

Bushwhacker Belles:

Exploring Gender, Guerrilla Warfare, and the Union Provost Marshal Records

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

“Bushwhacker Belles: Exploring Gender, Guerrilla Warfare, and the Missouri Provost  
Marshal Records”

Presented by Stephanie Marie Rohr

A candidate for the degree of Master of Arts

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

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	4
PROJECT ABSTRACT .....	6
ABOUT PAGE .....	7
INTERPRETIVE ESSAY .....	8
“Gender, Guerrilla Warfare, and Missouri”	
FEMALE GUERRILLA RIDERS .....	17
“Women Who Did Not Faint at the Smell of Gunpowder – Riders”	
FEMALE SPIES, SABOTOURS, AND MESSENGERS.....	23
“Communication and Guerrilla Warfare”	
FEMALE SUPPLIERS: THE BASKET SUPPLY LINE .....	29
“The Union had Wagon Trains, Guerrillas had Household Baskets”	
UNION PROVOST MARSHAL RECORDS OF GUERRILLA WOMEN ...	37
FURTHER READING .....	42
APPENDECES: MOCK UPS .....	45
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	52

## **PROJECT ABSTRACT**

The objective of this study is to illuminate the stories of women involved with guerrilla warfare in Missouri during the Civil War by creating a website that will collectively draw on primary and secondary source materials to provide the first comprehensive historical study in a public forum of Missouri's female guerrillas. Much of the source material for this project is drawn from the Union Provost Marshal Records. Included in the case files of Missourians accused of disloyalty are letters, testimonies, prison records, and banishment orders. Other source material used to identify these women and their activities come from newspapers, memoirs by guerrillas, census records, and county histories. The website will collectively display and evaluate these documents. Biographical information and scanned documents will be the foundation of the website, serving as an online archive. The website will include an evaluation of the experiences of women in Civil War Missouri in the form of an essay focusing on the findings from the Union Provost Marshal Records.

The archival materials found on the website will contribute to future humanities scholarship on female guerrillas, women's experiences during the Civil War, and the conflict in Missouri. This website will include primary documents that previously have not been displayed in one unified location. Currently a majority of the materials related to female guerrillas are located at the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington D.C. and various institutions in the state of Missouri. Scanning the documents and placing them all in one location online will allow users to easily access these materials in one place.

The audience for this project will be historians -- professional and amateur members of the public, and students, who are interested in many fields of history, including the Civil War, the war in Missouri, guerrilla warfare, William Clarke Quantrill, gender studies, military history,

and legal history. The website is geared towards users with levels of education from the secondary level to professional scholars. Users can access this site and use the material for their own research interests, but can also gather information from the essays and biographical sketches. The significance of this online digital exhibit is to provide primary source materials that show female guerrilla activity in Missouri but also to understand female agency during the Civil War. In the further reading section, users can find scholarly secondary materials to assist them in their research of guerrilla warfare, the Civil War, Missouri during the Civil War, and women's wartime experiences.

## **ABOUT PAGE**

*[See Appendix 1. The first page that will be viewed on the website will be the About Page. It will serve as the home page and an overview of what this website is about. At the top of the page is the main header with the site title and a graphic of Union officers searching a woman's house. The image is from the Kansas City Public Library's online archive. The clickable tab bar is below and lists: About; Interpretive Essay; Female Riders; Spies, Saboteurs, Messengers; Suppliers; and Union Provost Marshal Records. The site does not depend on readers to click each page in order.]*

The story of women who were involved in guerrilla activity in Civil War Missouri has not been fully explored, especially in a venue that can be easily accessed by a public audience. This website engages primary source material from the Union Provost Marshal Records, newspaper articles, guerrilla memoirs, and historical societies to tell the stories of women who politically acted out against the United States government. This site was developed for Civil War

scholars, students, and those who enjoy researching the history of Missouri, the Civil War, and women. On this website you will find images of original historic documents, scholarly essays, and leads to secondary materials to further enhance your knowledge of these topics. Viewers should begin by reading the “Interpretive Essay” to grasp what was occurring in Missouri during the Civil War and why women supported the guerrillas. From there, viewers can explore essays and primary documents in the other tabs on the main toolbar.

