

THE KINGDOM OF CALLAWAY:  
CALLAWAY COUNTY, MISSOURI DURING THE CIVIL WAR

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Callaway County, Missouri During the Civil War  
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Abstract

During the American Civil War, Callaway County, Missouri had strong sympathies for the Confederate States of America. As a rebellious region, Union forces occupied the county for much of the war, so local secessionists either stayed silent or faced arrest. After a tense, nonviolent interaction between a Federal regiment and a group of armed citizens from Callaway, a story grew about a Kingdom of Callaway. The legend of the Kingdom of Callaway is merely one characteristic of the curious history that makes Callaway County during the Civil War an intriguing study.

## Introduction

When Missouri chose not to secede from the United States at the beginning of the American Civil War, Callaway County chose its own path. The local Callawegians seceded from the state of Missouri and fashioned themselves into an independent nation they called the Kingdom of Callaway. Or so goes the popular legend. This makes a fascinating story, but Callaway County never seceded and never tried to form a sovereign kingdom. Although it is not as fantastic as some stories, the Civil War experience of Callaway County is a remarkable microcosm in the story of a sharply divided border state. The state secession crisis, local battles, military standoffs, civilian experiences, and the county's reaction to the Union victory and Reconstruction have all contributed to an enduring legacy of differentness and stubborn independence in the Kingdom of Callaway.

To understand the culture, economy, and political environment of Callaway County at the onset of the Civil War, it is important to consider the development of the region from its earliest European influence. Western interest in the area that became Missouri began with the French in the late seventeenth century. In 1673, French explorers sailed down the Mississippi River from settlements near the Great Lakes until they correctly surmised that the river would take them to the Spanish port of New Orleans rather than to the Atlantic or Pacific as they had hoped. Over the next ninety years, French interest in the Missouri area of Louisiana rose and fell periodically. The French built friendly relations with the local natives, the Missouri and Osage tribes. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the French had established Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis along the Mississippi River, but permanent settlements west of the river were rare. Most of the French settlers to Missouri disdained the monotonous work required for agriculture

and preferred the roving excitement of trading, trapping, and exploring. Around St. Louis particularly, the limited local farms were unable to supply the growing settlement with food consistently. By the late eighteenth century, St. Louis had earned the nickname “Paincourt”—a French term meaning a bread shortage.<sup>1</sup>

In 1763 the French ceded control of all of Louisiana, including Missouri, to Spain. The Spanish planned to use the region they named Upper Louisiana as a buffer colony to protect their lucrative settlements in Mexico from invasion by the British. The Spanish had little influence on the cultural development of the area because most of the Spaniards who came to Missouri were military men who stayed only a brief time. One of the few vestiges of Spanish influence is the name of the town and county of New Madrid in extreme southeastern Missouri. Spain returned Louisiana to French control in 1800, and the United States purchased all of the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803.<sup>2</sup>

American migrations to Missouri began in earnest shortly after the Louisiana Purchase. Daniel Boone had led an expedition that settled in central Missouri in 1799, and a few Americans had moved to Spanish Upper Louisiana from the Northwest Territory when the 1787 Northwest Ordinance jeopardized the legality of slavery in that territory. Most Americans, however, were hesitant to move to what was then a nominally foreign land. Both before and shortly after the Louisiana Purchase, explorers such as Daniel Boone, William Clark, and Samuel Brown all reported the apparent fertility of the land along the Missouri River. After the United States assumed control of the area, large numbers of pioneers from Kentucky, Tennessee, as well as the Piedmont regions of Virginia and North Carolina began arriving in Missouri, drawn by the promise of lush

farmland and the excitement of the frontier. From a population of seven thousand in 1800, Missouri grew to twenty thousand in 1810 and sixty-seven thousand in 1820.<sup>3</sup>

Many of the early settlers established farms in the Missouri River Valley in central Missouri. Callaway County is part of this region. Previously known as Boone's Lick Country for Daniel Boone's settlement and exploration of the area, the central portion of Missouri became known as Little Dixie by the time of the Civil War. The name derives from the Southern influence on the culture and agricultural practices of the region. Most scholars have defined Little Dixie as seven counties: Boone, Callaway, Chariton, Cooper, Howard, Lafayette, and Saline. These counties are all located along the Missouri River in central Missouri, and they were all a part of the Boone's Lick Country. More importantly, they represented the largest concentration of slaves in the state.<sup>4</sup>

Some scholars also include the western counties of Andrew, Buchanan, Clay, Jackson, and Platte when defining Little Dixie. Although there were also large numbers of slaves in these counties, they are often excluded from Little Dixie for various reasons. Andrew, Buchanan, and Platte counties were not originally part of Missouri when it was admitted as a state; they were annexed to Missouri in 1837 in the Platte Purchase and had been officially closed to white settlement as Indian Territory until that time. Although they contained a significant number of slaves, Jackson and Clay counties became known for their proslavery views primarily because of their use as a base and safe haven by guerillas and bushwhackers in the border war over Kansas statehood in the 1850s rather than perceived similarities to Southern culture.<sup>5</sup>

Although many of the residents of Little Dixie came from Southern stock, agriculture grew to be quite different in Missouri than in the Deep South. Many of these

differences can be attributed to the exigencies of frontier life and the climatic differences between the regions. Early settlers to Little Dixie brought cotton agriculture with them. Short-staple cotton grew well in the fresh soil of Little Dixie, but Missouri was never a significant contributor to the national cotton market. In 1821 the state's cotton production reached its zenith of 308,000 pounds—less than 0.2% of the total American crop that year. Declining market prices led Missouri farmers away from commercial cotton farming, and in 1849 census takers recorded no commercial cotton grown in the state.<sup>6</sup>

After cotton, many Little Dixie farmers turned to tobacco. Like cotton, tobacco agriculture is labor-intensive and lent itself well to the existing slaveholding economy. Unfortunately, most Missourians had little experience growing tobacco and had little knowledge of proper handling methods. Improper practices in curing, storing, and shipping the crop led to a product that did not meet the expectations of the New England end-market buyers. Missouri tobacco earned such a poor reputation that it became difficult to sell. By 1830 many farmers had abandoned tobacco. In 1860 Little Dixie produced 62% of Missouri's roughly 20,000 tons of tobacco, but Missouri contributed less than 1% to the national market.<sup>7</sup>

Little Dixie farmers found their niche cash crop by growing hemp. Increased cotton production in the South demanded additional sources of hemp twine to bind cotton bales while growth in the size of the US Navy and the merchant marine increased demand for maritime rope and sailcloth. Little Dixie farmers began growing hemp around 1820, and it was the leading cash crop by 1840. Planters eventually adopted superior processing methods, and Missouri hemp accounted for 18% of the nearly 100,000 tons on

the market in 1860. Missouri was the nation's leader in hemp production, and more than half of Missouri's crop came from the seven counties of Little Dixie.<sup>8</sup>

As the US Congress considered Missouri's statehood and how slavery would be treated in the new state, it became obvious that slavery had become an important part of Boone's Lick. Franklin, one of the oldest and then-largest towns in Howard County, played host to a region-wide meeting to discuss slavery. The citizens at the convocation unanimously voted in favor of resolutions refuting the power of Congress to meddle with the property of slaveholders.<sup>9</sup>

Slavery existed in Missouri from the establishment of Ste. Genevieve in 1735. Most of Ste. Genevieve's original residents were French-Canadian or French-Canadian descendants who had been living in Illinois. The families who migrated from Illinois were the main holders of the first slaves imported into Missouri. While many of the early Missouri slaves worked the farms around Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, there were also numerous domestic slaves who served exclusively in the households of the growing towns. As with the general history of Missouri, Spanish possession of the territory had little or no effect on the slave culture of the region.<sup>10</sup>

For the years before statehood, population data is not available for Little Dixie specifically, but census results show that roughly 3,000 slaves accounted for 14.8% of the territorial population in 1810, and the nearly 10,000 slaves were 15.1% of the population in 1820. As settlements spread throughout the state, the slave proportion of the population dropped; in 1860 slaves constituted 9.8% of the Missouri population. The overall data on the state, however, does not reflect the development of Little Dixie.<sup>11</sup>



In 1830, the first year that individual county census data is available, slaves were 17.8% of the roughly 40,000 inhabitants of Little Dixie. This number is hardly larger than the Missouri average at the time. Importantly, slave populations in 1830 varied significantly across Little Dixie. On the extremes, slaves were only 9% of Cooper County but 25% of Saline County. In 1830, Callaway County had 4,692 white residents and 1,466 slaves; slaves constituted 24% of the population of Callaway county.<sup>12</sup>

By 1860 the differences in the makeup of Little Dixie and the rest of Missouri are much more obvious. In 1860 slaves were 9.8% of Missouri's population of 1,178,440. In the same year, slaves made up 28.8% of Little Dixie's population of 117,749. Little Dixie, holding 10% of the state's population, represented 29.5% of the total slave population of the state. In 1860 Callaway County had 12,895 whites and 4,523 slaves; 25.9% percent of the county lived in bondage.<sup>13</sup>

Little Dixie contained the largest numbers and concentrations of slaves in Missouri. Conditions in the region were dissimilar, however, from the southern states that were the former homes of many early Missourians. There were fewer slaves in Little Dixie than in the South, both proportionally and in raw numbers. Furthermore, the slaves' work and daily lives were also significantly diverse from their southern counterparts.<sup>14</sup>

The concentration of slaves in Little Dixie paled in comparison to slave populations in the Deep South. Historian Jeffrey Stone maintains that Little Dixie and the Deep South had similar percentages of slaves in their population in 1860, but an examination of the federal census of that year reveals a different answer. Among the states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, slaves constituted 47.6% of the total population of those states. On the extremes, South Carolina

was 57.2% slaves and Alabama was 39.0% slaves. In contrast, only 28.8% of the population of Little Dixie were slaves in 1860.<sup>15</sup>

The differences between the slavery culture in Little Dixie and the Deep South extend beyond population proportions. In the Southern migration to Little Dixie which began shortly after the Louisiana Purchase and surged after the War of 1812, most of the settlers were small families who had owned little or no land in their old home state. The owners of large plantations with numerous slaves had well-established, profitable enterprises, so a wild, unpredictable frontier life did not entice them. Most slaveholding households owned five or fewer slaves, and only a few owned more than twenty.<sup>16</sup>

In the Deep South, a plantation was generally defined as a farming operation with twenty or more slaves. By this definition, there were very few plantations in Little Dixie. Some planters amassed large landholdings, but most farms were small. In 1860 75% of slaves in the Deep South worked on plantations, but in Little Dixie only 19% worked on a plantation. Although almost half of the families in Little Dixie were slaveholders, in 1860 the average owner held 6.1 slaves, and only 4% of slaveholders owned more than 20 slaves.<sup>17</sup>

Not only were slave concentrations different between the Deep South and Little Dixie, but the work expected of them differed as well. Residents of Little Dixie liked to believe that they treated their slaves better than did Southern masters, but examples or standard practices that demonstrate this claim are difficult to find. Most of the differences in the treatment of slaves evolved from the choice of crops and the exigencies of frontier life.<sup>18</sup>

Because most Little Dixie farms were small, the masters often worked alongside their slaves, doing the same work. Given that most farms had only a few slaves and the masters worked with them, it is understandable that only on large plantations did owners employ overseers. Not only did masters share the workload with their slaves, but they often shared their meals, homes, and churches as well. Especially in the early decades of the nineteenth century, many farmers owned only one or two slaves, and it was not economically feasible to build separate living quarters for them. Even as some farms grew larger and more prosperous, masters often maintained similar housing, medical, and nutritional standards for their slaves as they did for their family.<sup>19</sup>

One significant difference between slave occupations in the Deep South and in Little Dixie was that Little Dixie owners often hired out or rented their slaves to other whites. This practice became more prevalent as hemp production became more popular. Cotton and tobacco required year-round attention. While these crops certainly did not remain in the field all year, there were significant labor and constant attention requirements at many points in the processing, packing, and shipment of cotton and tobacco. While hemp production was also labor intensive, there were often periods of weeks and months when little to no labor or attention were needed to maintain the production process. Namely, harvested hemp plants would be soaked in ponds or laid on the ground to collect dew so that the stalks would rot and the useful fibers could be easily removed from the pith.<sup>20</sup>

During the periods in the hemp production cycle when slaves were underutilized, many owners rented their slaves to others. While some slaves were hired out as day-laborers to other farmers, it was more common that they be hired out as industrial

laborers or domestic servants. Generally the renter paid the owner a fee for the slave, and the renter housed, fed, and otherwise maintained the slave for a contracted period of time. Renting a slave often cost less than hiring a white laborer or buying a full-time slave, but it also provided a profitable windfall for the slave's owner. In a few cases, some owners kept slaves simply to rent them out and live from the rental income, but most slave owners were farmers who only hired out their slaves when they were not needed to help with the hemp crop.<sup>21</sup>

When Missouri was admitted as a state in 1821, 85% of the workforce still made their living through agriculture. By the time the Civil War erupted forty years later, Missouri was still a largely agricultural state. Farmers and farm laborers then accounted for 54.8% of the state's workforce of 300,000. Whites employed slave labor throughout the state, but the heaviest concentration was in Little Dixie, which held 29.5% of the state's slaves and where 28.8% of the region's population was enslaved. Callaway County, a part of Little Dixie, had 4,523 resident slaves (fifth highest in Missouri) and a total population of 17,449; 25.9% of the county's residents were slaves (fourth highest in Missouri).<sup>22</sup>

The St. Louis region containing the Mississippi River counties from St. Louis to Cape Girardeau as well as the interior counties just west of St. Louis (Audrain, Cape Girardeau, Jefferson, Montgomery, Perry, St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, and Warren counties) developed much differently than Little Dixie. While French cultural influences were still evident in and around St. Louis in the first decades of the nineteenth century, they were soon replaced by German contributions. An influx of German-Americans and German immigrants from Pennsylvania coincided with a new wave of

German immigration in the late 1830s and 1840s, and both groups settled in and around St. Louis. The German immigrants often took their political lead from the Pennsylvanian Germans whose leaders, such as Carl Schurz, were active abolitionists. The political and cultural atmosphere of Missouri following statehood remained strongly proslavery, and violent recriminations could often be expected by those who spoke out against slavery, even in the St. Louis region. By the 1850s, however, antislavery voices became more common. The loudest of these voices came from the German-American settlement of Herrmann in southern Montgomery County and the German and German-American neighborhoods and villages in and around St. Louis.<sup>23</sup>

