Barracks during the war and continued to work there as a nurse after the war ended or as Bell recalled, "when Abraham Lincoln was assassinated." Howard Boggs also decided not to return to Howard County after the war and also lived in St. Louis. It was there that he met his future wife, Priscilla. Interestingly, Priscilla was also from Howard County, and had decided to move to St. Louis.<sup>179</sup>

Because this study looked for African American women that were both enslaved in Little Dixie and remained there after the war, eighty percent of the Little Dixie Freedwomen remained in Mid-Missouri after their emancipation. Motivations for remaining probably varied amongst the group and included factors such as family and community, but economic opportunity certainly played a vital role in their decision making. Although emancipation granted these women the freedom to choose their jobs

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<sup>178</sup> 1860, *FC*; 1870, *FC*; Almeda Patterson Pension Claim for Martin Patterson.

<sup>179</sup> Charlotte Birch Pension Claim for Jack Birch; 1870, *FC*; 1880, *FC*; Spotswood Rice is listed in the 1870 as Spotford Rice. "Mary Bell," *Born in Slavery*; 1870, *FC*; 1880, *FC*.

and homes, opportunities were somewhat limited by a number of factors including the availability of positions, the wage offered, and the violent behavior of men like Jim Jackson. While the Freedwomen might have wanted to leave their former owners, many stayed on as their employees out of necessity. At least fifty percent of the women that remained in Little Dixie continued to work for their former owners, and were forced to negotiate their new relationship.<sup>180</sup>

The transition from slavery to wage labor created conflicts between newly freed African Americans and their former white owners in Little Dixie and across the South. Former owners tried to continue to assert their authority over the free blacks as they had in slavery. In return, African Americans rejected any constraints or expectations that were reminiscent of slavery that employers tried to impose on them in order to protect their rights as free citizens. Letters published in Little Dixie newspapers underscored the opinions of white citizens about the employment of African Americans, and although clearly biased against African Americans, these letters indicate that African Americans asserted their rights as wage laborers. In 1868, a letter in the *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, a famously southern sympathizing newspaper, described freedmen as “idle negroes...loafing around the city.” Other letters targeted African American women working in the white household, reporting, “a great deal of complaint of late about servants, especially in families.” The letter described Freedwomen as, “uneasy and dissatisfied and would like better wages.”<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Civil War and Later Pension Files; Greene, et.al., *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 92-93; Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 52; Mary Farmer Kaiser, *Freedwomen and the Freedmen's Bureau, Race, Gender, and Public Policy in the Age of Emancipation* (New York, Fordham University Press, 2010), 68.

<sup>181</sup> Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*, 194-199; Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 44-59. *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, August 29, 1868, p.2 and August 3, 1867, p.3.

White citizens shocked by their lack of authority turned to violence and the law to try to regain control. As previously discussed, white citizens responded to their changing position with violence and would continue to use violence against the free black community for decades to come. The white population also utilized legislation. The passage of Black Codes limited the freedom of African Americans by reaffirming economic dominance and authority of whites over their wage workers. Little Dixie men frequently used older laws and targeted their enforcement on the African American community. The most commonly used vagrancy law in the state dated back to 1815. The statute not only allowed for the auctioning of vagrants, but the removal of children from unfit homes and the bonding of that child as a laborer until they came of age. It also allowed for the twenty-five lashes against vagrants who could not be auctioned out. An 1867 Boone County law upheld this older law, stating that any person found loitering without proof of employment was to be arrested and tried for vagrancy. Individuals deemed guilty by the court were then auctioned to the highest bidder for four months of labor. The *Booneville Weekly Eagle* reported a vagrancy auction and the subsequent sale of an African American in Glasgow, Howard County in 1869.<sup>182</sup>

Because Little Dixie women continued to find employment within the white household as cooks, laundresses, and maids, conflicts frequently occurred between white and black women. Determining the rules of conduct for this new system of labor proved

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<sup>182</sup> Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*, 80-83; Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 125-125; Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction*, 104-105. Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*, 154-55; William Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991); James H. Purdy and William G. Myer, *The statutes of the state of Missouri, To which are prefixed the constitutions of the United States and the state of Missouri* (Cambridge: W. J. Gilbert, 1872), 1353. "Editorial on the public auction of a negro in Glasgow," *Boonville Weekly Eagle*, July 17, 1869. Suzanna Maria Grenz, "The Black Community in Boone County, Missouri, 1850-1900" (PhD diss., University of Missouri, 1979), 30-33.

challenging, as both women tried to protect their interests. Expectations differed for both groups of women on issues such as wages, hours, and what tasks would be performed by the employee. Now that African American women were free, they often refused to do tasks they formerly performed while enslaved. This infuriated whites that expected these women to continue to work in the same way that they had before, like a slave. In Saline County, former slave owner, Elvira Scott, complained about the Freedwomen that she employed, claiming that they, “tried me sorely,” and while she was close to dismissing the women, she decided to keep them on. Scott rejected punishing her employees with whipping, but when one woman “behaved badly,” she “locked her up for punishment.” Scott still felt free to punish her employees as if they were still enslaved, demonstrating her failure to really grasp that they were free women and free laborers.<sup>183</sup>

When Little Dixie Freedwomen remained in the homes of their owners after the Civil War, the blurring of the line between slavery and freedom was even more likely. Although technically free, many women were still dependent on the white family who had until recently owned them for their continued employment and shelter. For example, in the town of Lexington in Lafayette County, only two of one hundred and twenty-eight African American families owned property in 1870. Only twenty-five percent of the Little Dixie women and their families appear on the 1870 census in autonomous households. Freedwoman Sarah White was one of the many women that remained within the white household after emancipation, staying on the farm of her former owner, Fountain Roberts until 1868. She then moved to another white home for four to five

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<sup>183</sup> Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 149-158, 167-171; Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*, 121-122; Schwalm, *A Hard Fight For We*, 207-211; Mary Farmer Kaiser, *Freedwomen and the Freedmen's Bureau, Race, Gender, and Public Policy in the Age of Emancipation* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 67-69. May 20<sup>th</sup> 1866, p. 269, Elvira Ascenith Weir Diary, C1053, WHMC.

years. Her work included cooking, cleaning and laundry. Although Sarah eventually moved into her own home fifteen years after the war ended, she continued to “work out” for white households.<sup>184</sup>

The jobs available to the Little Dixie Freedwomen and their men were also reminiscent of their lives in slavery. For example, Freedwoman Maria Garth, continued to work as a domestic while residing on the farm of her former owner, Captain Rucker of Howard County, after emancipation. Even after Maria left the Rucker’s employment, she primarily found employment in domestic positions, such as a housekeeper or a cook. Maria actually worked for sixteen different people over twelve years. It was not until 1880 that Maria settled in her own household separate from other families. Their men also continued to work in agriculture as a hired hand or share cropper, or as a manual laborer. Part of this continued reliance on these types of jobs was the immediate need for employment, coupled with the fact that whites did not want to hire African American for other types of work. So with little other opportunity African Americans were forced to work in these low paying jobs.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Greene, et.al, *Missouri’s Black Heritage*, 92; 1870, FC; Sarah White Pension Claim for Jerry White.

<sup>185</sup> Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 52-67; Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*, 169-173; Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 167-180; Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*, 121-28; Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*, 194-233; Noralee Frankel, *Freedom’s Women: Black Women and Families in Civil War Era Mississippi* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1999), 47-70. It is important to note that historians have debated the role of African American women in the post-emancipation work force. Works including Jacqueline Jones’ work, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow* contend that African American women tried to remove themselves from the work force in order to assert their freedom from slavery. Reasons given for this vary such as emulating the white household or to construct the black male as patriarch. Recent studies argue against perception. Steven Hahn’s *A Nation Under Our Feet*, argues that women’s labor was not less in this period, rather withdrawn from places of exploitation such as the fields of white employers. Thavolia Glymph’s *Out of the House of Bondage*, argues that freedwomen reorganized their labor through part time labor, task work and managing their own households. They labored in their own homes, on their own schedules, although primarily still in labor intensive positions such as a cook or maid. Schwalm’s *A Hard Fight for We: Women’s Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina* argues that the African American women remained working both on the plantation and in the household, but fought to establish rights in those jobs. The Little Dixie women of this study all continued to work in the postwar period, although none worked as agricultural labors. Their jobs were primarily domestic in nature.

As a result of the difficult transition from slavery to freedom, only four of the Freedwomen's families appeared on the 1870 census. Two of those families, Mary and Nelson Bright and Ellen and William Pearson each lived in their own autonomous household. In 1870, the Pearsons and the Brights lived next door to each other in Franklin Township, Howard County. As a slave, William Pearson was owned by Samuel Pearson, who was a wealthy planter with an estate valued at \$30,000 in real estate and \$23,000 in personal property which included his twenty-eight slaves. In 1870, William Pearson no longer was owned by Samuel Pearson, but continued to work for him as farm laborer, as did Nelson Bright. The Brights and the Pearsons both rented homes, presumably from Samuel Pearson. And, unlike many of the other Freedwomen at that time, Mary Bright and Ellen Pearson both listed their occupations as "keeping house." Although it is possible that both Ellen and Mary "worked out" by taking in laundry into their homes, or some other sort of job. These two families were successful in securing their own homes and keeping both Maria and Ellen at home.<sup>186</sup>

As the Little Dixie Freedwomen and their families transitioned from slavery to freedom, the physical damage incurred by their husbands during their service in the Union Army impeded their occupational options. For example, Lonny Crews, the husband of Adaline, endured several injuries including a gunshot wound to his right arm, a hernia in his left side, injury to his left leg, and the loss of his toes on the right foot. Almeda Patterson's husband Martin served in the Co. H of the 65<sup>th</sup> USCT, and while in service in Louisiana was hit by a shotgun in the left hip. He was also shot in the right

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<sup>186</sup> Mary Bright Pension Claim for Nelson Bright; Ellen Pearson Pension Claim for William Pearson (Pvt., Co. C, 6<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 655,568 certificate no. 616285, Civil War Pension Files; 1860, FC; 1870, FC; 1880, FC.

hand and lost three fingers. As a result of their injuries, their ability to earn decent wages, and thus to own property suffered.<sup>187</sup>

The Little Dixie women bore the brunt of their men's incapacitation, often becoming the sole providers for their families and caregivers to their men. Like single women, the Little Dixie Freedwomen could not depend on their men for assistance. But unlike single women, the Little Dixie Freedwomen held the added burden of an injured dependent. Freedwomen negotiated the difficulties of the free black household after the war, by dividing their labor between paid employment and their own household production. Many women worked within their own households, taking in laundry, sewing or other tasks. Additionally, historians such as Leslie Schwalm have argued that a black man's enlistment in the Union Army validated his masculinity. When these men return from service disabled, it fell on the women's shoulders to confirm this masculinity, despite his injuries, and at the same time bear the burden of providing for their family.<sup>188</sup>

Mary and Aaron Hereford suffered from the impact of Aaron's service injury throughout their lives. Prior to the Civil War, Aaron resided on the farm of William Hereford in Chariton County. After his muster out from the Army in early 1867, Aaron Hereford made his way back to Glasgow (Howard County) to the home of his friend, Ed Cockerell, hoping to find employment. Cockerell helped Hereford find work breaking

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<sup>187</sup> Adaline Crews Pension Claim for Lonny Crews; Almeda Patterson Pension Claim for Martin Patterson. John David Smith, *Black Soldiers in Blue*, 41-42. Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland, *Black Military Experience*, 633-637.

<sup>188</sup> Schwalm, *A Hard Fight For We*, 136-144. Other studies that address masculinity and service in the Army include: David Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping Faith in Jubilee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 154-160; Jim Cullen, "I's a Man Now: Gender and African American Men," in *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War*, eds. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 76-91; Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland, *Black Military Experience*, 517-522; Brian Craig Miller, *John Bell Hood and the Fight for Civil War Memory* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2010). Miller's work on Confederate amputees argues that women helped reassert the masculinity of their men, despite previous notions of the white male body. I believe that African American women similarly bolstered their men, but assisting them in the household, but also recognizing their sacrifice in pursuit of freedom.

hemp on the farm of John Lewis. While there, Aaron met and married his wife, Mary. Aaron Hereford's work breaking hemp lasted only a short time, because his wartime injuries limited his ability to do the sort of strenuous labor hemp breaking required. During the war, Hereford was shot in his thigh, permanently disabling him. From his muster out until about 1880, Hereford considered himself to be about half disabled, able to perform some manual labor. As a result, he spent about eight years working on the farm of George Harrison, a banker in Glasgow. Hereford worked on the farm performing different jobs such as caring for the garden, tending to the cows and general chores. George Harrison noted that Hereford was not capable of any hard labor, stating that, "he was lame all the time and not able to do any plowing or anything that required much walking." Hereford himself noted that he had spells of about three to six days in which any work became impossible. By the 1880s, Hereford could no longer perform any manual labor at all, forcing him to depend on odd jobs in Glasgow and the income of his wife.<sup>189</sup>

Lingering war injuries or disabilities plagued the men of the Little Dixie women. Like Aaron Hereford, Jack Birch and Howard Boggs both exited the service suffering from health problems. In fact, Boggs even received an early discharge in 1864 because of his deteriorating physical condition. In his discharge papers, Boggs was described as "unfit for duty...has no physical stamina and will never be of any service to the government." Boggs physical condition also declined over time. His work consisted of odd jobs and by the turn of the century, his occupation was listed in the 1900 census as "dependent cripple." Priscilla Boggs supported her family, which included two children, by working as a housekeeper and laundress for the Stansbury family. Jack Birch

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<sup>189</sup> Mary Hereford Pension Claim for Aaron Hereford. *1870, FC; 1880, FC.*

contracted rheumatism while serving in the USCT, which limited his employment opportunities. Birch found work at a Cider factory, but overtime his ailment progressed to partial paralysis, limiting his physical ability. In 1880, he was considered a laborer. Charlotte kept house for the Birch family, but this included domestic work such as housekeeping and washing clothes for other families.<sup>190</sup>

In direct contrast to the other Little Dixie Freedwomen, Mary Bell's father finished his service in the Union Army without sustaining physical injury. This family's post war success demonstrates the importance of two able bodied wage earners to the free black family. Mary's father, Spotswood Rice, started working as a nurse at Benton Barracks after the war. Mary worked with her mother, Orry Rice, as a laundress, washing and ironing clothes for local families. Spotswood Rice's experience with tobacco while enslaved provided him the knowledge and skill to eventually leave his position as a nurse and work as a tobacconist. While most of the freed people of Little Dixie remained in manual labor, Rice successfully managed his own business and by 1870 had amassed an estate valued at \$2,500 in real estate and \$500 in personal property. Mary and Orry continued their work as washerwomen, at least through 1880.

Although many of the Little Dixie Freedwomen continued to work in white households post emancipation, the formation of all black institutions represented a marked change from life in slavery. During slavery, African American men and women often worshipped in white churches or privately in slave quarters. Freedom allowed the formation of independent black churches in communities across Little Dixie and the South. Churches operated as a central focus in this undertaking, as a developing piece of the free black community after emancipation. Churches performed a variety of functions,

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<sup>190</sup> Priscilla Boggs Pension Claim for Howard Boggs.

offering a location not only for worship, but schools, meetings and developing networks within towns and communities. African American women were the main participants in the church and its organizations, although church clergy was generally male. Women organized church based benevolent organizations that were particularly important in assuring freed people through times of hardship and by providing financial assistance to the suffering.<sup>191</sup>

African American churches formed as early as 1866 in Little Dixie. Former slave, Sylvester Dines, organized the African Methodist Episcopal church in the town of Miami in Saline County and only two years later, the Second Baptist church was organized there as well. Other communities across Saline County followed suit. In 1872, the Brownsville Methodist Episcopal colored church formed and by 1876 three African American churches existed in Marshall. Saline County was not the only county to see the construction of churches and assemblies of worship. In Boone County, the African American members of the New Salem Baptist Church separated from the organization led by whites, to create the African Church of New Salem in 1866. In Columbia, the Second Baptist Church organized in 1866 and St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal Church organized a year later. In the summer of 1882, around five hundred free persons of color held a picnic to raise funds for two churches in Columbia, and managed to raise over one hundred dollars. African Americans in Howard County constructed four churches. For example in Fayette, a "Second Church" opened its doors shortly after the war ended and was one hundred members strong by 1880. A few miles west of the town of New Franklin, Bethel Church formed near the Missouri River bottom. And in Glasgow, the

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<sup>191</sup> Mary Frances Berry, *My Face is Black is True*, 13-15; Parrish, 3:146, 3:157; Tera Hunter, *To Joy My Freedom*, 68-73; Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 68, 102; Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*, 230-232.