### **INTERPRETIVE ESSAY**

*[See Appendix 2. The interpretive essay page will show the Anderson quote at the top of the page followed by the essay, “Gender, Guerrilla Warfare, and Missouri.” This essay is the main introduction to the site and explains who these women are and makes a case for why they are important to study. The essay outlines the gender expectations and the experiences of American women during the 19<sup>th</sup> century so that the readers can better understand the actions of female guerrillas and why they should be interpreted as political.]*

“I would take you to be a man of too much honor as to stoop so low as to incarcerate women for the deeds of men, but I see that you have done so in some cases. I do not like the idea of warring with women and children but if you do not release all the women you have arrested in Lafayette County, I will hold all Union ladies in the county as hostages for them. I will tie them by the neck in the bush and starve them until they are released.



The ladies of Warrensburg must have Miss Fickle released. I hold them responsible for her speedy and safe return...”<sup>1</sup>

-William “Bloody Bill” Anderson, guerrilla

### ***ESSAY: Gender, Guerrilla Warfare, and Missouri***

On August 13, 1863, the cracks in the ceiling and walls of 1409 Grand Avenue, a three-story brick building in Kansas City, Missouri, worried the merchant on the first floor to such an extent he began to move his store merchandise into the middle of the street. It was speculated that the foundation was weak due to poor construction; others believed the Union army weakened support beams in the basement to cause a collapse. On the second floor of the building above the store was the location of a Civil War prison operated by Union officials. Seventeen women, a small boy, and one Union guard occupied the prison. The women were sisters, wives, and cousins of pro-Confederate, male guerrilla insurgents. Arrested in a sweep conducted by the Union army in Bates, Cass, Jackson, and Lafayette Counties in the summer of 1863, these women were charged with sheltering, feeding and supplying the “bushwhackers,” so named by the Unionists for taking sanctuary in the dense bush of western Missouri. Soldiers arrested the women while in their wagons filled with supplies on the roads outside of Kansas City or in houses in rural Jackson County; nearly all the women were under the age of twenty-five. Union officials valued them as hostages, more than prisoners for their crimes.<sup>2</sup> They believed that imprisoning the women who supported the guerrilla insurgency would cause their guerrilla kin to disperse from the western border.

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<sup>1</sup> Richard S. Brownlee, "Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy," (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), 199-203.

<sup>2</sup> Charles F. Harris, "Catalyst for Terror: The Collapse of the Women's Prison in Kansas City," *Missouri Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (April 1995), 209-306.

The building began to sway as the prison guard took two girls out into the hall to get water and he led them out of the building to safety. The other prisoners on the second floor screamed as the building began to crumble. Martha Anderson, a twelve-year-old girl, tried to jump from a window but found it impossible to escape with the ball and chain attached around her ankle.<sup>3</sup> The building collapsed. According to one newspaper account, soldiers and civilians, sweltering in the August heat, worked through the rubble to pull out the injured girls weeping from broken bones and deep lacerations.<sup>4</sup> One voice was heard from the debris, believed to be Josephine Anderson, begging for rescuers to take the bricks off her head but she eventually fell silent.<sup>5</sup> Four women perished in the prison collapse: Susan Crawford Vandiver; her twin sister Armenia Crawford Selvey; Charity McCorkle Kerr; and Josephine Anderson, the youngest victim at fourteen years old.<sup>6</sup>

Eight days later, Josephine Anderson's brother, William "Bloody Bill" Anderson, avenged the women's deaths by co-leading with William Clarke Quantrill, the infamous guerrilla raid against Lawrence, Kansas – the epicenter of anti-slavery, pro-Union Kansas. The attack left over 150 men and young boys dead.<sup>7</sup> Leading up to the raid, Union generals, including General

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<sup>3</sup> O.S. Barton, *Three Years with Quantrill: A True Story Told by His Scout John McCorkle*, (New York: Buffalo-Head Press, 1966), 76-78.

