“THE PRESENCE OF THESE FAMILIES IS THE CAUSE OF THE PRESENCE THERE OF THE GUERRILLAS”: THE INFLUENCE OF LITTLE DIXIE HOUSEHOLDS ON THE CIVIL WAR IN MISSOURI

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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

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

Professor Leeann Whites

Professor Mark Carroll

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Women and War: The Reconciliation of Gender and Military History

There were few bright spots for Union Brigadier-General Clinton B. Fisk as commander of the North District of Missouri over the course of the Civil War. During the war Fisk commanded Union troops in Little Dixie Missouri against pro-Confederate guerrillas and struggled to understand his enemy. Unlike the straightforward nature of pitched battle between two uniformed armies, representing two legitimate nations, guerrilla war was influenced by aspects outside the frame of conventional warfare driven by centralized governments who controlled industry and transportation. In Missouri only one of the forces was controlled and provided for by a centralized, formal government: the Union Army led by the likes of Fisk. Despite a general misunderstanding of their enemies, Union commanders, Fisk and Brigadier General Thomas Ewing specifically, recognized many of the variables that contributed to the guerrilla war. In a letter to a Major King, Fisk expressed some of his thoughts about how to catch and kill guerrillas and even touched on various things that he thought influenced the way his enemies fought. Fisk's letter to King read:

> I congratulate you on the good beginning of the bushwhacking campaign. Strike with vigor and determination. Take no prisoners. We have enough of that sort on hand now. Pursue and kill. I have two of Holtzclaw's men, just captured. They state that he camps, when in Howard County, in the rear of old man Hackley's farm, not far from Fayette. Make a dash in there at night and get him if possible. Let a detachment secretly watch his mother's residence. He is home almost daily, and his sisters are great comforters of the bushwhackers. Old man Hackley has a

> son in the brush. I shall soon send out of the district the bushwhacking families. Go ahead and give us a good report.[1]

Fisk saw the importance of civilian support to the guerrillas and he touched on the significance of the places of women, old men, and guerrillas. Fisk was unable to analyze the consequences of these factors, limiting his strategy to nothing more than an everlasting game of cat and mouse.

Fisk's orders were aimed at both the defeat of Captain Clifton Holtzclaw's band of guerrillas in his district and the issue of controlling civilian involvement. However, because Fisk did not investigate the positions of the women and men in Little Dixie society, he could not understand that all of these people and issues were really one. Blinded by his worldview predicated on a centralized, formal army and the separation of household (women) and men in this army, the general was unable to recognize guerrilla and civilian support as a single entity.[2]

In the mid-nineteenth century North, industrialism and separate spheres removed men and the war from the household, however the military defense of an intact pre-industrial society, like rural Missouri, maintained the bonds between men and their households. Antebellum, rural Missouri was a pre-industrial society centered on individual households. The household was not just a place to live, but the location for every aspect of life in the South, from politics to economic production to physical reproduction. Fisk wanted to believe that the guerrillas acted independently of their households like Union troopers who were hundreds of miles from home and supplied by a centralized government that controlled industry. What Fisk did not realize was that the

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[1] *The War of The Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Hereafter, *O.R.*), Series 1, Vol. 41, Part 1, 760.
[2] Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republic Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 18-21, 36, 37.

guerrillas derived their independence from the very households that motivated and influenced their actions. It is for these reasons that any study of the Missourians in the Civil War can only be as dynamic as the scholars understanding of Missouri as a society based in and built on the household.[3]

Just like antebellum Little Dixie society, Little Dixie between 1861 and 1865 was centered on the household that accounted for all members of society, male and female.[4] The origins of the historical discussion of the household economy start with Fox-Genovese's *Within the Plantation Household.* This study creates the theoretical framework of the household in which gender, race and class structure the roles and status of each member of the household. Historians build from her household framework and apply the framework to other households besides her plantation. Fox-Genovese defined the southern household as a collection of people who came together, willing or not, to pool their resources to maximize their production. In applying Fox-Genovese's

[3] Works discussing the southern household and the roles of women in antebellum households see: Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, & the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996); Nancy Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms: Race, Rights, and the Politics of the Household in the Delta, 1861-1875* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); Victoria Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995); LeeAnn Whites, *Gender Matters: Civil War, Reconstruction, and the making of the New South* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005); John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life of the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Joan Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); R. Douglas Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992); Stephen Berry, *All That Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Dickson Bruce, *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979).

[4] Although definitions of the geographic boundaries of Little Dixie vary, our definition includes all of north-central Missouri counties because there were a majority of southern sympathizing citizens in all these counties. Shelby County is a bit far north to be a part of Little Dixie but the creation of a community in Shelby would be based on the same factors as in Saline. In addition, the familial ties that span the distance between the two counties serve as evidence for the vast dissemination of southern and frontier based ideology across the state of Missouri.

household to the yeoman households in the region of mid-Missouri before and during the war the presence and importance of women will be unveiled. [5]

Fox-Genovese's model of the household is extremely important to this study because her theories about the southern political economy having its genesis in the household unit made up of everyone in society – men and women – as opposed to the male public sphere, can be applied to any agriculturally based region of the South. Within her discussion of the importance of the southern household as the center for all of southern life, Fox-Genovese points to the dominance of the white-male head of the household. She believes that he controls, with absolute power, each member of the household. There is no bonding between women of different races and classes. The superior white man in the household predicated the lives of women. White men in these circumstances used the labor of women and slaves to liberate themselves from household labor and instead represented their households in the economy and politics.[6]

War did alter the social positions of women by making many of them the acting heads of their households at a greater frequency than before the war. Although there

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[5] Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* 37-99; the first chapter provides the reader with the author's theoretical framework of what the household is and how it works; Stephanie McCurry, M*asters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country,* 50. Fox-Genovese's student, Stephanie McCurry uses the framework of the household as the basis for her work on yeoman households, *Masters of Small Worlds*. McCurry's work is important to this study because her subject matter – the yeoman household – is a similar group of people to the pre-industrial households discussed here. McCurry defines the yeoman farming household as one with 150 workable acres or less and nine or less slaves. The qualitative significance of this quantitative definition is that the male heads of household are not exempt from work and neither are their women and children. White women and children occupy the position of dependent (contrasting the head of household's role as independent) that essentially means that their status is only slightly better than a black slave. Just like the slaves, their role is to produce and reproduce to ensure the political and economic independence of the white male head, of any landowning class. The similarities between yeoman households found in South Carolina and Missouri in terms of production and reproduction make McCurry's analysis especially important especially in terms of: how and why the households produced for themselves and reproduced themselves, the relevance of understanding the household as the socioeconomic unit of organization in the antebellum South, the importance of gender in southern society, and the creation of independence (political and economic) for one member of the household.

[6] Fox-Genovese, 37-99.

were female heads of households before the war, they were completely ignored by Fox-Genovese. The male heads of many households departed during the war, forcing a drastic restructuring. In Missouri, the wealthier households that lost their men were not as likely to experience drastic changes because the women could live off of their wealth by hiring men or buy slaves to compensate for the loss of labor. Common white women in Missouri were not as lucky. Looking at women of the lower classes who found themselves outside the frame of the household, Victorian Bynum's *Unruly Women* compares the antebellum acts of disorderly behavior by women of the lower classes with unruliness during the war of women within rural North Carolina. Bynum's study shows that women without the means to stay within their traditional roles tried to survive by any means. During the war, the women of rural North Carolina act out against the political authority in order to maintain their households and protect other members within it. According to Bynum, "the very duties ascribed to nineteenth century women – nurturance of family and maintenance of the hearth and home – lent the greatest force to women's exhibition of 'manly behavior.'"[7] In a guerrilla war fought against the Confederate state, the women, without coercion, cooked food and produced clothing for their men who hid in the woods. Like Bynum's women, the women in Missouri during the war, although adhering to the general construction of the household, were more inclined to display their human agency than the passive plantation mistresses Fox-Genovese presents as models of southern womanhood.[8]

The Holtzclaw women were a perfect example of women actively supporting and influencing the guerrillas, a fact acknowledged by Fisk but ignored by historians of the

[7] Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South*, 132.
[8] Ibid., 112, 132.

war who argue that women were coerced into supporting the war. Even though her husband was killed, Mrs. Holtzclaw provided for her son according to her gender role as prescribed in antebellum culture. Mrs. Holtzclaw's actions took on political meaning in the context of a guerrilla war. She and her daughters went from being unnoticed persons to well-known enemies of the state as a result. Because there was no reliance on a centralized power to provide for southern sympathizers in Missouri, her household was the frontline. The Holtzclaw household, like the Quartermaster of the Union Army, became responsible for supplying guerrillas and also became a logistical target of their enemies. It was obvious to other historians of the war in Missouri that women played a crucial role in the survival and success of Missouri guerrillas, but most historians argue that they were coerced into assisting the guerrillas.[9]

Military historians approach the war in Missouri in a similar way as Fisk, treating civilians as noncombatants, especially women. They assume they are not an integral part of the war effort. In *Inside War* (1990), Fellman highlights the extreme violence and disturbing nature of a war that he argues is "random violence and unending fear."[10] Not only was the war random to Fellman, but he also asserts that women were submissive, incapable of supporting guerrillas of their own volition. Instead, they were coerced victims of war, not a fundamental part of the war effort. Fellman's language takes away the agency of women, making them the unwitting tools of guerrillas. For example, "by using women as their final screen, guerrillas had created a situation in which Union troops would have to war on women to destroy guerrillas."[11] Either it does not occur to

[9] *O.R.*, Series 1, Vol. 41, Part 1, 760.
[10] Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), xv.
[11] Ibid., 201.

Fellman that perhaps the women of southern sympathizing households willingly supported their men during the war as they had before the war or they were dupes. In either case Fellman does not give the women any voice in the matter. Women promoted this guerrilla war and placed themselves in harms way. Fellman does not give agency to women.[12]

Other works, particularly more recent works that discuss the war in Missouri, offer a more complete assessment of the role of women than Fellman's *Inside War*. One example is T. J. Stiles' *Jesse James* (2002). To explain James' participation in the war, Stiles finds the origins of James' pro-southern personality mostly in the radical pro-slavery rearing he received from his mother. In James' most impressionable years he was inundated with southern ideology. Jesse went to war to defend his household from further encroachment after Union soldiers attacked it and his stepfather war hung. So the combination of a pro-southern rearing and open aggravation by an enemy were the ingredients necessary to send a young man into the brush. It is this recognition by Stiles that the southern households in Missouri had an ability to produce warriors through the

[12] Analyses that deal with guerrilla war in Missouri and Union policy towards disloyal civilians include: Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Richard S. Brownlee, *Grey Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958); Jay Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border, 1854-1865* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955); Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004); *Guerrillas, Unionists, and Violence on the Confederate Homefront*, Ed. By Daniel Sutherland (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999); T. J. Stiles, *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003); William Shea and Earl Hess, *Pea Ridge: Civil War Campaign in the West* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Duane Schultz, *Quantrill's War: The Life and Times of William Clarke Quantrill, 1837-1865* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996); Edward Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride: The True Story of William Clarke Quantrill and his Confederate Raiders* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998); Stephen Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Archer Jones, *Civil War Command and Strategy: The Process of Victory and Defeat* (New York: The Free Press, 1992); Gary Gallagher, *The Confederate War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Richard Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William Still, *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986); Brent Nosworthy, *The Bloody Crucible of Courage: Fighting Methods and Combat Experience of the Civil War* (New York: Carroll and Graf Publishers, 2003).

strong influence and ability of women within that household that makes his work such an important one. [13]

The James' household, a household with many similarities to the Holtzclaw household, reinforced pro-slavery ideology in their children mostly because the previous generation of household members migrated from the South. They brought with them an understanding of the world that was based on the economic and political institutions of particular to the South. Jesse James' family lived in Kentucky before moving the Missouri. Most rural Missouri households that migrated to the state originated in other slaveholding states, the three most popular being Kentucky, North Carolina and Virginia. People who came to Missouri from other parts of the South understood their world as one built upon the backs of slaves; slave labor gave whites their status as free people. In addition, white boys and girls from southern families were raised in ways that reinforced mastery in men and submission to the head of household in white women. Just as Jesse James understood his freedom and status in society as being predicated upon the enslavement of others and his status as a man, so did the other young men of rural Missouri who went to war to protect their culture.[14]

Fox-Genovese, Bynum, Fellman, and Stiles all make strong contributions to either the study of the household or the war in Missouri, but few historical analyses have combined the two approaches to the Civil War in Missouri or more generally for that matter. The importance of the pre-industrial household to southern society and the fact that Missouri never transformed from this type of socioeconomic organization during the war means that Missouri in the Civil War must be viewed through a gendered, household

[13] Stiles, *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War*, 54, 55.
[14] Edwards, *Warfare of the Border*, 303.

lens.[15] The eyes of a military historian are only capable of seeing war and combatants. Women civilians only appear in the military history of war as passive victims or unwitting accomplices. Conversely, gender historians who study war, rarely move their gaze from the homefront. What happens then when the homefront and the battlefield are the same place?

Little Dixie, Missouri, the focus of this study, was both homefront and battlefield. This study argues that by better understanding the household and gender, a better understanding of the guerrilla war can be generated. A thorough examination of this argument takes shape over three chapters. The first chapter looks closely at the individuals, and later, households, that settled in the interior area of Missouri known as Little Dixie. Through the motivations for moving West and the building of households and communities we are able to see the presence of distinct factors that evolve into a successful guerrilla war.

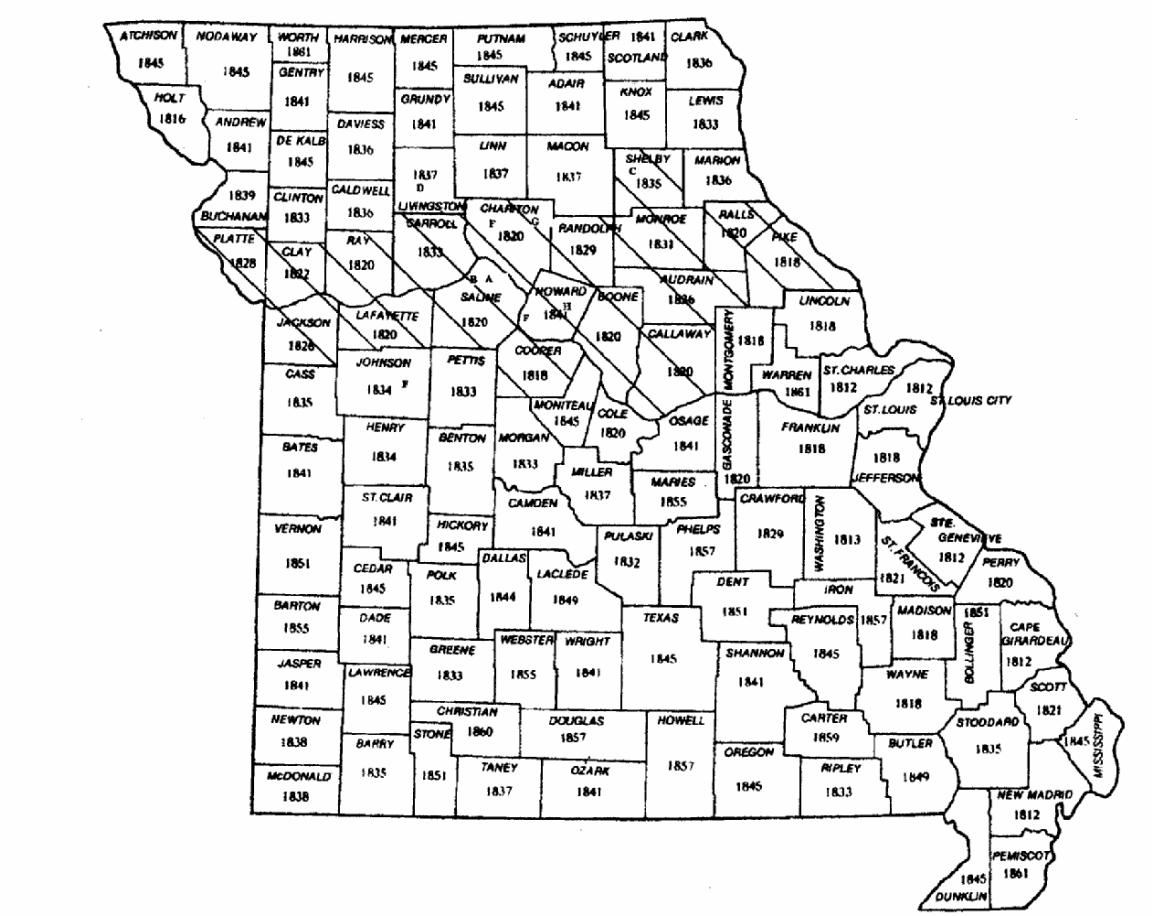
In the second chapter two types of households are introduced. A closer look at one type of household, "disorderly" households, illustrates changes that occurred within households and the community that made guerrilla war possible. In the end, a new household is created in which guerrillas became the only recognizable heads of households while all other members of society, men and women, filled the role of their "dependents," whether they be women, children or previous heads of household.

The third and final chapter explores the guerrillas and their actions during the war. The men who fought were greatly influenced by the nature of their households and communities before the war. Communities on the southern frontier and the dangers that

[15] For a discussion of the war in Missouri from the perspective of the household see: Whites, *Gender Matters,* specifically the chapter: "Gender and Missouri's War of the Households;" 45-64.

went along with a community in that locale, like rebellious slaves and warring Indians, raised boys with martial understandings and skill sets that differed from boys raised in other parts of the country. These martial abilities translated into tactics and strategy that separated and elevated them from their opponents. The productive abilities of the households also influenced the way these men fought and the strategy of the guerrillas.

General Fisk, and subsequently most historians, ignored the possibility that the guerrilla war was in many ways a systematic attempt by the households to protect themselves. The differences between the North and the South created confusion for Fisk who recognized the heart of the guerrilla effort as disloyalty, and this disloyalty to be an isolated decision by individual men and women. Perhaps disloyalty was universal every time the existence and nature of this pre-industrial world was challenged by an outside military force. The heart of guerrilla war was not random acts of violence; it was the active defense by all members of society whose decision to defend themselves and the form out of which they fought for defense was based on the pre-industrial household.



Map of Little Dixie, Missouri
Key:
A-George Rider Household
B- John Rider Household
C-James Rider Household
D-Tabitha Rider Household
E-Isabella Fox Household
F-Cull Households
G-Mahala Drew Household
H-Clifton Holtzclaw Household

Original Map, without shading or individual household locations found in:
Russel Gerlach, *Settlement Patterns in Missouri: A Study of Population Origins, With a Wall Map* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 21.

1
The Old Household: A Foundation for War

> About two-thirds of the families on the occupied farms of that region are of kin to the guerrillas, and are actively and heartily engaged in feeding, clothing, and sustaining them. The presence of these families is the cause of the presence there of the guerrillas…They will, therefore, continue guerrilla war as long as they remain, and will stay as long as possible if their families remain.[16]

On August 3rd, 1863, Brigadier General Thomas Ewing reported to Major General John Schofield what appeared to be a common sense correlation between guerrilla war and civilian support. However, in the early stages of the war, the Union Army did not even recognize the potential for guerrilla war in Missouri. Only after the Union Army drove Confederate forces out of the state and began to occupy the towns and cities did the pieces enabling the statewide guerrilla conflict converge. The isolation of southern-sympathizing Missouri citizens from the Confederate war effort and the taking of towns in rural Missouri by Union forces were two of the elements necessary for the consequential eruption of guerrilla warfare across middle Missouri. Although Ewing simplified its importance, he accurately assessed the third ingredient needed for the irregular warfare that befell Missouri. That final ingredient were the households that were motivated, willing, and capable of helping guerrillas who were, in one way or another, connected to the households through kinship bonds.[17]

The lives Missourians made for themselves before the war influenced the way that they fought during the war. The goal of this chapter is to recreate the circumstances that provided the members of the pre-industrial Little Dixie households with the willingness and the capabilities to support the guerrillas and to explore any other ways that settlement

[16] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 22, Part 2, 428.
[17] Ibid.

and community construction influenced the war. Recreating the decades before the war is important because the complex methods through which the guerillas obtained supplies and the amount of material each household was capable of producing were based on antebellum practices and worldviews. In fact, the actions taken by the settlers of Little Dixie before the war built an informal *supply line* that was used by the guerrillas during the war. Also, the institutions created for the defense of antebellum rural Missouri were responsible for inadvertently instilling a military worldview in the heads of mid-Missouri guerrillas as well as a military expertise.[18]

The construction and operation of pre-modern Little Dixie households created the basis for the informal supply line for the defenders of these mid-Missouri communities during the war. The guerrillas' supply lines were made up of individual households who were permanently tied together through kin and social connections in the decades preceding the war. Kinship connections originated even before extended families moved to the Missouri frontier together. These connections expanded and deepened as children were born and adults were married once in Missouri.[19] Within these extended kinship connections were individual households. Each household looked first to establish self-

[18] Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South,* 64-65; Fellman, *Inside War,* 196, 197; Jones, *Civil War Command and Strategy*, 152; Ash is one example of a historian that identifies and agrees with the perceptiveness of Union officials without attempting a deeper analysis. Fellman ultimately believes that, while some guerrillas were actively helped by women, most guerrillas received their support through coercion. Further, Fellman argues that the connections between neighbors and kin were shattered during the war. Jones simply believes that despite guerrillas' tactical strengths, their supply base was unstable and vulnerable.