African Methodist Episcopal church opened along with the Glasgow Methodist Episcopal Church for the African American community.<sup>192</sup>

The church was so central to community building of the freed population of Little Dixie, it became the target of white aggression. In December of 1867, white men on horseback shot at the doors of the AME church in Columbia during a holiday celebration. Freedmen in the church fired back at the men, and ultimately a freedman was killed. The following summer of 1868, shortly after the completion of the newly constructed African American church in Marshall, Missouri (Saline County), the church was wholly consumed by fire, destroying the entire building. When it was discovered, nothing remained but “ashes and a few coals of fire.” Although newspaper reports of the incident claimed “some unknown cause” for the fire, the proximity of the fire to the buildings recent completion hints at foul play. The building, which was located on the outer edge of town, also served as a school house for African American children and cost the freed people of Marshall five hundred dollars to complete.<sup>193</sup>

Along with the churches, opportunities for education emerged with the formation of schools for African American children. Through education, African Americans gained the knowledge and skill necessary to continue to advance the black community. Most of the Little Dixie women were illiterate, with only a few exceptions being the younger

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<sup>192</sup> *History of Saline County*, 448, 504, 528; *History of Boone County, Missouri...* (St. Louis: Western Historical Company, 1882), 567, 631, 824-825; Gaston H. Wamble, “Negroes and Missouri Protestant Churches Before and After the Civil War,” *Missouri Historical Review* 61 (April 1967): 337, 339.” “Items of Local Interest,” *Columbia Statesman*, July 21, 1882. *History of Howard and Cooper Counties*, 341, 235. For more information on church formation, particularly Boone County, please see: Suzanna Maria Grenz, “The Black Community in Boone County, Missouri, 1850-1900,” 64-118; Gaston H. Wamble, “Negroes and Missouri Protestant Churches Before and After the Civil War,” 321-347; Berry, *My Face is Black is True*, 104-105.

<sup>193</sup> “Shooting at Church,” *Missouri Statesman*, December 27, 1867; “\$1000 Reward,” *Missouri Statesman*, 31 January 1868; *Missouri Statesmen* 19 June 1868. Lawrence O. Christensen, “Schools for Blacks: J. Milton Turner in Reconstruction Missouri,” *Missouri Historical Review* 76 (January 1982):121-35; Sue Thomas, *A Second Home: Missouri’s Early Schools* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006), 103-119.

women like Mary Bell, and Elizabeth Cropp. Eighty percent of the Little Dixie women were well beyond school age after the war and also needed to enter the work force, which made receiving an education difficult. In fact many of the Little Dixie women remained illiterate throughout their lives. So the educational opportunities that occurred in freedom really benefited the Freedwomen's children. Each Freedwomen of childbearing age bore at least one child and some had as many as ten children. Their children received the education unavailable to the Little Dixie Freedwomen and were a literate population.<sup>194</sup>

The new state Constitution of 1865, took steps to help the Little Dixie Freedwomen's children attend school. After the Civil War, legislators wanted to pass substantial legal changes for the newly freed people, but were only successful in garnering support for less contentious legislation dealing with the education of African Americans. The 1865 Constitution stipulated that public schools be available for all citizens from the age of five to twenty-one, with funding for the schools to be divided equally amongst the schools. In 1868, the state legislature further supported the education of African Americans by legislating that the State Superintendent could create schools for the black community if any local school board refused to form a school. As a result, African American education developed in Little Dixie, although segregated from the white institutions.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> Berry, *My Face is Black is True*, 15-20, 105-107; Herbert Gutman, "Schools for Freedom: The Post-Emancipation Origins of Afro-American Education," in *Power and Culture: Essays on the American Working Class*, ed. Ira Berlin (New York: The New Press, 1992), 260-297; Bertram Wyatt Brown, "Black Schooling During Reconstruction," in *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, and Education*, eds. Walter J. Fraser, Jr., Frank Saunders, Jr., and Jon Wakelyn (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 146-66; Leon Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 450-501; Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet, 1870, FC; 1880, FC*.

<sup>195</sup> William E. Parrish, *Missouri Under Radical Rule*, 117-118; "Missouri State Constitution of 1865 Article IX" in *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the State, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America: Vol. IV Michigan-New Hampshire*, ed. Francis Newton Thorpe (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 2191- 2228.

Across Little Dixie, schools for African American children were acquired to meet the needs of these students. Some towns constructed new buildings, while others found space available to rent for a school house. In Boone County, the city of Columbia started its school for black students in 1866 and other communities followed. On the average between forty and fifty African American students attended schools in Sturgeon and Ashland in Boone County. The town of Rocheport listed 260 students in public school with 120 African American students attending in a rented building. In Howard County, African American schools opened in Fayette and Glasgow, each with over 100 students by 1880.<sup>196</sup>

Missouri public schools remained under state control after the war and did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Freedman's Bureau. However, Col. Seely, a Bureau agent followed the progress of freedman's education in the region. Seely believed that, "Missouri, with a few gigantic strides has placed herself in advance of many of her more conservative sisters." He believed that Missouri had one of the largest percentages of African American students enrolled and attending public school. For example, in Glasgow, Howard County, fifty-seven percent of white students attended school, while sixty-nine percent of African Americans attended. Seely noted that the state still faced challenges in its education of African Americans, from poor school facilities to the

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Isidor Loeb, *Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions*; Isidor Loeb and Floyd Shoemaker, *Journal Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875* (Columbia: The Stephen Hughes Co., 1920); "Laws of the State of Missouri, Adjourned Session 24<sup>th</sup> Assembly, 1868," Lloyd L. Gaines Collection the University of Missouri, <http://digital.library.umsystem.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?sid=960c4720f2218f542ec2ead3560c3959&g=&c=gnp&cc=gnp&tpl=mocon.tpl>.

<sup>196</sup> *History of Boone County*, 576, 634, 818, 1007; *History of Howard and Coopers Counties*, 198, 234, 330. Antonio Holland and Gary R. Kremer, "Some Aspects of Black Education in Reconstruction Missouri: An Address by Richard B. Foster," *Missouri Historical Review* 70 (January 1976): 184-98; Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*, 276-28; W. Sherman Savage, "Legal Provisions for Negro Schools in Missouri from 1890 to 1935," *The Journal of Negro History* 22 (July 1937): 335-344; Mary Farmer Kaiser, *Freedwomen and the Freedmen's Bureau*, 106-107; Parrish, *A History of Missouri*, 3:158-169.

refusals of white teachers to teach at black schools. But in comparison to other former slave states, Missouri offered the young African American population the opportunity to pursue an education with relative success.<sup>197</sup>

Seely's optimistic view of Little Dixie's educational opportunities for African Americans largely overlooked the problems schools faced with money, facilities and the attendance of students. In Chariton County, Louis Benecke, a community leader and supporter of the African American community started the process of opening schools for African American children as early as 1864, when he hired a teacher named Collins and paid him a salary equivalent to a teacher working at the white school. In 1867, Benecke noted that the African American school averaged twenty-four males in attendance with twenty-five enrolled and twenty-four females in attendance with thirty-six enrolled. The school used the McGuffey's reader and the Rays Primary Arithmetic. Benecke continued to push for the development and support of African Americans schools in the region, pointing out the numerous problems the "colored" schools encountered. In 1867, a letter written by Benecke to the Clerk of the Board of Education, requested the equal division of money between the black and the white schools. He wrote again in 1868, this time to Col. Seely, the Superintendent of Education for the Freedman's Bureau. Benecke wanted the Freedman's Bureau to provide maps and books for the colored schools in the area, because they lacked the funds to purchase those supplies.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> J.W. Alvord, *First Semi-Annual Report on Schools and Finances of Freedmen: Jan. 1 1866* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), 61-74., Robert Brigham, *The Education of the Negro in Missouri* (PhD Diss., University of Missouri, 1946), 95.

<sup>198</sup> Records of Public Schools, Benecke Family Papers, C3825, folder 625, WHMC; Louis Benecke to Steamer, 1867, Benecke Family Papers, C3825, folder 625, WHMC; Louis Benecke to Col. Seely, December 4, 1868, Benecke Family Papers, C3825, folder 625, WHMC.

Rather than support African American education, the white community of Mid-Missouri responded with violence and attempts to reassert the authority of whites over blacks. The white community expressed their dissatisfaction with the increased rights of African Americans and their newly found freedom in a variety of ways, often times simply stating their objections. In March of 1866 at mass meeting that occurred in Fayette, Howard County, whites declared the Freedman's Bureau "radically repugnant" to the principles of liberty. They believed that the bureau would "pauperize" the black race and as a result tax whites to maintain them. These Howard County citizens similarly denounced the general assembly's passage of African American suffrage resolutions and declared this a "gross misrepresentation" of the public sentiment of Missouri. These vocalized rejections clearly affirmed to the Little Dixie freed women that emancipation did not change the opinions of the white community and that they would not passively accept this change.<sup>199</sup>

Similar sentiment existed throughout Little Dixie, particularly when addressing the suffrage rights of African Americans. An 1866 Boone County election proposed the removal of the word white from the suffrage amendment. Voters rejected the change with an overwhelming 278 voter against and only 68 in support. In Saline County, an 1868 election presented an amendment to the constitution granting African Americans the franchise. This amendment was opposed, 468 to 409. Despite the efforts of the white

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<sup>199</sup> Greene, et.al, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 91-92; Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long*, 277-279; Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 71-72; Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction*, 125-130; Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*, 214-222. Schwalm, *Emancipation's Diaspora*, 195-206. *History of Howard and Cooper Counties*, 289-290.

community to prohibit African American suffrage, the 15<sup>th</sup> amendment would override any local resistance to changing legislation.<sup>200</sup>

At the same time, reports of violence throughout the Little Dixie Freedwomen's communities and towns continued in the region throughout the late 1860s and early 1870s. Violence took many forms and garnered different justifications, but each act demonstrated the tension between blacks and whites in Little Dixie and the challenges faced by the African American community. In March of 1867, a number of white men made African American men the target of their aggression in the town of Miami, within Saline County. Accounts that discuss the attacks offer numerous interpretations and variations ranging from the nonsensical to something probably closer to reality. Reports of the riots did not identify the attackers, but some claimed the men were former members of the state militia, others said they were Quantrill men. One account said that the rioters attacked a number of African American men because they were wearing old Confederate uniforms. The local newspaper, the *Marshal Progress*, reported on the incident in an April edition asserting that the attackers wanted to silence an African American man who had identified some white men as troublemakers to law officials. The most plausible explanation asserted that a group of white men came into town, and started firing on African Americans in town after become intoxicated.<sup>201</sup>

Similar riots occurred in Ashland and Rocheport in the late 1870s and early 1880s. The Ashland riot occurred on Election Day in 1878. Accounts of the day portray a rowdy and intoxicated group of African American men in town after voting. The dispute began over a bout of name calling reportedly between a white deputy marshal and

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<sup>200</sup> *History of Boone County*, 487; *History of Saline County*, 361, 382.

<sup>201</sup> *History of Saline County*, 452, 377-378; *Marshall Progress*, 5 April 1867.

some of the African American voters. This resulted in shots being fired, rocks thrown and general mayhem in the town. Both whites and blacks in the dispute blamed the other group for initiating the fight, although it is unclear who actually did begin the shooting. The local paper, the *Ashland Bugle*, reported that three freemen were injured, all shot but none of the wounds fatal. Besides these men, only one other person sustained any injuries, a young girl who received a superficial wound when she was grazed by a bullet as a bystander. In Rocheport, a scuffle broke out between a drunken freedman and a white man in 1882. The white man claimed the freedman insulted him and proceeded to pull out his gun and knock the other man down. About twenty five white and black men watching the fight joined into the fracas, which ultimately led to gun fire between the groups. No one was injured in either conflict, but the African American men in the Rocheport riot ended up serving time in prison.<sup>202</sup>

In response to the violence against African Americans, communities such as Lexington in Lafayette County appointed a number of black men to the local police force to protect black citizen which included the Little Dixie Freedwomen living there. In 1868, the Mayor of Lexington gave authority to black officers to defend the black community against unruly *black* citizens only. Each church in town received a black officer to protect the congregants from other black citizens disrupting the services. Although they did not have the authority to arrest white citizens, it is interesting to note the location of the officers at churches: the primary location of meetings and community organizing and the previous target of white hostility. When in 1870 an African American

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<sup>202</sup> *History of Boone County*, 635-36; *Ashland Bugle*, Nov. 8 1878. "County News-Rocheport," *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, April 7, 1882; "Shooting at Rocheport," *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, May 12, 1882, p. 3.

male joined the white police force of Lexington, with the authority to arrest white citizens, the council shut down the entire police force.<sup>203</sup>

The transition from slavery to freedom for the Little Dixie Freedwomen progressed similarly to the free black police force in Lexington; it was give and take. Each step forward that the Little Dixie women took to move forward from slavery brought with it problems, conflicts or challenge to overcome. For example, when the Little Dixie women finally received their freedom, they faced the challenge of finding their men. Once these women married and started families, employment and the transition from slave labor to free labor proved challenging. Their men served in the Union Army, helping secure their freedom, but suffered injuries that created greater strain on their households. And as community institutions such as churches and schools formed, whites used violence to undermine these groups and their role in the black community. But, in the years directly following the Civil War the legacy of the Civil War and the rights granted to African American citizens still mattered in the political, social, and economic dynamics of Little Dixie. As years past and the legacy of the war changed, so would the lives of the Little Dixie Freedwomen.

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<sup>203</sup> *Lexington Caucasian*, November 28, 1868, p. 3, and July 23, 1870, p. 3.

## CHAPTER FIVE: “Because of what the past has made us:” The formation of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1880-1905

On May 10, 1899, in the heart of Little Dixie, the Founders of the Missouri Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy held their second annual meeting in Lafayette County, Missouri. Annie Todhunter, a Founder and current president of the association addressed her fellow Daughters. Her chosen topic was the purpose of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Missouri. Todhunter described the mission of the Missouri Association, emphasizing its role in collecting and preserving the “true history of the greatest war of all ages.” Todhunter proclaimed that the Daughters held the responsibility of perpetuating a history of the Civil War that would remind future generations of the heroism of the Confederate Army and its service to the people of the South. Monuments, education, and public service all ensured that their beliefs about the war and its heroic southern soldiers would continue on for future generations. Todhunter concluded her speech with words of encouragement for her fellow United Daughters of the Confederacy members. They would succeed in their efforts to protect the memory of the war and the legacy of their men because women, although considered the weaker sex, were in fact a “mighty force when properly organized.”<sup>204</sup>

This chapter traces the increased activism of the twenty Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, looking specifically at the period from 1885 to 1905. Although their entrance into memorial work began immediately after the Civil War with

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<sup>204</sup> *Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting of the Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy...* (Fayette, Mo.: Press of Democrat-Leader, 1899), 4; Martha Raines Orten, *History of the Missouri Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1898-1966* (St. Louis: Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1966), 5-6. For an interesting study of the rhetoric used by the United Daughters of the Confederacy please see: Amy Herse, “Women’s Rhetorical Authority and Collective Memory: The United Daughters of the Confederacy Remember the South,” *Women & Language* 32 (2010):31-53.

the formation of Southern Relief Associations, in the last decade of the nineteenth century the public participation of these women in memorial work climbed sharply. Their activities in this period reflected the continued trajectory of their men as significant contributors to the political and economic systems of both Little Dixie and the state. The Founders supported their men through this process by reconstructing their image from defeated Confederates to gallant soldiers and defenders of their homes and families. Their tools for achieving this goal included the Confederate Home, newspapers, monuments, speeches and celebrations, which were each employed to defend their memories and their experiences in the Civil War. Ultimately the Founders' work culminated in their decision to join the National Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, an organization that helped to further empower the Founders' and their work through its organizational structure and breadth of influence.