<sup>4</sup> *Kansas City Daily Journal*, 14 August 1863, Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City, Missouri.

<sup>5</sup> Edward Leslie, *The Devil Knows How To Ride: The True Story Of William Clarke Quantrill And His Confederate Raiders*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 1996), 194-195. On confusion by historians on the names of the Anderson sisters, see the U.S. Census Bureau, (1850), Mollie Anderson, Randolph County, Missouri, NARA Retrieved February 25, 2014 from ancestry.com and U.S. Census Bureau, (1860), Mollie Anderson, Agnes City Township, Kansas, NARA, Retrieved February 25, 2014 from ancestry.com.

<sup>6</sup> Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War*, (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 1997), 157-159.

<sup>7</sup> According to John McCorkle, a rider who was at Lawrence with William Clarke Quantrill, the raid was put into motion after news of the women's deaths and injuries. Other historians have argued the raid on Lawrence was planned earlier but was not put into

Ewing, understood how the guerrillas were able to stay active through civilian support. After the raid on Lawrence, Ewing issued General Order Number 11 on August 25, which mandated the evacuation of all citizens in the countryside of Missouri's four western counties. Confirmed Unionists could settle within a mile of Union-guarded towns. Intended to deprive the guerrillas of civilian support, the banishment of ten thousand civilians affected mainly the elderly, women, and children.<sup>8</sup> Ewing hoped that by dismantling the guerrilla's supply line, the Union army could take control of the Kansas-Missouri border region back from the guerrillas.

This online exhibit examines the extraordinary wartime activities of ordinary wives, mothers, and daughters who took actions against the U.S. army that ultimately led to their arrest and banishment. To understand why women faced imprisonment for supporting guerrillas, it is important to understand the nature of the conflict in Missouri. By October 1861, Major General Sterling Price and the pro-Confederate Missouri State Guard had withdrawn from Missouri, south into Arkansas. To fill the void, bands of irregular soldiers, or guerrillas, formed in western Missouri to counteract the Union army, which occupied the state in the summer of 1861.<sup>9</sup> Pro-Confederate guerrillas in Missouri, both men and women, adhered to an ideology in which they self identified as "noble American revolutionaries fighting for the liberation of Missouri from the Yankee invader and avenge in the deaths of the fallen Missourian to Federals."<sup>10</sup> The arrest

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motion until after the collapse. O.S. Barton, *Three Years with Quantrill*, 78.

<sup>8</sup> Historian Mark E. Neely Jr. claims 20,000 civilians became refugees as a result of General Order No. 11. Mark E. Neely Jr., *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 47. For citation, see Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 118. See also James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 786.

<sup>9</sup> John Fabian Witt, *Lincoln's Code: The Laws of War in American History*, (New York: Free Press, 2012), 188-189.

<sup>10</sup> Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 137.

records of Missouri Confederate women found in the Union Provost Marshal Records reveal that women held their own political beliefs and did not merely support their men out of family duty. When women are examined as a group they exhibited a remarkable level of historical agency.<sup>11</sup> Females connected to guerrillas shared a strong sense of regional identity as southerners and as Missourians who had weathered years of violence and bloodshed in the on-going border war with neighboring Kansans.