In contrast to Little Dixie, the St. Louis region had a total population of 276,727 in 1860 but a slave population of only 13,827. The region as a whole contained 5% slaves, but less than 1% of the city of St. Louis were slaves. The St. Louis region had almost 2.5 times as many residents as Little Dixie, but Little Dixie had 2.5 times as many slaves. The Germans and German Americans who made up 32% of the population in the St. Louis region slightly outnumbered the total white population of Little Dixie.<sup>24</sup>

The outcome of the 1860 presidential election had a profound effect on the political culture of Missouri, and the resulting upheaval had considerable influence on events in Callaway County. In the presidential election of 1860, John Bell of the Constitutional Union party received a narrow plurality of 429 out of the 165,518 votes cast in Missouri. Bell received 58,801 votes, Democrat Stephen Douglas polled 58,372 votes, Democrat John Breckinridge won third place with 31,317 votes, and Republican Abraham Lincoln, the national victor, came a distant fourth with 17,028 votes. Of the 2,632 votes cast in Callaway County, Bell won 1,306, Douglas 839, Breckinridge 472,

and Lincoln received a paltry 15 votes. By casting roughly three-fourths of their votes for Bell and Douglas, the compromise candidates, rather than Breckinridge or Lincoln, the sectional extremists, a vast majority of Missourians and Callawegians in this conflicted border state showed that they preferred to continue to seek a middle road between eliminating slavery and dismembering the federal union.<sup>25</sup>

Even before the first Southern state announced its secession, Missouri's common residents began meeting to decide how to react to Lincoln's election. In Callaway County, the first such meeting convened on November 19, 1860, in Fulton. The editor of the *Fulton Missouri Telegraph* called a meeting of "all Union-loving citizens of this country, irrespective of party" through an editorial in his paper.<sup>26</sup> The meeting's attendees adopted eight resolutions that expressed their distaste for President-elect Lincoln but held that there was no cause for secession unless the Lincoln administration violated the constitutional or slaveholding rights of Missourians. A ninth resolution denounced the secessionist movements in other states and pledged not to aid any such revolutionaries. A majority of those present rejected this ninth resolution, preferring to avoid rendering judgment on the secession of other states. Other subsequent meetings in Little Dixie, including the Callaway County towns of Millersburg and New Bloomfield, affirmed the outcome of this meeting and also endorsed the national Crittenden Compromise, an attempt to preserve the union by refusing to consider the abolition of slavery, as the US Congress had been doing time and again since the 1830s.<sup>27</sup>

Later local meetings were not as moderate as Fulton's November meeting. Meetings that followed the federal seizure of the Missouri militia's Camp Jackson in St. Louis, such as one held in Fulton in early April 1861, produced statements encouraging

secession. The opinions adopted at that meeting became known as the Fulton Resolutions. Meetings in Williamsburg and at Stringfield's Store supported the Fulton Resolutions. The meeting held April 17, 1861 in Boydsville was perhaps the most vehement. The attendees at this assembly not only adopted the Fulton Resolutions but also passed resolutions calling for the immediate secession of the state and urging the Missouri Legislature to pass "a secession ordinance and submit it to the people immediately."<sup>28</sup> These local secessionist assemblies showed a change from moderation to polarization as supporters of slavery followed the lead of Claiborne Fox Jackson, the newly-elected secessionist governor of Missouri.<sup>29</sup>

Jackson's rhetoric did not begin as secessionist. He had been obviously pro-slavery during the preceding decades of his political career, but at his inaugural address on January 4, 1861, his words supported states' rights rather than calling for secession. Jackson could even be perceived as neutral when he urged the legislature to call a convention to consider secession without publicly stating his position. Much to Jackson's chagrin, a majority of the delegates elected to the convention opposed secession. In March, the convention officially found no grounds for secession.<sup>30</sup>

Jackson was not undone by the convention; instead he tried to create a secession crisis similar to Fort Sumter. Jackson and his supporters first plotted unsuccessfully to seize the federal arsenal at St. Louis and then used a minor skirmish between federal troops under General Nathaniel Lyon and recalcitrant Missouri militiamen from Camp Jackson in St. Louis to cause the legislature to grant Jackson broad powers and extensive funding to defend the state from government oppression. Jackson reformed the state militia into the Missouri State Guard and called for every good man to come to the aid of

his state. With former Missouri governor Sterling Price as a fellow commander, Jackson's State Guard fought a series of battles with federal troops under Lyon, as Jackson and Price moved their troops southwest across the state, culminating in the August 10, 1861, Battle of Wilson's Creek, near Springfield, where General Lyon died in battle.<sup>31</sup>

After declaring against secession in March 1861, the state convention adjourned, but the delegates granted themselves the power to reconvene as necessary. In light of Jackson's actions after their initial adjournment, the convention reconvened in July 1861. The delegates declared the offices of governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, and the entire General Assembly vacant. The convention also repealed the acts authorizing and funding Jackson's State Guard, gave themselves provisional legislative powers, and filled the offices of lieutenant-governor and secretary of state after electing Hamilton Gamble the new governor. All the vacated offices were to be filled in a November 1861 special election in which voters would also be asked to affirm the decisions of the provisional government. Notably, Judge Joseph Flood, the delegate representing Callaway County, voted against all these measures except the officers elected.<sup>32</sup>

Understandably, Jackson did not recognize the authority of the reassembled convention, and he continued to act as governor. On October 21, 1861, Jackson convened a special session of the legislature at Neosho in southwest Missouri. During the session, the representatives and senators present voted overwhelmingly to secede from the union. They also approved a Confederate-friendly state constitution and requested admission to the Confederate States of America. The Confederate Congress recognized the Jackson



government as the legitimate *de jure* government of Missouri and admitted Missouri to the Confederacy on November 28, 1861. Jackson's army, the Missouri State Guards, was incorporated into the Confederate Army.<sup>33</sup>

Governor Jackson, weakened by stomach cancer, died of pneumonia in a boardinghouse near Little Rock, Arkansas, on December 7, 1862. Lieutenant-Governor Thomas C. Reynolds succeeded Jackson and remained the governor-in-exile for the duration of the war. The Confederate government of Missouri established its seat at Marshall, Texas, and met there despite multiple plans to retake Jefferson City. General Price, with a commission in the Confederate Army, continued to threaten, frighten, and attack Union forces in Missouri and Arkansas for much of the war. Price's frequent raids kept Missouri's divided loyalties fresh in the minds of both its leaders and its citizenry.<sup>34</sup>

Because of the divided loyalties of many citizens in the state, the Civil War was quite complicated in Missouri, and this is especially true for Callaway County. Callaway is the easternmost county in Little Dixie and shares its eastern border with Montgomery County, home to the abolitionist town of Herrmann. In 1861, this placed Callaway on the front line of the political and physical battle over slavery. Numerous colorful events occurred in and around Callaway County during the Civil War, and a number of colorful legends emerged from the war years. Both the legends and factual events of the Kingdom of Callaway are intriguing, and they deserve a closer study.

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<sup>1</sup> William E. Foley, *A History of Missouri: Volume I, 1673 to 1820* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), 1-4, 15-18, 24; Daniel J. Conoyer, *Missouri's Little Dixie: A Geographical Delineation* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1973), 30-34.

<sup>2</sup> Foley, 20-26, 46, 62-63.

<sup>3</sup> Conoyer, 39-46.

<sup>4</sup> Jeffrey C. Stone, *Slavery, Southern Culture, and Education in Little Dixie, Missouri, 1820-1860* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 3; R. Douglas Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), xii-xiii.

<sup>5</sup> Conoyer, 1; Gladys A. Emerson, *Tobacco Culture in a "Little Dixie" Outlier in Northwestern Missouri* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1978), 3, 9-10; Ronald D. Smith, *Thomas Ewing Jr.: Frontier Lawyer and Civil War General* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 189-191; Patrick Brophy, *Bushwhackers of the Border* (Nevada, MO: Vernon County Historical Society, 2000), 26.

<sup>6</sup> Gary G. Fuenfhausen, *The Cotton Culture of Missouri's Little Dixie, 1810-1865: Growing Cotton in Central Missouri* (Boonville, MO: Little Dixie Publications, 2001), 2-3.

<sup>7</sup> Fuenfhausen, 3-4; Stone, 25; Hurt, 81-85.

<sup>8</sup> Fuenfhausen, 4; Stone, 25-26; Hurt, 103, 113-115, 123.

<sup>9</sup> Stone, 16-18; *Franklin Missouri Intelligencer*, November 19, 1819.

<sup>10</sup> Foley, 15, 24.

<sup>11</sup> Stone, 14, 20-24; Hurt, 222.

<sup>12</sup> Stone, 20; Hurt 218.

<sup>13</sup> Stone, 20; Hurt 218-222.

<sup>14</sup> Stone, 23-27, 30-37; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, by Joseph C. G. Kennedy (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 6, 52, 70, 192, 268, 281-285, 302-303, 451; Hurt, 215, 221, 240-244; Doug Hunt, *Black and White Justice in Little Dixie: Three Historical Essays* (Columbia, MO: Doug Hunt, 2011), 11-12.

<sup>15</sup> Stone, 24; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 6, 52, 70, 192, 268, 281-285, 451.

<sup>16</sup> Stone, 14; Hurt, 215.

<sup>17</sup> Stone, 23-24; Hurt, 221.

<sup>18</sup> Doug Hunt, 11-12.

<sup>19</sup> Hunt, 12; Stone 30-37.

<sup>20</sup> Hurt, 240-244; Stone, 24-27.

<sup>21</sup> Hurt, 240-244.

<sup>22</sup> Perry McCandless, *A History of Missouri: Volume II, 1820 to 1860* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1972), 33; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 281-283, 302-303; Stone, 20.

- <sup>23</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, 286-287, 297; McCandless, 38-41, 61-66.
- <sup>24</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, 286-287, 297.
- <sup>25</sup> William E. Parrish, *A History of Missouri: Volume III, 1860 to 1875* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1973), 2-3; Ovid Bell, *Political Conditions in Callaway Before the Civil War Began* (Fulton, MO: Ovid Bell Press, 1952), 5; "By Telegraph," *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, November 9, 1860.
- <sup>26</sup> Anti-Secession [pseud.], "The Union Meeting," *Fulton Missouri Telegraph*, November 23, 1860.
- <sup>27</sup> Anti-Secession; "Mass Meeting in Old Callaway," *Fulton Missouri Telegraph*, November 23, 1860; Bell, *Political Conditions*, 10-15.
- <sup>28</sup> Ovid Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway* (Fulton, MO: Ovid Bell Press, 1952), 26.
- <sup>29</sup> Christopher Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 246; Bell, *Political Conditions*, 10, 19-25; Parrish, *A History of Missouri*, 11.
- <sup>30</sup> Phillips, 234-236, 239; Bell, *Political Conditions*, 10; Thomas L. Snead, *The Fight for Missouri, 1886 Reprint* (Independence, MO: Two Trails, 1997), 18, 46-47, 57-58; William E. Parrish, "The Provisional Government of Missouri, 1861-1865" (master's thesis, University of Missouri--Columbia, 1953), 5; *Journal and Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention Held at Jefferson City and St. Louis, March 1861* (St. Louis: George Knapp, 1861), 36.
- <sup>31</sup> Phillips, 252-255; Parrish, *A History of Missouri*, 13-16; Snead, 184-186; Parrish, "Provisional Government," 40.
- <sup>32</sup> Parrish, "Provisional Government," 28-29; *Journal of the Missouri State Convention Held at Jefferson City, July 1861* (St. Louis: George Knapp, 1861), 20-22;
- <sup>33</sup> Phillips, 268-269; Arthur R. Kirkpatrick, "Missouri's Secessionist Government, 1861-1865," in *The Civil War in Missouri: Essays from the Missouri Historical Review, 1906-2006*, ed. William Parrish (Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri, 2006), 110-111.
- <sup>34</sup> Phillips, 273-278; Kirkpatrick, 114-117.

## Chapter 1: Military Conflicts

Abraham Lincoln's election in the fall of 1860 threw the United States, Missouri, and Callaway County into turmoil. Missourians were sharply divided between the secessionists who wanted to join the South's new Confederate States of America and the Unionists who wanted to preserve the unity of the nation. Like many counties, especially those in Little Dixie, Callawegians held several public meetings, which resulted in resolutions both for and against secession.<sup>1</sup> Missouri's newly-elected governor wanted secession, and his call to arms created a rallying point for Southern sympathizers across the state. Callaway County's pro-slavery inclinations and actions provoked an intrusive response from the federal commanders, and federal aggression in the region led to the three notable military encounters in Callaway County: the skirmish at Overton Run, the treaty of Wellsville, and the battle of Moore's Mill.