[19] Works relating to migration to and settlement on the frontier are: Joan Cashin, *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Victoria Bynum, *The Free State of Jones: Mississippi's Longest Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Edward Baptist, *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier Before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Thomas Clark and John Guice, *The Old Southwest, 1790-1830: Frontiers in Conflict* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); John Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998); Mark Carroll, *Homesteads Ungovernable: Families, Sex, Race and the Law in Frontier Texas, 1823-1860* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001).

sufficiency for itself and usually did so with some support from kin. After households achieved self-sufficiency, they shifted their focus to building a community. Social ties were born and strengthened when individual families and households came together to build their communities. Due to the gender-based division of labor, the male head was most responsible for constructing the economic and political aspects of the community. His relationships with other men formed the primary public and legal ties between households.[20]

Exploring the roots of the supply line requires a look at three specific themes that were particularly important to creating the network of support. First, the motivations for migration to Missouri prepared southern-sympathizing settlers on ideological grounds for the political support of guerrillas. Also, once they arrived in Missouri the construction of the household prepared these settlers, in terms of productive abilities, for the material support of guerrillas. Finally, households created extended social networks beyond kinship through the participation of male heads of household with other men who shared the pursuit of economic success and political service directed at community construction and protection.[21]

The households that made up the informal supply line used by guerrillas during the Civil War were initially united because they shared the same motivations for moving to Missouri. Motivation to migrate to the West dictated what types of households were constructed, how their communities were built, but most importantly the political

[20] Important works with notable focus on the gender relations of antebellum southern household and the productive abilities of households see note #3 of Introduction.
[21] 1850 and 1860 Federal Manuscript Censes (Hereafter MC), Chariton, Saline, and Shelby Counties, Missouri; 1860 Federal Agricultural Census (Hereafter AC), Chariton, Saline and Shelby Counties, Missouri; 1860 Federal Census Slave Schedule (Hereafter SS), Chariton and Saline Counties, Missouri.

loyalties of the settlers in Missouri. The majority of people who settled in Little Dixie originated from slaveholding states and their motivations were alike, but their motivations differed from settlers from non-slaveholding states. Thomas Jefferson, a slaveholder, articulated the earliest ideology of western expansion during the years of the early republic. Thomas Jefferson, with a complete understanding that most free men did not own slaves, still saw expansion being built on the backs of slaves.[22]

As discussed in Drew McCoy's *The Elusive Republic*, expansionist policy of the Jefferson administration encouraged westward migration. Jefferson's policy envisioned the growth of the United States over space as opposed to growth over time, a reference to economic modernization or industrialization. Jefferson's line of thought built from Adam Smith's idea that human existence evolved through four stages: hunting, pasturage, agriculture, and commerce. Although the fourth stage, commerce, was the most advanced, it also had pit-falls, such as corruption and wage slavery. The fourth stage in Jefferson's thinking would eventually destroy society. Jefferson and his followers believed that an agricultural society built on slave labor where every free white man owned his own land and was economically and thus politically independent, while still maintaining some connections to the market, was the most virtuous state of societal development. Jefferson wished to keep American society forever in that state. To do so, he had to ensure that the growing population of free white men in the United States had enough land to guarantee economic and political independence for all of them. Jefferson acquired the Louisiana Territory in order to provide the necessary land. Men in search of

[22] Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 19-21, 250-252.

the economic standing and political equality, promised by Jefferson's vision, moved west to fulfill their dream of personal independence.[23]

Jefferson's ideas translated into more tangible migratory motivations for white men, such as personal power, which was acquired and increased through economic success and the mastery over other members of their household. As a result of centuries of precedent, white men in the South recognized the correlation between land ownership, political participation, and power within the community. In other areas of western civilization during this same period, industry offered the opportunity for men to labor and to provide for themselves and their families without needed land. The South was not experiencing the industrial revolution in the same way as the North and therefore their political-economy existed in a pre-industrial state in some ways resembling feudal Europe. Land ownership was still the essential ingredient for freedom. As lands in the West opened up, many southern white men jumped at the chance to acquire their own land, and take advantage of their political and economic potential.[24]

Ideas differed in the South with regard to economic success and mastery especially concerning the ownership of slaves. Two contrasting ideas concerning the economic motivations for migration to the West can be ascribed to the two social classes of southern whites and the importance of economy to their personal identity. For members of the planter class, a slave-based market economy was not a negotiable issue but an inherent part of life whether they stayed in the East or moved to the West. On the other hand, southern whites who were born poor or into the yeoman class recognized slave ownership not as something inherent to their character. For the yeoman, slavery

[23] Ibid., 19-21, 35-40.
[24] McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 72; Baptist, *Creating an Old South*, 40, 41; Fox-Genovese, 40, 41; Clark and Guice, *The Old Southwest*, 262; Berry, *All That Makes a Man,* 21.

was seen as either an economic tool that could be used to increase one's way of life, or as a corrupting institution to be avoided. Yeoman class peoples migrated west either to escape the planter dominated East or to take advantage of available lands in the West and potential slave ownership to increase the chance of economic success. The households in this study chose to pursue an economic system that embraced slavery and the market.[25]

Migrants to Little Dixie like George Rider took full advantage of the economic opportunities and increased his mastery over others. Rider, the quintessential early settler of Little Dixie, migrated from a slave state, Virginia, to Missouri to work hard and own slaves. Rider was a member of the yeoman class looking to recreate a slave-based, market economy in Little Dixie that would allow him to become an economic, political, and socially superior person within the community. Once Rider was able to purchase slaves, he used them to cultivate a cash crop: hemp. Hard work, slave ownership, and the successful production and marketing of a valuable staple crop furthered the economic standing of his household and his position in the community. John Oakes, in *The Ruling Race*, acknowledges the shared drives of young planters and men of the yeoman class to purchase "land and slaves" while "moving west in pursuit of that goal."[26] Oakes suggests that although some men who eventually owned slaves were not born into a slave owning class, they too, were touched by the capitalist mood of the first half of the nineteenth-century South.[27]

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[25] Baptist, 6; Oakes, *The Ruling Race*, 76; Bynum, *The Free State of Jones*, 29, 30; 1860, AC, Saline and Chariton Counties, Missouri; 1860, SS, Saline County, Missouri.
[26] Oakes, 76.
[27] 1860, MC, Saline County, Missouri; 1860, AC, Saline County, Missouri; 1860, SS, Saline County, Missouri. The vast majority of farmers in Little Dixie, Missouri experienced the same circumstances before the war. Most of the farmers were born in slave states, especially Virginia, North Carolina and Kentucky. Once in Missouri, these farmers took similar routes to economic self-sufficiency and success. The only variable in the degree of success achieved by the beginning of the war was the amount of time the farmers spent working up to that point. Those who owned and worked land for longer periods of time were

The economic motivations for migration, such as land and slave-ownership, were thus intertwined with social motivations for migration. For the heads of household, their position as masters and their economic pursuits were one in the same. However, the women of their households may have placed more emphasis on their social motivations for migrating than any economic motivations. Yeomen who moved west with the intention of using the institutions of the market and slavery to increase their economic status needed to maintain strong connections to kin as an economic safety net. Yeomen were looking to recreate and maintain the interdependence of kinship networks that increased the chances for economic success. Joan Cashin's *A Family Venture* acknowledges that women used their influence in their households to stay within a reasonable distance to kin who also migrated west. Although Cashin's observation refers to planter-class women, women of the yeoman class also sought to maintain a close proximity to their kin. In *Free State of Jones*, Victoria Bynum documents the movement of entire yeoman kinship networks from the East to Mississippi. The kinship network Bynum tracks from the East to the West rigorously maintained kinship ties evidenced by, if nothing else, a close proximity of settlement.[28]

The households in mid-Missouri were initially interdependent on kin for economic survival and eventually success. George Rider's household was not the only Rider household created in Little Dixie in the decades before the war. George was joined by his brothers, John and James, who both created their own households. The space of

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wealthier than those with less time and effort spent on a piece of land. With all of these factors in consideration, the George Rider household and the household's of his relatives serve as a typical illustration of the migratory motivations, household construction and production, and actions taken in the community by the head of household in Little Dixie entering the war.

[28] Bynum, *Free State of Jones*, 48, 49; Cashin, *A Family Venture*, 32-44; Carroll, *Homesteads Ungovernable*, 28, 47, 78, 79; Baptist, 26.

Little Dixie allowed the households to be both independent enough in their ownership of sizable tracts of land without having to isolate themselves from the support of kin. For instance, in 1860, George Rider's brother, named John Rider, was a neighbor who resided in Saline County along with George's household. The two households were able to rely on each other for support and assistance. Additionally, the James and George Rider households settled around the same time in the 1830s. Although the two households were not located in the same county, they were close enough to exchange family members, or slaves, during crucial times of the farming season. For instance, during the harvest, the men and women of the George Rider household were able to help James Rider with his crop. Shortly thereafter the James Riders could help the George Rider family in their harvest.[29]

The motivation to be a landowning master on the antebellum frontier, combined with the motivation of women to remain close to kin were the two most important factors to take away from migration to Missouri because pro-slavery ideology and kinship formed the base of what would become the informal supply line used by Little Dixie guerrillas. The commonalities of southern migrants insured shared political loyalties and kinship guaranteed intimacy between neighbors and throughout communities. Farmers like the Riders brought their southern sympathies to Missouri and recreated a world in which they were able to benefit from those sympathies. This began in the creation of their households on the frontier in Missouri.[30]

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[29] 1860, MC, Chariton County, Missouri; 1860, AC, Chariton County, Missouri; Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Individual Citizens found on microfilm in the Special Collections area of Ellis Library (hereafter PM), Case Against Tabitha Rider. Tabitha Rider describes a system of labor exchange from one household to another during the war, so it is fair to say that it occurred during the war; U.S. Work Projects Administration, Historical Records Survey, Missouri 1935-1942 found in Western Historical Manuscripts, Columbia, Missouri (C3551) (Hereafter WPA records), f. 19586, f. 20595; Cashin, 60.
[30] Baptist, 35; Carroll, 28, 27, 78, 79; Cashin, 32-44; Bynum, *Free State*, 48, 49.

The men and women who migrated to antebellum Missouri shared pro-slavery ideology and were often connected to others through kinship and those commonalities radiated from the most basic structure of southern society, the pre-industrial household. Thus, to grasp fully the logic of Little Dixie supply lines during the guerrilla war in Missouri, it is necessary to examine the construction and operation of a typical Little Dixie household. Once these men and women moved to Little Dixie, they set about constructing their households which were the primary vehicle for economic and political success. Households, like the Riders' households, based the location of their settlement on the prospect of good land or "the sense that an area had a bright future and was attracting enterprising, able individuals."[31] For George Rider, this area was Saline County, a county just south of the Missouri river in north-central Missouri. James Rider found land in Shelby County, Missouri on the northern border of Little Dixie. Gradually George and John, as well as members of their households, worked through the steps of constructing and operating a productive household.[32]

After migrating to the West in the 1820s and '30s, men and women paired off through marriage, a fundamental part for building a household. The men and women who settled mid-Missouri met in the state, or were at least married in Missouri. Very few young couples were married in their states of birth. Men and women who married in Missouri were frequently from different states. This trend indicates that settlers probably married once they arrived in Little Dixie. For instance, George Rider was born in

[31] Cashin, 59.
[32] WPA records, f. 19586, f. 20595.

Virginia, while Rider's wife, Ann, was born in North Carolina. Once George and Ann were married, the foundation of the household was created. [33]

The pre-industrial household was the unit of social and economic organization in the antebellum South made up of a married couple, their children and any slaves or hired hands they owned. The purpose of the household was to pool the resources of a group of people for maximum production. In the South, households began with blood relations and extended to slaves, blurring the lines between family and property. Members of the household worked together, but each member, based on his or her race and gender, fulfilled a specific role in household production.[34]

The structure of the household could best be understood through gender, age, and race roles and the way that these roles reflected power relations. Power relations manifested themselves in the *dependent* and *independent* status of various members of the household. When they were married, George Rider absorbed Ann's legal standing and he became the independent representative of the household; his independence was created out of Ann's role as a dependent. Rider's legal covering of Ann, or coverture, was a necessary element of the pre-modern, agricultural household. White women in the South did not have their own sphere as was emerging in the more industrial and urbanized North. They were not the property of their men as African slaves were, but their men were the legal owners of the product of their labor and had rights of access to their bodies.[35]

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[33] 1860, MC, Saline and Chariton Counties, Missouri; Bynum, *Free State*, 31; Oakes, 76; Baptist, 26; Fox-Genovese, 30.
[34] Fox-Genovese, 31, 32, 86, 87.
[35] Ibid, 9; Carroll, 79; For in depth discussion of dependent/independent members of the household see McCurry, 13-19.

The labor of all individuals, men and women, white and black, in the household was crucial to the household's success and the more persons in a household, the more successful it was. The more children Ann Rider gave birth to, the wealthier George Rider became.[36] The Little Dixie households that are examined in this study are probably best defined as yeoman households in the classic sense.[37] They operated under the same guidelines as any other pre-industrial household; the word yeoman was merely a reference to the smaller size of the household compared to other households in the South, such as the plantation household. Although some households owned several slaves, the slave owners were not exempt from work; the labor of white dependents was as important as the labor of the black dependents to the success of the household.[38]

Gender, age and race defined the roles of all members of the household. The gender division of labor separated the work of men and women. The work of white women within the yeoman household was centered on their role as reproducers. Child nursing and rearing were the primary tasks of white women but they were responsible for other tasks as well. Labor roles of white women included the production of clothing and food preparation for all members of the household. In addition to this labor performed mostly within the household, white women also harvested any non-cash crops and were responsible for the diary products, from milk to butter to cheese. White women also

[36]For a more thorough explanation of the theory of household construction consult Fox-Genovese, 31,32, 86,87.
[37] McCurry, 60; We will use the definition set by McCurry for yeoman households. These households were generally households with nine or less slaves and around 150 acres of workable land. The most important difference between the yeoman and planters was that yeoman worked with their hands.
[38] Ibid.

acted as the nurses and midwives for each household, tending to the sick and bandaging any wounds that occurred on the farm.[39]

The manual labor tasks of white women were reduced if the household included slaves. For example, an important cultural benefit of slave ownership was that it made it less necessary for white women to work in the fields. White women who did not have to labor or gained a reprieve from laboring in the field were approached the attainment of ideal womanhood.[40] All slaves were helpful in this regard but female slaves were especially popular among yeoman farmers because of their labor versatility and their ability to reproduce. Female slaves helped with the same feminine labor tasks explained above. However, if there was a shortage of male labor, female slaves were the first women pulled from tasks around the household to help with the harvesting of the household's staple crop.[41]

In yeoman households, the labor of white dependents, men and women, was often as important, and, depending on the presence and number of slaves, sometimes more important than slave labor. The age of white dependents affected the type of work performed. White children were put to work as soon as possible. Generally, children started working the less physically straining tasks and for boys, eventually worked their way to field labor. Girls, who usually apprenticed under their mothers from age five on, eventually married and performed the most challenging task in the household, child birth and child rearing. Then the cycle of reproduction and production repeated itself, again.[42]

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[39] 1860, MC, Saline County, Missouri; 1860, SS, Saline County, Missouri; Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds,* 97; Jane Schultz, *Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 20.
[40] Fox-Genovese, 47.
[41] McCurry, 50, 52.
[42] Faragher, *Sugar Creek*, 104; McCurry, 60.

Like the labor of adults, the labor of white children in the household was also divided in terms of gender. In between learning the tasks of feminine labor, girls took on the roles of minding the children in the hope that the younger children would help with chores and eventually take on the chores by themselves until a younger sibling came along and the process was repeated. Boys in their early teens more often than girls entered the fields next to their fathers and male slaves and gradually took on larger roles in the production of the crops. This was the extent of the complexity of male labor on the farm. The men worked outside in the fields, cultivating raw materials for the women to transform into finished products or for sale at the market.[43]

Although gender was the primary way to divide labor and age signified different types and degrees of labor, race was the most obvious indicator of one's dependent standing in the household. The identity of blacks was that of property, a property that was expected to labor. Where white men could hope to be heads of households, black men could only accept their position as dependents or run away. White women, although not entitled to mastery, could hope to occupy to position of plantation mistress and enjoy to benefits of a life with limited control and some freedom. Black women, however, were laborers like their male counterparts but without control over their sexuality.[44]

The gender, race and age roles and relations within the household can be applied to households like that of the Riders in Little Dixie before the war for a better understanding of these roles in the context of a productive farm. Just before the beginning of the war, George Rider, fifty-eight years old, owned sixteen-thousand dollars worth of land, a drastic increase from the one-hundred and thirty-five dollars with which

[43] 1860, MC, Saline County, Missouri; Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 110; Faragher, 104; McCurry, 59.
[44] Fox-Genovese, 6; John Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 172.

he bought his original property. Also, Rider had accumulated ten-thousand dollars in personal estate. George Rider and his wife, Ann, who was fifty years old, had six living children by 1860. In addition to his wife and six children, the ranks of Rider's dependents also included five slaves, two females and three males, four of whom were capable of field work. Four of Rider's six children were female. Rider's daughters were seventeen, fifteen, twelve and five years of age in 1860. The Rider household's two female slaves were thirty-six and five years of age in the same year. The Riders two male children were fourteen and seven in 1860. The seven year old probably played a minimal role in the actual output of the household, but fourteen year old George Rider junior was certainly old enough to work the same kinds of jobs as the men in the household. Rider's three male slaves did most of the hard labor as they were thirty-five, twenty-five and seventeen years of age.[45]

Indeed, by 1860, the George Rider household had, over three decades, amassed a sizable fortune on the land they originally settled. The Rider household consisted of nine hundred acres, four hundred and fifty of which was improved land. The remainder was used as grazing land for livestock. The Riders' livestock numbered two hundred and thirty two animals. The majority of the Riders' livestock were swine that numbered one-hundred and twenty-five animals. The household also possessed forty head of cattle and thirty-five sheep. On top of livestock, the Rider household produced a substantial amount of goods in the form of vegetables and diary products. On a yearly basis, the Riders were able to produce one hundred bushels of wheat, twenty-five hundred bushels of corn, two hundred bushels of oats, one hundred pounds of wool, ten bushels of beans, thirty bushels of potatoes, seventy-five dollars worth of orchard fruit, twenty tons of hay,

[45]1860, MC, Saline County, Missouri; 1860, SS, Saline County, Missouri; Bynum, *Free State*, 48.

fifty pounds of honey and six hundred pounds of butter. All of this produce sufficed to keep the household running.[46]

In addition to their self-sufficiency, the Rider household also labored to make a profit, therefore increasing the economic standing of the household. The Rider household used the labor of its adult-male slaves in addition to the labor of George and his son to harvest the primary cash-crop of Little Dixie, hemp. George Rider, the most visible member of the household because of his standing as head of household, was in control of all monetary profits of the household but his dependents also benefited. For example, increased wealth of the household created financial security for Ann Rider, should anything happen to George Rider. After Ann, the wealth of the household and George Rider insured a larger dowry for the Rider girls and increased inheritance for George and Ann's sons.[47]

With the use of slave labor, the Rider household was able to produce twelve tons of hemp annually. The Rider household, like most producers of the base ingredient for rope in Missouri, harvested a type of the plant that was considered "dew-rotted" hemp. "Water-rotted" hemp, in contrast to "dew-rotted" hemp, was considered to be a better type of the plant but it involved a more complicated, and even dangerous, production. "Water-rotted" hemp simply meant that the plant was soaked and rotted in ponds or streams. However, the rotting fibers gave off an awful stench, killed fish and prevented livestock from drinking the water in which the plants were soaked. The "dew-rotted"

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[46] 1860, AC, Saline County, Missouri; Lacy Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 53, 54, 58, 59, Ford argues that self-sufficiency is a difficult ideal to accomplish, especially when a yeoman farmer is trying to grow cash crops. However, the Rider household and many others in Little Dixie, produce more crops, own more livestock, and have larger tracks of land than the yeoman in upcountry South Carolina at the time.
[47] 1860, AC, Saline County, Missouri; Jensen, 25-36.

plants grown in Little Dixie were safer to produce. It was great for bundling cotton and the production of this organic fiber in Missouri arguably formed an economic bond that literally tied Missouri to the cotton plantations of the Deep South.[48]

Producing hemp gave the Rider household first rate profits. According to agricultural historian Douglas Hurt, "When prices reached $100 per ton, hemp became a lucrative crop."[49] By the end of the 1840s, the price for dew-rotted hemp was one hundred and twenty dollars per ton on the St. Louis market. The Rider household grew thousands of dollars worth of hemp a year. The Rider household provided for eight adults and five children and was yielding enough of a profit that George Rider could, with time, purchase and support additional slaves and offspring. As the number and age of George Rider's dependents increased – either through purchase or reproduction – the Rider household was able to produce more for itself, increasing its economic stability and status. There were additional laborers in the fields and as these laborers grew into adulthood they were able to increase their work loads.[50]

Hemp produced profits, allowing the Rider household to grow, but the labor producing the hemp was under-girded by the labor sustained and maintained the persons, usually women, within the household. This labor directed at sustaining the household in the decades leading up to the war prepared those women within these Little Dixie households for war. Certain products that the Rider household produced revealed the capabilities of those dependents within the household, specifically the women. The white women of this household worked indoors and out, leaving only the production of the cash crop to slaves and the white men of the household. Although it was impossible to gauge

[48] 1860, AC, Saline County, Missouri. Hurt, 111-114.
[49] Hurt, 111.
[50] 1860, AC, Saline County, Missouri; McCurry, 59; Hurt, 111-114.

the amount of goods produced by the white women of the Rider household, as opposed to white *and* black women, the amount of work they contributed to the household can be assessed by looking at the finished products to which their labor certainly contributed. For instance, the Rider household produced six hundred pounds of butter a year. Butter creation, from the milking of the cows through the physical act of churning, fell on the shoulders of women inside the household. Relative to other households in the area, the Rider household was especially productive in its butter production. Considering the fact that some households did not produce any butter and that the Rider household produced roughly fifty pounds of butter per each member of the household was a testament to the productive ability of the women in the Rider household.[51]

Butter was not the end of female production in the household; the women in the Rider household also had one hundred pounds of wool to work with every year to clothe all members of the household. Producing the clothing for each member of the household fell to the women, white and black. However, because of the presence of slaves who carried out most of the field labor, white women were able to work at clothing and food production almost exclusively. The women in the Rider household gained access to cotton through the market but they used wool to bolster their supply of available materials for clothing. The Rider women probably produced jeans for the men in the fields by combining their wool with cotton. For themselves, the Rider women probably combined flax that they grew on the farm to produce the rough but sturdy fabric called "linsey-woolsey." [52]

[51] 1860, AC, Saline County, Missouri; Jensen, 97-105.
[52] 1860, AC, Saline County, Missouri; Hurt, 136.