Throughout the end of the nineteenth century, the Founders of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and their families continued to recover from the destruction of their political and economic position which was the result of their Civil War defeat. The process of political reemergence for the Founders' men was slow and began with two key changes in the 1870s. During the Civil War, Radical Republicans dominated the political structure of the state, guaranteeing the passage of legislation such as the Drake Constitution of 1865, which limited the rights of former Confederates. But, by the end of the 1860s, a split emerged in the Republican Party between Radical and Liberal Republicans. This split ultimately resulted in an alliance between Liberal Republicans and Democrats and the removal of Radical Republicans from office. In 1870, this coalition of Liberal Republicans and Democrats succeeded in

electing Benjamin Gratz Brown, a Liberal Republican to office and also passed a series of amendments that allowed for the re-enfranchisement of former Missouri Confederates, which included the Founders' men. These amendments included the abolishment of the test oath for voting and serving on a jury and allowed citizens to hold office regardless of their race, color, previous condition of servitude, and "on account of former acts of disloyalty."<sup>205</sup>

The second key change was the passage of a new state Constitution in 1875. After former Confederates regained their political rights, they succeeded in replacing the Drake Constitution which was the Constitution adopted in 1865 under the leadership of Radical Republicans. Historian William Parrish describes the 1875 Constitution as "basically a conservative document," that created more stability in elected offices and transferred some power from the state legislature to the governor. This was an effort by the re-enfranchised former Confederates to protect the Democratic Party from a diversifying Missouri electorate of immigrants and African Americans that could control the legislative branch. The 1875 Constitution further targeted the rights of African Americans by supporting segregation in Missouri public schools. Even after the passage of the Constitution, Missouri lawmakers continued to create legislation directed at the rights of the African American community. For example, an 1879 miscegenation law prohibited persons with more than one-eighth or more African American blood from marrying a white person. The punishment ranged from two years in the penitentiary to \$100 fine and three months in the county jail or a combination of the two punishments.

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<sup>205</sup> Parrish, *A History of Missouri*, 3:260-275; Switzler, et al, *Switzler's Illustrated History of Missouri*, 466-469.

Whether or not a person was of African-American descent was decided upon by the opinion of a jury through appearance.<sup>206</sup>

Together, these two important political changes facilitated the political re-empowerment of the Founders' men in the 1880s and 1890s, primarily through the governance of their towns and communities. For example, Founder Ellen Asbury's husband, Ai Edgar Asbury, became a vocal participant in the politics of Lafayette County. The most notable success for the Founders and their men was the election of John Sappington Marmaduke as Governor of Missouri in 1884. Former Confederate General Marmaduke was the cousin of Founders Ann Perkins and Louisa Lamb and brother-in-law of Founder Zemula Marmaduke.<sup>207</sup>

The political empowerment of the Founders' men coincided with the improvement of their economic position. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, the Founders transitioned their family economy from agriculture to new types of employment. By the 1890s, many settled into professional careers and businesses such as banking, retail and law. Through these positions they regained a level of measured economic prosperity within their lives. Rather than large estates, they lived in comfortable homes. Instead of owning fifty slaves, they hired a housekeeper or cook. Ann Perkins and her sister Louisa

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<sup>206</sup> Parrish, *A History of Missouri*, 3:289-292; Switzler, et al, *Switzler's Illustrated History of Missouri*, 476-479; *Constitution of the State of Missouri 1875, With All Amendments to 1909 Compiled by Cornelius Roach Secretary of State* (Jefferson City, Mo.: The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, 1909), 54-61. Lawrence O. Christensen and Gary Kremer, *A History of Missouri*, 4:16-20; McReynolds, *Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 301; Walter Barlow Stevens, *Centennial History of Missouri: One Hundred Years in the Union, 1820-1921* (St. Louis: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1921), 210-217. Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 63; Greene, et.al, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 104-107; Christensen and Kremer, *A History of Missouri*, 4: 57-59; Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 8-10. Nationally, the Supreme Court ruled the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional and Missourians proceeded to escalate segregation and legislation against African Americans as a result of this ruling.

<sup>207</sup> *History of Lafayette County*, 641-644; *History of Saline County*, 406-407.

Lamb enjoyed enormous wealth prior to the Civil War as the daughters of Missouri Governor, Claiborne Fox Jackson. Although both women eventually recovered from the war's devastation, their wealth never rivaled their antebellum position. Ann Perkins and her husband John moved to St. Louis from Little Dixie during the early 1890s, along with her sister Louisa Lamb and her son Charles. John Perkins worked as a lawyer in St. Louis. Louisa's older husband, Charles, died in 1894, but her son, Charles, owned a restaurant in St. Louis. Louisa and her son Charles lived with the Perkins family, listed as "roomers" within the family home.<sup>208</sup>

It should be noted that a few Founders and their men succeeded in building new fortunes after the war, but this was rare. For example, Ai Edgar Asbury finished his service with the Confederate Army with only twenty dollars in silver from the sale of his weapon. By 1890 Asbury owned a successful dry goods business and invested in a variety of banks and businesses including the railroad. Together with his wife, Founder Ellen Gaw Asbury, their family returned to a position of economic prominence and extreme wealth within Lafayette and Howard Counties. But Asbury's post-war wealth and privilege differed from his antebellum experience. Most notably, Asbury no longer depended on slave labor in his business. His dry goods business, banking and railroad investments depended on his labor or the paid labor of wage laborers. Asbury also invested his money in business and technology, particularly the blossoming railroad

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<sup>208</sup> 1860, *FC*; 1900, *FC*; *History of Saline County*, 786-787. Christensen and Kremer, *A History of Missouri*, 4:79-108; Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South*, 33-50; Geiger, "Missouri's Hidden Civil War," 195-196; Harold D. Woodman, "Economic Reconstruction and the Rise of the New South," in *Interpreting Southern History: Historiographic Essays in Honor of Sanford Higgenbotham*, eds., John Boles and Evelyn Thomas Nolen (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 271; Dwight Billings, *Planters and the Making of a "New South": Class, Politics, and Development in North Carolina, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 130; Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 179; Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 199-224.

commerce in Missouri, a departure from the typical antebellum investments in land and slave labor.<sup>209</sup>

By the time the Founders and their men regained some of their former economic and political position, they were no longer young men and women; they were middle aged. Age also played a significant role in bringing about the creation of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Twenty-five years since the war, many of the Founders of the Missouri Association were no longer young women creating new families and having children. In the 1890s, a majority of the Founders were entering their 40s and 50s. In fact the average age of the Founders was forty-five years old. Their parents, if still living, were now almost seventy. Age also affected the quality of life experiences by former Confederate soldiers and their wives. The men's service in the war left them with injuries and illnesses that required increased care. Both men and women suffered from problems associated with aging. As the generations increasingly passed on, the Founders understandable wondered how their parents, their men, southerner soldiers, and finally how they themselves, would be remembered.<sup>210</sup>

It was a combination of age, economics, and political status, that prompted the increased activism of the Founders of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy during this period, but the foundation of their activism began directly after the Civil War. The Founders' participation in local memorial organizations and Southern Relief Associations immediately began the reconstruction of both the South and

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<sup>209</sup> 1860, *FC*; 1870, *FC*; 1880, *FC*; 1900, *FC*; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Lafayette and Saline Counties, Missouri* (Chicago: Chapman Bros, 1893), 117-121. Wade F. Ankesheilm, *Heart is the Heritage: The Story of the Founding of the Confederate Home of Missouri* (Coral Springs, FL: Llumina Press, 2007), 27-33; *History of Howard and Cooper Counties*, 299-306. Parrish, *A History of Missouri*, 3:207-223; McReynolds, *Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State*, 156-62; Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South*, 39-45

<sup>210</sup> 1860, *FC*; 1870, *FC*; 1880, *FC*; 1900, *FC*; Janney, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past*, 169-170.

their men. These women took particular interest in the creation of Relief Associations throughout Little Dixie, which helped to raise money for the orphans and widows of Confederate soldiers. The Relief Associations also began to assert the Founders' memory of Southern soldiers as valiant heroes through their public fundraising and publications. Through this kind of work the Founders' solidified their involvement in the public arena after the war ended and established a core group of women that would continually work together in their public activism.<sup>211</sup>

In 1881, the Founders formally organized again, only this time it was under the auspices of a Confederate veterans' organization. The Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri brought the Founders' men together with other Confederate Veterans looking to reminisce about their wartime experiences at various planned events. Events such as Veteran's encampments were entertaining for the former soldiers as they could meet with fellow Confederates, hold picnics, barbeques and social gatherings. After all, the Ex-Confederate Association's purpose was to "associate ourselves together as a permanent organization for social enjoyment..." However, the organization also believed that it played a role in "the preservation of our history." The Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri provided an opportunity for the Founders' men to recount their history of the war, their heroic fighting, and their dedication to the South, and more importantly, validate this history through corroboration with their fellow Veterans.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> *Circular of [the] Missouri Southern Relief Association, 1866*, Clarence Ivord and Idress Head Collection, C970, folder 167, WHMC; Howard Louis Conrad, ed., *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri* (St. Louis: The Southern History Company, 1901), 435; *Fayette Advertiser*, April 5, 1866; *Columbia Missourian Statesman*, April 27, 1866, May 25<sup>th</sup> 1866, and June 1, 1866.

<sup>212</sup> Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri, *Report of the Proceedings of the Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri in its Second Annual Meeting...* (St. Louis: Woodward and Tiernan Printers, 1883), 5-6. *Jefferson City Daily Tribune*, August 17, 1883. Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 125-165; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 13; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 104-114.

Although the organization was officially a “Veterans” group, the Founders took an active role in it from the very beginning. The Ex-Confederate Association provided the perfect opportunity for the Founders to front their men as the public participants of their group as the women discreetly ensured the success of the organization by helping to coordinate the encampments, plan their meetings, and support their men. Evidence of the Founders’ influence permeated the group, not only through the membership of their men which included but was not limited to Claude Minter, Sidney Cunningham, John Marmaduke, and Frank Gaiennie, but in other ways as well. For example, both the Ex-Confederate Association and Southern Relief Associations saw similar purposes for their group. Both groups proposed that part of their function was the “assistance” of those who could no longer provide for themselves or their families. Both groups also paid particular attention to the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers.<sup>213</sup>

The formation of the Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri helped to further the Founders’ work of reconstructing the image of the former Confederate Veterans, particularly amongst other Veterans. The Union Veteran’s organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, held events similar in nature to the Ex-Confederates, which included encampments and reunions. In 1883, Union and Confederate Veterans from these two groups marched side by side in a local parade. The men found common ground through their shared experience of military service, stories of battles and tales of heroics. By

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<sup>213</sup> *Lexington Caucasian*, “To the Ladies,” May 30, 1866; *Lexington Caucasian*, “The Confederate Dead,” June 13, 1866; Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri, *Report of the Proceedings of the Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri in its Second Annual Meeting...*, 5-6; Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri, *Proceedings of the 7<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion...* (St. Louis, Slawson Co., 1889), 7.

viewing other Veterans through this lens the men were able to put aside their past differences and view each other as valiant soldiers rather than enemies.<sup>214</sup>

The organizations dedication to assisting those men and women left in need after the Civil War drew attention to the aging and disabled Confederate veteran population within the state. Many Confederate soldiers never recovered from the effects of the war on their lives and bodies and with little money or opportunity, these aging soldiers needed assistance. The men and women of the Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri prided themselves on refusing federal government pensions and instead were being content with the “consciousness of duty faithfully performed,” as encouraged by Robert E. Lee. But in reality the government refused pensions to the Confederate soldiers in the 1880s and 1890s because they committed treason by taking up arms against the United States. Members of the Ex-Confederate Association decided to fulfill the needs unmet by the federal government and assist their suffering comrades.<sup>215</sup>

This need was to be met by the creation of a Soldier’s Home for Confederate veterans and their families. In 1889, plans to create a veteran’s home took shape and the organization formed of a special group dedicated to pursuing this goal. The Ex-Confederate Veterans began raising funds for the home shortly thereafter. By 1890, the men raised almost \$17,000 in subscription and donations. The substantial amount of

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<sup>214</sup> *Jefferson City Daily Tribune*, August 17, 1883. Silber’s work *The Romance of Reunion* discusses the possibility of shared memorial events between Union and Confederate Veterans when the two groups stressed the shared experience of battle and most importantly the bravery of both groups of soldiers. Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 61.

<sup>215</sup> Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri, *Report of the Proceedings of the Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri in its Second Annual Meeting...*, 5-6.

money raised by the organization prompted the group to decide at that same meeting that “the Home is going to be built.”<sup>216</sup>

The Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy actively took part in the creation of the Confederate Home, first through their work in the Ex-Confederate Association and then through the formation of their own autonomous organization called the Daughters of the Confederacy. As participants in the Ex-Confederate Veterans Association, the Founders attended meetings and reunions with their husbands and began to work on the Confederate Home. However, in January of 1891, these women decided to officially create a women’s organization that would collaborate with, but not be wholly encompassed by their husband’s organization. Under the leadership of Antoinette Cassidy, ninety-seven women gathered at the Southern Hotel in St. Louis to start the group. In August, Antoinette then traveled to the annual Veteran’s reunion held in Kansas City to officially organize the women in attendance at that meeting. By the meetings end, the women in attendance formed a Kansas City branch of the Daughters of the Confederacy and initiated plans for several auxiliary groups across the state. They decided to call themselves the “Daughters of the Confederacy,” after Confederate President Jefferson Davis’ daughter Winnie Davis. Founders that participated in the Daughters of the Confederacy were many and included: Mary Wilson, Louisa Gaiennie, Elizabeth Robert, Ann Perkins, Kate Doneghy, Louisa Lamb, Zemula Marmaduke, and Felicia Beall.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri, *Proceedings of the 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion...* (St. Louis, Slawson Co., 1890), 7-9.

<sup>217</sup> Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri, *Proceedings of the 9<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion...* (St. Louis, Slawson Co., 1891), 11-14, 19; “Origin of the Daughters of the Confederacy,” *Confederate Veteran*, 5 (December 1897), 616.

At that same August reunion in 1891, the men of the Ex-Confederate Veteran's Association recognized the accomplishments of their, "wives, daughters, sisters and sweethearts," which included the Founders, on the work of the home thus far. According to Congressman William Hatch who was speaking at the meeting, it was "simply a privilege to help," the women in their work on the home. He further believed that "if every man in Missouri were to sew up his pockets that Home would be built by the noble women." The members of Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri resolved to express their thanks to their wives and daughters in the "Daughters of the Confederacy," for their "earnest action and successful work on behalf of the Confederate Home."<sup>218</sup>

The members of the Daughters of the Confederacy proved steadfast in their desire to construct a Confederate Home, canvassing the state for funds and new members to help their cause. The Daughters held strawberry festivals, picnics, participated in the St. Louis Exposition, held a Thanksgiving ball and sold Confederate Home bricks. Through their intensive efforts to raise money through a variety of activities and events, the Daughters raised \$7,945 in one year. In total, their fundraising efforts brought in around \$75,000. Throughout this process the Daughters numbers expanded exponentially as local branches of the group formed across the state, particularly in Little Dixie. During the first year, the membership swelled to over two hundred members and over twenty auxiliary societies.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri, *Proceedings of the 9<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion...*, 11; Confederated Southern Memorial Association, *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South* (New Orleans, The Graham Press, 1904), 212-213.

<sup>219</sup> *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*, 212-214; *Secretary's First Annual Report of the Daughters of the Confederacy of Missouri: Auxiliary to the Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri, Saint Louis Missouri, February, 1892* (St. Louis, Mo. The Daughters, 1892); R.B. Rosenberg, *Living Monuments: Confederate Soldiers' Homes in the New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 140. Women participated in fundraising prior to this period, as evidenced in their organization of fair and festivals similar to the events planned by the Founders for the Higginsville Home.

The Founders also played a significant role in the construction, organization and management of the Confederate Home. Although other organizations contributed to the Home, the Daughters were the primary actors. As Founder of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Mary Wilson, described it, the “Confederate Association” bought the land but that the Daughters, “built and equipped the home and for years after helped maintain it.” For the Daughters, the Confederate Home became a vehicle through which they continued their public activism and reconstructed the image of their husbands. This meant that every aspect of the Home became an opportunity to present to the public with their vision of how the Home and its men should be perceived. Therefore the Daughters carefully designed and constructed the Home to elicit the desired public response. The Daughters were also aware of the Veteran’s perceptions of the Home and the possibility that they might consider their entrance as a weakness or a failure. So, they consciously crafted the Home as to not undermine the self-worth of the Confederate Veterans.<sup>220</sup>

The Daughters of the Confederacy recognized that admittance into the Higginsville Home meant that these men had been “rendered incapable of providing for themselves and their families,” and they wanted to bolster the self-confidence and the self-esteem of these former Confederate soldiers, not increase the humiliation that many of these men might feel. After all, it was the man’s job to provide a home and care for his family and in this situation the women were providing these men with a home and

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For works that discuss this fundraising, please see: Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Women in the Civil War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 32-40; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 23-30; Rable, *Civil Wars*, 136-144.