In order to determine the types of activities in which these Missouri women engaged, it became clear in the study of the Union Provost Marshal Records that there were three categories of guerrilla women: the riders; the spies; and suppliers. Most daring were the women who actually rode alongside their male counterparts on the front lines of the guerrilla war. Women also worked as spies, informants, and hostage negotiators, creating communication lines for guerrillas. Finally, women served as vital suppliers for guerrillas, providing them with food, medicine, clothing, and ammunition. Most bushwhacker women simply supplied men, while a few engaged in two to three of these roles. Like women in other parts of the south – the bread rioters in Virginia or correspondents to Confederate officials demanding protection from Yankee occupiers - they held strong political opinions and acted on them. In doing so, guerrilla women

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<sup>11</sup> Women left behind during the war faced food shortages, increases in robberies and violence towards them, and the possibility of death. These stresses produced unique behavior among southern women. Historiography on southern women's agency in recent years has begun to focus more on women's ideology, both private and politically. See also Victoria Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); Diane Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border: Missouri's Small-Slaveholding Households, 1815-1865*, (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2010); and LeeAnn Whites and Alecia P. Long, Ed., *Occupied Women: Gender, Military, Occupation, and the American Civil War*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009).

challenged traditional gender boundaries and in the process inserted women into the public sphere.

Guerrilla warfare provided Missouri women with a unique opportunity to expand their gender roles as they provided for their male partners. The agency that these women demonstrated often has been overlooked and dismissed as merely women's work on the home front. Keeping the home fires burning fit within the gender expectations of nineteenth-century women, which focused on the nurturance of their families and maintaining their homes.<sup>12</sup> Outside of the home, women's only social outlets were the church, social visiting with friends and family, and the rituals of childbirth and funerals.<sup>13</sup> In the south, women's lives varied according to region, generation, and the size of slaveholding. Slaveholding women could engage in these female social activities because enslaved women attended to their household work. In contrast, non-slaveholding women conducted much of this work on their own and, therefore, had limited opportunities to socialize.<sup>14</sup>

Often transplants or descendants of recent migrants from Kentucky or Virginia, the majority of Missouri women were partners of men who lived on small and medium sized family farms. As a community of women they shared a common status as small-scale slaveholders or

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<sup>12</sup> Victoria Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 132.

<sup>13</sup> Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 122.

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). For additional sources on southern women and gender relationships, see also: Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Diane Mutti Burke, "May We as One Family Live in Peace and Harmony: Relations between Mistresses and Slave Women in Antebellum Missouri," *Women in Missouri History: In Search of Power and Influence*, eds. LeeAnn Whites, Mary Neth, and Gary R. Kremer, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 64-81.

yeoman farmers – partners in family farming on modest farms with twenty or fewer slaves or sometimes none.<sup>15</sup> Few, if any Missouri women measured up to the plantation mistress based on their economic status as small-slaveholding or yeoman farmers. Missouri women worked in the home alongside their slaves, unlike southern plantation mistresses who dictated their slaves' work.

Prior to the nineteenth century, southern couples married based on financial stability and social standing. During the antebellum era, a shift occurred as middle and upper class couples began marrying for love. Companionate marriage, a term used to describe the ideal of marrying a spouse out of love rather than merely for economic reasons.<sup>16</sup> Though women chose their mates, antebellum society still was solidly patriarchal; white men retained all power in the household and society and women possessed no legal identity or status separate from their husbands.<sup>17</sup> While they maintained a level of moral authority within the family unit as wives and mothers, they could not vote, testify in court, hold political office, or own property. The only exception was widowed or single landowning women who could own property. When a single or widowed female married, she lost control of her property to her husband.<sup>18</sup> During this time, there were few options for women outside of marriage. While white women could be employed, it was socially unacceptable for a woman from the middle to upper class to work outside the home unless they became teachers. Women's identity and political power transpired through their husbands, fathers, and brothers and this was largely because of their defined gender roles and economic status.

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<sup>15</sup> Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 136.

<sup>16</sup> Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1984), 16.

<sup>17</sup> Diane Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 55.

<sup>18</sup> Diane Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 22-23.