Just as the household was the basic unit in the organization of the antebellum South, it also became the primary unit of the Little Dixie supply lines during the war. Further, as evidenced by the discussion of household construction and operation, female production of key household goods was extensive and necessary before the war, and with the departure of male labor, it would become more important during the war. Women cooked, refined certain foods, and produced all of the clothing for the household. They performed the most complex tasks within the household. Certain items that could be attributed to feminine labor in the Rider household, such as butter, went towards explaining why the George Rider household was an important link in one mid-Missouri supply chain over the course of the war. The Rider women may have lacked the physical strength to plow a field with the same efficiency as men, but they knew how to plow a field. Men in the household probably lacked the knowledge to produce clothing or churn butter. If men were taken from the household, the household would suffer greatly because of a diminished labor force. However, if women were removed from the household, the remaining men would suffer from exposure without the necessary clothing and malnutrition without the skills to cook and bake.[53]

In antebellum Little Dixie, kinship ties and pro-slavery ideology radiated from the yeoman household, but once settled in Missouri, other connections between two or more households were created by the independent male head of household. The productive abilities of dependents within the household provided the independence of the head to protect the household's interests in the economic and political worlds where he formed connections with other men. These non-kin social connections expanded the Little Dixie

[53] Jensen, 34, 35, 53, 54; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 143, 144.

supply lines beyond kinship, all the while male involvement in public institutions designed to protect the community eventually influenced the way guerrillas fought. Looking once again at the Riders for the explanation of these non-kin ties, we will see that their use of political independence formed bonds with other men. Although communities and households were built simultaneously, the independent male heads who were the most involved were those with the most means and most supported the war.

In February 1837, George Rider began his public involvement in the county. He began the process of buying land in Saline County, Missouri. The community was established seventeen years earlier at the same time as the state of Missouri, in 1820. However, in the late 1830s, Saline County was anything but crowded. Within one year Rider paid the one hundred and thirty-five dollars and sixty-five cents for a section of land in Township 53, Range 20 of Saline County. Rider was thirty-six years old at the time of his complete payment. With the ownership of land, Rider was economically and politically independent.[54]

James M. Rider established himself in similar fashion as his brother. He built his household and economic independence, and then became politically active. He helped build his community around his household by tying his household to his neighbors' households. On October 22, 1838, James Rider purchased his land in full in Shelby County, just seven months after his brother finalized his purchase in Saline. After the outright purchase of land and the establishment of a household, the Riders set out to contribute to the establishment of their communities.[55]

[54] WPA Records, F. 19586, 19588.
[55] WPA Records, F. 20595.

George Rider and his brother James were involved in politics from the outset of the Riders' settlement in Little Dixie. Right around the time of his land purchase, George Rider was named as a trustee of the School District of Saline County. Rider was not only placing himself in a position of power within the community but he was also seeking to create institutions that were important to the permanence of a frontier community. By choosing to establish a school system, Rider was able to bring the households of the community together through the collective education of their children. The foresight of men like George Rider who could see the connection between individual households and the community not only led to the prominence of George Rider in the community, but helped create strong, household-based communities across rural Missouri.[56]

In addition to the creation of schools, the development of legal institutions also contributed to the creation of these communities as permanent centers of settlement in Little Dixie. Law as an institution was an official symbol of the extension of the settled areas of the United States into these frontier counties of Little Dixie. In Shelby County, James M. Rider was named a justice of the peace. He was therefore a magistrate at the lowest level of the law. He dealt with minor offences or events that required official recognition. For instance, a justice of the peace could marry two people and settle minor property or land disputes. James Rider was involved in the protection of the individual rights of the citizens of Shelby County. Every legal dealing between individual households formed relationships throughout the community.[57]

Legal institutions in Little Dixie existed to protect land ownership. Land ownership was a primary reason for the migration to Missouri. Business and legal ties

[56] WPA Records, F. 19590.
[57] WPA Records, F. 20596.

created through the exchange of land helped to reinforce ties within the community. The patriarchs of the community were able to purchase and sell land, and the law had to be extended to cover these dealings in property, not to mention the protection of the rights of those that lived upon it. James Rider continued to build relationships in his community through participation in the legal system as the justice of the peace for Black Creek Township of Shelby County. Although it was unclear what the exact responsibilities of Rider's were, he appeared to have had something to do with oversight of the distribution and selling of land in the county because there were several references to money changing hands over the course of Rider's service. Although Rider's duties were vague, it was safe to say that Rider had many financial and legal relationships in his position as justice of the peace. These relationships were just one way we can see the bonds between households based on owing someone something or being owed. Rider was able to participate in the geographic development of his county while forming bonds with those who he came into contact with during his service.[58]

The households in a rural community in central Missouri were bound by legal and financial ties but also physical connections across the geography. In addition to his legal service, James Rider first served his community as a road surveyor even before he had made the full payments on his land. Rider's first task was to view a proposed "route" to

[58] WPA Records, F. 20597. Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 345; Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984),42. In *A People's Army*, Fred Anderson's analysis of Massachusetts militiamen during the Seven Years' War, the author shows how the creation and social maintenance of a frontier community influences their soldiers and the way they fight. Anderson states that in building a community a "webwork of debts…represented a formalization of family interdependence within communities." Anderson is speaking directly to the interconnectedness of a community based on their financial dependence on one another. Through this interdependence relationships are formed that affect the way volunteer recruiting is done and who fills the leadership ranks of the militia companies. The point is that in building a community, relationships are formed between households that do not disappear when a community is forced to defend itself against invading forces.

see if it was suitable as a cross-county road. By May of 1837, the road committee reported on the location of the new road. The road would run "from Shelbyville to the corner of sections [three] and [four] in Township 58…"[59] and was a county bisecting road. Transportation infrastructure was certainly a key to tying the households of the county together and in tying one county to another.[60]

George Rider also served as a land surveyor in an effort to connect households across geographical distance. In November of 1853, George Rider and several other men were appointed to serve on a committee that would mark out a new road that would completely bisect Saline County. One month later, on December 19th, Rider, now listed as "road commissioner," reported back to the court. In the end, the road found its way across Rider's property. One has to conclude that it was George Rider's will that this road crossed his property. He was on the committee and was able to decide where the road would be laid out. Having a road cross one's property would certainly have been a benefit to a farmer because it presented easier access to the market. Easier access to market and the sharing of goods meant that Rider's home was more attached to the larger community.[61]

Once households were connected and the community was built, the region had to be protected. The militia was as important as any other institution in Little Dixie. Besides the various committees the Riders were on and the services they performed for the community, there was an even more important public role they played, the role of

[59] WPA Records, F. 20591.
[60] WPA Records, F. 20591.
[61] WPA Records, F. 19675. Anyone that owned property that the road crossed through received money in return for use of the land. Rider probably used his position as commissioner to not only steer the road through his land in order to gain easier access to the market but also in order to receive the stipend for giving up the minute strand of land.

members of the local militia. The 1804 militia act made it necessary for all men in the United States, and in its new territories like Missouri, between the ages of sixteen to fifty, to serve in their local militia, unless otherwise excused. The militia was a fundamental institution in Revolutionary America for three reasons: Americans distrusted a standing army, the citizen-soldier was the symbol of a virtuous republican, and most importantly, the practical necessity to defend themselves from invasion. By the late 1830s, the practical need for militias in many areas of the United States disappeared, but on the frontier of the American South, they were as necessary as ever.[62]

Protection of southern communities was different than protecting northern communities on the frontier. In *The Militant South*, John Hope Franklin observes that the combination of many factors contributed to the militancy of the slaveholding South. Some of these factors were the isolation of households dotted across a rural landscape, the presence of people enslaved against their will, and the close proximity of Native Americans. These factors were found in their extremes in Little Dixie. Isolation of individual households meant that the head of household, and any other adult white men, formed the primary (and often, the only) line of defense. Franklin believes that it was this permanent frontier-like experience that forced men to learn to ride a horse and fire a gun with expertise at a very young age.[63] Additionally, the other two contributors to antebellum militancy in Little Dixie were the fear of armed slave rebellions in this isolated space, and the need to protect the community from a possible Indian attack. The

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[62] Militia source materials include: John G. Westover, *The Evolution of the Missouri Militia_ 1804-1919* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1984), see pg. 32 for discussion of 1804 militia act; John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800-1861* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1856); Mary Ellen Rowe, *Bulwark of the Republic: The American Militia in Antebellum West* (Westport: Praeger, 2003); Sally E. Hadden, *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

[63] Franklin, *The Militant South*, 18-20.

need to protect mid-Missouri communities from Indian attacks was very real up until the 1850s; and until the Civil War, the fear of these attacks was enough to keep whites vigilant. [64]

Part and parcel with the protection of white peoples' lives in Little Dixie, the protection of their property was just as essential to survival on the frontier. The most valuable property in question was slaves. In frontier environments like antebellum Missouri, the issue of runaway slaves was made more complex by the fear that runaways were closer to a part of the country where white southerners did not have the legal jurisdiction or enforcement power to retrieve them, Free states and Indian Territory. Slave patrols were quickly formed by small communities to keep an eye on slaves and also ensured that the citizens of that particular community made up the slave patrols. Following the precedent set in eastern states of taking men from the militia ranks and installing them in companies of patrol, Little Dixie communities like Saline County probably picked the men for the slave patrol who were best trained to fight.[65]

George Rider actively protected his and other people's property by participating in the institution assigned to this duty. On August 6th 1850, some thirteen years after he settled in Saline, Rider was appointed to be one of the assistants to Captain Thos. Rogers, the commander of 3rd Company of patrol for Saline County. Every company in the county consisted of three or four men. The captain had two or three assistants. The companies patrolled at night, rotating nights so that each company patrolled once or twice

[64] Ibid., 22-33; Westover, *Evolution of the Missouri Militia*, 85, 86.
[65] Franklin, 72; Hadden, *Slave Patrols*, 48.

a week. Looking out for runaways and on call against potential slave revolts, these men stood vigil over their communities as their neighbors and white dependents slept.[66]

Although these patrols were a necessity for slaveholding communities, these groups also symbolized the political and economic interests of those men who volunteered and were chosen for the task of watching the community as it slept. George Rider and the other men in the company of patrol were slaveholders looking to defend their investment and protect their dependents. That said, Rider was probably chosen because he occupied a favorable position in the community. People trusted him and a handful of other white men with their property, as they were expected to punish runaways but also show the restraint necessary not to damage them permanently. The fear of slave revolts and Indian attacks also mean that the community trusted Rider and the other men in the patrol with their lives. There was also an implication that Rider and the other men were men of martial talents, capable of the job at hand.[67]

The necessity for a militia gave men like Rider the agency and the identity of a warrior. George Rider was at the least as capable as another man of using violence to protect his property and family, but his position as one of a few men in the county who rode patrol infers that his abilities placed him in a superior position to other men. His ability to maim or kill was important because of the degree to which a slave out of bonds could threaten the community, not to mention there was no national army able to protect Little Dixie from the perceived, impending attacks from Indians. For these reasons, the worldview of these men was inherently martial. Male heads of household were the agents of protection for their dependents. Just as the ability to fight defined George

[66] WPA Records, F. 19658; Hadden, 48.
[67] Franklin, 72,73; Hadden, 72, 84.

Rider's generation, it would ever more so become the identity of the generation that followed.[68]

The independence of male heads of household in Little Dixie created and maintained ties with other households that remained in place during the Civil War, and also created a military worldview for their sons that was specific to mid-Missouri men. As seen in the examples of George Rider's relative wealth by 1860, James Rider's esteemed position in court, their positions on road committees and in companies of patrol, the male heads of household who led the settlement of Little Dixie attained prominent positions in all the hierarchal institutions in communities: the household, the economy, the law and in politics. The prominent, well-established heads of households in Little Dixie created communities and male homo-social bonds through their pursuit of economic and political success. Male use of household independence helped to create a more dynamic social network that became an even larger, more abstract informal supply-line for guerrilla support that reached beyond the boundaries on kinship ties. In addition these men's sense of their own self-worth, civic duty, and warrior identity benefited their sons' war efforts. In short, community construction, just like household construction, better prepared the people of Little Dixie for the Civil War.[69]

Although he did not understand the dynamics of the Little Dixie supply lines, Ewing was able to identify the inherent importance of civilian support to the guerrillas who plagued Missouri. General Ewing took the understood relevance of civilian support to irregular war further by acknowledging that "the presence of these families is the cause

[68] WPA Records, F. 19658; Wyatt-Brown, 39.
[69] WPA records, f.19586, 19588, 19590, 19658, 19675, 20591, 20595, 20596, 20597; Wyatt-Brown, 18; Hadden, 72-84; Franklin, 18-20, 72, 73.

of the presence there of the guerrillas" and that "they will, therefore, continue guerrilla war as long as they remain, and will stay as long as possible if their families remain."[70] He realized that the Union Army would not be able to get rid of the guerrilla without vanquishing the guerrilla's family. The result of this perception was General Order No. 11, which required the removal of disloyal families from three and a half counties on the western border of Missouri in an effort to end bushwhacking there and prevent further incursions into Kansas after the massacre and destruction of Lawrence.[71]

Despite the precise observation regarding the cooperation between the household and the guerrilla that led to General Order No. 11, the move met with mixed sentiments of approval and disgust. On the one hand, removing the families who were considered disloyal from the western border of Missouri did eliminate the informal supply networks in those counties. Yet, destroying the lives and households of three counties worth of citizens from an ostensibly loyal state, not to mention the inherently problematic nature of democracy under military occupation, seemed to be two facts about General Order No. 11 that prohibited further such actions from being taken.[72]

General Order No. 11 was a failure because it was limited to three and a half counties, and could not feasibly be extended to the entirety of the state, as such an order would result in the devastating extermination of the whole rural population. The devastating effects of extending the order to all parts of the state cannot be imagined because almost the whole of the rural population needed to be removed under such an order. Men willing to fight as guerrillas merely moved to another area of the state where

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[70] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 22, Part 2, 428.
[71] James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), 786; Joanne Chiles Eakin, *Tears and Turmoil: Order # 11* (Independence: Blue and Grey Book Shoppe, 1996).
[72] Ibid.

the factors necessary for guerrilla war persisted: isolation from the Confederate war effort, occupation of towns and cities by Union forces, and *the presence of households willing and capable of material support of the guerrillas*. In Little Dixie, all three pieces of the puzzle fell into place. Unless the Union officers in charge of the forces occupying mid-Missouri were willing to enact policy similar to General Order No. 11, thereby destroying the informal supply line, they were fighting an uphill battle for the remainder of the war.[73]

The ever flexible guerrillas took advantage of the failure of the order and moved their operations from the western border to a region of the state where supply networks were in place. The middle part of the state was the sight of bushwhacking since the beginning of the war, but after 1863, mid-Missouri received an influx of bushwhackers. These bushwhackers, from elsewhere in the state, allied themselves with guerrillas who were defending their Little Dixie households. Prominent guerrillas such as Quantrill and Anderson rode with the local heroes of Little Dixie. These heroes were men like Jim Rider, the nephew of George Rider and the son of James, and his ally Clifton Holtzclaw, a more famous Little Dixie guerrilla captain. As a result, by linking up with guerrillas native to Little Dixie, the guerrillas joining the fray in mid-Missouri after 1863 gained access to the local supply lines.[74]

Of the many supply networks in place in Little Dixie, the one used by Jim Rider, his gang, and any other guerrillas allied with him, could serve as a useful example. There

[73] Fellman, 120-122; Brigadier General Fisk, who was in charge of the district that encompassed Little Dixie, the District of Northern Missouri, was aggressive in terms of attacking civilian supporters, issuing assessments and arresting any and all who are caught aiding and abetting guerrillas, but he could not push all southern sympathizers out of the Little Dixie counties.

[74] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 41, Part 2, 564, 860; From the spring of 1864 onward, there were numerous accounts of multiple guerrilla bands coming together in Little Dixie. "Bloody" Bill Anderson seemed to have allied himself most closely with Clifton Holtzclaw and Jim Jackson. Jim Rider was often spotted together with Jackson and Holtzclaw.

was evidence that Rider used three households of persons he was related to, through blood or marriage. He was at the George Rider household on several occasions and appeared at the John Rider household fairly often. In addition, his wife's aunt aided him on at least one occasion when he called. Beyond this small network of supporters tied together through kin, the social connections of Jim Rider's uncle George increased the size, and therefore the effectiveness, of the supply line.[75]

George Rider's neighbors, the Mullins, Irwins and Wheelers, were all implicated as supporters of Jim Rider. In addition to geographic proximity of these households, most of the heads of households were born in other southern states and shared the same political stance as George Rider. Also, the heads of these households had social ties through their shared participation in the militia, slave patrol, road and school committees, or were connected through financial dealings. In any case, the social ties from George Rider to other heads of household expanded the supply network that his nephew Jim Rider used. Rider stayed supplied during the war, and men like Quantrill who allied themselves with Rider, found the network useful in continuing the war in Little Dixie. The creation of kin and social based supply lines before the war, privy to only the guerrillas and their supporters, established the criteria necessary for successful guerrilla war. The kinship and social networking of parents, relatives, and family friends provided Little Dixie guerrillas, such as Rider and Holtzclaw, with the ability to *see* invisible ties in the community that were invisible to any outsider. Knowing friend from foe in the Missouri countryside was simple for guerrillas and impossible for the Union Army.

[75] PM, Case Against Tabitha Rider, Case Against George Rider.

Knowing the limits of household production and the value of constant movement, guerrillas moved from one household to another. [76]

In closing, migration, the structure of the household, and community construction all contributed to the creation of the guerrilla supply line that functioned in Little Dixie during the Civil War. These various factors were interconnected beyond recognition to the observations of an outsider. Members of these communities, namely guerrillas, did understand the common values, goals, productive abilities, and networks based on kin and social ties. The guerrillas, often born during the settlement of Little Dixie, matured with their communities. The guerrillas became partners in the intimate give and take relationship with these communities. Even before the war, the guerrillas were witness to the striving for independence by their fathers but also their fathers' need of support from their dependents and the community. Ultimately, the growth and success of the community, a community to which they were expected to contribute, created a distinct worldview capable of the reconciling independence and interdependence that formed the foundation for guerrilla war.