<sup>220</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 9 (May 1901): 226; Rosenberg, *Living Monuments*, 141; Higginsville Home File, SHSM. Historian R.R. Rosenberg agrees with this interpretation that the Missouri women were in charge of the Confederate Home. However other works, including Ankesheiln’s *The Heart is the Heritage*, believes that men were the primary actors. I believe this discrepancy arrives from Ankesheiln’s focus on the purchasing and legal documents of the Home, which were handled by men. However, the men acted on behalf of the women on the Home. His surface attention to the Home’s history ignores the significance of women.

assisting with the care of their families. The Daughters were sensitive to labeling the Home as charity or as a result of their failure to fulfill their role as a husband and a provider. They maintained that Veterans entered into the Home because they honorably served the South during the Civil War and in recognition of this service were provided with food, shelter and care. Thus the Confederate Home lifted the burden from the soldier without chastising him for his failure.<sup>221</sup>

While the Daughters were concerned about the Veteran's perceptions of the Home, they were also acutely aware of the public's opinion of their men. The creation of a Veteran's Home displayed the private failure of the Confederate Veterans to provide for their family openly to the public world. In order to counter this public display, the Daughters used the Confederate Home as a public platform to assert their understanding of their men not as failures, but as heroic soldiers that fought to protect their women and children. The Daughters used the Higginville Home and all of its elements, the buildings, rooms, events, and the public participation of the Daughters to advance this goal. Original designs for the Home included a number of small cottages, a hospital, and one main building to serve as the epicenter of the compound. The cottages proved particularly significant for the Daughters. As R.B. Rosenberg points out in his study *Living Monuments*, cottages provided "home privileges" to the soldiers and simultaneously removed the correlation between the Veteran's Home and a poor house through these separate residences. This study argues that the construction of self-contained cottages also publically displayed these men as heads of household within their

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<sup>221</sup> "Constitution of the Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri" in Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri, *Report of the Proceedings of the Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri in its Second Annual Meeting...*,7; Rosenberg, *Living Monuments*, 95-97; Rusty Williams, *My Old Confederate Home: A Respectable Place for Civil War Veterans* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2010), 100;

individual residence, helping to redeem their image. The Daughters originally envisioned forty cottages on the compound, but as construction on the Home progressed and expenditures mounted, their plans changed. In 1891, when the first veteran, Julius Bamberg, moved into the facility, it consisted of one ten-room home, a hospital, a two-room home with kitchen, a barn and a stable. Over time eleven cottages were added to the Home, each named after a Confederate War hero.<sup>222</sup>

Design plans for the Home also included the construction of a non-denominational chapel on site for the residents. The women of Lafayette County, Missouri, which included Founder, Ellen Asbury, helped to raise \$1200 for the construction of a chapel on the grounds which conducted service each Sunday with a rotating minister or priest from the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Catholic churches. The chapel served a variety of purposes for the Home, including a location for weddings, funerals, and social gatherings. But, the construction of a chapel also suggested to the public the importance of religion and Christianity in the Confederate Veterans' lives. Many historians have drawn connections between religion and the Confederate Veteran, suggesting that Christianity played an important role in the rehabilitation of a Confederate's character, both through its imagery and its connotation

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<sup>222</sup> Higginsville Home File, SHSM; Ankesheilm, *The Heart is the Heritage*, 22-24, 44; "History of Missouri's Confederate Home," *Confederate Veteran* 5 (November 1893): 147; Julius Bamberg epitomized the Daughter's ideal home resident. He was an honorable soldier and a hardworking family man that fell on hard times. Bamberg served in the Confederate States Army as member of the Sterling Price's Division. During his service he brought supplies and information to Price from St. Louis, was captured as a spy and sent to Alton prison. After the war, Bamberg worked as a tailor and dressmaker to support his family. At the age of 78, Bamberg could no longer provide for himself because of physical disabilities of old age and was admitted to the home. Julius Bamberg Application to the Confederate Home <https://www.familysearch.org/search/image/show#uri=https%3A//api.familysearch.org/records/pal%3A/M9.3.1/TH-1-16945-3723-54%3Fcc%3D1865475%26wc%3D7122759>; R.B. Rosenburg, *Living Monuments*, 73-74; Rusty Williams, *My Old Confederate Home*, 5; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 91-91. Roseburg's work on the Confederate Home fails to pay attention to the role of women. He also dismisses the Missouri home because they built a large facility for the inmates, saying it was cheaper, however the Missouri records point to the construction of a large facility as more cost effective.

of morality. The determination of the Daughters to build a Chapel at the Home indicates that it was meaningful to them as well.<sup>223</sup>

The largest building on the site, the main housing for one hundred and fifty men, was a plantation style construction with grand columns and a large yard. The building evoked the memory of life before the war, when southern men owned great plantations and slaves, an interesting illustration given the population of men residing in the Home. Although there were a few men that owned large estates and slaves prior to the Civil War, very few wealthy men resided in the Home. This included the Founders' men, who did not appear as residents of the Home at any time. The majority of the men and women residing at the Confederate Home were not part of this privileged class and did not own a large number of slaves. In fact, most would not own slaves at all. Furthermore, many of these men were not economic elites in the post war period either. For example, there were 690 Confederate men buried in the Home's cemetery. Of these 690 men, about ten percent listed their occupation as laborer. Thus the Home's grand façade helped to minimize perceptions of poverty amongst its residents.<sup>224</sup>

Once the Home was constructed, the facility served as a principle location for Confederate memorial activities in the state. With only one major battle ground at Wilson's Creek, the location of the Home in the heart of Little Dixie offered a more central location for their Confederate celebrations. The Home provided the Daughters with large grounds and a Confederate Cemetery. Thousands of visitors traveled to the

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<sup>223</sup> *Higginsville Advance*, June 3, 1892, p.1; Higginsville Home File, SHSM; Ankesheiln, *The Heart is the Heritage*, 78-79; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 96-97; Whites, *Gender Matters*, 89; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 31-33.

<sup>224</sup> Higginsville Home File, SHSM; Ankesheiln, *The Heart is the Heritage*, 37; Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 219; Jeff White, *Sleeping City on the Farm: A History of Missouri's Confederate Home Cemetery vol. 2* (Higginsville, MO, 2006), 1-104. It is important to remember that most Missourians did not own slaves or only owned a small number of slaves. This meant that a majority of the Home's residents would not own slaves either.

Confederate Home each year, particularly for important events such as Decoration Day. The Home also hosted Veteran's reunions and meetings of the Daughters of the Confederacy. While at the Home, visitors interacted first hand with the living heroes of the Confederate Army. The members of the Daughters, led by future Founder of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Clara Wilson, even ordered gray uniforms for the veterans to wear at the Home. By encouraging families to visit the Home, future Founders succeeded in projecting an image of the Confederate soldier as a living hero, a valiant family man, and an honorable defender of his society.<sup>225</sup>

The Confederate Home at Higginsville remained privately controlled until 1897 when the State of Missouri officially took control. Accounts of the transfer claim that a period of economic hardship within the state made private funding unattainable despite over six years of successful fundraising by the Daughters. A closer examination of the Home's transfer to state control reveals a more complex story. In 1896, the Daughters of the Confederacy and the Ex-Confederate Veterans successfully raised over \$700 in only two events for the Home and an article published early in the year claimed that the Home had enough, "vegetables, fruit, corn, pork, butter and milked," because of its own production. The Home was partly self-sustaining and in total required \$1,200 for its maintenance. But by the end of the year, Ex-Confederates were lobbying for the passage of legislation that placed the Home under state control.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> "Ex-Confederate Home, *Higginsville Advance*, July 8, 1892; "It is Finished," *Higginsville Advance*, June 9, 1893; "Decoration Day at the Home," *Lafayette Leader* 10 June 1899; Higginsville Home File, WHMC; Ankesheilm, *The Heart is the Heritage*, 106; *Higginsville Advance*, September 28, 1894; *Confederate Veteran* 9 (May 1901): 226; James Bradley, *The Confederate Mail Carrier...* (Mexico, Mo., 1894), 246.

<sup>226</sup> Rosenburg, *Living Monuments*, 44; *Confederate Veteran* 5 (December 1897): 179-80; *Confederate Veteran* 9 (May 1901): 26-227; *Confederate Veteran* 36 (1928): 299-301; Ankesheilm, *The Heart is the Heritage*, 131-138; *Kansas City Journal*, "The Ex-Confederates' Home," January 20, 1897; *Kansas City*

The push for state control of the Confederate Home simultaneously occurred with the completion of the Women's Relief Corps' Soldiers Home in Phelps County and that Home's transfer to the state. As the Federal Home neared completion, it became evident that anticipated operation costs could not be met by private donations. The Federal Home Association turned to the state for assistance. Meanwhile, the Ex-Confederate Association met at their 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion and announced that the Confederate Home could no longer be supported by private subscriptions and it "would be a wise move to transfer it to the state." Given the close proximity of these two events, it seems likely that the decision to appeal for state control of the Confederate Home transpired as a result of the Federal Home. By early 1897, companion bills for state funding of both the Federal Home and the Confederate Home went before the Missouri legislature. The Democratically controlled legislature passed both bills, as soldiers from both armies, "clasped hands, and many a moist eye witnessed the spectacle."<sup>227</sup>

The adoption of the Higginsville Home as a state institution was a significant accomplishment for the Daughters. When plans for the Home began years earlier, the state would not participate in the construction of a Confederate Veteran's Home or offer any type of aid to these men and their families. Only a few years later, the Daughters succeeded in reconstituting the relationship between the state and former Confederates. The state agreed to keep the Home as long as one eligible Veteran, his wife or widow wanted to stay there. Additionally, the state agreed to the creation of an advisory board

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*Journal*, February 2, 1896, pg. 4; *Kansas City Journal*, September 6, 1896, pg. 6; *Kansas City Journal*, "Missouri Ex-Confederates," August 28, 1896.

<sup>227</sup> Alice Mae Armstrong, *History of the Federal Soldiers' Home...*(Kansas City, Mo., 1925); *Kansas City Journal*, "Missouri Ex-Confederates," August 28, 1896; *Kansas City Journal*, "Soldiers Homes Bills Pass," February 12, 1897; *Confederate Veteran* 5(December 1897): 179.

for the Home and it was stipulated that the board members be members of the Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri. This placed the Founders' men, such as Ai Edgar Asbury, into leadership roles within a state run institution. When the state acquired the Home, the first public funding became available for Confederate veterans, despite their traitorous actions during the war. For the next fifty years, 1,600 veterans resided in the Home until the last soldier died in 1950 at the age of 108, and the Home permanently shut its doors.<sup>228</sup>

With the state assumption of the Confederate Home, the Founders of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy entered a new phase in their memorial work. Although the Daughters of the Confederacy remained active in the supervision of the Home, there were also new opportunities for public activism. After all, by 1896, sixty local chapters of the Daughters of the Confederacy met across the state and it was the first organization of Southern women chartered in Missouri when in 1897 the organization filed its first articles of association with the Secretary of State, Alexander A. Lesueur. The Daughters of the Confederacy spurred interest in memorial work within the state as numerous memorial organizations took shape across Missouri, including local monument societies and nationally recognized groups such as the Confederate Memorial Society which formed a state branch called the Confederate Memorial Society of Missouri.<sup>229</sup>

After their work in the Daughters of the Confederacy, a few of the Founders looked to continue their work on a broader scale, addressing not just monuments, but

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<sup>228</sup> Ankesheiln, *The Heart is the Heritage*, 131, 133-138; Higginsville Home File, SHSM; *Confederate Veteran* 5 (Dec. 1897): 179; *Confederate Veteran* 9 (May 1901): 226-227; *Kansas City Journal*, "Confederate Home Managers," March 25, 1897.

<sup>229</sup> *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*, 214-215, 221.

education, public events, and the proliferation of positive information about Confederacy. The national organization of the United Daughters of the Confederacy offered these women an opportunity to pursue their goals, and utilize an even broader public platform made available by their participation in a national organization. Founder Elizabeth Robert first established a relationship with the National Organization of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in early 1897. Elizabeth proposed to her St. Louis Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy that they might join and by the end of the year, the St. Louis Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy, along with the Liberty, Fayette and Kansas City chapters, decided to join the national group.<sup>230</sup>

The Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy became an official organization in January of 1898 when those four branches sent delegates to their first meeting in Fayette, Missouri (Howard County). Founders in attendance included: Elizabeth Robert, Felicia Beall, Ann Perkins, Clara Wilson, Mattie Minter, Maggie Pritchett, Lizzie Fisher, Ethel Cunningham, and Susie Mason. At this first meeting, Clara Wilson of Kansas City became the first elected president of the organization and received a wooden gavel made from the door of the Confederate White House in Richmond. From these first nine members, a core group of twenty Founders became the backbone of the organization over its first few years of existence. Eventually these twenty ladies expanded their original four chapters into over sixty statewide groups and in 1901, over five hundred members.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Various Authors, *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Parts One and Two* (Kessinger Publishing, 2005), 37. "People in Society," *Kansas City Journal*, Nov. 12, 1897.

<sup>231</sup> *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 37; *History of the Missouri Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 5; *Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting of the Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 3-6; *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*, 216-225. Todhunter, described the group as the "reorganization of the Daughters of the Confederacy," an important characteristic in the group's identity. These women shared the experiences of

While the Founders supported the decision to join the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the transition proved difficult. Many former members of the Daughters of the Confederacy working in the memorial movement still met as the state level as the Daughters of the Confederacy and refused to join a national association. Participating in the nationally organized United Daughters of the Confederacy offered more resources, organizational structure and therefore the potential for more successful memorial work. However, some members of the Daughters of the Confederacy feared the controlling influence that also came along with joining a national association and the loss of their regional identity. As a result of this struggle, some members of the Daughters of the Confederacy chose not to transition to the United Daughters of the Confederacy.<sup>232</sup>

Other members of the Daughters of the Confederacy decided to form a different organization rather than continue on with either the Daughters of the Confederacy or the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The Confederate Memorial Society of Missouri was organized on May 30, 1900, and focused specifically on the building of monuments both in the state and abroad. For example, the members focused their early work on fund raising for a memorial window in the “old Blandford Church” in Petersburg, Virginia. Through events and donations the members collected over \$1500 for a window that represented the state of Missouri in the church. They also donated funds to the Confederate Museum in Richmond and the Jefferson Davis Monument Fund. For women outside of Little Dixie that previously participated in memorial work at places such the Battlefield of Wilson’s Creek in Springfield, Missouri, joining the Confederate

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the Confederate Home and believed in the importance of benevolence work. This also indicated continuity in the group’s membership, not the participation of younger generation of women.

<sup>232</sup> *History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Missouri*, 37; “Triangular Rivalry in the Societies of Southern Women,” *St. Louis Republic*, Dec. 22, 1901.

Memorial Association became a natural progression of their memorial work.<sup>233</sup>

Although the women's memorial movement splintered at the end of the nineteenth century, the Founders firmly believed in their decision to join the United Daughters of the Confederacy and began the task of increasing membership and forming local branches. Kinship served as the foundation of this growth. Founders brought their mothers, daughters, sisters, and cousins with them to help aid in the work of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. It was their husbands, fathers, and uncles that enlisted to serve. For example, Founder Elizabeth Robert brought her daughter-in-law, Mary Robert, and granddaughter, Mary Robert, into the organization. Ellen Asbury, a founding member, also brought family members to the organization, including her daughter, Eliza Hyde and her sister-in-law's daughter, Nannie Davis. Founder Lena Sexton followed this path, joining the organization along with her husband's sister, Octavia Waters, their daughter Helen Waters, and fellow Founder, Maggie Pritchett.<sup>234</sup>

At the first meetings of the Missouri Association, Founders Clara Wilson and Annie Todhunter outlined the motivation, the purpose and goals of the organization, concentrating on the importance of history. Wilson believed that history was central to the Daughters; and she argued that "yesterday can always speak for today." She further wrote that history is "a written record; a systematic account of events. Our very way of life is what it is because of what the past has made is." According to Wilson, their history, both personal and shared during the war, led them to this point, this organization.

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<sup>233</sup> *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*, 225.