With the outbreak of the war, this allowed women to assert themselves in political roles they once could not conceive. For southern sympathizing Missouri women, the Civil War represented a new opportunity to engage in political activity in service of the Confederate cause. In general, men believed that they should be the only ones involved with the fighting of wars and that women and children should be protected. According to many men, being patriotic was the only political role a woman should assume; women should not have a political voice outside of providing encouragement and support for their men.<sup>19</sup> Once the war started, women's role was to stay at home and maintain their family farms and households. But in Missouri, as in other areas of Union occupation, women's patriotism went beyond defined gender norms and became a decisive tool for the guerrillas. Historians believe that war "opens the door" for women to defy socially-prescribed gender roles and widen their public presence through their activities.<sup>20</sup> Convention held that as the war unfolded, women increasingly stepped out of their defined gender roles to maintain their homes and farms, but also to assist in the war effort. Their proper gender role increasing collided with the harsh realities of the war, thus setting their political behavior in the open not only in their activity to support guerrillas but also in their outward defiance of Union troops through their actions and public speech.<sup>21</sup> The most compelling evidence for this shift in women's gender roles and self-identity is the testimony of the women themselves, whose personal statements to the local provost marshal -- the Union military officer in charge of prosecuting cases related to disloyal civilians -- show that they understood their political agency and grasped how their actions often bewildered men. The Union Provost

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<sup>19</sup> Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 90.

<sup>20</sup> LeeAnn Whites and Alicia P. Long ed., *Occupied Women*, 2. See also, Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 278.

<sup>21</sup> McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*, 87. See also LeeAnn Whites and Alicia P. Long, *Occupied Women*, 156.

Marshal Records illuminate how some of the highest-ranking Union authorities came to view Missouri women's activities – whether they partook in active combat, engaged in covert operations, or kept the guerrillas supplied -- as political acts. Male government officials and military leaders, who for the first time encountered politically active women, struggled to make sense of these new wartime realities. Traditional notions of femininity made them assume that the likelihood of female guerrilla activity was rare and provided few precedents for correction. Thus, Union officials pondered how to punish women rebels. By 1863, Francis Lieber, a Union lawyer, explicitly argued that womanhood no longer mattered in the laws of war when it came to imprisonment and banishment, providing an answer concerning the female war-traitor.<sup>22</sup> Even though official policy demanded equally punishment in theory, in practice women usually received relatively lenient treatment compared to their male counterparts.

In addition to acting as proslavery southerners, female guerrillas also distinguished themselves as empowered, self-actualized women. Most southern women never behaved as the fictional romanticized version of the southern woman as a “mythological southern belle whose waist was cinched tight by a laced corset, whose complexion was as white as moonlight on magnolia blossoms, and who fainted at the least crisis,” according to historian Leann Rawls Atkins.<sup>23</sup> Prevailing cultural constructions of gender emphasized women's domestic roles and their function as a civilizing agent.<sup>24</sup> Confederate females rolled up their sleeves to aid and assist the insurgency, in the process placing them deliberately in harm's way on behalf of the southern cause. In Missouri, female activism took more extreme forms because of the unique situation of the border war. Historian Michael Fellman argues that guerrilla warfare generated a cultural

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<sup>22</sup> McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*, 99.

<sup>23</sup> Leah Rawls-Atkins, “High Cotton: The Antebellum Alabama Plantation Mistress and the Cotton Culture,” *Agricultural History Society* 68, no. 2, (Spring 1994), 95.

<sup>24</sup> McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*, 136.



chaos that led women, as well as men, to reconsider gender roles that lessened ideal traditional values and morals for women.<sup>25</sup> Women could no longer be restricted to the home, they could politically speak and act in public and inject themselves into male roles on the homefront and on the battlefield. Women specifically assumed roles as fighters, spies, and negotiators.<sup>26</sup> The war redefined traditional domesticity and motivated women to take great risks in the service of their cause.