Although neither Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson nor General Sterling Price was personally involved, the earliest military activity in Callaway County centered on the rebellious Missouri State Guard. Daniel McIntyre and Joseph Laurie, graduating seniors at Fulton's Westminster College, led the first unit of Callaway Guards from the county courthouse in April 1861 to join the State Guard in Jefferson City. McIntyre's company fought with Jackson at Wilson's Creek in August, and during May and June, five more companies from the county joined Jackson's forces.<sup>2</sup>

Callaway County's first armed conflict of the war was a skirmish at Overton Run on July 17, 1861. In mid-July, State Guard units under Brigadier General Thomas Harris retreated south from harrying the North Missouri Railroad to regroup in Callaway County. Harris and most of his men camped at Brown's Spring, near modern Kingdom

City, between the virtually extinct villages of Concord and McCredie. Some of Harris's men canvassed the county, recruiting local farmers who brought their shotguns and muskets.<sup>3</sup>

On July 15, Col. John McNeil of the US Army crossed the Missouri River at Jefferson City with seven hundred men and headed toward Fulton. Col. Chester Harding, the federal assistant adjutant-general in Missouri, ordered McNeil to meet up with another federal force that was en route and search for Harris and his men. McNeil and these federal troops, most of whom were anti-slavery Germans from St. Louis, camped for the night about five miles south of Fulton.<sup>4</sup>

A band of Harris's men were in Fulton at the time and heard of McNeil's approach. Harris's six hundred men, commanded by Captain George Bryant of Montgomery County, arranged themselves along the road and out of sight, in an effort to ambush McNeil. The site they chose was about two miles south of Fulton, near a creek on the farm of Benjamin Overton. At about nine-thirty in the morning, McNeil and his men marched into the trap. Bryant's men fired, McNeil's men returned the volley, and then McNeil and his men took cover in the woods on the opposite side of the road. Bryant and his men, mostly mounted, retreated through Fulton back to Harris's main camp at Brown's Spring. When he realized his enemy had withdrawn, McNeil led his men into Fulton and occupied the town. Both sides declared victory, but neither side had accomplished much. Twelve federals were wounded, and none were killed. Three rebels were wounded, and one man, George Nichols, a Callawegian, died from gunshot.<sup>5</sup>

Overton Run warranted a mention in the federal government's official records of the Civil War, but it did not earn a written report in those records. The main result of the

skirmish was that federal troops occupied Fulton and Gen. Harris decamped from Brown's Spring and moved about the county to avoid federal patrols. From the episode at Overton Run Callawegians learned that if they showed their pro-slavery inclinations by providing succor to the State Guards, federal officers would send vindictive anti-slavery Germans, known in Little Dixie as "St. Louis Dutch," to occupy their towns and raid their homes. The events taught the federal commanders that Callaway County was a potential hotbed of rebellious activity and needed to be closely monitored. These lessons led each side to distrust the other, and set the stage for one of the most famous moments in Callaway County history, the treaty that created the Kingdom of Callaway.<sup>6</sup>

In mid-October 1861 Callawegians heard that the Pike County Home Guards under Col. Thomas J. C. Fagg planned to invade Callaway County from northern Montgomery County and subdue the recalcitrant rebels in Callaway. The source of this rumor is unknown, and the rumor's veracity is doubtful. Col. Fagg's troops had moved south and west from Louisiana in Pike County to near Wellsville in Montgomery, but it is more likely that the regiment had been sent to guard the North Missouri Railroad at Wellsville than to attack Callaway. Like many other Missouri Militia regiments, Col. Fagg's force had been federalized and was under the command of Gen. John B. Henderson, a Pike County anti-slavery politician.<sup>7</sup>

According to one correspondent, Col. Jefferson F. Jones, a Callaway County lawyer and secessionist political leader, "forthwith called a council, he being the chief of the great Sanhedran."<sup>8</sup> The author proceeds to say that Jones and others then travelled about the county recruiting like-minded secessionists to defend their county. The correspondent shows a clear bias against Jones by inventing ridiculous statements Jones

supposedly made in his recruiting tour, but Jones's muster and subsequent encampment are corroborated by other sources.<sup>9</sup>

Like State Guard Gen. Harris a few months before, Jones chose Brown's Spring as the site of his encampment. Jones drilled the men present as they waited for more Callawegians to join them. The number at Brown's Spring fluctuated between three hundred and seven hundred men as some went home and later returned while others drifted in. Some reports say that at least one thousand men answered Jones's call to arms. According to Ovid Bell, a longtime Callaway County newspaper editor and local historian, most of the men in Jones's force were either too old or too young for typical service because most men of military age had left the county in the service of the State Guard or Missouri Militia. One contemporary newspaper account, however, notes that most of the Callaway men who had enlisted in the State Guard had returned home by early October and would have been available to serve with Jones. No roster exists of the men who served with Jones. A few individual names are known, but the actual demographic makeup of his force cannot be determined.<sup>10</sup>

After assembling a force of several hundred men, Jones moved the camp a few miles north to Dyer's Mill near Auxvasse where there was more room to drill the troops. Their drill sergeant was Capt. T. Harris Jameson, a promising, young Callaway lawyer and Col. Jones's relative by marriage. Jameson had served in Daniel McIntyre's unit at Wilson's Creek and had returned to Callaway to recruit more soldiers for Jackson's State Guards. Jameson drilled the men at Dyer's Mill for a few days. From Dyer's Mill, Jones and roughly three hundred men moved to Stringfield's Store about two miles northeast of Shamrock in the northeast corner of Callaway County. Many of Jones's farmer-soldiers

had drifted home by this point. The remaining men were poorly armed but dedicated to defending their homes from a perceived menace. They had no access to artillery, but they carried at least one Quaker gun, a log painted to look like a cannon.<sup>11</sup>

Jones's camp at Stringfield's Store was only about five miles southwest of Col. Fagg's Wellsville camp. The proximity led both sides to send scouts and set forward pickets to try to determine their opponent's intention. On October 26, Jones sent two men, one of whom was Capt. Jameson, to Fagg's camp. One newspaper correspondent claims the men went under the pretext of arranging a prisoner exchange, but another letter to the same paper claims that there were no prisoners to exchange. All the sources agree, however, that the men carried a letter from Jones suggesting a non-aggression agreement. Col. Jones inquired into the purpose and plans of the troops at Wellsville and intimated that it would be wise for them to stay out of Callaway County. Jones offered to stand down and disperse his troops if Col. Fagg and Gen. Henderson agreed to refrain from invading, molesting, or occupying Callaway County. Jones also disclaimed any connection to the State Guard or the Confederate Army; instead he declared that he and his assembly were simply men determined to repel any invasion of their county.<sup>12</sup>

Neither Col. Fagg nor Gen. Henderson was in the camp when Jones's emissaries arrived. Pending the return of their leaders, Major Bazel F. Lazear and Lieutenant Colonel John D. Edwards, the ranking officers, held the messengers overnight and telegraphed Major Arnold Krekel at Warrenton for reinforcements. General Henderson arrived in camp the next day from the State Convention in St. Louis. Before Col. Fagg returned, Henderson sent the emissaries back to Jones with a reply.<sup>13</sup>



Henderson's reply is said to have created the Kingdom of Callaway on October 27, 1861. At this point in the story, the details become both extremely important and disappointingly unclear. As Jones remembered Henderson's response in 1867, "he accepted the terms and I disbanded."<sup>14</sup> Other reports gave greater detail and differ from Jones's in significant ways. Jones's memory failed him when he recalled the events as occurring in September and October 1861 rather than October and November, and he believed Wellsville is just west of Callaway County rather than east, so his recollection may also be faulty on other aspects as well.<sup>15</sup>

The *Louisiana Journal* and the *St. Louis Daily Missouri Democrat* printed letters detailing the contents of Henderson's reply, and those letters are consistent. By these accounts, Gen. Henderson refused to recognize Jones's authority as a military commander and dictated terms to Jones. Henderson gave Jones the choice between dispersing his troops and going home or facing battle with Henderson and his well-trained infantry. Jones replied by accepting Henderson's terms. By these accounts, there were three letters exchanged. According to Jones's one-line account, Henderson acceded to Jones's demands; the men exchanged only two letters.<sup>16</sup>

Who wrote what to whom is highly significant in this case. Both accounts say that Henderson accepted Jones's claim that he and his men were simply concerned citizens and not rebels. If Henderson further agreed not to invade, occupy, or molest Callaway County, as Jones and Bell assert, this response can be construed legally and historically to indicate that Henderson recognized the political independence of Callaway County. Henderson was an officer in the US Army and vested with military authority by the Provisional Government of the State Convention. As Bell interprets the events,

Henderson treated with Jones, a representative of Callaway County, as though making a treaty with a sovereign power.<sup>17</sup>

Ovid Bell was a long-time and respected resident of Callaway County throughout the first half of the twentieth century, so it is understandable that his conclusions support and apparently justify the local legend. The historical accuracy of Bell's supposition, however, is debatable. If Henderson answered Jones with his own demands and Jones acceded to those conditions, it was Jones and not Henderson who backed down. This is the series of events suggested by the newspaper accounts. This version implies that rather than treating with a sovereign power, Henderson successfully convinced a band of insurgents to disband peacefully.<sup>18</sup>

Bell dismisses the account from the *Louisiana Journal* and does not address the similar reports. Citing Jones's account, Bell argues that Gen. Henderson quickly came under intense pressure from his military and political superiors as well as loyal citizens of the region for accepting Jones's terms, and this explains the tenor of the *Journal* letter. This assertion is supported by an October 29 report in the *Missouri Democrat* that suggests that Henderson acquiesced to Jones. This may be true, but Bell's concluding argument on the veracity of the *Louisiana Journal* article is fallacious. According to Bell, "For the sake of truth be it said that there is nothing on record elsewhere to support the statements in the excerpt quoted above, and so, considered in the light of subsequent events, it must be concluded that no such message was sent to Jones."<sup>19</sup> The *Louisiana Journal* is not the only source to make this claim about Henderson's reply. The *Columbia Missouri Statesman* reprinted the *Louisiana Journal* article a week later. The letter to the *Missouri Democrat* reports the same essential facts and appears to be from a different

correspondent. Therefore, Bell's claim that "there is nothing on the record elsewhere" is *prima facie* incorrect.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, since the original letter containing Henderson's reply would have been in Jones's possession, and was later stolen and destroyed during a Union raid of Jones's farm, the fact that Henderson's reply has not been preserved does not entail that it never existed.<sup>21</sup>

Since Jones's account casts himself in a heroic light and the newspaper accounts do the same for Henderson, it is safe to assume that both sides engaged in posturing and puffery, and the truth falls somewhere in between the polar extremes. Unfortunately, no record of the specifics of the agreement between Henderson and Jones exists in *The War of the Rebellion*, the official US War Department record of the Civil War. The sole reference to the treaty in the official records is a report from Brig. Gen. Chester Harding, Jr., saying that Harding and General Benjamin Prentiss arrived in Fulton early on October 29 and heard of the agreement from local citizens.<sup>22</sup>

The most reasonable explanation for Henderson's decision to allow Jones's men to disperse peacefully comes from an editorial in the St. Louis *Missouri Republican*. On August 3, 1861, Governor Gamble's first official act had been to issue a proclamation promising protection and noninterference to all Missourians who did not aid the rebels, regardless of their personal thoughts on slavery or secession. The proclamation also promised amnesty to all those who had sided with Jackson and the State Guard. Both the Provisional Government and Gen. John C. Frémont, Missouri's federal commander, ratified Gov. Gamble's edict. Gen. Henderson, as an officer in both the US Army and state militia as well as a representative to the Provisional Government, undoubtedly knew of Gov. Gamble's promise of peace toward peaceful citizens. If Henderson believed that

Jones had no connection to the rebellious State Guard, he had no authority to force a battle with the Callaway corps. Henderson needed to give Jones the chance to peaceably disperse and disarm. When Henderson gave Jones this option, Jones accepted. Henderson was simply applying the standing policy of the state government and the federal military. He was not granting or recognizing the independence of Callaway County.<sup>23</sup>

As much as Bell may have wished to believe that Henderson dealt with Jones as if he were the agent of a sovereign power, the historical evidence does not support this claim. Too much of a logical stretch and too much massaging of the available historical facts are required to reach the conclusion that the agreement between Jones and Henderson created an independent nation-state of Callaway County. Subsequent events further show that Henderson had no intention of making a kingdom out of Callaway.

Two days after Jones and Henderson reached their agreement, Harding and Prentiss, two generals in the US Army, entered Fulton because they had heard that Jones and his men planned to destroy bridges along the North Missouri Railroad. When they reached Fulton at dawn on October 29, the local residents told them about the treaty. Since Jones had dispersed and the threat to the railroad had disappeared, Harding saw no need to make trouble in Callaway. He and Prentiss did not have enough men with them to effectively occupy Fulton and patrol the county, so they decided to honor the agreement as related by the civilians and withdrew from the county. Harding proceeded to Herrmann, and Prentiss returned to Jefferson City.<sup>24</sup>

General Henderson chose to treat Callaway County differently from his fellow commanders. Augmented with troops under Maj. Krekel, Henderson sent Col. Fagg's regiment to occupy Fulton. The regiment left Wellsville on November 2, 1861, and by

November 4, they had settled in Fulton, using the recently closed State Lunatic Asylum as a barracks, which they called Camp Lazear after one of their officers. Intimidated and outgunned, most of the secessionists returned to their farms. Accounts from the soldiers present, however, note that Callaway County remained a hostile atmosphere toward Union soldiers. Federal patrols sought out suspected malefactors to harass in their homes, and the army shut down the *Fulton Missouri Telegraph*, the local southern-sympathizing newspaper. Henderson's men and "Krekel's Krauts," the despised St. Louis Germans under Maj. Krekel, occupied Fulton and harried the secessionist citizenry for most of the month of November.<sup>25</sup>

Several months passed before there was another military confrontation in Callaway County. The final fight between armies in Callaway was the battle of Moore's Mill, near modern Calwood, in July 1862. By the Civil War standard that a battle was any armed engagement that caused the deaths of at least ten combatants, Moore's Mill was the only Civil War battle in Callaway County. Moore's Mill was also the only clash between the official Union and Confederate armies in the county. The battle of Moore's Mill was one of the most intense of the numerous dramatic engagements between Union forces and Confederate guerillas in north-central Missouri and featured Colonel Odon Guitar and Colonel Joseph C. Porter, two of the leading characters in this campaign.<sup>26</sup>

Born in Kentucky, Colonel Odon Guitar was a lawyer and politician in Columbia, Missouri, at the start of the war. Like many Civil War leaders, as a younger man he had served in the Mexican War. Guitar joined the California gold rush in 1849 but returned to his Missouri law practice in 1851. Governor Gamble appointed Guitar to recruit a militia regiment in central Missouri in early 1862, and when the regiment was full, Guitar

received a Missouri Militia commission as the colonel of the Ninth Missouri State Militia Cavalry. His regiment was immediately federalized, and he was granted the rank of colonel in the US Army. In August 1862, shortly after the battle of Moore's Mill, Guitar received a brevet promotion to brigadier general, but the US Senate refused to ratify his promotion. Gov. Gamble rescued Guitar's reputation by making him a brigadier general in the Missouri Militia, but he remained a colonel in the US Army. Most of Guitar's Civil War career was spent skirmishing with guerillas in central Missouri, and by the end of the war he was the commander of all US forces in the Northern District of Missouri.<sup>27</sup>

Also born in Kentucky, Colonel Joseph C. Porter was a well-respected farmer in Lewis County in northeast Missouri at the start of the war. Like Guitar, Porter had been a forty-niner and returned to his previous career without wealth or hardship. As the Civil War began, Porter also heeded the governor's call to arms, but Porter chose to answer to Gov. Jackson rather than Gov. Gamble. Porter joined the Missouri State Guard, part of the Confederate Army, as a captain, despite his dearth of military experience. He earned a promotion to colonel after the Battle of Lexington in September 1861. In March 1862, as Col. Guitar was enrolling his Union regiment in central Missouri, Gen. Price sent Col. Porter to northeast Missouri to recruit a regiment. This regiment became the First Northeast Missouri Cavalry, better known as Porter's Regiment. The clash between Porter and Guitar happened as Porter and his men harassed Union sympathizers in Missouri on their way to rejoin Gen. Price in Arkansas. After the battle of Moore's Mill, Porter and his men rode north for reinforcements. Guitar pursued him, joined by Col. McNeil, the Union commander from the skirmish at Overton Run in July 1861. After McNeil defeated Porter near Kirksville, most of Porter's men deserted. With roughly one

hundred men, Porter made his way to Arkansas where he recruited Missouri men he found there and then reported to General Price. Colonel Porter was mortally wounded at the Battle of Hartville in south-central Missouri in January 1863. After that battle, Porter and his men retreated to Batesville, Arkansas, where the colonel died of his wounds in late February.<sup>28</sup>