<sup>234</sup> *History of the Missouri Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 5; Membership Rosters listed in the *Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting of the Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy...*; *Minutes of the Third Annual Meeting of the Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy...*; *Minutes of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy...*

The work of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, according to Founder Annie Todhunter, was to preserve and teach the “true history” of the Civil War. This phrase, “true history,” was a common expression used by the Missouri Founders. For these women, their true history was their understanding of the events that happened between 1861 and 1865. If the Founders succeeded in asserting their version of history as Clara Wilson believed, then future generations would look back at the “brave sons and daughters” of the South as defenders of their “homes and firesides,” and would not believe that Confederates had been “traitors and rebels the school histories...would prove them to be.” The Founders resolved to perpetuate the “heroic courage, endurance and fidelity,” of the Confederate soldier. They promised to provide a “just and impartial” history to their youth that would dispel “the wide-spread misunderstanding of facts relating to the causes, motives and aspirations of our Southern people.”<sup>235</sup>

The Founders relied on the public avenues available to them as women and as members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy to pursue their goals. These included education, memorial work such as monument building and parades, and personal narratives. The Founders of the Missouri Association also continued their work on the Confederate Home, which they began as members of the Daughters of the Confederacy. Although the Home officially transferred into state control in 1897, the Founders decided to pursue control of the Home’s Cemetery. The Confederate Home’s Cemetery held enormously significant to the Founders for many reasons. Most notably, many of Missouri’s former Confederates requested to be buried there, eventually totaling

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<sup>235</sup> *History of the Missouri Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 5; *Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting of the Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 10-11, 4-6; Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 39. Amy Heyse, “Women’s Rhetorical Authority and Collective Memory: The United Daughters of the Confederacy Remember the South” in *Women & Language* 33 (Fall 2010): 45.

over 800 Veterans and their widows, making the Cemetery an excellent location to hold memorial events. And for the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the burial of former Confederate soldiers played a key role in asserting the sacrifice of their men rather than their defeat. Therefore, at the second state meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1899, Founder Elizabeth Robert was authorized to “secure this cemetery for the Missouri Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.”<sup>236</sup>

For the next few years, the Confederate cemetery at the Home became the vehicle through which the Founders of the Missouri Association drew public attention to their work and their organization. First, the Founders gained public notice with their pursuit of the Cemetery and their continued squabble with the members of the Daughters of the Confederacy over its control. This disagreement was fostered by a lingering resentment between the two organizations, stemming from their split in 1897. Once they settled the dispute by agreeing to form a board with representatives from both groups and the Founders gained access to the Cemetery, they enacted their plan to improve the grounds and hold memorial events on site. The Founders erected a fence around the Cemetery to enclose the area and began fundraising for a monument to “commemorate the deeds of the men who are sleeping in the neglected, unenclosed reservation.” By early 1906, the Missouri Association completed the necessary fundraising and they unveiled a granite Lion of Lucerne monument in June of that same year.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> *Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting of the Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 11; *Confederate Veteran* 9 (May 1901): 226-227; “For A Monument at Higginsville,” *St. Louis Republic*, Oct. 18, 1900; “Local in Brief,” *Marshall Republican*, Nov. 2, 1900.

<sup>237</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 9 (May 1901): 226-227; “For A Monument at Higginsville,” *St. Louis Republic*, Oct. 18, 1900; “Local in Brief,” *Marshall Republican*, Nov. 2, 1900; “Cornerstone of Hospital Laid,” *Marshall Republican*, Aug. 23, 1901; “Bestowal of Southern Cross on Veterans of Confederacy,” *St. Louis Republic*, June 4, 1902; “Visit Confederate Cemetery,” *St. Louis Republic*, May 5, 1901; “\$2,000 For

Between 1899 and 1906, the Founders hosted a variety of events at the Cemetery and at the Confederate Home. Public events such as parades, breakfasts, speeches and fairs were all aimed at increasing support for the aging Confederate Veterans and asserting the Founders' understanding of the Civil War. Newspaper articles with titles such as, "Visit Confederate Cemetery," urged Missourians to visit the site, while others encouraged citizens to participate in the variety of events occurring there. The Founders designated days to celebrate Confederate heroes such as Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, as well as important battles of the Civil War. On June 3<sup>rd</sup>, Jefferson Davis' birthday, the members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy continued the celebration of Decoration Day, a tradition started in the first years after the war. The Daughters adorned graves of veterans at the Cemetery located at the Confederate Home in Higginsville with flowers.<sup>238</sup>

The actual burial of the former Confederate dead held the greatest significance for the Founders as they worked on the Home's Cemetery. The once private act of burial suddenly became very public at the Confederate Cemetery allowing the Founders of the Missouri Association to honor former Confederates heroes for their willingness to sacrifice their lives "in defense of us." For example, Captain Richard Collins' death in May of 1902, drew hundreds of people to the Confederate Home to witness his burial.

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Confederate Monument," *Marshall Republican*, Jan. 5, 1906; "Unveiling of Confederate Monument," *Montgomery Tribune*, May 25, 1906; *Minutes of the Third Annual Meeting of the Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy...* (Fayette, Mo.: Press of Democrat-Leader, 1900), 9-10; *Minutes of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Missouri Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy...* (Fayette, Mo.: Press, 1902), 13-14, 21; "For a Monument at Higginsville, Mo.," *St. Louis Republic*, Oct. 18, 1900; Confederate Home, Higginsville, Records, 1897-1944, C0066, f. 53, WHMC. The UDC did not receive the deed to the cemetery until 1904. *Minutes of the Eight Meeting of the Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy...* (Kansas City: Blue Printing Co., 1906), 6.

<sup>238</sup> *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*, 225; *Minutes of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 14. "Visit Confederate Cemetery," *St. Louis Republic*, May 5, 1901; "Cornerstone of Hospital Laid," *Marshall Republican*, Aug. 23, 1901; "Bestowal of Southern Cross on Veterans of Confederacy," *St. Louis Republic*, June 4, 1902.

Collins was buried in an “impressive ceremony,” during which bystanders reported that “strong men wept...there being very few dry eyes in the audience.” The Daughters buried Collins with a Southern Cross of Honor, an accolade he was set to receive a few weeks after his death. The Southern Cross of Honor was a cross made from cannon iron bestowed upon former Confederates for their honorable service to the Confederacy.<sup>239</sup>

Although the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy participated in public activism while working to redeem their men and affirm their memory of the Civil War, they were acutely aware of their limitations. The Founders created a careful balance between their public participation, their position as women, and their relationship to their men. Rather than fully assert themselves into the public space of men, the Founders often turned to their husbands to assist in their projects and plans, thus reaffirming the traditional household relationships, while at the same time continuing their memorial work. For example, when the Founders wanted to gain control of the Cemetery on the grounds of the Confederate Home, they brought in Founder Ellen Asbury’s husband, Captain Asbury, for advice. Or, when the Founders wanted gravel for a sidewalk in the Cemetery, they asked the husbands of Founders Annie Todhunter and Ellen Asbury to purchase it.<sup>240</sup>

While they continued to work on the Confederate Home’s Cemetery, the Founders solidified the status of their organization in the community and gradually began to expand their activism into other areas. One of the keys to their success was the continued growth in their membership, eventually reaching over 2,000 members. At the

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<sup>239</sup> “Services Over Collin’s Body,” *St. Louis Republic*, May 22, 1902. “Rests Beside His Comrades,” *St. Louis Republic*, May 23, 1902. Williams, *My Old Confederate Home*, 116.

<sup>240</sup> *Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting of the Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 11; *Minutes of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 23.

state meeting in 1900, Founder Elizabeth Robert addressed the Convention, asking her fellow Daughters to multiply their efforts because the “scythe of time is mowing down our ranks,” and she hoped this would “spur greater effort, greater exertion, to accomplish the work we have undertaken.” Founder Clara Wilson expounded on Robert’s words, praising the members of the Missouri Association for planning to “build monuments,” “impress upon the youth...a true and unbiased account of the Civil War,” and “educate them.”<sup>241</sup>

In 1898, the Founders began collecting funds for the erection of monuments throughout Missouri. They argued that their goal was to “dot our State with those protests in stone, against the charge of being rebels.” At one of the most significant battlefields in Missouri, Wilson’s Creek, Union memorial organizations already successfully erected monuments dedicated to the Union Army including a monument to Union General Nathaniel Lyon. Although former Confederates organized as early as 1866, to build a monument at the site, they did not succeed. For the Founders of the Missouri Association, the absence of a Confederate monument was an obvious insult to their men. The Founders rallied other Confederate organizations, and in 1901, under the leadership of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, a bronze monument was raised at the Springfield National Cemetery in honor of Confederate General Sterling Price and Missouri’s soldiers who died at Wilson’s Creek.<sup>242</sup>

The Founders also believed that their work as an organization extended beyond the creation of monuments and memorials. As a result, they directed their efforts towards

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<sup>241</sup> *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*, 215-225; *Minutes of the Third Annual Meeting of the Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 4-5.

<sup>242</sup> Dean W. Holt, *American Military Cemeteries* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., 2010), 282-284.

other issues such as education. At the turn of the century, women throughout the United States became increasingly involved in education because it was one of the public avenues available to them. The Founders of the Missouri Association followed suit and even led the way amongst other state organizations of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, forming a committee to investigate the education of Missouri's children, eight years before the National Association recommended forming such a committee. Founder Clara Wilson explained at the state convention in 1899, that their children and their children's children needed to learn the history of the Confederacy and to revere the heroes of the South. At that same meeting, the Daughters resolved to see that "young people...shall have placed in their hands for study such histories as give a just and impartial presentation of that period in the history of the United States which includes the Civil War."<sup>243</sup>

The Founders predominant concern was the proliferation of what they perceived to be misinformation to their youth. In order to prevent this from occurring, the Daughters worked to regulate the educational system. For example, Nora Woodson, State Historian, reviewed the history text books assigned throughout the states. She decided that textbooks such as *McMaster's History*, described an inaccurate history of Missouri and the South during the war, and should therefore be removed. The Daughters suggested alternative texts and even outlined a plan of study for students that they published in book form for disbursement. Furthermore, the Daughters encouraged the study of southern history in schools with scholarships and essay contests. They also

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<sup>243</sup> *Minutes of the Third Annual Convention of the Missouri Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 4; Rebecca Montgomery, *The Politics of Education in the New South: Women and Reform in Georgia, 1890-1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 156-158; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 85-91. *Minutes of the Third Annual Convention of the Missouri Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 12.

promoted the inclusion of topics such as antebellum life, General Sterling Price's importance to the war in Missouri, and the history of General Francis Marion Cockrell during the war.<sup>244</sup>

The State Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy even succeeded in publishing a collection of their personal histories in a book entitled, *Reminiscences of Women of Missouri during the 60s*. In this work, members of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy collected the accounts of friends and family members who lived through the war. These stories these individuals' struggles, their fears, and their desires to protect their families and friends during the war. Always true to their chief goal of redeeming their men, the stories depicted the bravery and honor of Confederate soldiers and the trials endured by women and children on the home front. The narratives reinforced the traditional gender roles of southern men and women, by glorifying the sacrifice and bravery of the men while grounding the women firmly in their domestic positions as mothers, wives, and sisters.<sup>245</sup>

Three of the Founders of the Missouri Association participated by sharing their stories for the publication of the *Reminiscences*. The majority of the other accounts came from fellow members of the organization and their family members. Founder Elizabeth Robert detailed her time spent in Richmond as a nurse for the Confederacy during the Seven Days' Fight. Robert's story solely focused on the heroism of the Confederate soldier. Her work at the hospital exposed her to "bare ligaments," "cases of malarial

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<sup>244</sup> John Bach McMaster, *A School History of the United States* (New York: American Book Company, 1897), 378-409; Ellen Fitzpatrick, *History's Memory: Writing America's Past, 1880-1980* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 30-35; *Minutes of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Missouri Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Lexington, Mo.: Press of the Intelligencer, 1903), 14. Silber, *The Romance of Reunion*, 163; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 85-91.

<sup>245</sup> *Reminiscences*, 11-12.

fever,” and torn flesh, but she noted that the soldiers did not complain, “not one groan was heard.” According to Robert, the Confederate soldier, no matter how “racked with pain” or horrific his wounds, he never complained. Instead he always demonstrated patience and endurance to achieve his goal. Robert’s own sacrifice and heroism was never mentioned. She believed that it was her duty as a wife and mother to care for these men, and to claim that she was somehow doing something more, somehow sacrificing herself for the Confederacy, would diminish the heroism of southern men.<sup>246</sup>

The work of the Founders of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy did not go unnoticed. As the Founders increased their activism, resentment stirred amongst members of their communities. At the Annual Meeting of the State Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1902, the Daughters noted that critics believed their work “to open old wounds.” However, the Daughters believed that their work was not to stir controversy, but rather to “portray truth and not falsehood.” Yet the work of the Founders did create controversy, particularly in response to the claims of UDC members that southern men fought to defend the Constitution.<sup>247</sup>

As the Missouri Founders worked to rebuild the image of their men through their public activism, they elaborated on their defense of southern secession. Early on the Daughters focused on their men as defenders of their homes and protectors of their families and values. As time their ideology developed, this became equated with state’s rights and the depiction of southerners as defenders of the Constitution. After all southerners viewed their households and lives as a living extension of these doctrines. Former Union supporters saw this language as a defense of slavery, hidden in the rhetoric

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<sup>246</sup> Reminiscences, 102-110.

<sup>247</sup> *Minutes of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Missouri Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy...* (Marshall, Mo.: Press of Saline Citizen, 1903), 2.

of the Constitution. For example, in the years following the Civil War, Forest Park, Missouri, became a popular location for the erection of Union monuments celebrating Union heroes such as General Nathaniel Lyon and politician Frank Blair. The Daughters planned a monument for that same location which many believed did not belong there because the area held important public events such as the World's Fair in 1904. Furthermore, the inscription on the monument read, "To the memory of the soldiers and sailors of the Southern Confederacy who fought to uphold the rights declared by the pen of Jefferson and achieved by the sword of Washington." Members of the Grand Army of the Republic and Union Veterans across the state expressed their outrage over the quote and its meaning. George W. Bailey, former Union Captain for the Missouri Volunteers, argued in a paper presented at a Post meeting in 1915 that the statue violated the history of the nation and was declared a misrepresentation.<sup>248</sup>

Despite the upheaval regarding the monument, the Daughters succeeded in having their monument built as a legacy to the southern sympathizing population of Missouri. They clearly tied the legacy of the Confederacy to the Founding Fathers and their pursuit of liberty, not slavery and defeat. George Bailey declared that their statues and monuments were to "tower in the heavens," but "through an atmosphere that no longer gives breathe to a slave." In a deliberate move, the Founders of the United Daughters of the Confederacy rarely mentioned the role of slavery in the Civil War. Rather, the Founders wanted to separate themselves from that past and assert their memory of the

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<sup>248</sup> *Minutes of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Missouri Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 2; *Minutes of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Missouri Association of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 4. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 161-163. George Bailey, *Confederate Monument in Forest Park, St. Louis*, <http://digital.library.umssystem.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?sid=f1f934ac9b21ee8d9a3aa1438c9a2b71;g=c=shs;idno=shs000031>. Conrad, *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri*, 447. Lyon's monument was constructed in 1874 and Blair's in 1885 after his death.

Civil War, which recognized the valor and heroics of their men. They wanted to affirm the manhood of their husbands, sons, and fathers, and to do so, they participated in organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy. As Bailey suggested, the Daughters succeeded in affirming their memory of the Civil War and rebuilding their men. However, through this assertion, the Daughters overshadowed the history of African Americans in the Civil War.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> Bailey, *Confederate Monument in Forest Park*, 8.