### **FEMALE GUERRILLA RIDERS**

*[See Appendix 3-5. Each section of the three categories of female guerrillas will have its own page. On these pages there will be an assessment of what the actions of the particular category of women. In addition, there will be biographical information on two representative women for each section in the “Side Panel Biography” section, which is detailed below.]*

*[See Appendix 3. At the top of the page, a quote taken from Patrick Brophy’s Bushwhackers of the Border will show along with two images of Eliza Gabbert and Elizabeth Gregg. The essay on female riders will follow. The biographical sketches of women who were riders will appear to the right in a separate column that will be boxed in to highlight its difference.]*

*“The women and girls of that neighborhood did not faint at the smell of gunpowder or human blood or shrink at the sight of the dead.”*

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<sup>25</sup> Michael Fellman, *Inside War*, 215.

<sup>26</sup> Kristen Streater, “She Rebels’ on the Supply Line: Gender Conventions in Civil War Kentucky,” in *Occupied Women: Gender, Military Occupation, and the American Civil War*, eds. LeeAnn Whites and Alecia P. Long, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009), 88-102.

***Women Who Did Not Faint at the Smell of Gunpowder: Riders***

Private Henry Dysart of the Union army wrote in his diary on August 1862 about a band of guerrillas who plundered a hospital in Keytesville, Missouri. They robbed the wounded soldiers of their guns, clothing, money, and ammunition. Dysart did not record the event merely to outline guerrilla crimes, but instead to reveal that this particular guerrilla band was comprised of women. Men and women alike wrote how some Missouri women pushed female agency to extremes -- in the opinion of many, too far. Private Dysart's diary reveals his strongly held opinions on the proper behavior of women.<sup>28</sup> He concluded that women should be in hospitals caring for the men instead of acting like "inhumane savages," as did the Keytesville raiders.

The women who rode as guerrillas were women who pushed the boundaries of gender expectations nearly to their limits. These women were not afraid to carry weapons, rob, and even kill. Women who belonged to guerrilla bands typically rode with their husbands, brothers, or other family members. Most of the women who were riders were in their early teens and twenties and many were likely seeking adventure. The youngest guerrilla rider was fourteen years old. As riders, women essentially were counterparts to their men. Female guerrilla riders scouted on horseback, assisted in raids for supplies and horses, and even fired at Union forces.

While a small number of women from throughout the state rode with the guerrillas, the most heavily concentrated group of female guerrilla riders was located in Vernon County in southwestern Missouri. Lenora and Clarinda Mayfield, Eliza Gabbert, Sarah Waitman, Nancy

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<sup>27</sup> Patrick Brophy, *Bushwhackers of the Border: The Civil War Period in Western Missouri*, (Nevada, Missouri: Vernon County Historical Society, 1980), 66.

<sup>28</sup> Fellman, *Inside War*, 215.

Burrus, and Nannie McConnell belonged to a local Vernon County guerrilla gang under the leadership of Gabbert's father. In 1864, Company C 3<sup>rd</sup> Wisconsin ambushed this squad outside of Montevallo, Missouri.<sup>29</sup> McConnell escaped but the Mayfield sisters and Burrus were sent to Kansas City's Union prison. Women frequently gained freedom after their arrests for disloyal activities if they simply signed an oath of loyalty to the United States government stating that they would relinquish their political affiliations to the Confederate cause or to the guerrillas. While some women changed their behavior after their arrests, others, such as Burrus, took the loyalty oath in order to gain their freedom and continue their service to the guerrillas. Burrus wished to return home in order to continue her operation as a spy for her husband who rode in Quantrill's band when he was not in Vernon County. Both of the Mayfield sisters ended up in St. Louis's Gratiot Street Prison. Transferred to the women's prison on Myrtle Street, the sisters escaped by unscrewing the hinges of the door with a knife while the sentries slept. They walked the railroad tracks back home to Vernon County, possibly to carry on their assistance to the bushwhackers.<sup>30</sup>

In the aftermath of Order Number 11, the evacuation and destruction of guerrilla households left many of the wives of the men in Quantrill's gang homeless. It was decided that they would accompany the guerrillas to their winter rendezvous in Sherman, Texas.<sup>31</sup> William Clarke Quantrill and Bill Anderson prepared to head south with 50 men one week after the Battle of Marais de Cygnes. On November 3, 1863, four days before the guerrillas left Missouri, Elizabeth Hook Gregg married William Gregg. Elizabeth Gregg along with two other women,

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<sup>29</sup> Brophy, *Bushwhackers of the Border*, 66.