The action at Moore's Mill developed into a much more ferocious fight than either side had anticipated. The Union forces, often tired from quick marches as they searched for rebel camps, usually struck quickly, and if they did not strike a devastating initial blow, they commonly made a strategic withdrawal. The Confederates, acting as guerillas, usually used a hit-and-run strategy; when they encountered a Union force they would surprise them with a few rounds from the brush and then run to fight another day. At Moore's Mill, neither side retreated as quickly as they often did.<sup>29</sup>

As he wove his way southwest across the state, Col. Porter needed to find a safe place to cross the Missouri River. In late July he marched his men across northern Boone County toward the Callaway County line. Reports of Porter's movements reached Col. Guitar in Jefferson City. Guitar's first plan was to go to Columbia and join forces with Lieutenant Colonel William F. Shaffer of the 2nd Missouri Cavalry Volunteers, better known as Merrill's Horse. Before leaving for Columbia, however, Guitar learned that Porter and his men were camped at Brown's Spring, the most popular military campsite in Callaway County. Guitar sent two companies to Shaffer and ordered them to proceed from Columbia to Fulton where Shaffer and Guitar would rendezvous. Guitar and his men left Jefferson City at ten o'clock at night, marched through the night, and reached Fulton at dawn on Sunday, July 27 with one hundred cavalry, thirty-two artillerymen, and

three big guns. Upon reaching Fulton, sympathetic civilians warned Guitar that his force was not sufficient to attack Porter's regiment. Because there were no reinforcements closer than Lt. Col. Shaffer, Guitar augmented his force with fifty men from the Fulton garrison and left for Brown's Spring, hoping to meet Shaffer along the way.<sup>30</sup>

Col. Porter had indeed camped at Brown's Spring. Arriving during the night of Saturday, July 26, they were reinforced by other Confederate companies, including the Blackfoot Rangers of Boone County and Captain Alvin Cobb, an infamous one-armed bushwhacker. Because Joseph A. Mudd, Porter's biographical apologist, takes special pains to point out the difference between Porter's regular regiment and "unauthorized bodies in the class of Cobb and others," it is likely that the Blackfoot Rangers as well as Cobb and his men were partisan rangers, troops endorsed by the Confederacy but not official army units.<sup>31</sup> Although Guitar's reports put Porter's strength between six hundred and nine hundred, Mudd writes that combined there were 260 men with Porter at Brown's Spring.<sup>32</sup>

Informed that Guitar was marching on Brown's Spring, Porter and his combined forces left for Moore's Mill, near the modern village of Calwood, about six miles east of Brown's Spring along Auxvasse Creek. Porter believed that Moore's Mill was a more defensible location. According to Mudd, Porter's force left Brown's Spring at a leisurely pace and stopped after a short time for an inspirational address from their colonel. By Guitar's account, when his men arrived on Sunday evening, they still found a few combatants at Brown's Spring, and it appeared that Porter had left in enough of a hurry to abandon a supply wagon and several uneaten meals. After a minor skirmish with the stragglers, Guitar's men scoured the area but found no more rebels. Because of the



impending night and the convenience of the campsite, Guitar chose to camp at Brown's Spring rather than chase Porter's men at night. Guitar sent a messenger to find Shaffer and tell him to meet at Brown's Spring in the morning.<sup>33</sup>

The next morning, July 28, Col. Guitar and his men met Lt. Col. Shaffer and his detachments of Merrill's Horse as they followed Porter's tracks along Auxvasse Creek and the St. Charles Road, roughly the modern course of Interstate Highway 70. Guitar split his combined force of 682 men into two groups to locate Porter more quickly. Guitar led a detachment along the road, and Shaffer led his men along the south bank of the creek. Porter and his men intentionally left visible tracks because they wanted Guitar to follow them to Moore's Mill, Porter's chosen battlefield. Once they arrived at Moore's Mill, Porter's men arranged themselves in the brush and waited for Guitar's approach. They waited for about an hour before spotting Guitar and his men just before noon.<sup>34</sup>

The first volley of bullets from the brush took Guitar and his men by surprise, but they quickly arranged themselves in the brush as well and brought their artillery to bear. Shaffer and his men were still on the opposite side of the creek and did not arrive for at least an hour. After roughly forty-five minutes of exchanging fire, Colonel Porter made an unexpected move. In order to check the slow but steady Union advance and negate the advantage of the guns, he ordered a charge on the artillery. With a blood-curdling rebel yell, Porter's men charged the artillery at Guitar's left flank. Guitar's men faltered at the sudden onslaught and frightening screams. Much of the rest of the battle focused on possession of the artillery. According to Mudd, the rebels held one or more of the cannons for a time but were forced to abandon them. According to Guitar, there was a

dire threat to the guns, and several of the gunners were shot down, but he retained control of the ordnance at all times.<sup>35</sup>

After approximately four hours of battle, Porter realized that many of his men were running out of ammunition, and he called a retreat. Guitar knew that his men were too exhausted for a pursuit. They had had only a short night's rest following a forty-hour march before an intense four-hour battle in the July heat. Guitar and his men camped that night near the battlefield after tending to the wounded and burying the dead. Guitar reported thirteen Union dead and fifty-five wounded, with fifty-two rebels killed and 150 wounded. A contemporaneous report in the *Fulton Missouri Telegraph* corroborates Guitar's estimate for Union casualties but reports the Confederate losses at only six dead and twenty-one wounded.<sup>36</sup>

Guitar and his men began their pursuit the next day, but the forces did not meet again in Callaway County. Neither side expected their opponent to put so much tenacious effort into the battle as they did because previous engagements had usually been quick skirmishes. At Moore's Mill both commanders thought it advantageous to make a stand. Porter needed to cross the Missouri River, and if he could have demolished Guitar's regiment, there would not have been enough Union troops in Jefferson City or Boone and Callaway Counties to stop him. Guitar thought he could end Porter's threat on that field if he could keep the rebels pinned down until Shaffer and his detachment of Merrill's Horse rejoined them. Shaffer's return appeared to turn the tide, just as Porter's charge on the artillery had done a few minutes prior, but both power plays petered out into three more exhausting hours of inconclusive battle. Moore's Mill was recorded as a Union victory, but it is unclear what they won.<sup>37</sup>

The skirmish at Overton Run, the treaty of Wellsville, and the battle of Moore's Mill were the only three military engagements in Callaway County. Of these, Overton Run and Moore's Mill simply occurred in Callaway; they had little influence on the civilian experience in the county. The confrontation at Wellsville and the resulting terms reached by Col. Jones and Gen. Henderson, however, were highly significant to the county. Jones was willing to fight to defend his county; this was not just another transient regiment camping at Brown's Spring. The events at Wellsville set the stage for much of the subsequent war experience of the county, occupation and harassment by Union forces.

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- <sup>1</sup> Bell, *Political Conditions*, 10-15; “Mass Meeting.”
- <sup>2</sup> Ovid Bell, *Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 5; William E. Parrish, *Westminster College: An Informal History, 1851-1999* (Fulton, MO: Westminster College, 2000), 23; Carolyn Paul Branch, *Fulton Missouri, 1820-1920: History in Stories & Photographs* (Fulton, MO: Longbranch Press, 2010), 70, 74.
- <sup>3</sup> Branch, 77-79; United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereinafter O.R.), series I, volume III, by John S. Moody et al. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1881), 400-402; “Particulars of the Battle at Florida and Monroe Station,” *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, July 13, 1861; “The Madness of the Hour,” *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, July 15, 1861; “For Callaway County,” *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, July 15, 1861;
- <sup>4</sup> O. R. series I, volume III, 400-402; “Jefferson City, July 15, Later,” *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, July 16, 1861.
- <sup>5</sup> “The Scrimmage Near Fulton,” *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, July 19, 1861; “The War in North Missouri,” *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, July 21, 1861; “Four State and Twelve Federal Troops Wounded,” *Fulton Missouri Telegraph*, July 19, 1861.
- <sup>6</sup> O. R. series I, volume III, 1; “The War in North Missouri,” *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, July 21, 1861; “Four State and Twelve Federal Troops Wounded,” *Fulton Missouri Telegraph*, July 19, 1861; Branch, 77-79.
- <sup>7</sup> Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 7-9.
- <sup>8</sup> Union [pseud.], “Letter from Callaway County,” *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, November 8, 1861.
- <sup>9</sup> Union; “From the Camp at Wellsville,” *Louisiana Missouri Journal*, October 31, 1861; Callaway [pseud.], “The Numbers and Doings of the Secesh,” *St. Louis Daily Missouri Democrat*, October 31, 1861; One Who Knows [pseud.], “Callaway County Affairs—The Action of General Henderson,” *St. Louis Daily Missouri Democrat*, October 31, 1861; Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 7-9.
- <sup>10</sup> Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 7-9; Callaway.
- <sup>11</sup> Encore [pseud.], “From Jefferson City,” *St. Louis Daily Missouri Democrat*, October 24, 1861; Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 14-16.
- <sup>12</sup> Callaway; One Who Knows; Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 16-18; “From the Camp at Wellsville”; Griffin Frost, *Camp and Prison Journal* (Quincy, Ill: Quincy Herald, 1867), 289-290.
- <sup>13</sup> “From the Camp at Wellsville”; Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 17-18.
- <sup>14</sup> Frost, 290.
- <sup>15</sup> Frost, 289-290; “From the Camp at Wellsville”; One Who Knows.
- <sup>16</sup> Frost, 289-290; “From the Camp at Wellsville”; One Who Knows.
- <sup>17</sup> Frost, 289-290; Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 19-20.
- <sup>18</sup> “From the Camp at Wellsville”; One Who Knows.
- <sup>19</sup> Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 19.

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- <sup>20</sup> Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 19.
- <sup>21</sup> Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 19; Frost, 289-290; "From the Camp at Wellsville"; One Who Knows; "Jefferson City, Oct. 29," *Cleveland Morning Leader*, October 31, 1861.
- <sup>22</sup> O. R. series I, volume III, 254; Frost, 289-290; "From the Camp at Wellsville"; One Who Knows.
- <sup>23</sup> Editorial, *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, October 31, 1861; "The Difficulties in North Missouri," *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, October 31, 1861; Parrish, "Provisional Government," 38-39, 43.
- <sup>24</sup> O. R. series I, volume III, 254; Union.
- <sup>25</sup> M., "Headquarters, Fifth Regiment," *Louisiana Journal*, November 14, 1861; R. S. M., "Camp Lazear," *Louisiana Journal*, November 14, 1861; Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 23-26.
- <sup>26</sup> Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, *133rd Anniversary of the Battle of Moore's Mill* (Fulton, MO: Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, 1995), 22; *History of Callaway County, Missouri* (St. Louis: National Historical Company, 1884), 391-393; Ovid Bell, *Short History of Callaway County* (Fulton, MO: Ovid Bell Press, 1913), 25; Hal Lister, "From Whence Came the Title Kingdom of Callaway," in *A History of Callaway County Missouri 1984*, ed. Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society (Fulton, MO: Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, 1983), vi.
- <sup>27</sup> Lawrence O. Christensen, *Dictionary of Missouri Biography* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 357-358; Branch, 95.
- <sup>28</sup> Joseph A. Mudd, *With Porter in North Missouri: A Chapter in the History of the War Between the States* (Washington: National Publishing, 1909), 24-26, 241-258, 323-326.
- <sup>29</sup> *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 392.
- <sup>30</sup> Mudd, 159; O. R. series I, volume XIII, 184-185.
- <sup>31</sup> Mudd, 159.
- <sup>32</sup> *133rd Anniversary*, 22; Mudd, 159-160.
- <sup>33</sup> Mudd, 160; O. R. series I, volume XIII, 185-186.
- <sup>34</sup> Mudd, 160-162; O. R. series I, volume XIII, 186-187.
- <sup>35</sup> Mudd, 161-162, 164-165; O. R. series I, volume XIII, 187-188.
- <sup>36</sup> Mudd, 167-170; O. R. series I, volume XIII, 188-189; *133rd Anniversary*, 22; *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 391-392.
- <sup>37</sup> O. R. series I, volume XIII, 188-189; *133rd Anniversary*, 22; *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 392.

## Chapter 2: Civilian War Experiences

Battles and skirmishes were rare in Callaway County, but the months between battles were certainly not serene for civilian Callawegians. Tensions caused by political differences were common and multiplied during the frequent periods that federal troops and federalized militia occupied the county, usually garrisoned in the city of Fulton. The fears of many southern sympathizers can be summed up in a quotation from Mary Samuella “Sam” Curd, a young Fulton woman who said, “here Secesh has to keep its mouth shut, or away to prison.”<sup>1</sup> Military occupation and martial law in Missouri had a profound effect on the daily lives of civilians in Callaway County. Secessionists and southern sympathizers, especially local leaders such as Jefferson F. Jones, faced censorship, harassment, arrest, and imprisonment for speaking their minds, regardless of whether they engaged in overt misbehavior.

It is important to note that much of the local folk history of the civilian experience of the war in Callaway County is difficult or impossible to verify. Official military records substantiate many of the troop assignments and movements, but most of the civilian stories cannot be confirmed. These folk stories, although unauthenticated, serve a purpose alongside documented history. As folklore, they have helped construct local beliefs and cultural identity in Callaway County.

Some of these episodes come from contemporaneous letters to the editor, editorials, and personal journals. Others come from memoirs and personal recollections, many recorded decades after the war. Many of these stories are likely embellished or one-sided, but unless they can be argued or disproven, the events are presented here as participants, witnesses, and prior historians recorded them.