[76] PM, Case Against George Rider; Case Against Tabitha Rider; WPA records f. 19658.

2
The Shift to a New Household: Changing Priorities of War

> "The bushwhackers have been [at the female headed Cull household] every chance since there were any in the county."[77]
>
> "If there was any Rebels or Bushwhackers in the neighborhood … Mr. Rider's would be the most likely place to find them."[78]

The equal treatment of a female-headed household and a male-headed household as it was articulated during the war did not exist before the war in Little Dixie, Missouri. The Cull household, a household of adult women, was "disorderly" during the war but it was still as popular with the guerrillas as "orderly" households. One reason why the term disorderly was applied to the Cull household at that time was because there was no male head of household present. This departure from the norm was enough to bring the integrity of a household in mid-Missouri into question before the war. Not only were the Culls considered to be disorderly because they were not attached to a man, but their autonomous state allowed them control over their sexuality. Because of the patriarchal organization of antebellum southern society and the limited legal status of women, each free child needed to be born into a male headed household in order to maintain an orderly upbringing as well as an orderly transfer of property. Therefore, the Culls were dangerous to a social order simply as women without men, but doubly so if they exercised their sexuality outside the patriarchy-grounded household frame.[79]

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[77] *PM*, Case Against the Culls.
[78] *PM*, Case Against George Rider.
[79] Else Hambleton, "The Regulation of Sex in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts: The Quarterly Court of Essex County Vs. Priscilla Willson and Mr. Samual Appleton," in *Sex and Sexuality in Early America*, Ed. By Merril Smith (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 99. Despite the northern locale of Hambleton's study, her contribution is that she provides the reader with a concise summary of the dangers, and perceived dangers of bastardy in early America, North or South.

This chapter argues that despite the differentiation from prewar order offered by female headed households, the guerrillas – the supreme agents of the household-based society of Little Dixie during the war – were not deterred from using the support of households like the female headed Cull household just as they would use support from the male headed Rider household. Further, the exploration of disorderly households' support of guerrillas illustrates in more detail the importance of women to the war effort. Finally, the equality of support from both orderly and disorderly households served to create a common household across the mid-Missouri landscape of southern sympathizing households. As a part of this new household, the guerrillas served as the roving independent member, and all other southern sympathizers, male or female, served as dependents producing for the cause and in turn sustaining the independence of the guerrillas.

Before returning to the main argument of this chapter, a description of orderly and disorderly households as they existed in the context of war is necessary. In the decades preceding the war, no man looking to maintain an image of legitimacy was willing to openly socialize with women from sexually disorderly households. As alluded to previously, war altered the circumstances of disorderly women in relation to the prominent men of Little Dixie society, who became the guerrillas. In addition to female headed households being without a man, there was an additional factor for the label of disorderly that also inspired the guerrillas to seek assistance from these female-headed households. To be considered disorderly, as the Cull household was, there were also accusations and evidence of "lewd" behavior, specifically with "bushwhackers."[80]

[80] *PM*, Case Against the Culls; Case Against Isabella Fox; Case Against Mahalla Drew; If we consider the antebellum southern household, planter or yeoman, to be the order/in order/orderly, then a household that

The similarities of the descriptions between orderly and disorderly households become a common trend during the Civil War in mid-Missouri, but before the war there were distinct differences between the households that became either disorderly or remained orderly. Disorderly households shared similar socioeconomic backgrounds in the decades before the war. The Culls and other disorderly households discussed in this chapter were less developed, economically speaking. Unlike the Riders and many other households in Little Dixie that were well-established financially, the Culls did not own slaves and had not begun to grow cash crops. Instead, the Culls and similar households were more concerned with establishing self-sufficiency. These less well-established households migrated to Missouri with the same motivations and placed themselves on the same economic and political trajectory as well established households like the Riders. The two differences between the well-established and less well-established households were the length of time since the household was constructed in Little Dixie and the age and number of dependents within the household. The Cull household and others like it

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was organized without its most identifiable part and its control mechanism, the male head, must be considered to be in disorder/disorderly. The term "disorder" that was found in quotations elsewhere will be found without them here because it was the terminology selected by the author. Disorder is being used for several reasons. First, it was the term used by the accusers to describe the women discussed here. Second, disorder may encompass more, and less, than prostitution. All the women here were accused of prostitution and some evidence brought forth seems to be enough to convict them of such a crime, but disorder does not require prostitution. A female headed household who socialized, rode, and *probably* slept with guerrillas must be considered disorderly; Whites, *Gender Matters*, 67; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 79; Whites illustrates that "disorderly" households were often houses of prostitution but they were also linked to houses of prostitution, inferring that they may take the form of other establishments contributing to sinful and dangerous behavior, a saloon for instance. Bynum's assessment is similar. "Disorder" was always attached to prostitution but it did not have to be a whore house. One of Bynum's examples was a social club where interracial mixing was occurring; Works to concerning disorderly, or unruly, women are: Victoria Bynum, *Unruly Women*; LeeAnn Whites, *Gender Matters*; Thomas P. Lowry, *The Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell: Sex in the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 1994); E. Susan Barber, "Depraved and Abandoned Women: Prostitution in Richmond, Virginia, across the Civil War," in *Neither Lady Nor Slave: Working Women of the Old South*, ed by Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

were financially insecure at the outset of the war because less time elapsed since their settlement and there were almost no dependents of adult age, if any at all.[81]

While defining disorderly and orderly households is important to understanding the involvement of disorderly households in the war effort, comprehending the changing social dynamics within households is the key to grasping the guerrilla war on the whole. The number of disorderly households was much smaller than orderly households. However, on an individual basis the Cull's and other disorderly households were as important in the effort to support guerrillas as orderly households like the Rider household. Just as the Rider household was an important part in the Jim Rider supply line in Saline County, the Cull household, a female-headed, disorderly household was an important link in Jim Jackson and Clifton Holtzclaw's supply chain that ran through Johnson County. In the antebellum South, a disorderly household like this one was never presented in a way that gave much credit to its importance to southern society.[82]

Male control of the household in a traditional sense was less important than securing support for the guerrilla war from every pro-Confederate household on the Little Dixie landscape. During the war, many of the norms of society were rearranged in an effort to adapt society, consciously or otherwise, to produce for the war. Also, the sexual availability of these women made their households more attractive places to seek support for the guerrillas than a male headed household may have been. With the absence of

[81] 1860, MC, Saline, Howard, Chariton, Johnson Counties, Missouri; 1860, AC, Saline, Howard, Chariton, Johnson Counties, Missouri; 1860, SS, Saline, Howard, Chariton, Johnson Counties, Missouri; The households who fell into disorder that are discussed here are the Fox and Drew households of Chariton County, and the Cull household of Johnson and Howard Counties (a couple of the Cull girls move mid-war). These of course can be contrasted with the George Rider household of Saline County; McCurry, 59; Bynum, 112.
[82] PM, Case Against George Rider, Case Against the Culls.

other formal institutions and the practical circumstances of war, the guerrillas did not necessarily recognize the importance of marriage as they would have during peace.[83]

In part, disorderly households were gained importance as George Rider and the like watched the socially superior orderly households, in which they had power and influence, be destroyed by an occupying enemy force. This destruction of formal institutions forced society to focus their efforts towards other avenues such as local defense. Union officials removed their potential enemies, southern sympathizing men who did not take an oath of allegiance to the Union, from political power. Because George Rider and other men who were involved in local politics were not able to stop their world from changing by using the formal institutions of government, they, along with disorderly households, converted their efforts in a generally more "disorderly" direction.[84]

It can be suggested that both orderly and disorderly households morphed into one new type of rebel household. Both orderly and disorderly households altered their production to adapt to the new circumstances brought on by war and the ultimate importance of supporting the guerrillas. During the war, status among southern sympathizers in Little Dixie was less determined by the traditional ideals of the paternalistic household and instead measured by the amount of material support a household provided for the guerrilla war, at least in the eyes of the guerrillas whose opinion was the one that counted the most. The presence of women in both households

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[83] *PM*, Case Against the Culls, Case Against George Rider; Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 26; Barber, "Depraved and Abandoned Women: Prostitution in Richmond, Virginia, across the Civil War," in *Neither Lady Nor Slave*, 157, 163.

[84] Don Bowen, "Guerrilla War in Western Missouri: 1862-1865: Historical Extensions of the Relative Deprivation Hypothesis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19 (January 1977), 47, 48; Wyatt-Brown, 118, 149-174.

insured that they were capable of similar supply line. Because of the unity of purpose and the shared focus of production orderly and disorderly households were equally complicit in their support of guerrillas. [85]

The new rebel household was characterized by the production effort to support the independent head of household in war, instead of in politics or the market. War shattered the local government but opened a new area for the performance of manly independence. The ability of orderly and disorderly households to supply the guerrillas with material support lessened the perceived social danger of disorderly households, at least during the war. Both men and women became dependents if they were not actively fighting the war. This shift to universal dependency of all non-combatants was primarily responsible for the success of the guerrilla war. Besides equal ability to produce for the benefit of guerrillas, disorder became more accepted because of a change in the political and moral authorities.[86]

The importance of disorderly households and the changes in social landscape were plausible influences on guerrilla war and deserve further explanation. To fully understand and appreciate their role in the war, disorderly households must be dissected in three ways. First, there will be a discussion of how households that were located within the boundaries of normal society on all counts before the war "fell" into disorder during the war. This will express the commonalities between orderly and disorderly households. Then, the various parts of disorder will be explored to reveal the

[85] *PM*, Case Against George Rider, Case Against Isabella Fox; *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 41, Part 1, 760: These are just a couple the available examples but there is no evidence that guerrillas alienated disorderly households in any way.
[86] Wyatt-Brown, 149-174; Bruce, *Violence and Culture,* 211; This is just one example of where Bruce illustrates that violence is always an appropriate alternative attitude of expression. If one form of expression is removed, politics or economics, war is the perfect replacement.

commonalities among disorderly households and also their inherent allegiance to guerrillas. These ideas counter the argument that all female action during the war occurred due to male direction and dominance. Finally, both orderly and disorderly households acted in similar ways to convert their productive abilities to materially support the guerrillas and inadvertently evolve into a new type of household, the rebel household. The transition to a new rebel household will further the argument that guerrilla warfare in Little Dixie was the natural evolution of a pre-industrial, household-based society.

The female headed disorderly household and the male headed households were equally important to the war effort because they shared the same political loyalties and the same basic household construction and goals. Although orderly and disorderly households were equally admired for their support of the guerrillas, prewar financial insecurity caused a household to fall into disorder. The less well-established households shared common beliefs with the well-established households that united the households later in the war, despite their social and economic inferiority with households like the Riders' that existed before the war. For instance, both groups migrated from the same southern states. They constructed their households identically, basing the division of labor on gender roles. All factors of their familial organization, excluding their actual financial state in 1860, the disorderly households were on the same economic trajectory as the Riders before the war. However, the war abruptly ended the economic progress being made by the households who fell into disorder. An examination of the Peter Fox

household, as the prototypical disorderly household, reveals the similarities and differences of well-established and less well-established households.[87]

Construction of the Fox household was similar in many ways to that of the Rider household.[88] The Fox household of Chariton County was created close to the household of kin in the same county. Headed by Peter Fox, a man born in North Carolina who probably had the same political and economic motivations as George Rider, the Fox household settled close to the Huckshorn household. America Huckshorn was a seamstress and Peter Fox's sister. Close kin ties between Peter Fox's wife, Isabella, and his sister ensured the proximity of the households as both Joan Cashin's *Family Venture* and Edward Baptist's *Creating an Old South* suggest concerning migratory commonalities among southerners. This proximity reveals the understood benefits of mutual support between kin households for survival in Little Dixie.[89]

While the Rider household was capable of producing a sizable cash crop and was financially secure in 1860, other, less well-established households, like Peter Fox's, were not yet able to enter the market to the same degree. Located in Keytesville Township, Chariton County, Missouri, the Fox household had a total of eight members. Peter Fox, fifty, was the only man old enough to labor in the fields, but his son Fountain, at age ten, probably had chores to do – perhaps milking their four cows – that made him a fairly useful hand. His younger brother Jackson, at age five, was probably too young to work. The three adult women of the household were Peter's wife, Isabella, thirty-eight, her

[87] 1860, MC, Saline and Chariton Counties, Missouri; 1860, AC, Saline and Chariton Counties, Missouri; 1860, SS, Saline and Chariton Counties, Missouri.
[88] 1860, MC, Saline and Chariton Counties, Missouri; The exact date of the Fox household settlement was unknown, but being that Peter Fox was roughly ten years younger than George Rider, it is assumed that the Fox family was a substantial ways behind the Rider household.
[89] 1860, MC, Chariton County, Missouri; 1860, AC, Chariton County, Missouri; Cashin, 60; Baptist, 44, 45.

daughter America, eighteen, and a woman that did not have the same last name, Elizabeth Baker, also eighteen. Isabella and Peter had two other daughters. One was named Malissa, thirteen, who was old enough to have chores and to watch Jackson and the other child, who was named Josephine at age eight was too young for any major work. The Fox household held no slaves, making Peter Fox completely reliant on the dependents in his family for labor outside his own, with the possible exception of hiring a hand.[90]

Before the war, the countryside of Little Dixie was full of productive, if small, yeoman households like the Fox household and they used their limited access to the market as a way to try and get ahead. As of 1860, the Fox household owned seventy-five acres of improved land and eighty-five acres of unimproved land. The total value of the land was estimated to be thirteen hundred dollars. With the help of one-hundred and forty dollars worth of farm implements, the Fox household produced one thousand bushels of corn, two bushels of beans, and twenty five bushels of potatoes. They fed their livestock with the two tons of hay produced annually, but none of this produce linked their household directly to the market. Some of their crops, however, most specifically the corn, were used to generate a profitable commodity: hogs.[91]

Produce was important to the Fox household's survival but livestock helped the Fox household to get ahead because slaughtered animals could be sold in an ever expanding market. The Fox household owned twelve horses, four milch cows, four oxen, thirty cattle, twenty sheep and one hundred pigs. The total value of these animals was just over one thousand dollars. The animals also helped to produce different items for the household. The milch cows, or milking cows, produced milk for everyday use and

[90] 1860, MC, Chariton County, Missouri; Jensen, 38; McCurry, 59.
[91] 1860, AC, Chariton County, Missouri.

created the raw material for the twenty-five pounds of butter that the household produced over the course of the year. The women of the household were responsible for the dairy production from beginning to end.[92] The horses and oxen were used to pull plows and carts in both the planting and harvesting of crops. This job fell to Peter Fox, fifty, and any male neighbors or hired hands that helped him harvest the corn, hay, beans and potatoes. It is important to note that, despite the gender roles of the household, any adult women, and there were three of them in the Fox household in the days leading up to the war, probably leant a hand to Peter if he was in a pinch or they were not busy with their other, gender specific chores.[93]

As evidenced by the livestock he chose to raise, Peter Fox set out to enter economic world that tied the farm to the market, just as the Riders did. The Fox household's ownership of one hundred hogs was their key to profit in the market. According to Douglas Hurt in his work *Agriculture and Slavery*, for these yeoman migrants to Little Dixie, "swine became their chief source for paying mortgages and other frontier debts."[94] One hundred swine were able to feed a household of eight, and because a sow could have up to twenty piglets in a litter, the Foxes produced ample goods for market. Raising hogs was the best way for yeomen to move ahead in the world quickly and with limited improved land. Hogs could roam free in search of food because their ears were marked making it easy for one farmer to differentiate his pigs from another farmer's pigs. To increase the quality of their products, farmers supplemented their hogs' diets with corn. Farm households "could more efficiently and cheaply send corn to

[92] Jensen, 97-105.
[93] 1860, AC, Chariton County, Missouri; McCurry, 78,79.
[94] Hurt, 125.

market in a pig than in a grain sack and receive higher prices."[95] Also, the strategic locations of these households, on or near rivers such as the Missouri River, allowed households to pack their pork and send it out of Missouri to other parts of the country and the world, by way of the Mississippi River and the international port of New Orleans. Pork, like hemp and tobacco for the more substantial slave owner, was a product that linked yeomen in Little Dixie to the market.[96]

In order to sustain the men, Isabella and the other women in the household remained prolific in their work. The sheep owned by the Fox household were sheared for their wool. Very rarely was wool sold to market. Instead, it probably served as the cheap replacement for cotton, something that the Foxes probably bought or traded for in small amounts at the market. Once the wool was trimmed it was sent to the local mill that "provided sheepmen with custom services for carding, fulling, and dressing their wool."[97] Then the women of the household added flax to the wool to make "linsey Woolsey" or added cotton to the wool to make jeans. The "linsey Woolsey" was worn by women. The denim was mostly worn by the men.[98]

Women of the Fox household not only prepared meals and clothed all members of the household but just as in the Rider household, their labor was more diverse than the male labor. The women of the Fox household were probably called to the fields from their women's work more often than other, slaveholding white women. Whether it was plowing, helping to slaughter and pack pork, or working at traditional women's roles, the women of the Fox household contained a larger skill set than their husbands.

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[95] Hurt, 126.
[96] 1860, MC, Chariton County, Missouri; Hurt, 127-130.
[97] Hurt, 136.
[98] 1860, AC, Chariton County, Missouri; Hurt, 136.

Furthermore, the Fox women may have had an increased work load compared to households with more dependents, especially households with slaves. This increased work load and diverse skill-set possibly made them more capable of supporting themselves and others during the war. [99]

Financial insecurity, as evidenced by the small size or inability to grow a cash crop or to own slaves, was just one factor contributing to disorder. There was another important ingredient that contributed to disorder. Losing the man, or men, of a household contributed to disorderly behavior, leaving already desperate women with the burden of their men's cause and few means to live. Some households, like the Cull's, that became disorderly started the war closer to poverty than others, as the household barely owned anything at all.[100] The pre-war destitution of this household was only made worse by the coming of war. In early 1862, Thomas, Felix and John Cull – the three adult men in the household - volunteered for the Second Missouri Regiment Infantry Volunteers and were placed together in "H" Company under a Capt. Selby.[101] After some time, Thomas and John were discharged for illness and disability, respectively. Felix fought at least through Vicksburg and elevated himself beyond his brothers' rank of private to the rank of corporal. Despite the discharges, other evidence, found in the Provost Marshals' case against the Culls, suggested that the brothers did not return to their household, perhaps entering the bush instead.[102]

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[99] McCurry, 62.
[100] 1860, MC, Johnson County, Missouri; Thomas Cull, listed as the head of household and the only property owner, had only three hundred dollars to his name in 1860.
[101] Soldiers Database: War of 1812 – World War I (hereafter *SD*), found in the Missouri State Archives, but can be accessed online at the Missouri Secretary of State website; Oddly enough this was the same regiment that Benjamin Drew signed up with, and the Cull brothers and Drew signed up just a day apart from each other.
[102] 1860, MC, Johnson County, Missouri; *SD*; *PM*, Case Against the Culls.