## CHAPTER SIX: “Illicit in their Inception”: Little Dixie Freedwomen, pensions, and the memory of the Civil War, 1885-1910

Elizabeth Cropp, one of the twenty Freedwomen of Little Dixie, spent four decades of her life petitioning for the pension that her father, George McCreary, earned for his service to the Union Army during the Civil War. As McCreary’s daughter, Cropp considered herself the beneficiary of her father’s military pension after her mother’s death, and subsequently filed a pension claim with the government. For forty years, the Federal Pension Bureau denied Cropp’s pension application. Each time she submitted or resubmitted her claim, the Bureau asserted that Cropp lacked sufficient evidence to prove that her parents were married while enslaved, or that she was George McCreary’s legitimate child. Cropp faced an uphill battle in trying to substantiate her claims because her parents’ marriage was extralegal, occurring before emancipation and the legal recognition of African American marriages. Moreover, and George McCreary died in 1864, while serving in the 67<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the USCT. Many of the twenty Freedwomen of Little Dixie shared similar challenges while applying to receive their husband’s pension, because of the standards set by the Federal Pension Bureau, which included proof of a legally documented marriage. As a result, the Little Dixie Freedwomen were often denied their rightful due to a pension after the Civil War.<sup>250</sup>

After the Civil War, the Federal government granted the African American community the privileges of citizenship and all legal rights previously prohibited by the institution of slavery. Those African American men who served in the Union Army not only helped to secure these rights, but also earned a federal veteran’s pension for

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<sup>250</sup> Elizabeth Cropp Pension Claim for George McCreary.

themselves and their families. The Bureau's discrimination against African Americans' pension claims demonstrated the continued marginalization of the African American community, despite the supposed promise of change brought on by the Civil War and post emancipation legislations. Because the Federal Pension Board targeted the legitimacy of the black family, the legacy of slavery's impact on the black family made it too difficult for the Little Dixie Freedwomen to provide documentation of marriages or proof of parentage. Rather than accept the discrimination of the Federal Pension Board, African American women stood up for their right to claim a pension and in the process demanded the recognition of their relationships and subsequently their rights. Through this process the Little Dixie women defended their families, communities, citizenship, and their experience of the Civil War.<sup>251</sup>

Twenty five years after the Civil War, the Little Dixie Freedwomen encountered increasingly difficult economic, political, and social circumstances in their lives. Numerous factors including age, physical ailments, lack of employment opportunities, and continued violence from the white community, contributed to the declining circumstances of these women and their families between 1885 and 1900. The

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<sup>251</sup> Elizabeth Regosin, *Freedom's Promise*; Donald Shaffer, *After the Glory*; Berry, *My Face is Black is True*; Megan McClintock's "Civil War Pensions and the Reconstruction of Union Families"; "Her Just Dues' Civil War Pensions of African American Women in Virginia," in *Negotiating Boundaries of Southern Womanhood: Dealing with the Powers That Be*, eds., Janet Coryell, Thomas H. Appleton, Jr., Anastasia Sims, and Sandra Gioia Treadway (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 48-69. Previous studies on African American pensions such as Elizabeth Regosin's *Freedom's Promise*, Donald Shaffer's *After the Glory*, and Mary Frances Berry's *My Face is Black is True*, explore the federal pension system and the reasons why African American men and women failed to receive pension claims. For example, Regosin's work thoroughly researches the relationship between family, citizenship and pensions for the freed black community. Shaffer explores the pensions in light of the USCT veteran, what it meant to receive a pension and how soldiers benefitted from the pension system. This study looks at the *process* of pension applications as significant. As Little Dixie freedwomen continued to apply for pensions, which meant to collect testimony, hire agents, file their claims repeatedly, they defended the memory of their husband's service, the legitimacy of the black family and their rights as citizens. This was significant for two reasons. One: their work defended the memory of the war. Two: this process also helped bolster the black male, despite his inability to provide for his family as serve as patriarch, the assumed role of the male.

reemergence of southern sympathizing white men in state government, and the election of John S. Marmaduke, former Confederate General and part of the antebellum political powerhouse, the “Central Clique,” to the position of Missouri’s governor meant the removal of political leaders that previously supported the African American community. Confederate organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy also formed, and helped to erode some of the gains African Americans made during Reconstruction by asserting their memory of the Civil War and overshadowing the memory of emancipation and citizenship rights for African Americans.<sup>252</sup>

In response to their growing hardship, the Little Dixie Freedwomen responded by pursuing the paths of action made available to them, which was primarily the filing of Federal pension claims. This process, paralleled the public activism of the Founders of the Missouri Association, but served a different purpose for the African American community. Although the Founders suffered through the hardships of war, the legitimacy of their marriages or pedigree were never questioned. As a result, they were able to focus on the valuation of their men as citizens, whether or not the state perceived the former Confederates to be traitors or valiant soldiers, and their men’s gender reconstruction. The Little Dixie Freedwomen were more concerned with attaining and protecting their rights as citizens. For example, they wanted recognition for their families and their marriages. Federal pension claims became the available venue for the Little Dixie Freedwomen to assert their rights.

Historians have described the last decade of the nineteenth century as a period of repression, violence and hardship for the African American community. As David Blight

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<sup>252</sup> Greene, et.al., Missouri’s *Black Heritage*, 104-107; Christensen and Kremer, *A History of Missouri: Volume IV*, 4:16-20; E.C. McReynolds, *Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 301.

argues in his essay, “A Quarrel Forgotten or A Revolution Remembered?” by 1875, the “march away from radicalism and protection of African American rights threatened to become a full retreat.” Indeed, this was the case for many African Americans across the South, including Missouri. While the Little Dixie Freedwomen struggled to separate themselves from the institution of slavery in the decades following their legal emancipation, housing, employment and the white community continued to prove challenging. By the early 1870s, political representation of the African American community actually began to decrease as the renegotiating of political power shifted back to former Confederate supporters. As a result, laws were passed that intensified segregation and solidified the dominance of the former white Confederates. For example, the segregation of public schools limited educational opportunities for black children while providing resources and significantly better facilities for white children.<sup>253</sup>

In the immediate postwar period, the promise of increased African American rights in Missouri resulted in cautious legislative changes on issues such as education and suffrage. Although some politicians, most notably Charles Drake and the African American leader James Milton Turner, argued vehemently for the expansion of rights for African Americans, Missouri ultimately waited for Federal mandate to offer the free black community its citizenship rights. Most significantly, the right to vote was granted

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<sup>253</sup> David Blight, “A Quarrel Forgotten or a Revolution Remembered?: Reunion and Race in the Memory of the Civil War, 1875-1913,” i in *Beyond the Battle Field: Race, Memory, and The American Civil War*, ed. David Blight (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 127; Joel Williamson, *Crucible of Race: Black/White Relations in the American South since Emancipation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 53; Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850-1920* (Bloomington, In.: Indiana University Press, 1998), 79; Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 2-10; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 211-212. These are just a few of the many studies that address this period. Historians looking at the 1890s have argued, as Woodward does that this period was a break from the twenty-five years since the Civil War. Other historians such as Blight saw the decade of the 1890s as a progression of decline. Others argue that while they were an indication of progress such as the growth of black churches, the situation of those not included declined drastically.

in 1870, with the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. By the 1880s, the prospect for African Americans maintaining these rights became dismal as the shifting alignment of Missouri politics displaced African Americans. Historian Steven Hahn describes the removal of African Americans from the southern body politic during this period as the “regime of domination and subordination.” In Missouri, the Republican Party, which previously supported the African American community, abandoned them in order to bolster their support among the white community. At the same time, former Confederates saw renewed subjugation of the African American community as a critical underpinning of their return to political power. In an article published in the Cooper County paper, the *Booneville Weekly Advertiser*, these men expressed discontent even over a marginal participation of African American voters in an election. The Republicans defeated the Democrats (2608 to 2450) by a margin of 158 votes. Democrats held African Americans responsible for their defeat because they cast 759 votes for the Republicans in an election of 5,000 total voters. Despite the fact that they were only fifteen percent of the total voting population, African Americans played an important role as swing votes, particularly because they generally supported the Republican Party.<sup>254</sup>

Legislation was a key means of preventing the black community from enjoying the freedoms of citizenship. County sheriffs continued to enforce vagrancy laws to target African Americans, because these laws authorized the arrest and auction of

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<sup>254</sup> Parrish, *Missouri Under Radical Rule*, 114-122; Christensen and Kremer, *A History of Missouri*, 4: 24-27. For more information on James Milton Turner see Gary Kremer’s work, *James Milton Turner and the Promise of America: The Public Life of a Post-Civil War Leader* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991); Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*, 440-451; Berry, *My Face is Black is True*, 25-26; Christensen and Kremer, *Missouri’s Black Heritage*, 106-107; Hahn’s work discussed the process in which African Americans became excluded from the political process which he argues included violence, party exclusion, party realignment. The goal was domination and subordination Kramer’s work argues that after 1877, Republicans were no longer interested in African American rights specifically in Missouri after Reconstruction and in order to garner votes from white voters, gradually severed ties with African Americans. “Shall the Negro Rule in Cooper County?” *Booneville Weekly Advertiser*, January 22, 1904.

unemployed citizens, harkening back to the slave auction. An 1871 statute, for example, stated that once the sheriff arrested the vagrant he was to “set up in the most public places in the county the hiring out of such vagrant, at the court house door in said county for the term of six months to the highest bidder for cash.” Although vagrancy laws technically applied to all citizens of Missouri, the enforcement of these laws actually targeted African Americans in Little Dixie. In 1893, a white constable in Mexico, Missouri, arrested an African American man named Joe Thompson and an unidentified white man for vagrancy. Both men went to trial for the crime. The jury found Thompson guilty, but decided to let the white man go free because a “white man should not be sold into slavery.” An auction was held for Thompson and he was sold off. The story however, does not end there. Thompson believed that the auction was a violation of his rights and decided to sue the state for his freedom. The case progressed all the way to the Supreme Court of Missouri, which ultimately sided with Thompson and his claims of discrimination, granting him his freedom.<sup>255</sup>

The newly empowered Democratic legislature of the 1880s also targeted the education of African America children. The Missouri Constitution of 1875 enforced the segregation of Missouri’s communities by supporting the establishment of separate public schools for African Americans and whites. By 1887, further legislation ruled that at least fifteen students needed to be present in a given district in order to establish a school. In

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<sup>255</sup> It is important to note the vagrancy laws existed prior to this period, but white Missourians and other southerners decided to use the vagrancy laws to enforce their control over African Americans that they believed were lazy and not working enough. Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, 117-118. For a larger discussion of vagrancy see William Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge*; James H. Purdy and William G. Myer, *The Statutes of the State of Missouri*, 1353. “Editorial on the public auction of a negro in Glasgow,” *Boonville Weekly Eagle*, July 17, 1869; Berry, *My Face is Black is True*, 108. “Slavery Days,” *The Sedalia Weekly Bazoo*, April 25, 1893; “Missouri’s Vagabond Law,” *The New York Times*, April 17, 1893. Edmund Hamilton Smith, *Lawyers’ Reports Annotated. Vol. 20* (Rochester: The Lawyers’ Co-operative Publishing Company, 1893), 462-464.

rural areas like Little Dixie, the diffuse population of African Americans made it extremely difficult to assemble fifteen students. Those with an insufficient number of students would need to travel to another district to a black school, which was nearly impossible for these children. That same year, a white Missouri school teacher refused to allow an African American student in a white school. In response, the parents of the African American child sued the school, resulting in a court case that reached the Missouri Supreme Court. In *Lehew v. Brummell*, the Supreme Court of Missouri ruled that “separate schools for colored children is a regulation to their great advantage,” legally entrenching segregation within the state.<sup>256</sup>

In addition to the deterioration of African American political participation, violence also became a means of controlling the population in Little Dixie. The period between 1890 and 1920 saw a marked increase in violence against African Americans throughout the South. In Missouri, eighty-one people were lynched between 1889 and 1918. Of those eighty-one, fifty-one were African Americans, almost sixty-three percent of the total number killed in a state where the African Americans constituted only five percent of the total population. Seventeen of the fifty-one African Americans lynched in this period, were murdered in Little Dixie, a third of the state wide total. Little Dixie newspapers documented these crimes. For example, in 1899, *The Booneville Weekly Advertiser* reported the lynching of two African American men in Howard County, including Frank Embree. Embree was accused of raping a fourteen year old white girl,

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<sup>256</sup> Isidor Loeb, *Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions in Missouri* (Columbia, Mo.: The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1920), Isidor Loeb and Floyd Shoemaker, *Journal Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875* (Columbia, The Stephen Hughes Co., 1920). James Bradley Thayer, *Cases on Constitutional Law: With Notes* (Cambridge: C.W. Sever Publisher, 1894), 131; Berry, *My Face is Black is True*, 108; James D. Schmidt, *Free to Work: Labor Law, Emancipation, and Reconstruction, 1815-1880* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 88.

after he “dragged her from her horse...and choked her into insensibility.” Determined to bring “justice” to the young girl, a group of white men lynched Embree.<sup>257</sup>

Amidst the violence, segregation and disintegration of African American citizenship rights was the ongoing cultural struggle over the memory of the Civil War. As former Confederates reclaimed their political and economic authority, white women furthered this process by asserting their memory of the Civil War. These southern sympathizing white women worked to transform their men from defeated slave owners and traitors to the Union to valiant heroes of the southern family, by eradicating the stigma of defeat associated with the South. This change came at the cost of the African American community, who benefited from southern defeat and the decline of southern slave holders. By publically championing their memory of the Civil War, these white women were also eclipsing the memory of African American men’s service and the rights of citizenship granted to African Americans after Northern victory. If the legacy of the Civil War became about heroic white soldiers of both the North and the South, the

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<sup>257</sup> NAACP, *Thirty Years of Lynching in America 1880-1910* (New York: Negro University Press, 1969), Amanda Garrison, “Press Coverage of Lynchings in Missouri: An Analysis of the Newspaper Coverage of Black and White Lynchings between 1882 and 1942,” (PhD diss., University of Missouri Columbia, 2005), 31; Michael J. Pfeifer, *Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874-1947* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006) 91-92; *Democrat Leader*, June 22, 1899; *Democrat Leader*, July 27, 1899; “Negro Lynched in Howard County,” *Booneville Weekly Reader*, July 28, 1899; “Lynching,” *Jefferson City State Tribune*, July 27, 1899; Other examples of lynching include “Negro Lynched in Fayette for attack on white girl,” *Booneville Weekly Advertiser*, January 23, 1891; “Henry Darley, Victim of Lynching,” *Booneville Weekly Advertiser*, May 4, 1900. 1900, FC. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 1-16; Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*; 426-427; Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*, 183-189; Leon Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Vintage Press, 1999), 280-312. Historians have spent considerable time studying lynching in the South after the Civil War. Brundage’s work argues that lynching differed in each region because it reflects the specific circumstances affecting the area at that time. Hahn argues that it was in response to the changing southern culture. Lynching of Missouri’s African American men reflected the upheaval of the state at that time, for example, the agricultural depression that hit Little Dixie at that time.

importance of abolition and citizenship rights for the black community became easy to forget.<sup>258</sup>

Overall, the outlook for the Little Dixie Freedwomen and their community looked daunting by the end of the century. Although emancipation and the defeat of the South after the Civil War promised a much better life for them, the rise of restrictive legislations and racism by southern sympathizing Missourians and their family members erased much of that promise. For example, in 1900, around 2,000 African American men lived in Howard County. Within that population, 1,199 black males over the age of ten, (over sixty percent), were illiterate. Amongst the total white male population of Howard County over the age of ten, only 452 men were illiterate. Only an estimated seventeen percent of the total black population of Missouri could read by the end of the nineteenth century. Other evidence also demonstrates the continued inequality between black and white in Missouri. For example, only thirty percent of the black community in Missouri owned their own homes and only forty nine African Americans owned their own businesses. African American women still continued to labor within the white homes as well. Eighty-two percent of African American women worked as laundresses and servants for white families.<sup>259</sup>

As historians have noted, the economic instability of the 1880s and 1890s greatly affected the African American community, limiting employment and lowering the

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<sup>258</sup> For studies of women's memorial organizations please see: Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*; Joan Marie Johnson, *Southern Ladies, New Women*; Caroline Janney, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past*.

<sup>259</sup> 1860, FC; 1900, FC. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Untitled Table," *Negro Population, 1790-1915*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 429. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Home Ownership, by Divisions and States: 1890—Number of Farm Homes and Other Homes Owned Free, Owned Encumbered, and Rented by Negro Families," *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, 470. W.E.B. DuBois, "Negro Business Men by States," in *The Negro in Business...* (New York, AMS Press, 1971), 6; Berry, *My Face is Black is True*, 106-110; Greene, et.al., *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 104-117. Graph Source: Historical Census Browser, Retrieved [10/22/2010], from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html>.

number of jobs available in agriculture. In Little Dixie, an agriculturally dependent area, Little Dixie Freedwomen and men often left jobs in agriculture for opportunities in other employment. In Boone County, the number of women employed as domestic servants increased from four in 1870 to two hundred in 1900. At the same time in Boone County, African American farms made up only five percent (178) of the total number of farms (3,500). Free people of color owned forty-three percent of those farms and thirty-five percent share-cropped the land compared to an ownership rate of sixty-four percent for whites with sixteen percent in sharecropping. In Howard County, African Americans farmed only 171 of the 2,370 farms about seven percent of the total although the population of the county was twenty-two percent black. Of that seven percent, thirty-three percent owned the farms while forty-nine percent sharecropped the land compared to a sixty-two percent ownership rate and a twenty percent sharecropping rate among white farmers.<sup>260</sup>

As a result of the deteriorating economic and educational conditions for African Americans in Little Dixie, a second exodus from the region occurred between 1880 and 1900. Many freed people moved to urban areas such Jackson County, where Kansas City was located. Although not all from Little Dixie, 10,000 African Americans moved to Jackson County between 1880 and 1900. On the other hand, in Howard County, in the center of Little Dixie, the African American population decreased by about 1,000 people during that twenty year period and the total population percentage decreased by six percent, from twenty-eight percent to twenty-two percent. Lafayette County also experienced a loss close to 700 people, a five percent decrease out of a total African

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<sup>260</sup> 1870, *FC*; 1880, *FC*; 1900, *FC*; Historical Census Browser. Retrieved [10/22/2010], from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html>.