The skirmish at Overton Run in late July 1861 kindled the long-standing animosity between the secessionist elements in Callaway County and any Union troops stationed there. Following Overton Run, Col. John McNeil occupied the city of Fulton with about four hundred men, camping around the courthouse. Most of the Unionists in the county lived in Fulton, so the soldiers had local support along with the resentment of much of the county. Contemporary reports say that McNeil's troops were polite and respectful, but the St. Louis Dutch troops under Lt. Col. Adam Hammer who arrived a day later were not so nice. One diarist called Hammer's troops barbarians who terrorized and pillaged the citizenry of Fulton and the county. Notably, Hammer and his men scattered enough of the equipment and supplies of the *Fulton Missouri Telegraph*, the local newspaper, that they shut down the paper for a time. Their justification was that the editor refused to swear a loyalty oath. Importantly, martial law had not been declared in Missouri at that time, and loyalty oaths had not been required of any Missourian, so Hammer's action outstripped his authority.<sup>2</sup>

Col. McNeil ordered Lt. Col. Hammer and his unit from Fulton to Jefferson City a few days after the latter's arrival. In a report from Brig. Gen. Chester Harding, Jr., Col. Hammer's commanding officer, the general noted that he had previously arrested many of Hammer's men for disorderly conduct, and he did not trust Hammer's judgment or his competence as a soldier. Harding did not mention any misconduct by Hammer or his men in Callaway, but he intimated that ordering Hammer's troops to withdraw was a wise decision by McNeil.<sup>3</sup>

According to Sam Curd, several Fulton residents gave Hammer and his men food and provisions to speed them on their way as a tongue-in-cheek show of support. Even

after Hammer's exit, McNeil and his men had the respect of the populace, but Hammer had irreparably damaged the relationship between the locals and the Union soldiers. Curd recorded that when McNeil's men raised a federal flag over the courthouse on July 23, the day after Hammer left, they called for three cheers from those assembled, but the only huzzahs came from the troops themselves. The civilians remained silent. McNeil and his troops left quietly the same night. The next occupying force arrived August 4 as part of General John Pope's larger effort to stop rebel attacks on the bridges and tracks of the North Missouri Railroad. Five companies under Major William R. Goddard, most likely from an Iowa volunteer regiment, guarded Fulton for an undetermined period of time.<sup>4</sup>

On August 3, 1861, Governor Hamilton Gamble issued a proclamation granting amnesty to all formerly rebellious Missourians and promising that those who remained peaceful would not be molested in person or property. Both the Provisional Government and Gen. John C. Frémont, Missouri's federal commander, ratified Gov. Gamble's edict. On August 30, 1861, however, General Frémont declared martial law in Missouri, greatly reducing the generosity of Gamble's plan. President Abraham Lincoln famously countermanded the most extreme portions of Frémont's writ, especially the emancipation of all slaves in Missouri, but martial law was left in effect. Under martial law, any person suspected of disloyalty was subject to arrest or imprisonment, and the military was the police force. Civil laws and courts were still in operation, but military commissions and courts martial heard many cases, often preempting the civil authorities. The generals who succeeded Frémont as the commanding general of Missouri left martial law intact. Missouri's tenure under martial law finally ended in March 1865 by joint proclamation of federal commander General Pope and Missouri Governor Thomas C. Fletcher.<sup>5</sup>



When Frémont declared martial law, he was not in a position to enforce his edict fully. Gen. Sterling Price and his secessionist militia had just defeated federal Gen. Nathaniel Lyon in the battle of Wilson's Creek near Springfield, few federal troops from other states were available, and most of the limited loyal Missouri militiamen were pursuing various regiments of Gov. Claiborne Jackson's State Guards. Only in situations demanding immediate attention did military commanders assign troops to guard the scruples of local civilians. Secessionists in Callaway County demonstrated the old adage that while the cat is away, the mice will play.<sup>6</sup>

In early October, some of the more militant secessionists raided the State Lunatic Asylum in Fulton. Because state monies historically designated for the asylum had been diverted to funding the militia, the institution was unable to meet its operating costs and closed October 1. The hospital's trustees advertised a sale of the contents of the hospital, but rebels visited early. On October 6, the night before the sale, roughly one hundred armed men woke the director and demanded supplies for the State Guard. The men left with hundreds of blankets, linens, and sets of clothing. A few nights later, another band of armed men, possibly many of the same looters, confiscated much of the lead plumbing from the buildings and grounds. Curiously, on October 11, the *Missouri Telegraph* published a long front-page article detailing the process for making lead shot. Westminster College and the Missouri Deaf and Dumb School, two other local institutions, closed for similar reasons that fall but were never raided.<sup>7</sup>

Around the same time, other Secesh found sport in harassing, looting, and terrorizing known unionists. In one episode, fifteen armed men accosted and threatened unionist storekeeper Hans Lawther until he granted them access to his store. The men

took what they wanted, mainly knives, clothes, and tobacco. Other instances included terrorizing Otey Hockaday who had two sons in the Union army and harassing Dr. J. M. Martin who lived north of Fulton and was known for providing succor to passing federal troops. Of particular interest to one correspondent to the *St. Louis Daily Missouri Democrat* was the “ill use” of an old man and the kidnapping of his son.<sup>8</sup> According to the account of a man who signed his letter “Callaway,” secessionist ruffians assaulted sixty-five-year-old George McFarlane and abducted his son John who had served with Gen. Lyon at Wilson’s Creek.<sup>9</sup>

Some accounts place the blame for these attacks on one-armed bushwhacker Captain Alvin Cobb and his band. Cobb was from neighboring Montgomery County, and most of his men came from outside of Callaway County, so this explanation exonerates Callawegians of the charge of molesting their neighbors. The correspondent to the *Missouri Democrat* believed, however, that most of the ruffians were local. According to the letter writer, Dr. Thomas Howard, Theodore Henderson, and Ting Duncan as well as four other men he only partially named were all party to John McFarlane’s kidnapping. Listing local malefactors justified the correspondent’s demand for a federal garrison in Fulton to protect the loyal citizens of the county from their Secesh brethren.<sup>10</sup>

The correspondent to the *Missouri Democrat* got his wish. After Col. Jefferson Jones and his men returned home from Wellsville, the federals came a few days later. A detachment of Col. Thomas Fagg’s Fifth Regiment along with Maj. Arnold Krekel’s reserve corps arrived during the evening of November 2, and the roughly eight hundred men encamped in and around the closed Missouri Lunatic Asylum. According to an editorial by an unnamed soldier in Fagg’s regiment, cowardice soon replaced the self-

righteous bravado the secessionists had displayed in the days since Jones's triumphal return from Wellsville.<sup>11</sup>

It is unclear when Krekel's Krauts left Fulton, but Krekel was in Warrenton on December 23, 1861, reporting his recent activity near Mexico, Missouri. On December 22, Brig. Gen. T.J. McKean marched men through Fulton to break up rebel encampments in Callaway County. This expedition was part of a larger operation in northern Missouri by Major General Henry W. Halleck, then commanding in Missouri, to squash the renewed guerilla efforts to burn bridges along the North Missouri Railroad. The year-end campaign against the bridge burners caused a flurry of troop movements across northern Missouri, as Halleck tried to trap the guerilla bands between his forces while keeping them north of the Missouri River. At least twelve hundred troops passed through Fulton during the campaign.<sup>12</sup>

Halleck's anti-guerilla efforts produced marked results. First, enough rebel bands were killed, captured, and dispersed, drastically reducing the threat to the railroad bridges. Second, Halleck became serious about enforcing martial law in northern Missouri. On January 1, 1862, he issued General Orders No. 32. This order not only made it clear that guerilla activity would be dealt with harshly, but it also held local civilians liable for damages to public property in their cities and counties. Local slaves and their masters could be pressed into service to repair bridges and telegraph lines, and, unless local citizens could show that they had done their best to quash insurgencies, they would pay for the repairs.<sup>13</sup>

A final outcome of this Christmastime campaign was that Union troops were scattered throughout northern Missouri in the deepening winter. General McKean

decided to leave the four companies of the Third Iowa Cavalry and five companies of the Eleventh Iowa Volunteer Infantry in Fulton at least until the end of the winter. In her December 31, 1861, diary entry, Sam Curd prayed for a better new year than the tumult of 1861. She bemoaned the federal presence and the resulting wave of arrests that occurred.<sup>14</sup>

One of those arrested as part of the bridge burning conspiracy was Col. Jefferson Jones, another of Jones's travails during the war. By Jones's account, after he allegedly embarrassed Gen. Henderson with the treaty at Wellsville, Henderson and his henchmen used every available excuse to harass and persecute Col. Jones. Because of Jones's celebrity in Little Dixie, his case is uncharacteristic of the treatment most secessionist civilians experienced during the war, but his story shows the way that some Missouri officers in the Union army used their position to settle political rivalries.<sup>15</sup>

Like many denizens of Little Dixie, Jefferson Jones's ancestors came from England and immigrated to Virginia. A later generation moved from Virginia to Kentucky. Jones was born in Kentucky in 1817 and moved with his parents to Missouri as a child. The family moved to Boone County in 1824, and by about 1840, Jeff Jones had struck out on his own. Jones commanded a Missouri militia unit in his youth, where he likely earned the lifelong honorific of colonel. After studying law under Judge John Jameson in Callaway County for a few years, Jones started his own law practice in Fulton in 1843 and married his mentor's niece in 1844. Depending on the account, Jones and his wife Sally Jameson raised eight, nine, or sixteen children. He named two of his sons Northeast and Southwest, and his eighth child, a daughter, bore the name Octave.<sup>16</sup>

Jones's peers quickly recognized him as a promising attorney. He was a popular speaker in local Whig circles, and the party nominated him to the Missouri House of Representatives in 1852, 1856, and 1860. He declined all three times, but the county still elected him in 1856, so he served one two-year term before the Civil War. Some believe that he had potential to be a national political figure, but his reluctance to engage in political battles kept his influence local. In 1859, Jones and his family settled on a large farm near Auxvasse in northeastern Callaway County. Jones did not serve in the military during the Civil War, but he became a whipping boy for homegrown federal troops such as Gen. Henderson and Maj. Krekel who knew him as a secessionist leader. Jones rebuilt his farming operation after the war and continued to practice law. The voters once again elected him to the Missouri House in 1875, but he was unable to complete his term. He suffered a heart attack while delivering a speech in 1876, and he remained an invalid from that time until his death in 1879.<sup>17</sup>

After reaching his agreement with Gen. Henderson at Wellsville in October 1861, Jones returned home a celebrated leader, but he preferred to mind his own business and simply run his farm and law practice as he believed the treaty suggested. According to Jones, Henderson almost immediately asked for a renegotiation of the treaty because of press and political attacks, but Jones refused, saying he no longer had the power to speak for the men who had been with him because they had dispersed as dictated by the agreement.<sup>18</sup>

For a few weeks, the Union army did not bother Col. Jones, but as Brig. Gen. John M. Schofield corralled the remaining bridge burners in central Missouri in late December 1861, his men swept Jones into the net and arrested him for helping coordinate

the campaign. During his arrest, soldiers ransacked Jones's home, taking arms, ammunition, horses, tack, and, according to Jones, the letter from Gen. Henderson that was his only evidence of the treaty. Federal officers held Jones at Mexico for three days before releasing him on a ten thousand dollar bond.<sup>19</sup>

When Jones returned home, he found his farm had been pillaged again in his absence. According to Jones, three regiments of cavalry had supplied and fed themselves from his homestead, but there is no other record to support this claim.<sup>20</sup> Although Jones had a large farm, it is doubtful that three full regiments of cavalry, three thousand men and their horses, could have quartered themselves effectively on his farm. It is entirely possible soldiers looted the farm and that no officer recorded the action, but Jones's numerical estimate appears unrealistically high.

Just as Jones's memory failed him regarding the timing and geography of the treaty at Wellsville, he may have recollected the events of his arrest and detention inaccurately as well. He claims that Gen. Henderson and his men held him at Mexico, but records show that Gen. Schofield, not Henderson, was in command at Mexico at the time. Also, Jones wrote to Schofield on February 5, 1862, complaining about the goods taken at the time of his arrest, but he did not mention depredations to his home during his incarceration. Schofield acknowledged Jones's losses, but he justified them by lambasting Jones for his alleged role in the bridge burning campaign.<sup>21</sup>

In March 1862 Jones traveled with a military escort to Danville to answer to a military commission for his role in the bridge burnings. At his trial, the commission charged Jones with espionage, aiding and abetting railroad destruction, and other rebellious activities. Jones pled not guilty, and the commission eventually acquitted him

of all charges. It appears that the Union army saw Jones as important because many of the men acquitted by the commission were simply released, but the commission required that Jones post bond and swear a loyalty oath before his release.<sup>22</sup>

For the time between his trial and acquittal, Jones was imprisoned in St. Charles under the eye of Arnold Krekel, by then a lieutenant colonel. Again, another discrepancy appears between Jones's memory and the official record. Krekel received an order dated March 11, 1862 ordering Jones's release. According to Jones, however, he stayed at the St. Charles prison camp for several months before being informed that he had been acquitted.<sup>23</sup> The official records do not record when Jones was released, but it would have been a gross injustice by Krekel to hold Jones for such a length of time past his ordered release. It is possible that Krekel held Jones out of spite or hatred, but it is unlikely that Jones would have been held for as long as he remembered.

Jones relates that he and his family were frequently the victims of military harassment and that many soldiers visited his farm throughout the war to take a metaphorical or physical swipe at the man who had embarrassed Henderson, now a US Senator from Missouri, with the treaty at Wellsville.<sup>24</sup> The official records do not include any further references to repercussions or depredations upon the Jones family, but they undoubtedly occurred to some degree. Jones may have had some problems remembering details, but his account does not sound like any part was simply invented to make him look martyred or victimized.