With only their labor and sexuality, women tried to survive despite the long absence of their men. Although the Drew household, the promising tobacco farm, was in better economic shape than the Cull's before the war, they were not financially established enough to afford the departure of household head, Benjamin Drew. Early in 1862, Benjamin Drew left his household to join the Confederate Army. He joined the Second Missouri Regiment Infantry Volunteers, Company K, where he served until June of 1862 when he was discharged for a disability. Afterwards, he may have joined up with guerrillas or merely waited out the war in Confederate held territory because he was not present at home later in the war. With her husband gone, Mahala exceeded the expectations of antebellum gender roles. She was prosecuted in January of 1865 for her relationship with bushwhackers. She aided and abetted one of the most notorious guerrillas in the area in infamous fashion.[103]

Some women lost their men in a more abrupt fashion than others. Unlike the Drew and Cull households, the Fox household was in the best economic position at the outset of the war. With a year remaining in the war, radical Unionists brought a swift change of fortune to the Fox household. A radical Union officer named Truman killed Peter Fox in 1864, as he was standing in his own front yard. Within six months, Isabella and her daughters were on trial as disloyal citizens and labeled as women of ill-fame as was Mahala Drew.[104]

Even after losing their husbands, disorderly households remained similar to those households that retained their male head because of their parallel migratory backgrounds and household construction. The loss of their men did prove to be a significant change

[103] *SD*; *PM*, Case Against Mahala Drew; *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 48, Part 1, 489.
[104] *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox.

for disorderly households. Without the loss of their men, the skills, work ethic, and independence of these women would still be subordinated to the public position of their men, and many of their actions in support of the war against the Union might not have occurred, or gone unnoticed. These women, like the women of households that retained their male heads, developed a diverse skill set and work ethic preceding the war. Support capabilities such as these came in handy in their supplying of the guerrillas during the war.[105]

The bond between female headed disorderly households in Little Dixie and guerrillas not only illustrates their disorder but shows that actions taken in support of guerrillas by southern sympathizing women were not necessarily coerced. Limited economic security and the departure of their men promoted an actual state of disorder among these women, but their close connections to guerrillas secured the label of disorderly. Plenty of women in mid-Missouri were poverty stricken and without their husbands for extended periods of time during the war, but not all these women were arrested for being in disorder. Perhaps persons from these households were arrested by the military authority for disorder not because their husbands were absent but because they chose to actively support guerrillas.[106]

These disorderly women that elevated their status from being nonexistent persons to women who were out of order shared the same behavior. The term disorder originates in deviation from sexual norms but also, social, political, and economic norms. Sexual

[105] PM, Case Against Isabella Fox, Case Against the Culls, Case Against Mahala Drew; Hurt, 125-130, 136; Jensen, 97-105; McCurry, 62, 78, 79.
[106]PM, Case Against Isabella Fox, Case Against the Culls, Case Against Mahala Drew; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 112, 131, 143.

deviation from the norm was the simplest to identify. The women who were accused of taking part in sexual relations with guerrillas dwelled in the disorderly households of mid-Missouri. Women accused of disorder during the war in Little Dixie also socialized with men that the military authority deemed to be outlaws. Additionally, Disorderly women of Little Dixie, Missouri were disloyal to the Union and outspoken about their political beliefs. Finally, disorderly households were producing for guerrillas rather than the traditional independent male. By exploring the contributing factors of disorder shared by the households examined here, conclusions about the heightened agency of all women who supported guerrillas can be drawn.[107]

Women from the disorderly households discussed here either actually did sleep with guerrillas they were not married to, or there was a presumption among the Provost Marshals and pro-Union community members that they slept with guerrillas. Adultery was the primary antebellum definition of disorderly behavior for one important reason. The common result of adultery in the antebellum South was the birth of a child whose father was unknown. The birth of illegitimate white children prevented society from operating in a way that accounted for all persons from birth to death. Bastard white children could not be claimed by a head of household and therefore existed outside the frame of the ideal unit of social organization, the household. In antebellum Little Dixie, disorderly women were placing the household, the basic unit of society, at risk by sleeping with and sometimes bearing the children of unknown fathers, or fathers who were not bound by marriage to financially support their children.[108]

[107] Whites, *Gender Matters*, 67; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 79.
[108] Hambleton, "The Regulation of Sex in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," 99.

According to the numerous testimonies found in the Provost Marshals' records, disorderly women had the reputation of sleeping with guerrillas. One testimony against Isabella Fox claimed that "there is no one in all the county, who has a worse reputation."[109] Two other persons questioned by the Provost Marshals' office asserted that she kept "a house of ill-fame."[110] The same term, "ill-fame" was used to describe each of the Cull girls. Also, witnesses brought forth against the Culls had "good reason to believe [they] cohabited with the bushwhackers."[111] Although none of these people explicitly claimed to have seen or taken part in these acts, there were so many testimonies that corroborated these claims that it was hard to discount them.[112]

Besides the testimonies of witnesses at least one other case reported physical evidence of the sexual act between a disorderly woman and a guerrilla. As mentioned earlier, Mahala Drew was prosecuted for aiding and abetting a notorious guerrilla. While searching for a wounded guerrilla captain named Jim Jackson, Union soldiers questioned Mahala and entered the Drew household. For whatever reason, the Union troopers searched Mahala's bedroom. It was there that they discovered Jackson's blood all over Mahala Drew's sheets, leaving the Provost Marshal to conclude "the supposition being that he slept in her bed."[113]

The accusations of sleeping around were enough to label women disorderly and the physical evidence was even more convincing. Other physical evidence like a child born out of wedlock was also irrefutable proof of sexually disorderly behavior. For example, there were two children found in the Fox households in 1870 who were born

[109] *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox.
[110] *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox.
[111] *PM*, Case Against the Culls.
[112] Whites, *Gender Matters*, 65-67.
[113] *PM*, Case Against Mahala Drew.

during the war. The legitimacy of one was especially questionable. Peter, who was seven years of age in 1870, was probably conceived before Peter Fox senior was killed, assuming of course that Isabella and not one of her daughters was the boy's mother. The other child, named Susan Terrill, who was six years old in 1870, was not living in a household with anyone who shared her surname. Also, her mother, Nancy Fox (who married Fountain Fox), was only twenty years old making it unlikely that she bore the child during a previous marriage.[114]

Some women explicitly admitted to the birth of a bastard child, and therefore admitted to sexual disorder. Mary Cull, who was twenty-two at the time her statement was taken on September of 1864, was an unwed mother. Her child was "about 14 months old." The father of this child was a guerrilla named Frank Parker, to whom she was engaged before the war began. Although Cull observed him to be "a bad man," she also commented that "he never used force" with her. Because of the age of the child, it was impossible for it to have been conceived before the war. Also, the number of men who visited the Cull household brought the paternity of the child into question and heightened the suspicions of disorder.[115]

Disorderly women indulging in sex outside of marriage directly resulted in their receiving the label of disorderly, but other nonsexual social behavior with guerrillas also promoted the belief that they were acting disorderly. Out of discretion, the testimonies about the women's sexual behavior were limited. However, other more visible and less-secretive behaviors were observed by witnesses against the Fox, Drew and Cull women. This social behavior was an important part of these women gaining the title disorderly for

[114] 1870, MC, Saline County, Missouri.
[115] *PM*, Case Against the Culls.

two reasons. On the one hand the social activities in which these women involved themselves were outside the frame of normal behavior with men who existed outside the law of the military authority in place. On the other hand, witnesses against these women probably deduced from these nonsexual social behaviors that these women were partaking in sex outside of marriage with guerrillas.[116]

One apparently nonsexual event observed by the witnesses against Isabella Fox and her daughters that encouraged the belief that they were disorderly was their practice of riding with guerrillas. A woman from Keytesville "saw [Isabella] on one occasion riding out of town in company with bushwhackers." In her statement, Isabella did not refute the claims, as her actions were probably fairly conspicuous. On another occasion, a different woman "saw the daughters in company with Rebel Bushwhackers, riding about the town." To make matters worse the same witness claimed that the Fox girls were "sometimes riding on the same horse with the Rebels." These actions were construed as disorderly for several reasons: First, although it was probably more appropriate for women in the rural South to ride horses, the act was still recognized as a male act especially when riding with and among guerrillas. Second, riding with the guerrillas and keeping their company while traveling to and from town insinuated that the guerrillas and the Foxes originated from or going to the same place. The next step in deductive reasoning in this line of thinking was that the guerrillas were riding to or from the Fox household where they were staying. Third, the most intimate social impropriety was that the Fox girls were riding hip-to-hip on a horse with guerrillas who were not their

[116] Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 10; Whites, *Gender Matters*, 65; Whites' example of the community disdain for a Union officer simple walking down the street with a suspected prostitute is a perfect example of the label of disorder forming due to social, not necessarily sexual, behavior.

husbands. The close proximity of their genitalia probably shocked onlookers leading them to assume only one thing, that these girls were disorderly.[117]

Another social action that led to the presumption of disorder was the receiving of gifts from guerrillas. When the pro-Confederate forces captured Keytesville during Price's Raid in the fall of 1865, many Unionist people from the town spied on their neighbors to collect evidence against southern sympathizers who were revealing their true loyalties. During the raid, one Unionist onlooker saw Isabella Fox "on the streets of Keytesville very intimately (sic) with Bushwhackers, receiving presents from them."[118] Mary Cull was also known to receive gifts from guerrillas. For instance, when asked if she received any payment by the guerrillas for feeding them, Cull said she did not. However, Cull went on to report that "Hackler once gave me a pair of shoes. Hutchinson gave me a gold locket once."[119] These gifts, although not given in public, imply the same idea about Cull as they do about Fox. The people in Keytesville and the Provost Marshal interviewing Cull both understood the gifts to not only symbolize an intimate relationship between two or more persons, who were not married, but the gifts were also perceived as payment.[120]

In addition to social disorder, the disorderly women of Little Dixie were also seen as being disorderly because of their political views and actions. An interesting convergence of factors contributing to disorder was that on top of the previous disorderly concepts – sexual and social deviation from the norm – was the fact that all of these households were also disloyal to the Union. The disorder of disloyalty made these

[117] *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox.
[118] *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox.
[119] *PM*, Case Against the Culls.
[120] *PM*, Case Against the Culls, Case Against Isabella Fox.

households targets for the Union Provost Marshals. The Foxes, Culls, and Mahala Drew all revolted against the government in power by deviating from the political norm by way of their social deviations. Since the women's disloyalty to the Union is evident, let us simply examine the form that their disorderly political behavior took.[121]

The way that disorderly women in Little Dixie expressed their political views contributed to their being assessed as disorderly. One man heard Emily Cull "say that she has fed bushwhackers…and considers them her friends." Another man heard Emily state "that she fed bushwhackers and would do it again…afterwards she often told me the same."[122] The same woman who saw Isabella Fox receive gifts from guerrillas said the she "heard her talk with great hatred of Union men and Federal soldiers."[123] In stark contrast to the limited participation of women in their communities before the war, these disorderly women used their voices as men did, expressing their political points of view. Even if these women were speaking out before the war, the political climate and context took shape during the war in ways that made these public exclamations exponentially more powerful. Further, they used aggressive tones to express themselves. This action was disorderly because these women took on a role understood to be the role of men, a role that would probably not be available to these women if their men were in their households.[124]

Economic disorder, like political disorder, was closely tied to disloyalty. Just like the other aspects of these disorderly households, economic disorder began with the departure of the male head of the household. The household, a vehicle for production,

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[121] *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox, Case Against the Culls, Case Against Mahala Drew; Bynum, *Unruly Women,* 132.
[122] *PM*, Case Against the Culls.
[123] *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox.
[124] Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 125-129.

was originally intended to control the labor of all members of society except the male heads. The male heads of each household were not only responsible for maintaining control over the inferior persons in their households, but the independence of the male head was provided by the labor of his social inferiors, his dependents. This independence was used to protect household interests within the economy and the political realm, where each head of household was able to represent himself and his dependents.[125]

Without the traditional male head of household to produce independence for, disorderly women in Little Dixie produced goods without the direct control of a man. The wartime circumstances meant that the guerrillas were the beneficiaries of the "headless" household production. Probably with the help of their seamstress aunt, American Huckshorn, Isabella's daughters produced clothing, shirts and pants, for the guerrillas. According to Isabella, her "daughter America Jennings and a widow-woman made two shirts and a pair of pants for some of the bushwhackers."[126] The Cull women also deviated from producing only for their head of household and sewed shirts for whichever guerrillas sought their assistance. To the question, "were you in the habit of giving [the guerrillas] anything to eat – provisions, etc.?" Mary Cull simply responded, "I was."[127] Not limited to clothing, the Fox, Drew, and Cull households all continued to farm as best they could without the help of their men's labor. After producing the raw materials, these women were able to transform the raw produce into cooked meals. Here

[125] Fox-Genovese, 38,39.
[126] *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox.
[127] *PM*, Case Against the Culls.

too, their production was not controlled by a head of household and their production could be focused anywhere.[128]

The actions of these disorderly women were not merely the effect of being in a household without a male head, but they were also the consequences of actively supporting the guerrillas. Without the sexual, social, and political control provided by a male head, women of the Fox, Cull, and Drew households were free to sleep with whomever they wished, ride on the same horses with men to whom they were not married, publicly proclaim their political views in the face of male opposition, and produce goods for whomever they pleased. That is not to say that women who dwelled in male headed households only supported the war out of coercion. In fact, quite the opposite appears to be true. With the same background and household construction, all women were capable of the same politically driven actions. This discussion of disorderly households illustrates that women were capable of their own political opinion, not to mention the ability to back that opinion up actions, such as material support.[129]

Guerrilla war was the natural state of defense for all pre-industrial households, orderly and disorderly. This state of natural defense was evidenced by disorderly households shifting their production towards the guerrillas, who at the time were the most capable of protecting the Fox, Cull, and Drew's interests. Orderly households, because of the changing circumstances of war, namely the occupation by an enemy force, also shifted their production towards guerrillas for the same reason, to protect their interests. The dual shift made both households, at least in terms of the end results of their

[128] 1860, MC, Chariton and Johnson Counties, Missouri; 1860, AC, Chariton and Johnson Counties, Missouri; *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox, Case Against the Culls, Case Against Mahala Drew.
[129] Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 125-129.

production, identical. Because of the importance of female labor to both households, the social, political, and economic actions taken by disorderly households were almost identical to the contribution of male-headed orderly households to the guerrillas during the war. Identical actions resulted in a new form of social organization which adapted itself to produce materials to support the war. This common focus of production could be understood through identical political loyalties and the way those loyalties were expressed, as well as through the rerouting of political energy by men from orderly households and the rerouting of independence-providing labor by women living in disorder. Whatever the case, households in Little Dixie, relying largely on the permanence of female labor, easily shifted the direction of production to grant independence to the guerrillas who now represented their households on the battlefield instead of in the prewar formal institutions of power.[130]

The first evidence of the dual shift of production was in the actions of male and female heads of household. With the exception of sexual promiscuity, southern sympathizing heads of orderly households who were arrested and punished for the crime of disloyalty acted in an identical manner as persons in female headed households. The common thread running through the disorderly households in Little Dixie was their disloyalty to the Union, an obvious but understated link to disloyal, but orderly households. As illustrated above, the women from disloyal, disorderly households fed and hid guerrillas. They also proclaimed their political loyalties within earshot of Unionist without fear of reprisal. Further, disorderly women were not afraid to be seen with guerrillas. The men who chose not to fight and headed orderly households also fed

[130] Bowen, 47, 48.

and hid guerrillas, proclaimed their support for the Confederacy or guerrillas, and were often seen with guerrillas.[131]

The prime example of political affiliation of disloyal men came in the same form as political support that came from female-headed households accused of disorder, their willingness to accept guerrillas into their homes. In addition to whatever charges pertaining to disorder, the Fox, Cull, and Drew households were cited for "aiding and abetting" guerrillas. The charge of aiding and abetting simply meant that the person in question was helping the guerrillas, usually by feeding and giving shelter to the guerrillas. Outwardly disloyal men in Little Dixie who were not fighting as guerrillas were also accused of feeding and granting shelter to guerrillas. For instance, George Rider was also prosecuted for aiding and abetting guerrillas. He fed guerrillas and their horses and they were allowed to spend the night at the Rider household.[132]

Just as households without male heads and those with male heads both showed their political loyalty by aiding and abetting guerrillas, they also verbalized their political loyalties in the same way. Emily Cull told a Union man that "she fed Bushwhackers and would do it again" and "afterwards she often told [him] the same."[133] Just as Cull professed her political loyalties with vigor, so too did men who were at the head of disloyal households. According to a neighbor of George Rider: "Mr. Rider has sometimes [expressed] himself in favor of the Southern Confederacy."[134] One man who testified against George Rider claimed that Rider came to a field where he was working just to tell him that "fifteen bushwhackers ate supper at [Rider's] house the night

[131] *PM*, Case Against George Rider, Case Against Isabella Fox.
[132] *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox, Case Against the Culls, Case Against Mahala Drew, Case against George Rider.
[133] *PM*, Case Against the Culls.
[134] *PM*. Case Against George Rider.

before."[135] If the verbal expressions of their political ideals were any measure, Cull and Rider held an equal disdain for the Union.[136]

Men who supported the guerrillas in a noncombatant role were seen socializing guerrillas as often as the women who resided in disorderly, disloyal households. Isabella Fox and her daughters were seen riding with guerrillas. Furthermore, they stood in the streets of Keytesville accepting gifts and socializing with the southern forces who took the town during Price's Raid. Disloyal men were also seen with bushwhackers in the light of day. One neighbor of George Rider's witnessed him escorting guerrillas disguised as Union troopers out of his household in broad daylight before Rider explicitly told the neighbor that they were in fact Quantrill's men. In addition to Rider, plenty of other men were seen socializing with guerrillas. For instance, another patriarch of Little Dixie named William Curry "rode together [with guerrillas] near half mile (sic) to the Paris road" knowing full-well that there were other men on the road watching the interaction.[137] Disorderly women and disloyal men showed their devotion to the guerrillas' cause by publicly standing with them despite knowing that their actions might incriminate them some day.[138]

The worldview of disorderly women and orderly men translated into a political identity that promoted the pro-southern guerrilla war. The seeds of this disloyalty for both men and women were planted in the geographic origins of the person or family in question. Despite their unequal fortunes before and during the war, the elder members of southern sympathizing households migrated to Missouri with the same motivations. Both

[135] *PM*, Case Against George Rider.
[136] *PM*, Case Against George Rider.
[137] *PM*, Case Against William Curry.
[138] *PM*, Case Against William Curry, Case Against Isabella Fox, Case Against George Rider.

Peter Fox, who was born in North Carolina, and George Rider, who was born in Virginia, understood their households' location within a slave-based economy. As evidenced by Isabella Fox's words and actions, their understanding of the world was shared with their wives and children. In other words, the Fox and Rider households shared a political allegiance. Viewed with antebellum gender roles in mind, the departure of Peter Fox and the male heads from Cull and Drew households should have politically retarded these households, but instead the women in these households were elevated to the level of politics by partaking in war. Not surprisingly, the changing circumstances of war and the destruction of formal institutions of power meant that the absence of men did not politically handicap these female-headed households, but instead drove these women to express their politics as southern sympathizing men of Little Dixie did at the time by verbally and materially supporting the guerrilla war.[139]

Guerrillas took on the role of quasi-household head because they were actively protecting the interests of the community in the forum available to them. The shift from the old patriarchs to guerrillas took place in a fairly natural way for all parties involved. Without directly discussing the cyclical nature of the household, Bertram Wyatt-Brown, a historian of southern honor, does discuss the father-son relationship in a way that relates to the guerrillas being able to take over as the de facto heads of households in Little Dixie during the war. Wyatt-Brown observes that fathers and sons in the South shared the same goals and "in the course of time seniors had to accord to the next generation grudging respect at some point."[140] Due to the destruction of the old patriarchs' old vestiges of power, the circumstances of war in Missouri offered the appropriate, if premature, time

[139] 1860, MC, Saline and Chariton Counties, Missouri; *PM*, Case Against George Rider, Case Against Isabella Fox.
[140] Wyatt-Brown, 195.

for "grudging respect." In fact, the old patriots saw the necessity for the changing of the guard and pushed their sons into positions of power. George Rider, not worried about his son's new role as household defender, said of his son when asked if he volunteered for the pro-Union militia, "no, he had a damn sight better – he has gone in the brush."[141]

For male heads of household, war changed the requirements in a way that made it necessary for guerrillas to rise to the de facto head of household position, but women, disorderly or otherwise, were brought up with a different understanding of their place in society. As discussed previously, even though disorderly households did not have a male head, they still produced in the same way as they had when a man was present to control the household. Women in antebellum Missouri were raised to understand their submission to a man at all points in their lives, including war. In fact, Bynum argues that war was the most necessary time for a woman to be attached to a man. In *Unruly Women*, Bynum argues that during the Civil War in North Carolina, "attachment to a man…presented the surest means of safety and survival for a woman."[142] Their political affiliation led them to produce for the good of the guerrillas. Whereas the prewar belief that household could not exist without a man seemed obsolete during wartime when a man's proper role transformed into that of an absent head of household, incapable of protecting his dependents, to a guerrilla, whose only task was protection of the community's households.