<sup>30</sup> "Daring Attempt of Escape from Myrtle St. Prison," St. Louis, Missouri: *Daily Missouri Democrat*, 15 August 1864, *Chronicling America: Historical American Newspapers*, Library of Congress.

<sup>31</sup> "Ladies of War: Female Guerrillas," St. Paul, Minnesota: *St Paul Daily Globe*. 4 January 1892, *Chronicling America: Historical American Newspapers*, Library of Congress.

her sister-in-law Mrs. J.A. Hendricks and Richard Maddox's wife, Martha Sanders Maddox, were a part of the guerrilla convoy.<sup>32</sup> Gregg ironically stated that the women rode sidesaddle alongside the men because this was the proper way for a woman to ride a horse, yet these women had no problem riding with guerrillas, which was grounds for arrest. The women who rode south distinguished themselves during a shoot-out, later dubbed a massacre by Union authorities, at the town of Baxter Springs in southeastern Kansas. It was here that the guerrillas attacked a Union baggage train -- leaving over eighty Union soldiers dead.

When they came upon the Union militia wagon train, the men initially ambushed the wagons leaving the women to hide. Most of the women were merely caught in the crossfire at Baxter Springs with the exception one independently minded woman. Harrison Trow, a guerrilla, claimed that Martha Sanders Maddox, who also went by the name of Matt Sanders, grew restless waiting in the bush with the other women and took up a gun and started firing at the Union soldiers. Elizabeth Hook Gregg said of the attack at Baxter Springs, "My dear sisters and I had bullets whiz all about my head that day...the only horror I had was being captured."<sup>33</sup> During the gunfight, a bullet separated a lock of Maddox's hair from her head.<sup>34</sup> On the return from Texas, Martha Maddox rode alongside her husband, but she was now dressed in men's clothing, an adaptation to her new guerrilla lifestyle.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Edward Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 290. In his account of the Baxter Springs Massacre, Leslie skims over the fact that over one hundred Union men died as the women raided the wagons for provisions.

<sup>33</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, Missouri Division, *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri During the Sixties*, (Jefferson City, Missouri: Stephens, ca. 1913), 30.

<sup>34</sup> John P. Burch and Harrison Trow, *Charles W. Quantrill: A True Story of His Guerrilla Warfare on the Missouri and Kansas Border During the Civil War*, (Vega, TX: J.P. Burch, 1923), 228.

<sup>35</sup> Carl W. Beihan, *Ride the Razor's Edge: The Younger Brothers' Story*, (Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing Co. 1992), 77.

Other stories of women seen riding with guerrillas can be found in the Missouri Provost Marshal Records. Some women, like Puss Michaels of Cass County, were able to avoid arrest. Michaels carried two revolvers, dressed as a male, and “died with her boots on” at the Battle of Marais de Cygnes in Kansas in the fall of 1864.<sup>36</sup> Female riders displayed the most noteworthy gender role reversal by either dressing as men or brandishing guns. Some men, mainly Union men, reacted to these women with alarm, uncertain how to respond to women who assumed non-domestic roles. While only a handful of women were known riders, the women who rode with their men reveal a unique and illuminating side of guerrilla warfare. These stories are limited and rely heavily on legend, oral histories, and remembrances, yet the multiple references to these female riders shows that there was an actual female presence in the Missouri bush.