In May 1864, a Colonel Straughber ordered Jones and his entire family banished to the Confederacy. The family, including a governess, was transported to St. Louis and imprisoned for about a week. Gen. Schofield, then the commander of the District of

Missouri, countermanded the order, and the family returned home. Jones, however, remained at Gratiot Street Prison, a prisoner of war camp in St. Louis, until July 1865. There is no official record of the banishment order or its rescission, and no source that mentions the banishment states any cause for the action. It is likely, however, that Gratiot Street became Jones's home because he had been implicated as the Callaway County leader of the Order of American Knights. The Knights were a regional, conspiratorial secret organization that planned an armed civilian insurrection to aid the Confederacy, and they cooperated with the famous Copperhead Clement Vallandigham after President Lincoln banished him to Canada.<sup>25</sup>

Jefferson Jones's story may be exceptional because of his celebrity, but he was not the only frightened, angry secessionist in Callaway County. Beginning in early 1862, a series of provost marshals strictly enforced martial law in the county, affecting many aspects of civilians' lives. General Frémont first declared martial law in St. Louis in early August 1861 and extended the policy to all of Missouri on August 30. At that time, the federal army was too poorly manned, equipped, and organized to enforce martial law effectively on a statewide basis, but by January 1862 General Halleck was ready to enforce the policy in Little Dixie.<sup>26</sup>

The troops stationed in Fulton after the federals defeated the guerilla bridge burning campaign of late 1861 were the first troops authorized to enforce martial law in Callaway County. Lt. Col. Hammer and Maj. Krekel had brought their own form of imperious military justice to the county in 1861, but their police power was unauthorized. At the beginning of January 1862, General Thomas McKean ordered four companies of



the Third Iowa Cavalry and five companies of the Eleventh Iowa Volunteer Infantry already in Fulton to winter there and keep the peace in the county.<sup>27</sup>

The first provost marshal for Fulton was a man the *Missouri Telegraph* identified in 1878 only as Stanber. There was a Lt. Col. Thaddeus J. Stauber who served in Little Dixie for much of the war. It is likely that Stauber is the Stanber mentioned by the newspaper, but there is no official record that he served as the provost marshal for Fulton. Regardless of his precise name, the only recorded action of Fulton's first provost marshal was to declare the *Missouri Telegraph* a disloyal paper and shut it down in early 1862. It appears that he also tried to destroy the equipment and premises of the paper, but Hans Lawther, a unionist merchant in Fulton whose store had been looted the previous fall, magnanimously convinced the provost marshal to abstain from totally demolishing the newspaper's property.<sup>28</sup>

The first provost marshal officially recorded for Fulton was Major Isaac. D. Snedecor, and he is mentioned only once in the official records, where his name is incorrectly transcribed as Maj. J. D. Snedecor. In late March 1862, Snedecor received an order to seize all the civilian firearms in Callaway County and give the owners claim certificates they could use to redeem their stored property at the end of the war. No response or follow-up remains, so it is unclear to what extent, if any, Snedecor implemented this order.<sup>29</sup>

Snedecor was the hero of the *Missouri Telegraph* because he pulled strings and put them back in business. According to John B. Williams, the paper's publisher, Maj. Snedecor approved the resumed publication of the paper in February 1862. Despite the provost marshal's blessing, Williams was unable to secure paper, ink, and other supplies

because he was still blacklisted as a disloyal newspaperman. Snedecor came to the rescue and requisitioned the items in his own name.<sup>30</sup>

The newspaper resumed publication March 7, 1862. Snedecor and subsequent provost marshals monitored the content of the *Missouri Telegraph* closely, but apparently the paper published issues for much of the rest of the war. Williams felt shackled by the need to avoid airing his pro-Southern views, and he covered his aggravation by sarcastically exaggerating his praise of the federals. His account of the battle of Moore's Mill is an excellent example of his adoringly effluent admiration of the Union commanders and their men.<sup>31</sup>

It is unclear when Snedecor left for his next post, but by mid-July 1862, the forces in Fulton were under the command of Col. John F. Williams. Sometime in mid-August, the vilified Arnold Krekel, now a lieutenant colonel, became the provost marshal at Fulton. There is no official record of any of his orders while in Fulton, but Callawegians kept their own stories.<sup>32</sup>

The published late-nineteenth-century history of the county contains the texts of orders Krekel issued while provost marshal. In these orders Krekel demanded that all loyal men report for enlistment and all disloyal men surrender their firearms. In another order, Krekel threatened swift, violent justice upon anyone who succored guerillas or failed to report armed rebels in their vicinity.<sup>33</sup>

According to one story, a party of rebels camped near James Renoe's farm in rural Callaway County. They demanded supplies of Renoe, who surrendered them at gunpoint. The next morning, when he felt the family was safe, Renoe's father rode into Fulton to inform Krekel of the men near his farm. Krekel had already heard of the rebels'

presence and had dispatched men to deal with them. As the father returned home, he met Union soldiers along the road, leading one of his horses bearing a bloody saddle. Closer to home, Mr. Renoe found his son James shot to death and laid out along a fence line. Witnesses at the scene said the soldiers shot him without justifiable provocation.<sup>34</sup>

Another story records the murders of William R. Given, his son David, and their neighbor Charles Hill. The Givens were Confederate sympathizers, but Hill was a Union supporter. In October 1862, a band of rebel bushwhackers camped near the Given farm and brought a wounded man to the farm for medical care which the Givens provided. When Krekel heard about the guerillas, he dispatched most of his force, known derisively in Callaway County as Krekel's Krauts, to root them out. The militiamen found Charles Hill and William and David Given reroofing a nearby schoolhouse. Krekel's soldiers took the men prisoner and held them under guard in Given's buggy house. When the rebel band attacked the militia, the commanding officer, presumably Krekel, ordered his men to shoot the prisoners. The soldiers shot and killed all three men. William Given, an elderly religious man, was on his knees praying for his captors when they shot him.<sup>35</sup>

As with the provost marshals before and after him, it is unclear when Lt. Col. Krekel's regime ended. What is clear is that there was a bitter enmity between Krekel and almost all residents of Callaway County. And Callawegians were not the only people to dislike Krekel. Krekel was an able leader and a skilled compromiser in the political arena, but his skills did not translate into effective military leadership. For a time Krekel had the faith and support of Gen. Schofield, but multiple superior officers believed Krekel was an incompetent officer. Colonel John V. Du Bois and J. H. Gamble, the master of transportation for the North Missouri Railroad, believed Krekel acted foolishly by

shutting down a railway mechanical repair yard in the middle of an increased need for speedy troop transportation. Missouri's Adjutant General John B. Gray thought Krekel was either lazy or unintelligent in his methods of recruiting for the Enrolled Missouri Militia. About the time that Krekel became Fulton's provost marshal, Colonel Lewis Merrill, commander of the famed cavalry unit called Merrill's Horse, summed up his thoughts on Krekel. Merrill wrote to General Odon Guitar that "Krekel ought to be able to do something, but he and his men are evidently so worthless that I can hope for nothing from them."<sup>36</sup>

Military occupation and martial law had a profound effect on everyday life in Callaway county, but not every Callawegian thought constantly about the war. There were events that could divert the attention. The diary of Mary Samuella "Sam" Curd illustrates this well. Curd began keeping her diary shortly after her marriage in the fall of 1860. Sam was the wife of Thomas Curd, a prominent Fulton merchant, and she was keenly politically astute. She came from a Richmond, Virginia, family and was strongly secessionist. Her early diary entries are filled with her musings on politics, secession, the war, and her desire to be with like-minded people in the Confederacy. In the summer of 1861, however, her diary entries began to become less political and more personal. She and her husband decorated, furnished, and moved into a new house. In the fall she gave birth to a daughter, and her husband became ill with consumption (tuberculosis). As the war raged around her, her thoughts centered almost exclusively on her husband, as he became more and more ill in the winter of 1861-1862 and finally died that spring. Curd's diary tells a sad and touching tale that shows that family was more important than the

war, and even a hardened secessionist abandoned her political thoughts when faced with a personal crisis.<sup>37</sup>

From mid-1862 to the end of the war in 1865, little changed in Callawegians' experience of the war. Military commanders and provost marshals came and went. Union recruiting officers came to enroll draftees. Guerillas passed through the countryside from time to time, raising alarms among the local garrison and often receiving aid from local Secesh. At the urging of Gen. Price, guerilla action in northern and central Missouri surged in the summer and fall of 1864, culminating in the death of the infamous "Bloody" Bill Anderson in Ray County. Local southern sympathizers felt the need to bite their tongues and swallow their pride in order to survive, but through it all military leaders believed Callaway County was "one of the worst rebel counties in the state."<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Samuella Curd, *Sam Curd's Diary: The Diary of a True Woman*, ed. Susan Arpad (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1984), 117.

<sup>2</sup> Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 6; Curd, 91-93; Branch, 94; O. R. series I, volume III, 401-402.

<sup>3</sup> O. R. series I, volume III, 401-402.

<sup>4</sup> Curd, 93; O. R. series I, volume III, 426-427.

<sup>5</sup> Parrish, *A History of Missouri, Vol. III*, 36, 64-65; Parrish, "Provisional Government," 38-39, 43.

<sup>6</sup> O. R. series I, volume III, 53-130; Parrish, *A History of Missouri, Vol. III*, 36-39.

<sup>7</sup> Branch, 85-87; Curd, 101; Parrish, *Westminster College*, 25-26; Callaway [pseud.], "The Numbers and Doings of the Secesh," *St. Louis Daily Missouri Democrat*, October 31, 1861; "The Whole Art of Making Shot," *Fulton Missouri Telegraph*, October 11, 1861.

<sup>8</sup> Callaway.

<sup>9</sup> Branch, 87; Callaway; *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 223, 404.

<sup>10</sup> Branch, 87; Callaway.

<sup>11</sup> Curd, 106; M., "Headquarters, Fifth Regiment," *Louisiana Journal*, November 14, 1861.

<sup>12</sup> O. R. series I, volume VIII, 457-463.

<sup>13</sup> O. R. series I, volume VIII, 463-464.

<sup>14</sup> O. R. series I, volume VIII, 474-475; Curd, 110.

<sup>15</sup> Frost, 290-292. O. R. series II, volume I, 269, 472-476.

<sup>16</sup> Lyde Black Jones, *Col. Jefferson F. Jones of the Kingdom of Callaway: His Ancestors and Descendants* (Austin, TX: Aus-Tex Printing, 1992), 2; Frost, 289-292; William S. Bryan and Robert Rose, *A History of the Pioneer Families of Missouri* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand, 1876), 426-428; Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 24; *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 867-868.

<sup>17</sup> Jones, 2, 47; Frost, 289-292; Bryan and Rose, 426-428; *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 867-868.

<sup>18</sup> Frost, 290.

<sup>19</sup> O. R. series I, volume VIII, 475; Frost, 290; O. R. series II, volume I, 269;

<sup>20</sup> Frost, 290.

<sup>21</sup> Frost, 289-290; O. R. series I, volume VIII, 475; O. R. series II, volume I, 264.

<sup>22</sup> Frost, 290-291;

<sup>23</sup> O. R. series II, volume I, 269; Frost 290-291.

<sup>24</sup> Frost, 291.

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<sup>25</sup> Frost 291-292; Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 24; *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 868; O. R. series II, volume VII, 296, 655, 626-660; J. Holt, *Report of the Judge Advocate General on the "Order of American Knights," or "Sons of Liberty." A Western Conspiracy in Aid of the Southern Rebellion* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 1-16.

<sup>26</sup> Parrish, *A History of Missouri, Vol. III*, 65-66; O. R. series I, volume VIII, 474-475.

<sup>27</sup> O. R. series I, volume VIII, 474-475.

<sup>28</sup> Branch, 94; O. R. series I, volume XLI, part I, 441; O. R. series I, volume XLI, part IV, 228.

<sup>29</sup> O. R. series I, volume VIII, 641.

<sup>30</sup> Branch, 94-95.

<sup>31</sup> Branch, 94-95; *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 391-393.

<sup>32</sup> O. R. series I, volume XLI, part II, 478; O. R. series I, volume XIII, 265-266, 283, 539, 550, 604.

<sup>33</sup> *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 393.

<sup>34</sup> *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 394-395.

<sup>35</sup> *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 395.

<sup>36</sup> William E. Parrish, *Missouri Under Radical Rule, 1865-1870* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965), 23-24; O. R. series I, volume XIII, 550, 604, 681, 808-810; O. R. series I, volume XLI, part III, 592; O. R. series I, volume XLI, part II, 539-540.

<sup>37</sup> Curd, 47-128.

<sup>38</sup> O. R. series I, volume XXXIV, part III, 107-108, 659-660; O. R. series I, volume XXII, part II, 760-767; O. R. series I, volume XXXIV, part IV, 301; O. R. series I, volume XLI, part I, 130, 911, 934-935; O. R. series I, volume XLI, part II, 99, 178, 705-706, 719; O. R. series I, volume XLI, part III, 349, 484-485, 489, 621; O. R. series I, volume XLI, part IV, 369; Curd, 108-110.

## Chapter 3: Legacy and Legend

The close of the Civil War in 1865 concluded most of the military violence in the United States, but it was not the end of the nation's political grief. In the former Confederacy, federal troops and imported officials enforced the new policies of the Radical Republicans controlling Washington. The Radicals attempted to crush the old social order of the slaveholding South because they found slavery morally reprehensible. The more logistically minded Radicals also tried to effect an orderly integration of the new freedmen into free society. The Radicals' vindictive and humiliating policies held sway politically until early 1877.

Because Missouri had nominally remained loyal to the Union, it was not subject to military Reconstruction like the former Confederate states, but the Radicals still controlled Missouri. Home-grown Radicals held a majority in the Missouri state government from 1865 to 1872. Missouri's Radicals imposed a new constitution on the state and barred thousands of Missourians from voting and public service because of wartime disloyalty. Callaway County, one of the hotbeds of that wartime rebellion and rebel sympathy, suffered the full brunt of the Radical's wrath. Radical rule in Callaway County during the Reconstruction era was not the only result of the war. The chain of events between Col. Jefferson Jones and Gen. John B. Henderson near Wellsville in 1861 led to a new legacy and a new sobriquet for the county. The story of the Kingdom of Callaway grew from a nickname into a legend and found its way into popular fiction, local and national politics, and poorly researched histories.