The evolution of the antebellum household order of Little Dixie into guerrilla war, especially concerning the willingness of the old patriarchs' release of control, was partially brought on by the occupation of an enemy force. A key component of

[141] *PM*, Case Against George Rider; Wyatt-Brown, 195, 196.
[142] Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 119.

understanding why households headed by men functioned very similarly to female-headed households was that much like white women before the war, the political independence of southern-sympathizing men was almost nonexistent during the war. This circumstance was a product of Union occupation of disloyal mid-Missouri was the Union Army's control of the political institutions and punishment of southern sympathizers. Two examples of how Union authorities influenced this shift of household production from formal institutions of power to the more informal ones of war were financial assessments, aimed at punishing civilians by hampering economic freedom, and required loyalty oaths for public office, aimed at removing male southern-sympathizers from political positions of power.[143]

Financial penalties were aimed at punishing households, the heads of which were usually men. More specifically, assessments hampered the independence of southern sympathizing men outside the household. Historian Wayne Smith argues that assessments were so powerful in limiting the independence of southern sympathizing men that it was "the only method to check guerrilla activity."[144] Assessments were forced on pro-southern men who were accused of helping guerrillas in Missouri. If the assessment was paid, it was used to reimburse loyal households for the destruction of their property by the guerrillas. While assessments were aimed at damaging the economic stability of a household, they were political in nature because only political offenders were assessed. George Rider was fined one thousand dollars for giving "aid to

[143] Ethan Rafuse, "McClellan and Halleck at War: The Struggle for Control of the Union War Effort in the West, November 1861-March 1862," *Civil War History* 49 (January 2003): 38-41; Wayne Smith, "An Experiment in Counterinsurgency: The Assessment of Confederate Sympathizers in Missouri," *Journal of Southern History* 35 (August 1969): 361-380; Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War*, 23, 36, 37; Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 41, 51, 53, 63.
[144] Smith, "An Experiment in Counterinsurgency," 367.

the enemies of the United States."[145] The fine was drastic. There was evidence that Rider never recovered. After his death, his wife and children were left with a paltry two hundred dollars.[146]

Just as assessments were meant to hurt southern sympathizing households economically, loyalty oaths deterred the political independence of southern sympathizing men. While occupying Little Dixie, the Union Army forced civilians in power to take loyalty oaths to retain their offices. Those who did not take the oath were removed. In theory, this kept disloyal men out of office and, combined with financially crippling fines, the Union Army was essentially removing the benefits of independence from pro-southern men and their households and giving it to Unionists in the state. While it is unclear whether or not George Rider was still participating in local politics at the outbreak of war, if he was, his political liberties were surely revoked. If political and economic independence was a sign of manhood, Union occupation effectively emasculated southern men who chose not to participate in combat. The Union Army's formal suppression of manhood was one reason why female-headed households functioned in an almost identical manner as households that retained their men throughout the war. [147]

The only way in which male and female heads of households could defend themselves during the war was through the mutual support of guerrillas. Because of the restraints placed upon southern men by the occupying Union Army, the superior productive skill-set of women in the critical role of supply line, and the shared political

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[145] *PM*, Case Against George Rider; *WPA*, f. 19781, f. 19934; Smith, "An Experiment in Counterinsurgency," 368, 375, 376.
[146] *PM*, Case Against George Rider; Grimsley, 37.
[147] Whites, *Gender Matters*, 51; Fellman, 42, 46, 60, 61; Ash, 44, 45; McCurry, 72.

identities between southern sympathizing men and women, a picture of commonality and equality between men and women, in terms of support for the guerrillas, emerged. Therefore, women deserve much more credit for their support of the guerrilla war in Missouri. It was their permanent presence in an active, but supporting, role that allowed for an easy transition from sustaining independence within formal institutions of power to sustaining an independent member in war. Along with the permanence of feminine labor, the occupation of Little Dixie by the Union Army forced the circumstances necessary for a usurpation of the older generation by the younger generation onto the inhabitants of mid-Missouri.[148]

The mutual support of the old money households and of women of "ill-fame" illustrates the plausibility of the strange allegiance between persons who before the war would have mixed like oil and water. Guerrilla captains in Little Dixie used the informal supply lines comprised of their kin and social networks created before the war, while disorderly households became a part of the guerrillas' network of support after they fell into disorder, after the war began. Two close allies of Jim Rider, Holtzclaw and Jackson, used disorderly households such as the Fox's, Cull's and Drew's in addition to orderly households like George Rider's. During the last year of the war, Holtzclaw and Jackson were two of the most prominent guerrilla captains because they were able to receive support at many different households. As the next chapter will discuss in more length, Holtzclaw and Jackson probably began visiting the disorderly households because of

[148] Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 130-150.

those households' need for defense from radical Unionists, like the man named Truman who killed Peter Fox.[149]

Holtzclaw used orderly and disorderly households in equal share. As shown in the introduction of this work, General Fisk stated in a letter to a Major King, who was ordered to kill Holtzclaw, that Holtzclaw "camps, when in Howard County, in the rear of old man Hackley's farm not far from Fayette."[150] The Hackley household, as one can tell from the title of "old man Hackley's," was an orderly farmstead that was clearly headed by a man who did not fight similar to the Rider situation. Holtzclaw spent plenty of time in Howard County, and it appeared that he received support from Hackley quite frequently. However, Holtzclaw's men went to his mother's "home almost daily, and his sisters [were] great comforters of the bushwhackers."[151] The Holtzclaw household, headed by a woman and had other younger women being "great comforters" of the guerrillas was presented by Fisk as being disorderly. Yet, Holtzclaw's men went back and forth without any noticeable prejudice between the two.[152]

Jackson also sought the support of disorderly households in addition to orderly households. Not only did Jackson seek and receive help from Mahala Drew after he was shot through his legs, but he was also frequently given aid by Isabella Fox and a woman named "the widow Cornelius."[153] The more households attending to Jackson's needs the better for him because he became the arch rival of General Fisk in the last months of the war. Despite Jackson's being wounded at least twice, the General could not find Jackson

[149] *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox, Case Against the Culls, Case Against Mahala Drew.
[150] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 41, Part 1, 760.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.; *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox, Case Against the Culls; Holtzclaw and his men also visited the Fox household on occasion and the guerrillas who visited the Cull household were also under Holtzclaw.
[153] *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 48, Part 1, 290.

because he was using so many different households for support. Jackson received support from disorderly households, but he was also supported by the wealthy, slaveholding "first families" of Missouri, clearly not households in disorder.[154]

The analysis regarding disorderly households in support of the guerrilla war and the practical use of those households by Jim Jackson and Clifton Holtzclaw validated Thomas Oliphant's statement about the popularity of the Cull household, as the male head was no longer a necessary outlet for production. The popularity of the Cull household despite its presumed state of disorder was certainly viable. The Culls, whose political identity was southern, were capable of producing goods for guerrillas. Although degrees of support varied due to household size, per capita the Culls – like the Foxes and Drews – were able to help the guerrillas in their fight in equal measure as a household under the leadership of a man, namely the Rider household. It was also believable that: "If there was any Rebels or Bushwhackers in the neighborhood … Mr. Rider's would be the most likely place to find them," but not necessarily because of George Rider's status as the male head of household.[155] Instead as the dissection of disorderly households has shown us, Rider and the men like him lost their power. The removal of the old patriarchs from power was the catalyst for a shift in production from the economy and politics to war. The omnipresent labor of the women from every southern-sympathizing household in Little Dixie during the war helped to convert these pre-industrial households quickly to wartime production.[156]

[154] Ibid., 1257; *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox, Case Against Mahala Drew.
[155] *PM*, Case Against George Rider.
[156] *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox, Case Against Mahala Drew, Case Against the Culls.

3
The Guerrillas: Offspring of War

> All the people of the country, through fear or favor, feed them, and rarely any give information as to their movements. Having all the inhabitants, by good will or compulsion, thus practically their friends, and being familiar with the fastness of the country wonderfully adapted by nature to guerrilla warfare, they have been generally able to elude the most energetic pursuit. When assemble[d] in a body of several hundred, they scatter before an inferior force (sic); and when our troops scatter in pursuit, they reassemble to fall on an exposed squad, or a weakened post.[157]

Although General Thomas Ewing was discussing the guerrilla war as it took place on the western border of Missouri, his succinct description of guerrilla war from supply to ambush replicates Union observations of any region of Missouri, especially Little Dixie. Union officers recognized that the genius of guerrilla war begins with civilian support, or most critically female civilian support. The guerrillas received plenty of material support from the civilian population all over rural Missouri, but it was not as unanimous, coerced or otherwise, as Ewing believed it to be. The appearance of unanimous support by civilians was the byproduct of the guerrillas' ability to navigate the informal supply networks that were constructed before the war. Each man who became a guerrilla had intimate knowledge of which households, besides his own, were willing to support him and also an idea of how much support each household was capable of offering. Assembling into small bands, the guerrillas were able to receive ample support from one household at a time, and divvy up the civilian support over the course of the war by using multiple households.

This specific passage from Ewing reveals that civilian support was troubling to the General, but his elaboration on the unique guerrilla tactics used by the defenders of

[157] *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 22, Part 1, 584.

Missouri was especially illuminating. The basic unit of organization was the guerrilla band, a group of a few guerrillas. Each mounted guerrilla band was nearly impossible to catch. The speed and size of the bands changed the dynamics of conventional warfare, keeping the Union Army off guard. Ewing goes further, illustrating the tendency of small guerrilla bands to come together for larger offensives while maintaining the ability to return to the smaller bands almost instantaneously. It was the guerrilla bands' skill in coming together and fragmenting at the drop of a hat, combined with their uncanny ability to recognize and attack only the "exposed squad, or a weakened post," made them so dangerous in the eyes of Ewing.[158]

This chapter is devoted to an exploration of the idea that the guerrillas' tactics, as they were described by Ewing, did not spontaneously take shape as a response to the invasion from Union forces; instead, these tactics, as well as larger guerrilla strategy, were influenced by the pre-existing household-based society of Little Dixie built by the Riders and also the Foxes. Each aspect of guerrilla war mentioned by Ewing was the product of household and community construction before the war as well as the ability of each household to focus its production towards the guerrillas. From the guerrillas' use of a supply network, based on social and kinship ties, to their unique military worldview, based on slave patrols and local militia organization, all of their tactics were the products of the construction of the household, the community, and the protection of that community.

[158] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 22, Part 2, 482; Part I, 584; Jones, *Civil War Command and Strategy,* 85-88, 145, 203.

The Missouri guerrillas' tactics, strongly influenced by the Little Dixie household and the construction of communities around those households, differed greatly in every way from that of a conventional army. Three aspects of guerrilla warfare in mid-Missouri that were significantly different from the Union Army were the creation of guerrilla bands, the small size of guerrilla bands, and the various components of guerrilla tactics that allowed guerrilla bands to be successful against a larger, conventional army for more than four years. The size, creation and tactics of guerrillas were the products of the gender construction that lay at the base of the household. These three parts of guerrilla warfare were also influenced by the antebellum quasi-military institutions made up of men whose independence was created by those same household-based gender constructions. Investigating these various aspects of guerrilla warfare in light of the social dynamics of antebellum Little Dixie will present guerrilla war not as a spontaneous and frantic reaction to invasion, but instead as the natural defense of a pre-industrial household-based society.

One of the most respected military minds of the nineteenth century and a Union military advisor was able to pinpoint a key element of the guerrilla bands' character, its self-constituted origin. According to Dr. Francis Lieber, guerrillas were a "party of men united under one chief engaged in petty war."[159] This "party" was also called a "capitanery," or "a band under one captain."[160] Lieber expanded beyond this general framework of the pre-war understanding of guerrillas to a definition of the American guerrilla. Lieber stated that, "it is universally understood in this country at the present time that a guerrilla party means an irregular band of armed men, carrying on an irregular

[159] *O.R.*, Series 3, Vol. 2, Part 1, 301.
[160] Ibid., 302. Lieber combines Spanish and Balkan terminology to create his definition of guerrillas and guerrilla war.

war."[161] Lieber further explained that "the irregularity of the guerrilla party consists in its origin, for it is either self-constituted or constituted by the call of a single individual, not according to the law of general levy, conscription or volunteering."[162]

The guerrilla bands in Missouri were mostly constituted by the call of one man. This man, who was obviously respected by the men who flocked to him, became the captain of the group. With the exception of William Clarke Quantrill, who was given his commission by the Confederate government under the authority of the Partisan-Ranger Act, all other Missouri guerrilla captains called their bands together and attained the rank of captain by the power of their own authority. The circumstances in which men called bands together and named themselves captains usually took two forms. The first set of circumstances came about when a man returned from service in the formal Confederate Army, as a deserter, wounded, captured and paroled, or otherwise, and found his

[161] Ibid.

[162]Ibid; It must be understood that this chapter will not be a demographic study of who the guerrillas were as much as what the strategies and tactics of the guerrillas entailed. For this reason, a general picture of these men is needed. The guerrillas of this study tended the younger men in the Little Dixie community. Older men certainly took part in the war, but middle-aged and young men did the majority of the "bushwhacking." Unlike western Missouri, where some men had been fighting since the mid-1850s against anti-slavery Kansans, the men of Little Dixie were not prompted to war until after the firing on Fort Sumter. It appears that most of the guerrillas in Little Dixie were the offspring of men and women who settled in Little Dixie, but the fluid nature of the war in Missouri meant that there were some men who joined up with Little Dixie guerrillas or found refuge in Little Dixie from outside the center part of the state. Some of the guerrillas were as young as fourteen when the war began, notably George Rider Jr. Other men were in their twenties. Each guerrilla owned or acquired a horse and their own fire arm(s). For further descriptions of the Civil War guerrilla refer to: Kenneth W. Noe, "Who Were the Bushwhackers? Age, Class, Kin, and Western Virginia's Confederate Guerrillas, 1861-1862," *Civil War History* 49 (2003): 5-26; Bowen, "Guerrilla War in Western Missouri, 1862-1865: Historical Extensions of the Relative Deprivation Hypothesis," 30-51; Other articles and books relevant to the description of guerrillas and guerrilla warfare are: Smith, "An Experiment in Counterinsurgency: The Assessment of Confederate Sympathizers in Missouri," 361-380; Daniel E. Sutherland, "Sideshow No Longer: A Historigraphical Review of the Guerrilla War," *Civil War History* 46 (March 2000): 5-23; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride: The True Story of William Clarke Quantrill and His Confederate Raiders* , 16; Schultz, *Quantrill's War: The Life and Times of William Clarke Quantrill*, 72; Fellman, xvii-xix; Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas, or The warfare of the Border*.

household in disarray. With the respect and influence gained through his service in the Confederate Army, he called together other men to take to the "brush" and fight back.[163]

The first sort of guerrilla captain were men like Clifton Holtzclaw, who constituted a guerrilla band in Little Dixie based on the respect gained through his service and leadership in the Confederate Army. The Holtzclaw boys of Howard County put together one of the first companies in the state and went off to fight for the Confederacy. Clifton and his four brothers fought in many early battles of the war. Clifton, who eventually reached the formal rank of Colonel, and his brother, James, were the only brothers to return home alive. The other three brothers were killed in the battles of Corinth and Vicksburg. When Clifton returned, he found that his elderly father had been murdered by Union soldiers, one of his sisters was killed in an explosion, two of his sisters were burnt in that same explosion, while leaving his mother as the head of their household. Before long, Holtzclaw, motivated by the need to prevent further decimation of his household, used his influence as a war hero to gather together other men who wanted to fight the Union Army.[164]

Unlike Holtzclaw, whose authority came from his leadership experience in the Confederate Army, the second type of man who asserted self-proclaimed authority to create a band of guerrillas was an experienced guerrilla who separated himself from the authority of his previous captain. A plethora of plausible reasons exist for a soldier's departure from an established guerrilla band. It could be because the captain was killed, the band was separated to find winter lodging and never returned together, or the underling simply lost respect for his leader and departed to start his own band. No matter

[163] Schultz, 117; Leslie, 137; Ash, 48; Fellman, 97.
[164] Edwards, 303, 304.

how or why an experienced guerrilla found himself alone, he did not have much of a choice but to continue fighting because returning to one's home meant capture or death. The classic, and best, examples of experienced guerrillas who began their own bands were the men who served under Quantrill. At different junctures during the war, especially after the Lawrence Raid and Bill Anderson's challenge to Quantrill in the winter of 1863-64, they split off from the larger gang. In the latter years of the war, men like George Todd, Bill Anderson, Dick Yeager, Dave Poole, and Jim Rider all started their own guerrilla bands after initially riding with Quantrill.[165]

Which ever type of man came into the position of guerrilla captain – veteran officers of the Confederate Army who returned home to protect their households at a local level or men who gained experience as guerrillas but broke off from their original bands to form their own – operated with the same justifications for their actions. There were two possibilities for their justification of self-constitution of a guerrilla band and both were byproducts of their worldview. The first reason for self-constitution was a direct product of the household as young men understood it. This common understanding was that someday young men were going to become the heads of their own household someday. The leader of a household gained his status as a leader for no other reason than their race and gender. He was the head of an independent unit of production. His role as the head was to act and move in the market as well as the political world. Young men simply applied their understanding of the prewar organization of people to the war. The captain of a guerrilla band led an independent unit capable of action and being led without the permission of any other man.[166]

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[165] *O.R.,* Series 1, Vol. 41, Part 1, Pg. 255, 423, Vol. 48, 546.
[166] McCurry, 6, 304.

White men in the antebellum South believed themselves to be entitled to the position of household head. Stephanie McCurry, in her work *Masters of Small Worlds*, shows that landowning white men of the yeoman and planter classes enjoyed the same political rights and mastery over dependents.[167] Even the young guerrillas, who were not married and did not own land before the war, knew that it was only a matter of time until they became the heads of their own households. In the logic of a household-based economy, it was inevitable for white men that with maturity came mastery. Although a guerrilla captain only needed to feel that authority was a natural aspect of his character, the war actually sped up the process by which some men became acting heads of household, increasing their sense of improvement. Clifton Holtzclaw, whose father was killed, was put in the position to be the acting head of household. As head of his household, he was capable as any man with whom he was fighting to lead men. While this self-importance originated in leadership of the household, this importance needed to be recognized by other men. In Holtzclaw's circumstance, he became a guerrilla captain because he was the leader of his household coupled with recognition by other men of his military exploits and leadership qualities.[168]

The second reason for the presumed ability to create a guerrilla band out of thin-air was the assumption held by guerrillas about who a military leader typically was, especially in context of defending one's home and neighbors' homes with other men in the community. With few exceptions, all white males in Missouri were members of the militia. Militias were a part of antebellum society everywhere in America. Some regions, like those closer to Indian Territory or those filled with slaves, maintained the

[167] Ibid.
[168] McCurry, 72, 84; Edwards, 303.

importance of militias whereas other more established areas kept militias around as a ceremonial institution. A characteristic of militias was that they elected their own officers and did so frequently. Officers came from all parts of society and were often elected based on martial abilities rather than class status.[169]

Electing officers in the militia, especially as it existed in Missouri, influenced the culture of capitanery during the guerrilla war. According to John Westover, whose analysis looks at the militia during the nineteenth century, Missouri militia companies were plentiful, but small in terms of the number of soldiers in each company. The population of Missouri probably did not warrant the number of militia posts established in the state, however Missourians' settlements were spread all over the state. A population spread out like Missourians led to the fear that the militia mustering point was often dangerously far from a threat. To compensate for this fear, more companies were established so that each community was protected by a company. Although the number of companies increased without the appropriate number of soldier, the number of officers per company did not change. The officer to private ratio was drastically out of proportion, with a large number of officers and a relatively small number of privates. Young men who grew up in these communities were influenced by this unique militia organization. Not only did they not see a problem with a multiplicity of officers or an officer of a relatively high rank leading only a few men, but they understood military organization to be more flexible and democratic than the regular army.[170]

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[169] Wyatt-Brown, 354, 355; Franklin, 18, 19; Franklin's work contains periodic discussions of the relationship between manhood and martial abilities and the elevation of public respect a man might gain from his ability to fight or shoot. He even asserts that men are able to win public office in the Old South based strictly on their marksmanship.

[170] Westover, 36-42, 63, 67.