American population of seventeen percent. In Boone County, for instance, the overall population grew by about 3,000 people, but the African American community decreased by about 500 people.<sup>261</sup>

<b>Table 6.1: Population Shift between 1880 and 1900 in Select Little Dixie Counties</b>					
<i>This table traces the shifting population of Little Dixie between 1880 and 1900</i>					
<b>1880</b>	<b>Total White Pop.</b>	<b>Total Black Pop.</b>	<b>Total Pop.</b>	<b>% Black</b>	<b>% White</b>
<b>Boone</b>	20338	5082	25422	20%	80%
<b>Howard</b>	13204	5220	18424	28%	72%
<b>Saline</b>	25004	4938	29942	16%	84%
<b>Lafayette</b>	21352	4398	25750	17%	83%
<b>Jackson</b>	75523	9788	85311	11%	89%
<b>1900</b>	<b>White Pop.</b>	<b>Total Black Pop.</b>	<b>Total Pop.</b>	<b>% Black</b>	<b>% White</b>
<b>Boone</b>	24078	4564	28642	16%	84%
<b>Howard</b>	14523	4211	18734	22%	78%
<b>Saline</b>	29227	4810	34037	14%	86%
<b>Lafayette</b>	28088	3726	31814	12%	88%
<b>Jackson</b>	177,138	19218	196356	10%	90%

The adversities confronting the African American community in the last decade of the nineteenth century hit the elderly community hardest, which included the freedwomen of Little Dixie and their men who were in their 60s by 1900. The transition to freedom was challenging for these families, many never established financial stability

<sup>261</sup> Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*, 455-457; Nell Irvin Painter, *Creating Black Americans: African-American History and Its Meanings: 1619 to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 147. Historical Census Browser, Retrieved [10/22/2010], from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html>; Berry, *My Face is Black Is True*, 108.

or found permanent employment. Aging further complicated this process making the labor intensive jobs of the Little Dixie men and women increasingly difficult to carry out. For example, Molly Bright's husband, Nelson, died of rheumatism in 1891. Prior to his death, Nelson provided for his wife and eight children by working as a farm hand and as a laborer in Howard County. Nelson rented his land, and at the time of his death owned two horses, some hogs and household goods. Molly moved to Cooper County after her husband's death and worked as a laundress and a cook for white families. By 1896, Molly began suffering from health problems, although she continued to work for different families. Performing these labor intensive tasks became increasingly difficult for her, and as a result, Molly claimed that she did not have any money and only a few personal possessions.<sup>262</sup>

Sarah White and Sarah Prather both depended on their children to assist them as their problems mounted at the end of the century. In 1880, Sarah Francis Prather and her husband Jordan Prather lived in Brunswick, Chariton County, Missouri, with their five children. At this time, both Sarah (often called Franky), and Jordan claimed to be around forty years old. Fifteen years later, Jordan Prather died of acute pneumonia, leaving Sarah a widow and with little economic support. In 1896, a friend of Mary described her as "destitute and unable to perform any manual labor." In 1900, now living in Dalton, Chariton County, Sarah Prather shared her home with her daughter, two grandchildren, and her step daughter Maggie. In 1890, the widowed Sarah White lived on her own in a cabin that she acquired through bargaining. She made her living by "working out" for white families, which included washing, cooking and cleaning. At that time she claimed to own seventeen acres of unimproved land, some chickens and a cow. By 1900, Sarah

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<sup>262</sup> Mary Bright Claim for Nelson Bright.

White no longer lived independently but at the home of her son Abraham, his wife Maggie, his sister Mollie, his aunt Linda, his daughter Corinne, and his niece Emma. Abraham rented a farm in Saline County, which supported the family. No other person listed any employment.<sup>263</sup>

The injuries and ailments suffered by the veterans of the USCT progressively worsened over time, adding to the employment difficulties of Little Dixie families. Unlike many of their white counterparts, African American men and women needed to work into their sixties or seventies. Eighty-eight percent of African males over the age of sixty-five worked compared to seventy-two percent of white males. This difference was even greater between women as twenty-six percent of African American women worked past sixty-five compared to only seven percent of white women. Although both African American men and women worked longer than their white counterparts, seventy-two percent of black men worked compared to twenty-six percent of black women, indicating the predominant employment of men at a later age. Amongst the Little Dixie Freedwomen, the injuries sustained by their men in the war, would require their continued employment.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> Sarah Francis Prather Pension Claim for Jordan Prather; Sarah White Pension Claim for Jerry White; 1880, *FC*; 1890, *FC*.

<sup>264</sup> 1900, *FC*; Berry, *My Face is Black is True*, 106-110; Christensen and Kramer, *A History of Missouri*, 4:79-108; Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 124-127. Suzanna Maria Grenz, "The Black Community in Boone County, Missouri." Berry's work relies on Grenz's discussion of Boone County in the 1890s.

<p><b>Table 6.2: Status of African American and white populations in Little Dixie</b>  <i>This table charts some basic information about the black and white population in select counties of Little Dixie in 1900.  Information includes: literacy and farm ownership</i></p>			
COUNTY	AFRICAN AMERICAN FEMALES	AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES	AFRICAN AMERICANS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: ILLITERATE
BOONE	2,311	2,253	1,361
HOWARD	2,038	2,144	1,199
JACKSON	9,728	9,316	3,304
LAFAYETTE	1,763	1,914	953
SALINE	2,347	2,414	1,244
COUNTY	TOTAL FARMS WITH AFRICAN AMERICAN FARMERS	FARMS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN SHARE TENANTS	AFRICAN AMERICAN FARM OWNERS
BOONE	178	63	77
HOWARD	171	84	58
JACKSON	23	5	9
LAFAYETTE	128	36	58
SALINE	250	70	80
COUNTY	TOTAL FARMS WITH WHITE FARMERS	FARMS OF WHITE SHARE TENANTS	WHITE FARM OWNERS
BOONE	3362	544	2150
HOWARD	1866	371	1156
JACKSON	3658	501	1820
LAFAYETTE	2915	526	1752
SALINE	3388	669	1535

Little Dixie Freedwoman, Carey Morrison and her husband Lewis demonstrate how the combined factors of limited job opportunities, the natural course of aging and the

intensified problems of wartime injuries took their toll on the African American population of mid-Missouri. In 1868, Carey married her husband Lewis after his service in the Army. In the immediate years after his service, Lewis and Carey began a family and lived together in Jefferson City. Lewis suffered from some physical ailments as a result of his service, including hydrocele in his legs and abdominal pain. With these injuries, Lewis Morrison engaged in “light work on a farm part time” and also as a day laborer performing light tasks. Morrison believed that his health was “reasonably good” but he also stated that since his disabilities began in the Spring of 1864, “I have never been able to do hard work such as chopping wood...cradling grain or other work.” By the mid to late 1880s, the Morrisons’ circumstances changed greatly. In 1885, Lewis Morrison wrote a letter to William Dudley, the Commissioner of Pensions, asking to have his claim advanced. He said, “I write to beseech you if it is possible to have my claim advanced...My necessities have never been so pressing.” The Union veteran explained to the commissioner that he was no longer able to work and with the winter arriving soon, the next few months would bring “hunger, cold and destitution.”<sup>265</sup>

Lewis Morrison died only three years later in 1888, leaving his wife Carey in poverty and with little means of improving her situation. Carey’s situation worsened over time, leaving her in an increasingly poor financial situation. In 1897, reports still claimed that “she is poor and lives by her earnings and the contributions of her children.” Carey was listed as living alone in 1900, with no trade or education. In a pension affidavit that same year, one source described her situation. The affidavit states that, “She owns neither homes nor lands, nor any other property excepting her clothing and so

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<sup>265</sup> Carey Morrison Pension Claim for Lewis Morrison (Pvt., Co. H, 65<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 457,024, certificate no. 451,994, Civil War and Later Pension Files

far as we knew and believe is entirely dependent for support upon her children and friends. Her health too is so poor that she cannot earn a living.”<sup>266</sup>

The Little Dixie women, like Carey Morrison, turned to their family and kin to assist them in these times of difficulty because few other options existed. When white veterans, both Union and Confederate, struggled in the 1880s and 1890s, Veteran’s organizations responded with the formation of public homes for the destitute and needy among them. Confederate organizations, notably the Daughters of the Confederacy, created the Confederate Home at Higginsville, which opened in 1891. Five years later in 1896, the Federal Soldier’s Home in St. James opened its doors to Union Veterans. The Missouri Division of the Women’s Relief Corps, an auxiliary branch of the Grand Army of the Republic, spearheaded the creation of the Home for “destitute soldiers.” African American veterans certainly qualified as destitute soldiers in need of assistance from their fellow veterans. However, African American Veterans were not admitted to the Home, even though the primary requirement for admittance was honorable discharge from the Union Army. In fact, the twenty Little Dixie Freedwomen and their husbands included in this study did not generally participate in the Grand Army of the Republic. Although the Union Veteran’s organization claimed to be integrated and welcoming organization, in Missouri, opportunities for involvement were limited.<sup>267</sup>

Missourians, in particular, resisted the integration of the Grand Army of the Republic, many hoping to create a separate branch for African Americans. In 1891, national leaders of the organization voted to settle the “race problem” and rule against a

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<sup>266</sup> Carey Morrison Pension Claim for Lewis Morrison; 1900, FC.

<sup>267</sup> Alice Mae Armstrong, *History of the State Federal Soldier’s Home and the Work of the Department of Missouri Woman’s Relief Corp* (Kansas City, 1925), 46; Alexander Lesueur, *Office of Secretary of State, Official Manual of the State of Missouri For the Years, 1899-1900* (Jefferson City: Tribune Printing Company, State Printers and Binders, 1899), 195-196. 1900, FC; 1910, FC, Phelps County.

separate department for African Americans in the Grand Army of the Republic. John Palmer, the Commander in Chief at that time, ordered posts across the nation to admit colored members and recognize colored posts. Missourians responded by voting to disregard Palmer's orders and "take the consequences," even threatening to resign from the national organization and to form locally affiliated posts. Ultimately only three Grand Army posts were integrated in Missouri and these chapters met in St. Joseph, Gallatin and Kirksville.<sup>268</sup>

Louis Benecke, active participant in the Grand Army of the Republic, an ardent Unionist, and supporter of the African American community in Little Dixie, organized two segregated branches of the organization. They were located in Little Dixie, in the towns of Salisbury and Brunswick, both in Chariton County. In 1883, when Benecke petitioned for the posts, he listed fifteen possible members. The branches survived until at least 1894, but suffered from low enrollment and problems paying their membership dues. Grand Army leadership in St. Louis wrote to Benecke, chastising him for his failure to supervise the branches, stating, "You wrote me some time ago that you would look after the colored posts...I wish you would get after them with a sharp stick." Given the dedication of white Missouri G.A.R. members to rejecting African American membership and the difficulty of maintaining separate African American posts, it is not surprising that only one Little Dixie husband appeared on the G.A.R. rosters. Lewis

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<sup>268</sup> *New York Times*, "No Color Line Allowed," August 7, 1891; *New York Times*, 4 March 1892; Marie Concannon and Josiah Parkinson, *Grand Army of the Republic, Missouri Division, Index to Death Rolls, 1882-1940: Taken from the Proceedings of the Annual Encampments* (Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri, 1995).

Morrison, husband of Freedwoman Carey Morrison, was a member of the segregated Jefferson City post.<sup>269</sup>

The racism demonstrated by the segregation of Grand Army of the Republic posts in Missouri translated into the rejection of African American men's application to live in the St. James Federal Veteran's Home. Since the St. James home did not formally prohibit African Americans, admission requirements served as a means of disallowing their admittance. The Home required some monthly payment for residence and also the recipient needed to be eligible for a Federal Veteran's pension. These two conditions limited African American soldiers from applying and from being accepted into the Home. Historian Barbara Gannon's book, *The Won Cause*, argues that organizations such as the G.A.R. acted as an activist for the rights and increased benefits of Union veterans after the war. She also argues that the G.A.R. primarily functioned as an integrated group. Gannon's assertions regarding the integration of the organization in Missouri are not correct, and as a result African, American men and women did not benefit from the organization serving as an advocate for them.<sup>270</sup>

As their promised rights were being taken away by legislation, the racism of Veteran's organizations and southern sympathizing white women's re-remembering of the war; the Little Dixie Freedwomen petitioned the government to remember their

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<sup>269</sup> Letter from T.B. Rodger to Louis Benecke, February 1, 1894, Benecke Family Papers, C3825, folder 919, WHMC; James Primm, *The Grand Army of the Republic in Missouri* (PhD Diss., University of Missouri, 1949).

<sup>270</sup> This study explored the records of the Home up through 1910. An African American veteran may have been admitted after that date. Alice Mae Armstrong, *History of the State Federal Soldier's Home*, 46. 1900, FC; 1910, FC; Barbara Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Gannon argues that the GAR was actually a very integrated organization in the black and white veteran's unified together over their shared "won cause." In Gannon's work she points to only three integrated branches of the Missouri GAR, none in Little Dixie. Only eight African American posts existed, primarily outside of the Little Dixie region. This was a small number of posts considering over 8,000 men served in the Union Army from Missouri.

service and their rights. Thousands of African Americans, both males and females, entered claims to their rightful due as Civil War soldiers, wives and daughters of soldiers, and citizens of the United States. By filing these claims, the Little Dixie Freedwomen reasserted themselves, reinforcing the memory of their men's service, the honor and manhood of their men, and the legitimacy of the black family. Like other promised rights of citizenship, the African-American community faced numerous challenges in claiming their pensions. However it was through this process of repeatedly asserting their rights that Little Dixie women asserted their own memory of the war.<sup>271</sup>

From the early years of the Civil War through the turn of the century, the pension system for Union Veterans developed and changed, mostly in an attempt to expand Veteran's benefits and make the process less complicated. The federal government first offered pensions to those men enlisting in the Union Army, as a means of raising morale and increasing the number of men willing to enlist. The first pension legislation passed on July 22, 1861, declared disabled veterans and the widows or minors of slain veterans eligible for pensions. Throughout the war, new legislation expanded the number of those veterans eligible to receive a pension by including privates, non-commissioned officers,

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<sup>271</sup> Recent studies of pension claims include Elizabeth Regosin's *Freedom's Promise*; Donald Shaffer's *After The Glory*; Gannon, *The Won Cause*; Megan McClintock's "Civil War Pensions and the Reconstruction of Union Families," 456-480; Michelle Krowl, "Her Just Dues' Civil War Pensions of African American Women in Virginia," 48-69; Mary Francis Berry's, *My Face is Black is True*. Regosin's significant work on the pension process explores the process of filing a pension and the stories told by the former slaves. According to Regosin, the pension process reflected the same family structure used by the white community to control African Americans in labor contracts and housing. They enforced really a white standard upon the African American community. The second piece of her work is an exploration of the stories told by the slaves, which she argues attempt to frame the African American family in a way that makes them fit those pensions standards. Shaffer's, *After the Glory*, discusses the hardships faced by African American veterans after the Civil War and their struggle to assert their manhood even after the war was supposed to have proven their masculinity. Gannon uses the pension claims to demonstrate the GAR's role in lobbying for the rights of veterans. McClintock's work focuses on the pension system as the foundation for government programs to aid the needy, but also the inclusion of morality in these programs as well, such as legal marriages, etc.