During the presidential election of 1864, the legislative arm of Missouri's Provisional Government placed a referendum on the ballot to hold a convention to draft a



new state constitution and elect the delegates to this constitutional convention. The voters authorized the convention, and almost three-fourths of the sixty-six delegates elected came from the Radical Unionist faction of the Republican Party. The Radicals, most of whom had strong anti-slavery morals, intended to destroy the practice of slavery in Missouri and to depose the men and women who had become rich and powerful on the backs of their slaves. The Radicals believed their ideas were morally superior to all others and that their opponents were unquestionably wrong. The Radicals used every political and legal means at their disposal to quash and silence their opposition.<sup>1</sup>

The 1865 convention, under the leadership of Charles Drake, created a new constitution that emancipated all slaves in the state and instituted a new test oath for civic participation. The new draft also reapportioned seats in the General Assembly and modified the rules and powers of the legislature. Moderate and conservative delegates to the convention questioned Drake's motives and ideas, but the convention eventually voted overwhelmingly for the new constitution. The final vote occurred April 8, 1865, one day before General Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox.<sup>2</sup>

Because the Radicals knew that they were a minority of the electorate, they needed to disenfranchise their opposition to preserve their work. In the popular vote to accept the new constitution they used the voting test oath adopted by the Provisional Government in 1861, but the oath they wrote into the constitution was even stronger. The new so-called Ironclad Oath required that all voters, ministers, lawyers, jurors, teachers, and officeholders swear they had never acted rebelliously or disloyally in an exhaustive list of circumstances. When the state legislature voted at its first opportunity to repeal the requirement of the oath, voting registrations increased dramatically, especially in Little

Dixie counties like Callaway. Statewide, there were twenty-five percent more registered voters in 1872 than in 1868 when the oath was still in effect.<sup>3</sup>

The other bludgeon the Missouri Radicals used to secure their power became known as the Ousting Ordinance. During the 1865 convention, the delegates decided that there were too many state officials, especially judges, who were conservative enough to potentially obstruct the spirit or letter of the convention's work. As a result, they vacated more than 850 state offices, including all sheriffs and judicial officers. Police arrested the entire state supreme court in order to remove them from the bench. The Ousting Ordinance gave the Radical governor, Thomas Fletcher, the power to appoint persons to the vacant offices until elections could be held under the Ironclad Oath.<sup>4</sup>

The Drake Constitution provided for the immediate emancipation of slaves, but it did not include any measures to ensure civil rights to the newly freed men and women. Many former slaves migrated to the larger cities of the state after being chased from the rural areas by former owners. By late 1865, however, it became evident that the cities could not provide for all the freedmen, so many filtered back to the rural areas. Most former slaves took work where they could find it, but many whites were unwilling to hire freedmen.<sup>5</sup>

The convention considered black suffrage, but even Drake believed that the former slaves were neither intelligent nor civilized enough to be entrusted with the franchise. A popular vote defeated a constitutional amendment establishing black suffrage in 1868. The legislature and the governor quickly ratified the Fifteenth Amendment to the US Constitution, so Missouri adopted black suffrage at the same time as most of the nation in early 1870.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Missouri legislature adopted a specific and liberal law providing for freedmen's education, the lack of an enforcement clause in the legislation led to non-implementation in many counties. The federal Freedman's Bureau helped establish schools in the cities, even in Columbia in the heart of Little Dixie. More sparsely populated counties, like Callaway, simply ignored the law, citing a lack of interest among both blacks and whites. When the first school for black children finally opened in Callaway County, the white teacher faced ostracism from almost everyone he encountered.<sup>7</sup>

In order to qualify to vote or hold office under the Ironclad Oath, many Missouri rebels and Confederates applied for presidential pardons. In the late twentieth century, Carolyn Bartels compiled all the available Missouri pardon applications but only found four appellants from Callaway County. Henry Larrimore, J. W. Bartley, and N. L. Norton all received pardons. Jefferson Jones also appealed to President Andrew Johnson, claiming that depredations during the war had left him destitute. Bartels's research does not include a record indicating if Jones received his pardon, but since even Gen. Sterling Price received a pardon, it is likely Jones did as well. Furthermore, as Jones later served in the Missouri House of Representatives, he must have been pardoned in order to be eligible for that office.<sup>8</sup>

Although much of Callaway County's experience of the Reconstruction era was similar to many other Missouri counties, a few stories stand out. In 1869, an unidentified Missouri congressman tried to effect a *coup de nom* on the Callawegians. He introduced a bill proposing to change the name of the county to Rodman County to help wipe away the shame Callaway County had imposed on the rest of the state during the war. The bill did

not pass, but John B. Williams, the editor of the *Fulton Missouri Telegraph*, appeared resigned to the fact that yet another indignity would be forced on Callaway when he reported the bill's introduction.<sup>9</sup>

One of the biggest developments in Callaway County during this period was the completion of the Louisiana and Missouri River Railroad, later known as the Chicago and Alton. Prior to the 1870s, there was no railroad in Callaway County. The nearest stations were at Mexico and Wellsville along the North Missouri Railroad or the station at St. Aubert that required a ferry ride across the Missouri River to Mokane. The new Louisiana and Missouri River line, completed in 1872, was a welcome addition to the county. The line ran from Mexico to Jefferson City with stations in Auxvasse, McCredie, Fulton, New Bloomfield, and Holt's Summit and connected the North Missouri and Missouri Pacific rail lines.<sup>10</sup>

Although the railroad itself was not political, Radical politics tainted its construction. Following the Ousting Ordinance, Gov. Fletcher had appointed the members of the Callaway County Court. Those Radical officials had not yet faced an election in 1870 when they levied \$650,000 in railroad bonds at nine percent interest to help pay for the project. Many Callawegians felt that the court had saddled the county with an inordinate debt at a usurious rate. In 1872, the county repudiated the debt, and years of legal wrangling followed. Eventually, a US Supreme Court decision validated the bonds. Callawegians felt that since only five of the nine justices backed the majority opinion in the case, they would only pay five-ninths of the debt. The creditors settled for this portion, and Callaway County eventually paid a total of \$1,500,000 in interest, principle, and legal fees to retire the original \$650,000 debt.<sup>11</sup>

Callaway County also gained national attention when a lynch mob killed the county sheriff in 1873. Sheriff George Law and a small posse were in the process of transporting Peter Kessler, a convicted mule thief, to the state penitentiary when a mob surrounded their carriage and demanded the prisoner. Sheriff Law refused to surrender Kessler, and the mob fired several shots into the hack. Sheriff Law and two of the posse members died of their gunshot wounds, and the prosecuting attorney and another posse member were wounded. Curiously, George Law had been elected while the Ironclad Oath was in effect, but Law was a one-armed veteran who served with Gen. Price and had not been pardoned. Sheriff Law could not have legally been elected, but it excited Callawegians to have a former Confederate officer as their sheriff, until he stood up for the rule of law.<sup>12</sup>

Reconstruction was a noteworthy outcome of the Civil War for Callaway County, but it had little lasting effect on the area. Radical policies affected the railroad financing and are a side note in the story of Sheriff Law, but the growing legend of the Kingdom of Callaway that emerged from the treaty between Col. Jones and Gen. Henderson became a much greater part of the history of the county. An interesting bridge between Reconstruction and the story of the Kingdom of Callaway can be found in Jefferson Davis's visit to Fulton in 1875.

After the surrender of the Confederacy in 1865, Union military officials charged Davis with treason and imprisoned the former Confederate president at Fort Monroe in Virginia. He was never tried and released in 1867. For years, Davis was a polarizing figure in American public opinion. Some saw him as the arch-traitor, but to others he was a hero for states' rights and Southern liberty. By 1875 Davis had accepted a few

figurehead roles, one of which was serving as the spokesman for agricultural expansion in the Mississippi River Valley.<sup>13</sup>

In the summer of 1875, Davis received numerous invitations to speak at county fairs because the agricultural issue was generally nonpolitical, and Davis supporters could use his public appearances to help rehabilitate the deposed leader's legacy. From among all the invitations Davis received, he chose to speak in Kansas City, Missouri, with speeches in De Soto and Fulton along the way. Davis chose these locations because he believed he would be well received in each city.<sup>14</sup>

In Fulton, Davis gave his agricultural speech but also added a few paragraphs precious to the more than ten thousand Callawegians assembled at the fairgrounds to hear him speak. Davis noted that he had heard of the Kingdom of Callaway during the war and had been worried because he disliked monarchies and did not want such a government to infiltrate America. Upon arriving in the Kingdom of Callaway, however, he found that the king was no single ruler. Instead, Davis found that the King of Callaway was the people of Callaway County and the noble spirit of all Callawegians. Davis stayed on the fairgrounds for several hours, greeting individuals, kissing the women, shaking men's hands, and paying special attention to the many scarred and disabled Confederate veterans who had come to hear their hero speak.<sup>15</sup>

Jefferson Davis made it clear that the Kingdom of Callaway was an idea known across the country by the end of the Civil War, but it is unclear when that name was first used or by whom. One early source contradicts Davis by claiming that Radicals bestowed the nickname on the county after the war. Ovid Bell attributes the first use of the phrase to Jefferson Jones. Bell's citation, however, is to an oblique reference found in an early

biographical sketch of Jones. There is no indication of specifically when or under what circumstances Jones would have referred to his home county as a kingdom, and the reference Bell uses may simply be implying Jones's pivotal role in the Wellsville treaty.<sup>16</sup>

The first recorded use of the phrase Kingdom of Callaway came from John Sampson, a leading Callawegian from Boydsville. In 1862, Provost Marshal Col. Krekel required all Callawegians to enroll themselves as either loyal or disloyal. According to Bell, when the enrolling officer questioned Sampson's loyalty, "Sampson announced with a shout: 'I am from the Kingdom of Callaway, six feet, four-and-one-half inches tall, and all South by God!'"<sup>17</sup> When the Missouri House of Representatives expelled Sampson from the House in 1865 for leading the secessionist meeting in Boydsville in 1861, they also noted this incident, but they reported that "the said John Sampson being called on to enroll himself, voluntarily enrolled himself 'John Sampson, nine feet four and one half inches high, all South.'"<sup>18</sup> The quote from the legislative record is less colorful and exaggerates Sampson's already tall height by three feet, but it still calls into question the veracity of the account that he used the phrase "Kingdom of Callaway" in 1862.<sup>19</sup>

There is some evidence that people were talking about the Kingdom of Callaway shortly after the episode at Wellsville. In early December 1861, a few weeks after Col. Jones returned from Wellsville, Sam Curd recorded in her diary, "Missouri is in a most horrible condition, a kingly government would be preferable."<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, there is nothing concrete in Curd's use of the phrase "kingly government." It is possible that this was simply a stray comment from a worried woman, but it is also possible that Callawegians were already talking about the Kingdom of Callaway. Curd was a well-to-

do woman in Fulton, who socialized and sympathized with many of the local Secesh, so it is possible that her diary entry reflected thoughts she had heard in recent conversations.

While it may be impossible to ascertain who first called Callaway County the Kingdom of Callaway or when they did it, the name has embedded itself in the local culture and legends. The name and versions of the story can be found in state and local histories, early twentieth-century fiction, a separatist fringe publication, a federal civil rights report, and local government proceedings. These sources record the origins and conditions of the Kingdom with varying degrees of accuracy and seriousness.<sup>21</sup>

Understandably, a fictional story may embellish and misrepresent historical fact. Raymond Weeks, the author of “The Hound-Tuner of Callaway,” a short story in an early twentieth-century collection of the same name, tells the story of King Basil of Callaway searching the state for his runaway daughter. His story about the origins of the kingdom, however, is so close to being factual that it is dangerous in its fictional nature. According to Weeks, Missouri seceded at the beginning of the Civil War, but Unionist elements brought the state back. Callaway County refused reassimilation and seceded from the state. Weeks makes no mention of Jefferson Jones or a treaty. Weeks’ tale either reflects or may be the source for the myth of Callaway County’s secession from Missouri.<sup>22</sup>

More detrimental to factual history than Weeks’ short story are the histories and other nonfiction sources that incorrectly report the origins of the name. Most of these make it appear that Callaway County considered itself a sovereign political entity when there is no historical evidence of this phenomenon. According to two sources, both from the late 1960s, the negotiations between Col. Jones and Gen. Henderson at Wellsville included stipulations that the US Army would not invade Callaway County and that Jones



and others from Callaway would not invade any other part of the United States. One of these sources, a self-published volume without citations, also claims that “Callaway County, having thus dealt as an absolute equal with a sovereign power, became known as the Kingdom of Callaway.”<sup>23</sup> A recent book on odd Missouri place names makes the entirely unsupported claim that “a message was sent to Jefferson City and Washington, D.C., that the county had become a kingdom and would not join either side.”<sup>24</sup> Historical accounts like these and others that are similarly poorly researched, undocumented, and inaccurate perpetuate legend rather than fact and are dangerous in the field of local history where verifiable facts are already often in short supply. Legend and folklore are valuable, but they are not a substitute for history.<sup>25</sup>

These legends, not always factual but always stemming from the Civil War, are the most significant legacy of that great national conflict for Callaway County. The reformation of state law by self-righteously imperious Radical Republicans had serious effects on the state at the time, but their machinations do not figure prominently in Callaway County history. Many Missourians of the twenty-first century have heard of the Kingdom of Callaway. Many Callawegians still know the legends behind the sobriquet, and some even know the facts.

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<sup>1</sup> William E. Parrish, *Missouri Under Radical Rule, 1865-1870* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965), 10-15.

<sup>2</sup> David D. Marsh, "Charles D. Drake and the Constitutional Convention of 1865," in *The Civil War in Missouri: Essays from the Missouri Historical Review, 1906-2006*, ed. William Parrish (Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri, 2006), 210-212; Parrish, *Radical Rule*, 25-35; Parrish, *A History of Missouri, 1860-1875*, 116-124.

<sup>3</sup> Parrish, *A History of Missouri, 1860-1875*, 127-138; Branch, 115.

<sup>4</sup> Parrish, *Radical Rule*, 50-55; Parrish, *A History of Missouri, 1860-1875*, 126-127; Branch, 114.

<sup>5</sup> Parrish, *Radical Rule*, 108-110, 115-116.

<sup>6</sup> Parrish, *Radical Rule*, 269-273.

<sup>7</sup> Aaron Astor, *Rebels on the Border: Civil War, Emancipation and the Reconstruction of Kentucky and Missouri* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 150-151; Parrish, *Radical Rule*, 121-124; Branch, 116.

<sup>8</sup> Carolyn M. Bartels, *Missouri Amnesty* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1990); *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 868.

<sup>9</sup> Branch, 118; "Goodbye Callaway," *Fulton Missouri Telegraph*, February 12, 1869.

<sup>10</sup> Bell, *Short History*, 25-26; Branch, 119-120, 123.

<sup>11</sup> Bell, *Short History*, 25-26.

<sup>12</sup> Bartels; Branch, 132-133; "Special Dispatch from Jefferson City," *New York Times*, August 17, 1873.

<sup>13</sup> Hudson Strode, *Jefferson Davis, Volume III: Tragic Hero* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1964), 302, 402-404; William E. Parrish, "Jefferson Davis Comes to Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 57, no. 4 (July 1963): 345.

<sup>14</sup> Parrish, "Jefferson Davis," 345.

<sup>15</sup> Parrish, "Jefferson Davis," 352-353; Jefferson Davis, public address, Fulton, MO, September 11, 1875.

<sup>16</sup> *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 99; Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 26; Bryan and Rose, 426; Lister, v.

<sup>17</sup> Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 27.

<sup>18</sup> "House—Morning Session. Wednesday January 4, 1865," *Missouri State Times*, January 7, 1865.

<sup>19</sup> Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 27; "House—Morning Session"; *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 393.

<sup>20</sup> Curd, 108.