The limited understanding of formal military organization that characterized middle Missourians, in addition to the traditional household roles, justified in the minds of guerrillas' the creation of small self-constituted guerrilla bands. Taken to the extreme, these factors also insured that guerrilla bands never got very large. As guerrilla bands grew, they also fragmented and split. These fragmentations were the product of infighting and the usurpation of power. Not surprisingly, if men thought they were qualified to lead a guerrilla band because they were masters of their own households, then there was nothing except the respect of other men that prevented a follower from usurping a leader. Once men in guerrilla bands gained the experience of battle and the respect that came with that experience, they too understood themselves to be entitled to their own command.[171]

For better or worse, usurpation of power and the fragmentation of guerrilla bands kept bands small. The most famous example of the fragmentary effects of power usurpation within this informal military structure was the division of Quantrill's guerrilla company. During the winter of 1863-64, several of Quantrill's lieutenants, most notably "Bloody" Bill Anderson, challenged Quantrill's authority. Anderson's challenge forced the men in the company to choose sides between two intimidating figures. For whatever reason, most likely Quantrill's inability to keep the various groups of violent and temperamental guerrillas happy, many of the guerrillas sided with Anderson. Other guerrillas left Quantrill shortly thereafter joining other challengers who questioned their

[171] Wyatt-Brown, 351, 354; Bruce, 30, 31.

leader's authority. In the end, it seems that the guerrillas' egos, which were socially constructed by their understanding of mastery, kept guerrilla bands small.[172]

The adverse affects of masculine identity and unique understandings of military knowledge were evident in the small size of guerrilla bands, but there were two other factors that contributed to the small size of the bands. The first factor was something of an offshoot of the militia factor, but it was an especially revealing reason for the size of guerrilla bands. Slave patrols, that often drew their members from militia ranks, were identical in size to guerrilla bands. Patrols were small by design. Some of the tactics indicative of slave patrols also reveal themselves in the guerrilla bands. The other factor contributing to the small size sprouts directly from the practical abilities of the individual household and the recognition of those abilities by guerrillas. All households, no matter how large, were limited in the number of persons they could feed or otherwise support. Further, most households in Missouri were small yeoman farms which limited the size of a guerrilla band that they could feed even more.[173]

Much like guerrilla bands, slave patrols were something between the civilian-oriented militia and the regular military. According to slave patrol historian Sally Hadden, "slave patrols observed some discipline and order that seemed vaguely military…they could not be militia men; yet they were not professional enough to be soldiers."[174] By their nature, slave patrols were a more serious, more practical antebellum quasi-military force than the militia because slave patrols combated an omnipresent enemy. In slave owning communities, patrols were on duty every night of

[172]Ibid: Although this study does not delve into concepts of honor among guerrillas, Bruce and Wyatt-Brown offer possible explanations for why and how confrontations like the one between two men such as Quantrill and Anderson may have taken place; Leslie, 296-7; Schultz, 271-273.
[173] Hadden, 16; Franklin, 33.
[174] Hadden, 41.

the week. Unlike militias who mustered periodically and came together on the rare event of an actual Indian raid, slave patrols were constantly vigilant because their potential enemies, slaves, were a constant threat.[175]

There were a striking number of similarities between slave patrols in the antebellum period and guerrilla bands in Little Dixie during the war – not the least of which was the size of the bands. The other parallels between patrols and guerrilla bands were various factors instilled to take advantage of small size or maintain the military effectiveness of an undersize band. John Hope Franklin cites several sources that place the size of patrols from three to ten men. Hadden shows that patrols typically ranged from four to six men. In 1850 in Saline County, Missouri, the companies of patrol were made up of four men, one captain and three "assistants." Captain Thos. Rogers led the Third Company of patrol for the county with George Rider as one of his assistants.[176]

Guerrillas were comfortable adapting the model of slave patrols to the guerrilla band because they had relied on the effectiveness of a small band of armed men on mounts prior to the war. There was any number of accounts of the small numbers of guerrillas in a given band being identical to the number of men who may have ridden in a slave patrol before the war. Sometimes Jim Jackson "had five men with him."[177] Other times, "Jackson had three men with him."[178] Jim Rider's gang was identified by his wife as having six other members.[179] Rider and Jackson were just two examples of men who employed the smaller guerrilla band. [180]

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[175] Ibid, 6.
[176] Franklin, 72; Hadden, 45; WPA records, f. 19658.
[177] *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 48, Part 1, 291.
[178] Ibid., 949.
[179] *PM*, Case against Tabitha Rider.
[180] *O.R*., Series I, Vol. 41, Part 1, 415; Part 3, 488; Vol. 22, Part 2, 487; Before moving forward, it must be noted that guerrillas did on several occasions unite together for offensives or sometimes many guerrilla

The guerrillas transferred what they knew about slave patrols to the wartime setting and continued the use of small groups once they proved their effectiveness. In frustration over the inability to capture the guerrilla Jim Jackson, General Fisk identified the size of Jackson's band as the most dominant factor in the guerrilla's ability to move with stealth. Because Jackson knew the territory and was willing to move at night, "a small party [would] thus elude the strictest vigilance."[181] These small groups were so elusive that Union officers reported little except for vague descriptions of the guerrilla bands, often referring to their size. In a dispatch to General Fisk, Lieutenant Colonel Matthew reported that they "have no information of the enemy, except that they are in small bands, scattered all over the country."[182] Even when the Union Army was able to draw a larger guerrilla force into the open, when the Union forces achieved the upper hand "the rebels scattered in every direction in such small numbers they could not be pursued by our forces."[183] During skirmishes or while eluding their enemies, small guerrilla bands frustrated Union Army officers to no end.[184]

The Union Army was not prepared for a war in which the enemy used such small bands to attack and evade Union forces. Throughout the war, the Union Army sent larger forces of fifty to one hundred men after guerrilla bands composed of less than ten individuals. Here the Union Army erred on the side of caution preferring the frequent

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bands camped together, drastically increasing their numbers. The most notable instances of guerrilla bands coming together into guerrilla armies, from one hundred to five hundred strong, were during the unification and consolidation of guerrilla bands in the Perche Hills preceding the invasion of Price, the Battle (Massacre) of Centralia during Price's Raid, and of course, Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence. Other than these three circumstances (and perhaps before the Lawrence Raid when Quantrill claimed to lead over one hundred guerrillas) guerrillas mostly traveled in small bands that would occasionally come together for a brief time to accomplish a larger goal.

[181] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 48, Part 1, 1239.

[182] *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 41, Part 3, 278.

[183] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 41, Part 2, 795.

[184] Jones, *Civil War Command and Strategy*, 145; Archer Jones calls this dynamic of a successful guerrilla war the force to space ratio, In this specific incidence, the Union Army's force is minimized because it is spread over a large amount of space.

escape of guerrillas to the decimation of friendly forces. Rather than being caught off-guard or outnumbered, as they were at Lawrence and Centralia when civilians and Union soldiers were massacred by an unexpectedly large guerrilla force, the Union Army sent out large companies after the equivalent of a squad, and several hundred men after the equivalent of just one company. Fighting an uphill battle, in which the guerrillas always fragmented into tiny, elusive bands once they lost the momentum of the encounter, some Union officers were so impressed with the guerrillas' tactics that they began to use them. In his quest for Jim Jackson, Fisk enlisted "a few brave, determined soldiers, stimulated by the private rewards offered by citizens … sworn not to return without the head of the monster in the charger."[185] If imitation was the highest form of flattery, then the Union Army's adoption the smaller size of the guerrilla bands to their own units was a testament to the strategic and tactical effectiveness of the small, elusive bands.[186]

The pre-war military and quasi-military experience of Little Dixie led to the small size of guerrilla bands but the productive abilities of Little Dixie households during the war and the recognition of these limitations also strongly influenced the practices of guerrilla bands. The southern sympathizing households that dotted the landscape of rural Missouri were the only institution capable of and responsible for supplying the guerrillas in their defense of these same households. Not only were guerrilla captains and their men cognizant of the networks of households that shared their political loyalties and were willing to support them, they also knew that each household was limited in the amount of materials it could provide the guerrillas. The size of the household, in terms of real estate

[185] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 48, Part 1, 1239.
[186] Ash, 63; Grimsley, 119.

and household members, and the types of products they produced dictated the amount of support they were able to provide.[187]

Small guerrilla bands enjoyed an advantage over the larger, less mobile Union forces, but they also remained small because it was impossible for single households to feed these larger guerrilla bands. The imperfect conditions of war and the sense of security provided by large numbers meant that there were occasions when the larger groups of guerrillas camped together or sought refuge and support together. One such occasion occurred at the Potter household. At the Potter household, "it was not unusual to prepare meals for squads of men. Sometimes neighbors were asked by a larger force to prepare food and bring it to the Potter place for consumption."[188] More specifically, one time "forty came, asking each of four families to cook for ten men, all to be served at Potter's."[189] This evidence suggests that ten men was probably the limit of support for most households, and more importantly asserts that the guerrillas were well aware of the necessity to break into smaller bands in order to be supplied.[190]

The guerrillas' knowledge of the limits of a specific household's productive limitations meant that no more than ten guerrillas ever visited the Isabella Fox household at any one time. Fox claimed that "three of them came in September of 1864 to my house and called for their breakfasts."[191] Again, in the same month, it was listed that "seven other bushwhackers of Holtzclaw's band came to [the Fox household] in the

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[187] McCurry, 63-70.
[188] Eakin, 5.
[189] Ibid.
[190] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 41, Part 2, 424. Captains Holtzclaw, Jackson, Anderson, Rider (and others like Thrailkill and Perkins) are often identified together with a band of fifty or sixty guerrillas. Sometimes a notable guerrilla, such as one of the above listed, is mentioned as the leader of a conglomerate guerrilla band with one or two less influential guerrilla captains mentioned as well.
[191] *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox.

evening and called for their suppers."[192] One morning about a month later Fox commented that, "'Jim Jackson' came into my house with nine of his men."[193] Although the meals ranged from breakfast to supper, the number of guerrillas remained relatively small in the hopes of receiving larger portions of food per-man without placing a heavy strain on a female-headed yeoman household.[194]

With their limited, but skilled, labor, the Fox women were able to support themselves and guerrillas from time to time. Without the help of Peter Fox who was killed before the Fox women began supporting guerrillas by themselves, the seventy five acres of improved land never reached their full potential for lack of labor. Still, at the prewar rate of production the Fox women churned twenty five pounds of butter from the milk of four milch cows. The one hundred hogs and thirty cattle that roamed the eighty five unimproved acres did not require strenuous labor to maintain their health or slaughter, thus the cattle could feed the women of the household and several guerrillas. Also, twenty sheep allowed the women some wool with which to make clothing for themselves and guerrillas. Although they were able to support the guerrillas, the limits placed on the women of the Fox household, and guerrilla recognition of these limits, kept the guerrilla bands who ventured to the Fox household small.[195]

The George Rider household, on at least one occasion, fed as many as fifteen guerrillas, but the number being fed was usually closer to five. According to the testimony of a neighbor, a guerrilla who visited the Rider household asked "for supper

[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid.
[195] 1860, AC, Chariton County, Missouri.

for himself and three or four others."[196] On a different occasion when another neighbor was walking on the county road that cut through the Rider household's property in May of 1863, he saw "four or five armed men dressed in Federal uniforms come out of the house."[197] When questioned by his neighbor, Rider explained that "they said they were Quantrill's men."[198] This same neighbor saw Rider supply feed for the guerrillas' mounts. Another witness testified that months before the previous man saw five men leave the Rider household, "Rider came to the field where I was at work and told me that fifteen bushwhackers ate supper as his house a few nights before."[199] Because the Rider household maintained its male head of household, and the extra labor that entailed, they were able to feed fifteen bushwhackers. Still, the bushwhackers more frequently arrived in smaller numbers.

The Rider household operated a successful nine hundred acre farm that could provided a multitude of food stuffs for guerrillas and their mounts. Much of there success was the result of hemp production but the Rider household also produced enough non-cash crop materials to be self-sufficient. The household had fifteen milch cows that generated enough milk, butter (six hundred pounds annually by the women of the Rider household), and cheese to supply the fats for the household members, four children and eight adults (counting slaves) and guerrillas who sought the Riders' support from time to time. There were also forty cattle and one hundred and twenty five hogs to provide meat for a large number of people. One hundred bushels of wheat was available to be baked into bread for visitors by the women of the Rider household. The two hundred bushels of

[196] *PM*, Case Against George Rider.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Ibid.

oats and twenty tons of hay grown annually were available to for horse feed. Twenty-five hundred bushels of corn supplied food for the livestock, but also supplemented the meals for the members of the household and their visitors. Beans, potatoes, and fruit from an orchard were also grown, adding to the diversification and the health of the Riders' diets and those who chose to eat with them. Finally and in addition to preparing all the meals, the women of the Rider household were able to produce clothing for the guerrillas from the one-hundred pounds of wool sheared from the thirty-five sheep owned by the Riders.[200]

The size of guerrilla bands was small because the influence of slave patrols and the productive limitations of the Little Dixie households but these influencing factors on the size of guerrilla bands also influenced their tactics, especially the slave patrols. As a result of the antebellum needs for protection of Little Dixie households, their members and their property, young men growing up in these communities entered the war with a multi-faceted understanding of tactics that must be used to be successful in combat in this area of the country. The antebellum slave patrol model not only made the small band a comfortable mode of fighting for the guerrillas and an uncomfortable one to fight against for the Union Army, but the other circumstances that slave patrols operated under and the tactics they used became the common practice of guerrilla bands. First, slave patrols operated exclusively at night, when the community was the most vulnerable to a slave revolt. The darkness of nighttime was a prominent ally of the guerrilla bands of Little Dixie as well. Second, patrols often used stealth to sneak into the slave quarters, hoping to take the slaves by surprise and possibly locate weapons that would be otherwise hidden if the slaves heard the patrols' approach. Guerrillas relied on stealth in much the same

[200] 1860, AC, Saline County, Missouri.

way to approach Union troops without detection. Finally, antebellum patrols were mounted, allowing them to cover larger areas in shorter time and to respond quickly to threats. Owning a mount was a prerequisite to participate as a guerrilla and a key component to the mobility of guerrilla bands.[201]

The influence of the slave patrol on guerrilla tactics is most apparent in the guerrillas' night fighting abilities. Although they did not fight exclusively under the cover of darkness, darkness was advantageous for guerrillas allowing them to move about the countryside at will, easily evading pursuers, ambushing Union troops and civilians, or destroying logistical targets. Countless Union officers used nightfall, in conjunction with the small size of the bands, as the reason for their inability to overtake guerrillas or as an excuse for ending their pursuit of the guerrillas.[202] The report of Captain Burris of the Union Cavalry noted that after surprising a couple of guerrillas, "I wounded one of them [myself]…and the dusk of the evening prevented us from getting both of them."[203] After a skirmish between sizable forces, a Union Lieutenant Colonel attempted to follow the fleeing guerrillas into the brush but,

> it was 11 o'clock at night, and so dark that we could not distinguish friend from enemies. On this account I regard it as too hazardous to plunge my men into the thick forest … I was satisfied, too, that we could not find the enemy, concealed and scattered as they were.[204]

[201] Hadden, 51, 58, 108; Franklin, 34; Franklin also asserts that horsemanship, or the idea of a soldier on horseback also fits the mold of chivalry that many southerners believed in during the war; Fellman, 176-183; Fellman has a similar line of argument to explain guerrilla behavior, except he attributes part of their style of warfare to hunting.
[202] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 22, Part 2, 4; Vol. 22, Part 1, 248, 551; These are just a couple report where guerrillas escaped into the darkness or Union officers, fearing an ambush, halt their pursuit for the night.
[203] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 48, Part 1, 87.
[204] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 13, Part 1, 194.

Even when the Union Army was able to corner a fairly large number of guerrillas, they were able to quickly fragment and, using the darkness of night, to elude pursuers.[205]

The cover of darkness also provided guerrillas with the ability to creep up on enemies, armed or unarmed, and inflict serious damage with little cost to their own lives. Civilians were especially susceptible to nighttime attacks. An example of a night attack on an unarmed victim was when, "Holtzclaw was supposed to be in the neighborhood of Stratton's last night" and "Stratton was killed and house burned."[206] Throughout the war, guerrilla captains stalked the households of Union sympathizers at night, invoking terror. Guerrillas also used the cover of night to attack Union soldiers. Supply trains were especially susceptible to nighttime ambush. On the evening of September 23rd, 1864, "Colonel Matthews' escort of eighty men for baggage train was surprised late [in the] evening" on its way to Rocheport.[207] At least twelve men were killed and the whole train was taken by the guerrillas. The supplies, quartermaster and commissary supplies as well as ammunition, were intended to replenish Rocheport, but instead the riverside town was robbed of the essentials it desperately needed. This ambush was certainly partially successful because of the fact that it took place at night.[208]

Logistical targets were easily guarded during the day by Union forces but the same targets became ideal nighttime objectives because Union soldiers often retreated to fortifications after nightfall. Guerrillas made it difficult for General Thomas Ewing to communicate with his subordinates because "the guerrillas destroyed the telegraph line

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[205] Ibid.
[206] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 41, Part 2, 252.
[207] *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 41, Part 1, 432.
[208] Fellman, xv; McPherson, 787, 788. Towns like Rocheport in mid-Missouri were attacked en masse by guerrillas during Price's Raid, leaving many of the garrisoned towns to fight off defenders without outside assistance or reinforcement for several days. The loss of these supplies intended for Rocheport was just one more example of the guerrillas stranglehold on the Little Dixie countryside during the fall of 1864.

for some distance [last] night."[209] Destroying just one telegraph wire could seemingly delay communication between Union outposts and hamper the technological advantages of the Union Army. At certain moments in the war, guerrillas went beyond the destruction of just one Union target and destroyed numerous logistical targets at once, crippling the Union's transportation infrastructure. Guerrillas in Little Dixie made an important contribution to Price's Raid in the fall of 1864 by using the nightfall to destroy several bridges and to tear up train tracks at several places.[210]

While it was an important tool of the slave patrol, stealth was essential to guerrillas' survival and success. Forming into small bands contributed to the guerrillas' skill in stealthily evading their foes, however stealth was embraced by guerrillas as a means of sneaking up on one's prey. The ambush was the most prominent manifestation of stealth as an aspect of guerrilla tactics, hence the more common name used to describe Missouri guerrillas, *bushwhackers*. Ambushes sometimes occurred when guerrillas crept up on an unsuspecting enemy but more often than not, the guerrillas waited in hiding for a Union patrol to enter their killing zone. Well-traveled routes, trails, and creek-beds were often staked-out by guerrillas who hid themselves in the densely wooded areas on either side of the enemy's potential path. The ambush-scenario gave the smaller guerrilla bands the upper hand on the larger, but unprepared, Union patrols and supply trains. Ambushes were so frequent and ultimately used by the Union Army as well that the war in Missouri eventually became a series of ambushes and counter-attacks.[211]

Ambush was the most successful tool used by the guerrillas in combat against their opposing combatants, who found it almost impossible to defend against. While

[209] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 34, Part 4, 218.
[210] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 41, Part 1, 423.
[211] Schultz, 80; Fellman, 165.

patrolling in the Arrow Rock neighborhood of Saline County a group of Union cavalry "were attacked from the brush and had 1 man killed and 4 wounded, 1mortally, I fear, by Jackson's guerrillas. I shall not hereafter attempt to wage war against these men; it is an idle sacrifice of men."[212] The Union Army was not prepared for a war fought in this way and had trouble adjusting to this style of warfare. The Union Army's single-shot carbines and rifles were intended to be used over an open distance and the tight formations of the cavalry in the formal military were intended to provide the commanding officer with control over his force; instead in the dense brush of mid-Missouri, the range of the rifles and carbines was superseded by rapid firepower of revolvers at close range and the tight formations of the Union Army only served to make their patrols more concentrated targets.[213]

Guerrillas did not always wait patiently for an ambush. Sometimes they actively set a trap for Union forces whose predictable tactics made baiting them into an ambush an easy affair. Either in a feigned retreat or after true defeat, the guerrilla captains often prepared a second line of defense in ambush. After the retreating guerrillas passed unharmed, the Union force in hot pursuit rode right into the middle of a killing zone. In their victorious skirmishes with guerrillas in Missouri, the Union officers were faced with the dilemma of not capitalizing on their victory and avoiding ambush, or potentially crushing the enemy at the risk of being caught in a trap. Union Brigadier General John McNeil explained that even "with the most prudent advance, when it must be made swiftly in order to overtake these fellows, an ambush is sometimes unavoidable."[214] The flexibility and ability to fragment into small bands allowed some guerrilla bands to flee

[212] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 13, Part 1, 316.
[213] Jones, *Civil War Command and Strategy*, 85-87.
[214] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 13, Part 1, 316.

while others simultaneously used their stealth to ambush, making a complete victory for Union forces almost impossible.[215]

In another parallel to the slave patrols, guerrillas like the patrollers before them, improved their abilities as soldiers by mounting themselves on horseback. Being mounted gave guerrillas military advantage on an individual and group basis. Against an infantryman, the mounted soldier held the advantage in hand-to-hand combat because of the elevated angle of attack given to the horse soldier. Horses gave guerrilla bands the ability to attack and flee quickly, and guerrilla bands were able to maintain protracted raids and retreats. From time to time, mounted guerrillas crushed Union forces that chose to fight on foot, illustrating the dominance of the guerrilla on horse back. Also, despite all the other advantages originating in slave patrols – size, nocturnal actions, and stealth – without the horse, the guerrilla would be unable to carrying on hit-and-run tactics.[216]

An example of the advantage offered by being on horseback was the massacre at Centralia, Missouri. In one of the more crushing, and disturbing, victories by guerrilla forces, the Union officer opposite Anderson, Holtzclaw, Jackson and others foolishly chose to dismount his soldiers. On September 27th, 1864, about a mile outside Centralia, Major Johnston, having spotted a large cluster of guerrillas in the brush in front of him, "dismounted his men, formed, and fired on the rebels, when he was charged upon [by] the guerrillas. His men were butchered by the demons."[217] Major Johnston's command was able to fire exactly one volley from their muzzle-loading rifles before they were overtaken by the mounted guerrillas. The guerrillas used their horses to cover in a matter of seconds what was perceived by Johnson to be a greater distance than it really was,

[215] Ibid; also see *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 22, Part 1, 584.
[216] Leslie, 203; Beringer, Hattaway, Jones, & Still, *Why the South Lost the Civil War*, 14, 170.
[217] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 41, Part 3, 490.

only one hundred and fifty yards. Then the guerrillas used their elevation on horseback to kill every soldier on the field. Dismounted Union soldiers trying to flee were easily overtaken by their mounted foe. The Union troopers were not even commanded to secure bayonets, the only hand-to-hand weapon an infantry man with an unloaded rifle could use against cavalry. With unloaded rifles, Union troops were shot down at close range or beaten over the heads with the pistols of the guerrillas. Additionally, a byproduct of Union Cavalry's dismounted tactics was that one in four men held the reins of the other three men's horses. Those mount-holders outside Centralia were slaughtered without even firing a single shot. Almost all of the dead Union soldiers were mutilated in one way or another and these atrocities committed by the guerrillas were mostly what were remembered. However, the massacre should also be remembered for the atrocity of Major Johnston who foolishly dismounted his men against a mounted force of superior number and firepower.[218]

Each factor of household and community construction before the war, especially the individual household's ability to produce materials for the guerrillas and the antebellum institutions designed to protect communities, was an influence on the way guerrillas fought. The practical limitations of household support reinforced the other aspects of guerrilla tactics that were the product of the guerrillas' understanding of Missouri's unique military and quasi-military institutions. It was the reinforcement of one element by another and the support of that element by a third, and so on until each element was supported by another that made this system of warfare the natural incarnation of the defense of a pre-industrial society. Each element, from the size of the

[218] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 41, Part 1, 443, 440.

guerrilla bands to their use of mounts, cannot be separated from any other in this total gestalt system.