William Henry Glasson, *History of Military Pension Legislation in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1900).

and sailors in the navy. In each of these cases, however, the pension depended on the existence of a disability from the war. As the war progressed, pension legislation became more complex. For example, in July of 1864, new legislation set fixed rates based on the type of disability claimed. The government continued to expand the eligibility requirements for pensioners as well. Between 1865 and 1873, numerous acts provided for the inclusion of widows, dependent children, dependent siblings and even dependent parents. One of the most significant changes occurred in 1879, with the Arrears Act. Prior to 1879, pensioners needed to file their claims within five years of their discharge or death. The Arrears Act removed this limitation allowing for new pension files to be claimed and the financial compensation to extend retroactively to the war.<sup>272</sup>

After the Arrears Act of 1879, most of the Freedwomen of Little Dixie and their spouses applied for their pensions. While the government seemingly made the process of receiving a pension easier over time, the twenty Little Dixie pension applicants faced numerous obstacles. With the passage of the Arrears Act, the Freedwomen of Little Dixie and their husbands could file a pension, long after the original statute of limitations expired. But, the process of getting that claim approved also became much more complicated. The problem arose out of the necessity to prove disability. Because so many years passed between the pension filing and the war, critics of the act believed that large amounts of fraud and perjury would occur. Therefore, applicants submitted their claim through a screening process that included doctors who could “verify” that an

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<sup>272</sup> Glasson, *Federal Military Pensions*, 71-90; McClintock, “Civil War Pensions and The Reconstruction of Union Families,” 63-65; Regosin, *Freedom’s Promise*, 192; Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Mothers and Soldiers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 115-118.

ailment occurred during the war. Pension claimants also submitted testimony from their community to validate their claims.<sup>273</sup>

<i><b>Table 6.3: USCT Soldier's Most Common Injuries</b></i> <i>Most common injuries reported on the pension claims of USCT soldiers between 1862-1888 and the number of total times reported<sup>274</sup></i>	
Gunshot and shell wounds..... 117,947	Blood poisoning..... 3,104
Chronic diarrhea..... 55,125	Disease of kidneys..... 3,029
Incised & contused wounds & other injuries.....41,049	Varicocele..... 2,887
Rheumatism, including muscular.....40,790	Disease of spinal cord..... 2,619
Disease of heart..... 25,994	Muscular disease of the leg..... 2,255
Disease of lungs..... 23,471	Asthma..... 2,203
Disease of rectum..... 22,517	Disease of mouth..... 2,177
Disease of eyes..... 15,251	Neuralgia..... 2,144
Single hernia..... 15,043	Disease of scrotum and testes...2,119
Varicose veins..... 10,932	Results of fevers..... 1,729
Amputations..... 9,159	Disease of bladder..... 1,523
Partial deafness..... 8,267	Epilepsy..... 1,512
Disease of stomach..... 7,745	Sun-stroke, results of..... 1,454
Malarial poisoning..... 7,151	Total deafness..... 1,420
Nervous prostration..... 5,320	Ulcers..... 1,242
Disease of liver..... 4,813	Muscular diseases of the foot.... 1,225
Chronic bronchitis..... 3,932	Disease of brain, including insanity... 1,098
Disease of throat..... 3,671	Double hernia..... 1,090
Nasal catarrh..... 3,320	Miscellaneous..... 11,600
<b>Total Pensions Granted..... 406,702</b>	

<sup>273</sup> Peter Blanch, "Civil War Pension and Disability," *Ohio State Law Journal* 62 (2001): 123; Sven Wilson, "Prejudice and Policy: Racial Discrimination in the Union Army Disability Pension System, 1865-1906," *American Journal of Public Health*, vol. 100 (2010): 556-565.

<sup>274</sup> Peter Blanch, "Civil War Pension and Disability," 9-10.

For the veteran's from Little Dixie, this skepticism regarding their injuries created a difficult obstacle to surmount. These men all served in the United States Colored Troops from Missouri, specifically the 62<sup>nd</sup>, 65<sup>th</sup>, and 68<sup>th</sup> Regiments. As previously discussed, the harsh conditions of their service resulted in numerous injuries, ailments, and disabilities, all of which greatly impacted their postwar lives. The Arrears Act created the opportunity to file a pension, but it also caused those workers screening the claims to doubt and reject the claims of these men and women.<sup>275</sup>

As Theda Skocpol and Megan McClintock have argued, the development of the pension system broadened the availability of federal assistance and formed the roots of government aid in the United States, however, the application process still largely discriminated against Little Dixie Freedwomen's claims. In order to receive a pension, a claimant needed to provide evidence of service, but an eligible widow or dependent needed additional evidence to prove a legally documented marriage and in the case of a child, paternity. Elizabeth Regosin points out in her work, *Freedom's Promise*, that the pension process reflected the white expectations regarding family, specifically marriage and gender roles. The expectation of the black family to adhere to white standards of family and masculinity proved difficult, particularly because of the legacy of slavery and its legal restrictions on marriage.<sup>276</sup>

Little Dixie Freedwoman, Elizabeth Cropp began her petition for her father's pension in 1885, and continued on for over forty years, pushing for her rights as a citizen and as a daughter. Her father died in service to the Union Army, which would have

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<sup>275</sup> Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Mothers and Soldiers*, 115-118; Blanch, "Civil War Pension and Disability," 123; Sven Wilson, "Prejudice and Policy: Racial Discrimination in the Union Army Disability Pension System, 1865-1906," 556-565.

<sup>276</sup> Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Mothers and Soldiers*; McClintock, "Civil War Pensions and The Reconstruction of Union Families,"; "Regosin, *Freedom's Promise*, 30.

eliminated the need to prove disability, however, Elizabeth would still confront numerous other challenges. Her mother's death, only five years after her father's in 1865, made her the sole claimant to the pension. Despite this fact, the Pension Claims Office declined her first request because they claimed that Cropp needed to file her claim before 1880. She challenged this decision, and it was quickly overturned because of previous legislations allowing for the children of pensioners to file later. Once beyond this restriction, the Pension Bureau required Cropp to prove the legitimacy of her parents' marriage. Cropp collected numerous sworn statements from people, both white and black, testifying to her parent's legitimate marriage and her ensuing birth. For four decades, the Claims Office would maintain that Cropp's parents never legally married and that she could therefore not claim the pension. Cropp, like other women of color looking to claim their men's pension, faced a unique set of constraints.<sup>277</sup>

The Pension Claims Office and the white community used the laws enforced upon black people during slavery to continue the suppression of freed people of color, although the former slaves could do little to eradicate the past. The family requirements placed on the black petitioner, firmly set the standard for an acceptable family as white. The Pension Claims Office wanted evidence that the family was legally married, lived together while married, and with a male head of household. Under slavery, this was not possible. As Donald Shaffer explained in his work, *After the Glory*, "Practically speaking, black veterans and their families had a greater burden of proof than white persons had, despite the formal equality of black and white applicants under the law." Despite the claims of Cropp and her supporters, that indeed her parents were married,

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<sup>277</sup> Elizabeth Cropp Pension Claim for George McCreary; Regosin, *Freedom's Promise*, 54-78; Shaffer, *After the Glory*, 104.

they could never reverse the past and the restrictions of slavery that made Cropp's parents' marriage illegitimate. By requiring petitioners to prove the legitimacy of their families, the Pension Claims Office placed the responsibility of this situation on the black population, as if it was the fault of the freed people that it was illegal to marry during slavery. This removed the burden and the memory of slavery from the white population, making the past a burden on the black community instead.<sup>278</sup>

Women faced an even greater challenge in claiming their husband's and father's pensions. Because Mary Cropp never legally married her husband, Elizabeth Cropp could not prove the legitimacy of their marriage. At the same time, the Pension Claims Office and the white community wanted black women to enter into post-war legal marriages and families. If these women formed a new relationship and legally married another man, again the pensions would be denied. Even female children of pensioners could not marry, because they would lose their father's pension. Since Elizabeth Cropp's mother died shortly after her father, her own relationship status became a restriction on her pension claim. Almost forty years after her original petition, the Pension Claims Office again rejected Cropp's claim because of testimony stating that she was married to a man that lived in her home. Cropp's inability to obtain her father's pension indicates the power that the gender constructions of the white family held over the black family, particularly single black women, after emancipation.<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> Elizabeth Cropp Pension Claim for George McCreary; Regosin, *Freedom's Promise*, 23-53; Works that discuss white standards imposed on African Americans include, Nancy Bercau, *Gendered Freedoms*; Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household*; Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*; Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*; Glymph: *Out of the House of Bondage*.

<sup>279</sup> Elizabeth Cropp Pension Claim for George McCreary; McClintock, "Civil War Pensions and The Reconstruction of Union Families," 479.

While Cropp did not succeed in getting her pension, her repeated petitions served another purpose. Elizabeth Cropp's repeated filings reminded the federal government and those in her community of the existence of slavery, the nature of its restrictions, the legitimacy of the black family, although different from the white family, and the service of African Americans in the Civil War. Each filing of the pension provided new evidence of her claim. Claims required evidence such as medical records, and marriage certificates, but they also depended on personal testimonies as evidence. She did this through her testimony and the testimony of other women and men, both black and white.<sup>280</sup>

The testimony of Little Dixie women served as their voice in the process of petitioning for a pension. Testimonies primarily came in the form of stories about their past lives and recollections about their life experiences. The women primarily crafted their testimonies to support two key issues, the validity of their families and the sacrifice of their men. They recounted their lives, reminding the federal government that their families existed in slavery and that their men had honorably served in the Union Army and helped to secure victory in the war. For these the Little Dixie Freedwomen, their issue with memory was not to recreate, but to protect.<sup>281</sup>

When filing for their pensions, the Freedwomen of Little Dixie countered frequent challenges to the legitimacy of their marriages, just as Elizabeth Cropp experienced in her claim. Living in a system that prohibited the legal marriage of slaves meant that Freedwomen looked to common law marriages and ceremonial marriages to validate their

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<sup>280</sup> Elizabeth Cropp Pension Claim for George McCreary.

<sup>281</sup> Regosin, *Freedom's Promise*, 15-16. Regosin agrees that testimony was important in the pension process, however she argues that African American women reshaped their stories to fit the pension standards. I argue that really they were not reshaping rather asserting the realities of their personal history; their men honorably served, they were married in slavery, they did earn the right to a pension, etc.

relationships. Almeda Patterson married her husband Martin before the war, either in 1858 or 1860, and after the war ended, they did not remarry in an official ceremony. Almeda claimed that although she did not own any physical proof of her marriage, it was recorded in the “white folk’s bible”. Almeda began her pension claim in the 1880s, and continued on for almost forty years in her pursuit. During this period, she repeatedly tried to prove the legitimacy of her marriage to her husband, Martin. The pension Board of Review believed that Almeda Patterson’s claim rested on the testimony of her daughters and a “discharged notary.” The Board’s report claimed that there was “reason to doubt there ever was a ceremonial marriage between them, and if their relationship was “illicit,” the state of Missouri would not recognize a common law marriage. Almeda Patterson’s case demonstrates the racism often inherent in the pension process. After recording Almeda’s testimony, the Review Board worker commented on her testimony and situation describing her as “old, ignorant, illiterate, and not very intelligent.”<sup>282</sup>

Not only did the Little Dixie women have to defend their memory of their families and marriages, they also defended the memory of their husband’s service. Margaret Tarwater’s first husband, James Allen, died shortly after returning home from his service in the United States Colored Troops. Her second marriage to Andrew Tarwater occurred in 1875, and by the 1880 census, they were living together in Chariton County, Missouri, with six children. Margaret’s son, Preston Allen, filed a claim in 1896 for his father’s pension. Because Margaret Tarwater remarried, she was not eligible for her husband’s pension. However, her son was able to claim it. Like the other claimants, Preston Tarwater needed to prove the legitimacy of his parents’ marriage. He was also called upon to find evidence that his father’s death resulted from his time in Army.

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<sup>282</sup> Almeda Patterson Pension Claim for Martin Patterson.

James Allen enlisted in the Army in early 1864. Only a few short months later, he returned home, unable to serve because of his physical condition. The Pension Board believed that Allen's illness, which eventually caused his death, began before he served. By refusing to recognize his service time, his son Preston became ineligible for a pension.<sup>283</sup>

The Pension Review Board's suspicion of cases involving illness such as the one Allen claimed, stemmed from the large number of false cases presented in order to gain a pension, but it also reflected a failure to remember the experience of USCT soldiers in the Civil War. While former Union Veterans claimed a variety of injuries and illnesses to receive a pension, among the veterans of the United States Colored Troops illness and injury were common place. This was particularly true for the men who served in the USCT 62<sup>nd</sup>, 65<sup>th</sup>, and 67<sup>th</sup> Regiments and suffered through horrific conditions during enlistment, training and service. The 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment of which Allen belonged lost 749 men to disease. Special Examiner Miller, the reviewer of Allen's case, did not take into account the condition of the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment, rather he questioned the validity of Preston Allen's claim. Several people testified on behalf of James Allen's service, stating the James Allen entered into the Army as a healthy man. According to several men that served in the USCT, Allen enlisted at Benton Barracks and stayed at that location for two months. During that time he became ill with pneumonia because of the cold weather and exposure, and was sent to his quarters with coughing and pain. The pneumonia made

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<sup>283</sup> Margaret Tarwater Pension Claim for Preston Allen (Pvt., Co. K, 65<sup>th</sup> USCT. Inf., Civil War), pension application no. 178,491, Civil War and Later Pension Files.

him unfit for duty and he was discharged. Special Examiner Miller believed that Allen entered to the service unfit for duty, and therefore was not eligible.<sup>284</sup>

The Allen family was not alone in finding their claims challenged because of the nature of the USCT soldier's injury or illness. In a state that glorified the service of white men, no matter how small the sacrifice, freed women of Little Dixie saw the service of their men doubted and rejected as illegitimate. William Hereford, another member of the USCT 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment, suffered numerous injuries during the war, including a gunshot wound to the thigh. According to those testifying on his behalf, Hereford returned from his service lame, and unable to do manual labor. In order to claim his pension, his wife, Freedwoman Mary Hereford, was required to prove his injury and the legitimacy of their marriage as well.<sup>285</sup>

Although the Little Dixie women did not file these pension claims in a direct assault on white Confederate groups such as the United Daughters of Confederacy, the pension claims asserted their memory of the Civil War in two ways. First, the collection of evidence from the Little Dixie community forced citizens, both black and white, to remember slavery, the transformation of African American rights because of the Civil War, and testify on a number of points, including the service of black men and the autonomous black family. Secondly, the tenacity demonstrated by the Little Dixie Freedwomen to pursue pension claims after multiple rejections, demonstrates the need for

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<sup>284</sup> Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. III (New York: National Historical Society, 1979), 1734; Margaret Tarwater Pension Claim for Preston Allen. For more information of the service of African American men in the Union Army please see: Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1987); Leslie S. Rowland, Joseph P. Reidy and Ira Berlin, *Freedom's Soldiers: The Black Military Experience in the Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); John David Smith, *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Keith P. Wilson, *Campfires of Freedom: The Camp Life of Black Soldiers During the Civil War* (Kent, Oh.: Kent State University Press, 2002).

<sup>285</sup> Mary Hereford Pension Claim for Aaron Hereford.

the pension money, but also a refusal to recognize the white “Board of Pensions” version of their own history. Instead, these women continued to petition, reaffirming with each claim, their memory of the war and emancipation.

The efforts of the Little Dixie Freedwomen and other African Americans who filed pension claims did not go unnoticed by the white community. An article published by the *Booneville Weekly Advertiser* in 1902, called “Another Negro Problem,” placed blame on African American women for creating men unwilling to meet the white expectations for labor and behavior. It asserted that African Americans disrupted societal order for whites by leading the nation to war, upsetting labor and economic practice and taking money from the pension fund. If African American men qualified for pensions and no longer exclusively depended on whites for employment, white Missourians would lose their economic control over African Americans. This article also implied that the claims for pensions made by African Americans were not legitimate.<sup>286</sup>

Ultimately the outcome of the pension process varied amongst the Little Dixie women. A few women received pensions, while a large number did not. Overall, African Americans received only 65.7% of their pension applications approved in relation to the 87.5% of white applicants. But regardless of the outcome, for the Little Dixie Women, pension claims became a powerful tool to assert their own memory of the war and emancipation. Petitioning remained a key avenue for Freedwomen’s activism and gave the Little Dixie women the opportunity to defend their own experience in the

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<sup>286</sup> *Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, “Another Negro Problem,” September 19, 1902.

Civil War along with the honor of their men and the rights of citizenship granted to them after the war.<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>287</sup>Mitch Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom*; Clark, *Defining Moments*; Blight; *Frederick Douglass' Civil War*; Regosin, *Freedom's Promise*, 19.

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## VITA

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