<sup>21</sup> *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 99; Lister, v; Margot Ford McMillen, *Paris, Tightwad, and Peculiar: Missouri Place Names* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994), 63-64; Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway*, 1-31; Bell, *Short History*, 1, 24-25; Hugh P. Williamson, *The Kingdom of*

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*Callaway* ([Fulton, MO?]: Hugh P. Williamson, 1967), 32-34; Charles W. Kerr, "Politics and Ideology in the Kingdom of Callaway" (PhD diss., University of Missouri—Columbia, 1963), 37-41; Raymond Weeks, *The Hound-Tuner of Callaway* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), 1-2, 6-7; Erwin S. Strauss, *How to Start Your Own Country: How You Can Profit from the Coming Decline of the Nation State* (Port Townsend, WA: Loompanics Unlimited, 1983), 81; Missouri Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Race Relations in the "Kingdom" of Callaway* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1979), 3; Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, *History 1984*, iv.

<sup>22</sup> Weeks, 1-29.

<sup>23</sup> Williamson, 33.

<sup>24</sup> McMillen, 64.

<sup>25</sup> Strauss, 81; Williamson, 32-34; Missouri Advisory Committee, 3; McMillen, 63-64.

## Conclusion

During the Civil War, most northern states saw little or no armed action, but they sent men off to fight in the South. Many southern states in the Confederacy saw intense military activity as southerners fought to defend their homes and livelihoods from northern aggression. In border states like Missouri, much of the fighting was internal. Friends, neighbors, and even families tore themselves apart because of their opposing political and moral allegiances.

Some of the events in Callaway County were typical of Missouri generally and Little Dixie specifically. All of Missouri had to deal with a rebellious *de jure* governor, an unelected *de facto* Provisional Government, and the variously wise and foolish political and military decisions of a succession of federal army commanders. Much of Missouri had to deal with rebel incursions and guerilla warfare. General Sterling Price led raids into the state from Arkansas, and various bands of unofficial bushwhackers and semi-official partisan rangers wreaked havoc across the state. Guerrilla activity was heaviest on the Missouri-Kansas border and in Little Dixie, areas where the bushwhackers could find dependable civilian support. Because of the increased guerrilla activity, these areas, including Callaway County, experienced the strictest enforcement of martial law under the guidance of a series of provost marshals and their troops.

At least one event in Callaway County was unique. The non-aggression agreement reached between civilian leader Jefferson Jones and US Brigadier General John B. Henderson had no parallel during the war. Jones and other Callawegians apparently believed that the agreement was not only a non-aggression pact but a non-interference treaty as well. Secessionist residents were sorely disappointed when

Henderson's troops arrived and occupied the county only a few days after the agreement. Few Callawegians appreciated the enforcement of martial law by Callaway County's provost marshals like Lt. Col. Arnold Krekel as they extended their control beyond interference to interdiction. Although the federals kept the Callawegians under their thumb, the rebellious spirit of the county and the events at Wellsville in late October 1861 led to the Callaway County's greatest legacy of the war, the birth and growth of the legend of the Kingdom of Callaway.<sup>1</sup>

Because much of what happened in Callaway County during the war occurred in other parts of Missouri as well, much of the background information on a topic such as the Kingdom of Callaway comes from statewide histories. Anyone studying Missouri's Civil War experience owes a great debt of gratitude to Dr. William E. Parrish for his work on this subject. Beginning with his master's thesis in 1953 and continuing over five decades, Dr. Parrish published several volumes on Missouri's government during the war and Reconstruction, as well as editing a collection of articles on the subject and writing a general history of Missouri for the era. There are many scholars who have made contributions toward the study of Missouri in the Civil War, but Dr. Parrish's work stands out above all the others.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the writings of Dr. Parrish, there are numerous other studies of Civil War Missouri that are useful; many of these books and articles focus either on guerilla warfare or on the rebellious Gov. Claiborne Fox Jackson and his government-in-exile. Thomas Snead's 1886 *The Fight for Missouri*, is one of the earliest works on the rebel state government while Christopher Phillips's *Missouri Confederate* from 2000 is one of the most recent. Other notable contributions include articles on Gov. Jackson and Gov.

Gamble by Marguerite Potter and Arthur Kirkpatrick and books on Missouri guerillas like Donald Gilmore's *Civil War on the Missouri-Kansas Border* and Patrick Brophy's regionally published *Bushwhackers on the Border*. Two good studies of the war experience of the border states have appeared recently, Aaron Astor's *Rebels on the Border* and William Harris's *Lincoln and the Border States*.<sup>3</sup>

There has never been a sizable, complete history written of Callaway County during the Civil War. This is surprising since the story is so curious and because the birth of the Kingdom of Callaway legend is one of the defining elements of the county's history. Not even Dr. Parrish, a long-time history professor at Westminster College in Fulton, has written a book on the topic. Mark K. Douglas wrote a short article that encompasses the war years, and he also did an excellent job culling Civil War service records to compile exhaustive information on Callawegians' military service. Ovid Bell, a venerated Fulton newspaper editor and Callaway historian, attempted to write on the topic in the early twentieth century, but he abandoned the project. Bell finished two short works that were to be a part of a larger book, but he did not write a comprehensive narrative of the war. Bell's *Political Conditions in Callaway Before the Civil War Began* is an informative glimpse into the village and city meetings in late 1860 and early 1861. Bell also wrote a well-researched, meticulously documented, and highly detailed account of the events surrounding the treaty that created the Kingdom of Callaway. Unfortunately, Bell's careful work in this booklet is marred by his unsatisfactory argument that the treaty transformed Callaway County into a sovereign political entity.<sup>4</sup>

Once source to avoid when researching Callaway County history is Hugh P. Williamson's *The Kingdom of Callaway* from 1967. Williamson's eighty-page history

covers the county from its earliest history to the 1960s, but he does not cite his sources. Furthermore, Williamson's account of the treaty at Wellsville overestimates the gravity of the treaty and does not comport with other facts in the historical record. This work seems to be more a project in satisfying Williamson's personal curiosity than an attempt at a serious history. Williamson's book can be used as a source for the folk historian, but historians looking for facts should avoid this book.<sup>5</sup>

Since little secondary work has been recorded on Callaway County during the war, numerous primary sources were needed for this project, not only to verify the work of other scholars but, more importantly, to find hitherto uncollected information. For these purposes, the US War Department's late nineteenth-century series *War of the Rebellion* is the leading primary source for military correspondence and orders for every theater of the war. Fortunately, institutions like Cornell University have made this invaluable source available and searchable online. *War of the Rebellion* can help identify names and dates, but the officers' reports often contain limited detail.

Newspapers from the period often provide the detail that the military reports lack, but researchers must be careful to separate fact from opinion in these sources, since nineteenth-century newspapers were often openly politically biased. Provost marshals and other military officers routinely shut down Missouri newspapers during the war for expressing disloyal opinions, so historians may have to look regionally rather than merely locally for newspaper coverage of events. The *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican* printed issues without major interruption throughout the war, so it is a reliably present source for researchers, and it is available online in a searchable format through the State Historical Society of Missouri. Other regional papers valuable to this project, often

available only on microfilm, included the *Louisiana Journal*, the *St. Louis Daily Missouri Democrat*, and the *Columbia Missouri Statesman*. The *Fulton Missouri Telegraph* published issues sporadically during the war when Union officials allowed its editor to do so. Unfortunately, a sizable repository of Civil War-era issues of the *Missouri Telegraph* was not found for this project. While many helpful references were available, most of these came from randomly collected articles, outside citations, and reprint editions. Research also uncovered references to *Vox Populi*, a short-lived, vitriolic Unionist newspaper from Fulton, but no copies of any issue of this paper could be found.

There are also a few published first-hand accounts of some of the Civil War events in Callaway County. Griffin Frost's biased recollection of Union military prisons includes a letter from Col. Jefferson Jones, detailing Jones's faulty recollections of the treaty of Wellsville, his imprisonment and trial, and his other wartime experiences. Although Jones's account is inaccurate in some details, it is still valuable because of his pivotal involvement in the creation of the Kingdom of Callaway legend. Joseph A. Mudd tried to rehabilitate the reputation of Confederate Col. Joseph Porter, and while his book is clearly biased, he provides a valuable eye-witness account of the battle at Moore's Mill. Finally, a single civilian diary is available in published form. Mary Samuella "Sam" Curd was a young woman who lived in Fulton from late 1860 to late 1863. Curd, originally from Richmond, Virginia, was a secessionist and was newly married to Thomas Curd, a prominent Fulton merchant. Although Susan Arpad, the diary's editor, published the journal with comment and additional documents as an exercise in women's history, the raw words of Curd's diary provide unparalleled insight into a civilian Callawegian's mind in the early years of the war.<sup>6</sup>



Most of the work recording the history of the Kingdom of Callaway is the product of native Callawegians. In Callaway County, there have always been historically minded folk to preserve county's story and the legendary name. The 1884 *History of Callaway County, Missouri* makes one reference to the Kingdom of Callaway but does not dwell on the subject, preferring to profile many of Callaway's contemporary and historic personalities and events. In the 1920s, Callawegians chose to name the new village at the intersection of highways US 40 and US 54 Kingdom City, but the motive was only partially historic. Residents of McCredie, the nearest village, wanted the new area called South McCredie while Fultonites preferred North Fulton, so the name Kingdom City was a good compromise. By the 1960s, the Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society convinced the county court to adopt an official flag for the county that prominently features a crown to preserve the historic idea of the kingdom. The introductory pages to the historical society's *A History of Callaway County Missouri 1984* examines both the origins of the name and the flag. Like the 1884 history, the twentieth-century edition also focuses on families in the county. Currently, the local historical society and county library both maintain an internet presence with articles using and explaining the origins of the name as well as general county history. Local historians like Isham C. Holland, Mark K. Douglas, and Carolyn Paul Branch have also made considerable recent contributions to Callaway County's historical record.<sup>7</sup>

The state of Missouri and the Kingdom of Callaway are both rich in Civil War stories. Many of the details of the state, especially its government and military involvement, have been well-documented by historians. Various authors have made attempts to tell the story of Callaway County's Civil War experience, but none have

produced a complete account of the period. While the present study may be one of the lengthiest projects to date, it is far from comprehensive. Other historians, both Callawegians and non-natives, should continue to explore the county's history to separate fact from fantasy and record the both the true story and the legend of the Kingdom of Callaway.

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<sup>1</sup> Frost, 289-290; M., "Headquarters, Fifth Regiment," *Louisiana Journal*, November 14, 1861; O. R. series I, volume III, 254.

William E. Parrish, "The Provisional Government of Missouri, 1861-1865" (master's thesis, University of Missouri—Columbia, 1953); William E. Parrish, *A History of Missouri: Volume III, 1860 to 1875* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1973); William E. Parrish, ed., *The Civil War in Missouri: Essays from the Missouri Historical Review, 1906-2006* (Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri, 2006); William E. Parrish, *Missouri Under Radical Rule, 1865-1870* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965); William E. Parrish, *Turbulent Partnership: Missouri and the Union, 1861-1865* (University of Missouri Press, 1963).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas L. Snead, *The Fight for Missouri*, 1886 Reprint (Independence, MO: Two Trails, 1997); Christopher Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000); Arthur R. Kirkpatrick, "Missouri's Secessionist Government, 1861-1865," in *The Civil War in Missouri: Essays from the Missouri Historical Review, 1906-2006*, ed. William Parrish (Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri, 2006); Marguerite Potter, "Hamilton R. Gamble, Missouri's War Governor," in *The Civil War in Missouri: Essays from the Missouri Historical Review, 1906-2006*, ed. William Parrish (Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri, 2006); Donald L. Gilmore, *Civil War on the Missouri-Kansas Border* (Gretna, LA: Pelican, 2006); Patrick Brophy, *Bushwhackers of the Border* (Nevada, MO: Vernon County Historical Society, 2000); Aaron Astor, *Rebels on the Border: Civil War, Emancipation and the Reconstruction of Kentucky and Missouri* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012); William C. Harris, *Lincoln and the Border States: Preserving the Union* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> Mark K. Douglas, "The Civil War in Callaway County," Daniel Boone Regional Library, <http://callaway.dbrl.org/history/the-civil-war-in-callaway-county> (accessed March 4, 2013); Mark K. Douglas, *Soldiers, Secesh, and Civilians: Compiled Records of Callawegians in the War of the Rebellion* (Fulton, MO: Jones Republic Press, 2001); William E. Parrish, *Westminster College: An Informal History, 1851-1999* (Fulton, MO: Westminster College, 2000), vii; Ovid Bell, *Political Conditions in Callaway Before the Civil War Began* (Fulton, MO: Ovid Bell Press, 1952), 4; Ovid Bell, *The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway* (Fulton, MO: Ovid Bell Press, 1952), 19-22;

<sup>5</sup> Hugh P. Williamson, *The Kingdom of Callaway* ([Fulton, MO?]: Hugh P. Williamson, 1967), 32-34, 1-80.

<sup>6</sup> Griffin Frost, *Camp and Prison Journal* (Quincy, Ill: Quincy Herald, 1867), 289-292; Joseph A. Mudd, *With Porter in North Missouri: A Chapter in the History of the War Between the States* (Washington: National Publishing, 1909), 159-197; Mary Samuella Curd, *Sam Curd's Diary: The Diary of a True Woman*, ed. Susan Arpad (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1984).

<sup>7</sup> *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, 99; Evelyn Berry, "History of Kingdom City," Daniel Boone Regional Library, <http://callaway.dbrl.org/history/history-of-kingdom-city> (accessed March 4, 2013); Lister, v-vi; Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, ed., *History 1984*, iv-vi; Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, "Callaway County Becomes the 'Kingdom'," Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, <http://www.kchsoc.org/legend.html> (accessed March 4, 2013); Douglas, "The Civil War in Callaway County"; Callaway County Public Library, "Why is Callaway County Called the Kingdom of Callaway?" Daniel Boone Regional Library, <http://callaway.dbrl.org/history/why-is-callaway-county-called-the-kingdom-of-callaway> (accessed March 4, 2013); Isham C. Holland, *The Village that Was...Reform Missouri* (Fulton, MO: Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, [2000?]); Isham C. Holland, *Holiness unto the Lord: the Holiness Church at Reform* (Fulton, MO: Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, [2009?]); Douglas, *Soldiers, Secesh, and Civilians*; Carolyn Paul Branch, *Fulton Missouri, 1820-1920: History in Stories & Photographs* (Fulton, MO: Longbranch Press, 2010).

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