Guerrilla warfare was a fully intertwined system of military organization that infused the priorities of the persons dwelling within the households with the strategic priorities of the guerrillas. From supply to ambush, and everywhere in between, the guerrilla effort was the product of the natural evolution of the pre-industrial Little Dixie communities. Indeed, the guerrilla war was a natural reaction, but as it continued the people directly involved in it began to consciously influence the targeting of specific objectives in order to prolong the war or to defeat their enemy. Observations of guerrilla attacks, as well as the documented motives for their actions, allow us to distinguish between two sets of strategic targets. The two different targets can be attributed to the different experiences of the established, male-headed households and the disorderly female-headed households. While both strategies existed throughout the war to varying degrees, they were distinct in their origins. Different guerrillas took up the different strategies at different phases of the war but their strategic intentions are clear through both their actions and words.[219]

The closer ties to slavery of the financially well-established households impacted their strategy. The orderly households influenced the guerrillas to take up to adopt an approach aimed at controlling manumitted slaves. This strategy prevailed because the nature of the guerrilla was to operate within and defend the community, which was a slaveholding community. Jackson, a guerrilla that was working with Anderson, Rider, and Holtzclaw often in the last year of the war, was ordered by prominent male-headed

[219] Fellman, 70-72, 196-198.

households to act on their behalf. After the emancipation of Missouri slaves in January of 1865, Jackson expanded his target to include newly freed slaves. In a communication to James Yeatman, Law Commissioner for the state of Missouri, Fisk revealed that "the monster, Jim Jackson, is instigated by the late slave owners to hang or shoot every negro he can find absent from the old plantations."[220] In late February, Jackson hung a freed slave outside of Columbia and attached a note to the ex-slave's jacket. The note read "*Killed for not going into the Federal Army. By order of Jim Jackson*."[221] Jackson hung the black man in vengeance for emancipation. Jackson was also punishing the black man because he did not enter the army in the stead of other eligible white men in the area.[222]

Households who owned slaves before Emancipation frequently offered support to Jackson and his men, forming the necessary bond needed for him to actively pursue their goals. Fisk appealed to Arnold Krekel, the President of the Missouri Constitutional Convention, for new laws with the object of putting down the ex-slave targeting guerrillas for good. Fisk tried to explain that the guerrillas had the sympathy of the people, specifically the first families. An example Fisk used was, "when Jim Jackson and company are harbored and their movements concealed within sight of county towns, it indicates a pretty strong sympathy"[223] especially compared to the frustration that must be felt by Union soldiers "who have, through storm and mud, day and night, week in and out, been on the hunt after the villains" who find the guerrillas "camped snugly and comfortably in the dwelling or barn of a first family."[224] Jackson, and other guerrilla

[220] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 48, Part 1, 1257.
[221] Ibid, 949.
[222] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 48, Part 1, 125; Fellman, 70-72.
[223] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 48, Part 1, 1223.
[224] Ibid.

captains were closely tied to those who provided food and shelter for himself and his men, especially on cold, rainy nights.

Removal of the system that provided slave holders with so much prosperity inspired race-based violence but also added to the frustrations of the Union Army. Not only were Union army patrols permanently in pursuit of the guerrillas hanging and killing blacks in Little Dixie, but the hangings were materially straining. Blacks and the Unionists in favor of Emancipation congregated in the towns and fortified Union positions in overwhelming numbers. The Union forces were unable to provide the overpopulated towns with either shelter or food. Once again, it was Jackson who was driving Unionists and blacks into the towns. From January through March of 1865, Jackson's band was still "chiefly engaged in plundering and murdering negroes" in Boone, Callaway and Howard counties and terrifying the citizens of these counties. According to General Fisk, the only explanation for Jackson's acts of vengeance was that he was called to do so by the "late slaveholders," Jackson's most prominent supporters.[225]

Without male support or economic interest, disorderly households were more concerned with receiving protection from the Union soldiers who threatened their lives. While some guerrillas targeted ex-slaves, men supplied and influenced by disorderly households targeted threats to the well-being of those households. When interviewed by E.W. Price, the son of Confederate general Sterling Price and a go-between for the Union authorities in the state and the guerrilla leaders, Holtzclaw related that he would either be protecting southern sympathizers "against the acts of such parties as Truman" or they

[225] Ibid, 1239; Ash, 77, 79; Bowen, 43.

were pursuing a path that led to "the extermination of the Radicals."[226] Truman, a *radical* Union officer who murdered an unknown number of unarmed southern men and women during the summer of 1864, was the prime example of a specific target suggested to the guerrillas by a specific type of household. The term radical, as it was used by the guerrillas, probably originated as a description of Union men who were in favor of Emancipation in Missouri and eventually evolved to include any Union soldier or pro-Union civilian who took part in atrocities against non-guerrilla southern sympathizers in the state. Holtzclaw was quoted as saying these words that serve as evidence of his motives and served as proof that a specific target, that was influenced by a specific household, was being pursued.[227]

The reason for protection from radicals like Truman was made most evident by the depredations he performed at the Fox household. After keeping their family together for the first three years of the war, the Fox family was shattered in June of 1864. Isabella Fox told Union authorities that her "husband Peter Fox was killed at home last June by some of Truman's men."[228] When Isabella was interviewed more than half a year later, she said she was "a southern sympathizer … for the past year."[229] The death of her husband at the hands of Union radicals left her without the protection of the male-headed household. It was no coincidence that in the months following Peter's murder, Holtzclaw was announcing his intentions to exterminate all the radicals in Little Dixie while using the Fox household for support during that same time.[230]

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[226] *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 42, Part 2, 719.
[227] Ibid; Series I, Vol. 48, Part 2, 773, 774; Vol. 41, Part 4, 815; PM, Case Against Isabella Fox.
[228] *PM*, Case Against Isabella Fox.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid.; *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 42, Part 2, 719.

While the cause of the Fox household became the cause of Holtzclaw, he had additional reasons to expand his quest from just the pursuit of Truman to a pursuit other all radicals capable of murdering unarmed, southern civilians. While his sons were away at war, Mr. Holtzclaw, Clifton's father, was left to defend his household. The Holtzclaws', who lost three sons wearing Confederate gray and one daughter to a gunpowder explosion in their own house, were not prepared for another set back. In the summer of 1863, a Union officer named Lt. Jo Strett rode up to the Holtzclaw household with his men. While at the house, Strett "took the aged father from the arms of his aged wife and remorselessly killed him."[231] Because of the circumstances surrounding his own mother's household and the Fox household, Holtzclaw closely adhered to the strategy of protecting southern sympathizing female headed households from further attacks.[232]

Working in cooperation with their household supporters ranging from his mother's household to the Fox household, the guerrillas under Holtzclaw raided Fayette on an early October day in 1864. Holtzclaw and his gang burst into the Howard County town of Fayette; they had duel objectives, the bank and a specific Union officer prone to attacking unarmed southerners. The Union officer in charge of the troops at Fayette was Joseph Strett, the man who killed Holtzclaw's unarmed "aged" father. After stealing fourteen thousand dollars from the Fayette bank, a fire fight broke out between Holtzclaw's men and Strett's men in which Strett was killed. Holtzclaw had revenge and there was one less radical Union officer harassing Little Dixie. Not only did Holtzclaw state that he was protecting female-headed households, especially those in disorder that

[231] Edwards, 304.
[232] Ibid., 303, 304..

serves his needs, but his actions also indicate that he was following through on a strategic plan of action to best protect those women.[233]

Despite the description offered by some historians of the mindless or coerced support given by civilians, the non-combatant men and women who were producing material goods for the guerrillas also influenced who they targeted. For those same historians the illustration that those guerrillas were willing to act as the agents for these people may seem ludicrous. However, the guerrillas were the offspring of these people and their understanding of the world around them was influenced by the mid-Missouri communities in which they were raised. While the guerrillas' status may have elevated with their increased importance in the defense of their communities, the old interdependent relationships between people within a household and between two or more households carried the same value as they did before the war. Just as the dependents of a household labored for the benefit of the head before the war, the civilian population was producing for the guerrillas now. More importantly, just as the household

[233] *Liberty Tribune*, October 7th, 1864; *O.R.* Vol. 41, Series 1, 815; Vol. 48, Series 1, 135, As far as Truman was concerned according to General Fisk, "Truman, a detective, was sent into my district by General Rosecrans…[he] killed several citizens, burned houses, and sequestered much property." Although Fisk was identified by Michael Fellman as being a hardliner towards guerrillas and their sympathizers and was himself an abolitionist, his anti-slavery morals did not create a bias capable of accepting the murder of unarmed, innocent civilians no matter their political affiliation. Fisk knew that men like Truman were only causing long term problems like Isabella Fox's support for guerrilla bands during the extremely active period of Price's Raid. Likely with the testimony of Fisk, Truman "was arrested, imprisoned, tried by military commission, found guilty of murder, arson, and larceny, and sentenced to be hung." However, the measures of the Union Army could not protect women such Isabella Fox from men like Truman. Female-headed households needed the assistance of Holtzclaw and Jackson and other men capable of finding and killing radicals without regard for their military or civilian status. After Truman was arrested, those civilians who brought complaints and testified against Truman became targets. In a December report from Fisk, the general proclaimed that he learned "that a brother-in-law of Truman is one of the enrolled Missouri Militia of Putnam County, and that he has been diligent in following up the parties who testified against Truman from Chariton County." It appears that Fox did not file a complaint after he husband was killed. Perhaps she was too savvy for that; perhaps she was too scared. In either case, the assistance of the guerrillas was necessary.

heads looked out for the interests of the dependents under him in the household before the war, the guerrilla was actively protecting the civilian population and its interests.[234]

Recognizing influence of a household's productive abilities, the lasting affects of antebellum concepts of community protection, and the wartime influence of non-combatant southern sympathizers on guerrillas requires a picture of how the guerrillas operated within their supply lines to fully understand the war. One of the biggest ways that the household, and the gender constructs it implied, influenced the guerrilla war in Little Dixie was by providing individual guerrillas with a number of households willing to supply their material needs. The connections between households were known to the guerrilla, but unrecognizable by the Union Army. Using the guerrilla captain Jim Rider, one of these supply lines will be revealed. In addition to a general description of each supply line, how the guerrillas were able to avoid Union troops and gather much needed materials and put their bands in a position to attack their enemies.

For Jim Rider, kinship connections and other social ties ensured for him that he had multiple households from which he might gain support and use as an informal supply line. There were five households that Jim Rider used for support over the course of a couple months in the fall of 1864 that were explicitly listed by Jim's wife, Tabitha after her capture in early 1865. The core of this network was made up of three households connected through kin: Jim's uncle George Rider's household, his other uncle John Rider's household, and Tabitha's aunt's household. Jim Rider visited these households most frequently because he had kin ties to each of them. However, two other households, the Irwins' and the Mullins,' were also complicit in granting willing support to Jim Rider

[234] Fellman, 196, 197.

but did not have kin ties to the Riders. The Irwins and Mullins lived close to George Rider and Saline County and partook in the same activities of antebellum community building such as laying out roads and serving on the militia.[235]

Tabitha Rider's description of her husband's use of his supply line speaks to the necessity of mobility and the success of evasion from Union forces. Rider spent no more than one night at a given household, even when his wife was present. He did use the households of his family more frequently than others, but nonetheless he did not remain camped at their homes for more than a night at a time. Also, these households were not clustered together. The supply line ranged across at least three counties and on both sides of the Missouri River. Further, through Tabitha's description we can deduce that Rider's movements were not predictable because she did not even know when he planned to visit next. Rider was never caught, so the success of the supply line system was evident.[236]

Not only did Tabitha reveal the way that Rider used the supply line, but she described the active support women contributed within the supply line. Tabitha, who bounced from household to household in the supply line, was often contacted by the women of another household with instructions. Lucinda Rider, George Rider's daughter, "wrote for [Tabitha] to come and see her," while Tabitha was at her aunt's house.[237] Again, while at the Irwins,' Mary Rider, the daughter of John Rider, "came up and said a woman would see me at John Rider's."[238] While before the war the women of the household were responsible for building the kin connections between household, it must

[235] *PM*, Case Against Tabitha Rider; WPA f. 19590, 19658, 19675; 1850, 1860, MC, Saline County, Missouri; Also, there is no documented description of a supply network surrounding the household of Jim Rider's father. Further, James Rider disappears from the census before the war and may have moved or died. That said, to review to possible number of people who may have remained dependent on James Rider because their financial indebtedness to him see WPA f. 20594, 20595, 20596, 20597.
[236] *PM*, Case Against Tabitha Rider; 1850, 1860, MC, Saline County, Missouri.
[237] *PM*, Case Against Tabitha Rider.
[238] Ibid.

be acknowledged that during the war, women maintained these connections through inter-household communications. When Tabitha Rider was with her in-laws, she also helped produce clothing, probably for the guerrillas. From the George Rider household, Tabitha "went [with] Eveline Rider to help her sew." Eveline was a younger daughter of John Rider and was probably being apprenticed by the other women of the household. Clothing production, combined with food preparation evidenced by the large number of guerrillas who ate at George Rider's household meant that it was the women of Jim Rider's supply line who kept him in the field. Jim Rider ad his men were probably very thankful for the clothing and food produced by the women of the households who supported them.[239]

Jim Rider's supply line and the women who kept it running were of little use to him if they did not place his band in a position to attack Union forces and other logistical targets important to the Union. Rider, a former guerrilla under Quantrill, used each of the tactical factors previously in this chapter. His band of five men was small enough to be fed by the households on his supply line. Traveling on horseback ensured that the band was able to travel from one household to another, or more likely, from a skirmish to an out of the way household, perhaps one in another county. In one instance, Rider and his band raided Bucklin, Linn County during Price's Raid in the fall of 1864. Rider's raid corresponded with a number of other attacks on the Union-held towns during Price's northern march through the state. This attack on Bucklin occurred at some point in between Rider's stops on his supply line. Raiding Bucklin, a town to the north of each of the documented households on his list, meant that Rider and his men probably rode as far

[239] *PM*, Case Against Tabitha Rider, Case Against George Rider.

from that town as possible, perhaps back to Saline County and George Rider's household.[240]

The gender constructions of the household were not only important in the creation of the supply line before the war but they were also played a significant role in the development of the guerrilla bands who used it. Jim Rider successfully evaded Union forces over the course of the war by jumping from household to household that supplied him with food and clothing. The households, tied together through kinship and social ties, were known to Jim Rider as family and friends. His intimate knowledge of the area also instilled an understanding of the capabilities of those households and the ways that each household could be used to further his efforts against the Union Army. The supply line that was based in antebellum household and community construction was the center of the guerrilla war in Missouri.

Knowing the systematic nature of guerrilla tactics and civilian support unveils for us much of the mystery faced by Union general officers like Ewing, who described what he believed to be happening across the state in a concise, but inaccurate manner. Ewing did not understand the depth and origins of the tactics and support systems that he faced. While he saw the importance of civilian support to guerrillas, he did not believe that civilian men and women held sway over the guerrillas in any way. For instance, the general believed that, "all the people of the country, through *fear or favor*, feed them" and that "all the inhabitants, by *good will or compulsion*, [were] thus *practically* their

[240] *PM*, Case Against Tabitha Rider; There was an accusation in the file on Tabitha Rider that she was with her husband on the raid through Bucklin. It appears however that the detective who arrested Tabitha may have wanted to stack the cards against her.

friends."[241] In the general's description, the people were powerless over the guerrillas. The guerrillas' attitude towards their supporters did not matter, as they got what they wanted no matter what. The general forgot that the guerrillas were a product of their communities and they were only fighting because it was the will of their families, friends and communities. This belief left Union officials constantly underestimating the strength of pro-southern sentiment in the state.[242]

Ewing's miscalculation of the strength of the bond between civilians and guerrillas was just one area of the war where he was blinded; the origins of guerrilla tactics was another. Part of the reason why the guerrillas were so challenging to defeat was the fact that they were "familiar with the fastness of the country wonderfully adapted by nature to guerrilla warfare" and they took advantage of the remote landscape making it easy for them "to elude the most energetic pursuit."[243] Of course, it was this same rural countryside and the isolated nature of their households that made antebellum institutions like the slave patrol that much more necessary than other regions of the South. Living on the rural frontier so close to Free states, slave owning Missourians kept constant vigil over their slaves. Riding upon mounts at night on the roads that they mapped out and built, a few armed men were able to keep their families and their neighbors' families safe. Many factors of the slave patrols, from the necessity of being on horseback to their knowledge of the countryside at all hours of the day, clearly influenced the guerrillas and their defense of mid-Missouri against Union forces. On their horses, in groups of similar size as the slave patrols and moving stealthily, the guerrillas were able to navigate the brush, avoiding the capture. Ewing and others would have benefited from realizing that

[241] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 22, Part 1, 584.
[242] McPherson, 788.
[243] Ibid.

these young men who became guerrillas had inadvertently trained to fight in this manner in the decades before the war.

Although Ewing did not concern himself with the reasons for guerrillas tactics, if he had he may have realized the parallel between antebellum military institutions and the way guerrillas' fought, but he also may have seen the strong influence of the pre-industrial household construction in his enemies. Ewing illustrated the propensity of guerrilla bands to "assemble in a body of several hundred, [then] scatter before an inferior force (sic)."[244] While Ewing found this tactic frustrating, he refused to acknowledge that the guerrillas organized themselves in this way because it was easier for a smaller group of men to receive the necessary materials from a single household than it was for one hundred men. Ewing simply thought that the only point of dispersing into small bands was an offensive tactic used to get Union "troops [to] scatter in pursuit" so that the guerrillas could "reassemble [and] fall on an exposed squad, or a weakened post."[245] Certainly such ambushes were the chosen form of attack for guerrillas, however when Ewing assumed that the guerrillas were only on the offensive, forever trying to attack his troops, he gave the guerrillas too much credit. The guerrillas needed to break into smaller groups to be fed, a problem Ewing did not take advantage of even though his troops, in theory, were not hampered by the same problems.

Despite the Union Army's blindness to the origins of the guerrilla war in Missouri, the pre-industrial communities created there in the decades before the war naturally produced a guerrilla conflict that successfully challenged the authority of the Union in rural Missouri. From the guerrilla bands' self-constitution to their seamless

[244] Ibid.
[245] Ibid.

navigation of a cluster of households connected together through kinship and non-kinship social ties, every aspect of this war originated in the household. The pre-industrial household inundated the guerrillas with the confidence to feel justified in calling several men to arms in defense of their native Little Dixie community. While ignored by Union officials, gender constructions within these households strengthened the connections between households and provided women – the majority of people who were left to support the war – with the skill set necessary to support the guerrillas. For all of the different ways that gender was found to be the root of the guerrilla war, surprisingly it does not play a larger role in military history. Rarely if ever is gender considered to be at the heart of military history, but the tactics of the guerrillas, from supply to ambush, clearly illustrates among other things that the warrior was born of the hearth.

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