### **SIDE PANEL BIOGRAPHIES**

*[Side panel biographies will correlate to the category of bushwhacker female. If she was a rider, spy, or supplier her biography will appear on the right hand side of the page in a separate column. The biographies will list important information about a woman gathered from her Union Provost Marshal Record, census records, or other primary materials. When available a photograph will be provided.]*

#### **Eliza Gabbert**

[Image of Eliza Gabbert]

Born in Washington County, Indiana on December 12, 1834 to William and Rebecca Gabbert, Eliza Ann Gabbert was one of the most well-known guerrilla riders from Vernon

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<sup>36</sup> “Ladies of War: Female Guerrillas,” St. Paul, Minnesota, *St Paul Daily Globe*, 4 January 1892, *Chronicling America: Historical American Newspapers*, Library of Congress.

County, Missouri. She was the oldest of eight siblings and settled in Vernon County with her family in 1858. When the war broke out, Gabbert was twenty-four years old and single. During the Civil War, her father was a leader of a guerrilla band, which included both Eliza Ann Gabbert and her brothers. She joined other Vernon County women in hostage negotiations and ammunition runs to Fort Scott, Kansas. She married John Lipscomb, a Vernon County doctor, in 1868 and the couple had had five children. Gabbert died at the age of forty-nine and is buried in Vernon County. In 2007, the Sons of the Confederacy erected a new tombstone on her gravesite to commemorate her guerrilla activity.

### **Amanda “Ella” Mayfield**

John Howard and Ella Justine (Burrus) Mayfield had three daughters who actively engaged in guerrilla activity. Their daughter Amanda, who went by Ella, was born on February 28, 1837, in Vernon County, Missouri and was twenty-three years old when the Civil War began. Her first husband was a guerrilla named Joseph Philips and soon after his death in 1861 she married another guerrilla, David Majors from Cass County, Missouri. The Federal troops came to William Gabbert’s house to arrest him and the 25 members of his guerrilla band. When a gun battle ensued, Ella Mayfield, who was in the Gabbert home, ran from the house as bullets surely hissed past her. Struck in the head by a frightened horse’s hoof, Mayfield managed to escape with blood running down her face. When she returned to the house, she discovered that seven men had died in the skirmish, the Gabbert house had burnt to the ground, and the surviving bushwhackers had disappeared into the woods. Left behind, Mayfield pieced together the bullet-shattered skull of the deceased William Bridgman of Jackson County, covering his deadly injury with his hair. She waited there until several additional women arrived and helped her bury the

fallen rebels. Mayfield was known in Vernon County as a guerrilla rider. She rode in the guerrilla band with her husband David Majors until his death in 1865 in Arkansas. After the war, Mayfield married her third husband Robert Hinch and lived in Montevallo, Missouri. She died in 1912 at the age of seventy-five.

### **FEMALE SPIES, SABOTUERS, AND MESSENGERS**

*[See Appendix 4. The essay on Communication and Warfare will be provided on the page along with the biographical sketches of women who were spies, saboteurs, and hostage negotiators. The biographical sketches will be in the right hand column on the page. For this example only two are given in this script, but the site will feature more biographical sketches of female spies.]*

#### ***Communication and Guerrilla Warfare***

Few Missouri women actually rode with the guerrillas, but many took great risks by heading to the front lines of the guerrilla war as spies and informants. As the war progressed, the Missouri countryside became an increasingly dangerous place to navigate. Men's political enemies frequently targeted them as they traveled throughout the Missouri countryside. White women's movements were restricted by gender conventions before the war; during the war women ironically could more freely and safely travel than men because their gender provided them with protection. This mobility allowed them to aid the guerrillas by transporting supplies and through their spying, reconnaissance, and negotiating. The guerrillas treasured information brought to them by women who provided information and served as liaisons for the guerrillas in hostage negotiations.

Women played an important role in the guerrilla movement by providing the bushwhackers with information about the location of Union patrols, the status of captured guerrillas, or messages from Union officials. In North Carolina, women rang cowbells, blew whistles, or hung quilts with a significant pattern or color to tell Confederate deserters if it was safe to approach home.<sup>37</sup> Missouri women established their own series of codes and signals to communicate with the men in the bush.<sup>38</sup> Margaret Vaughn Clifton of Hickman's Mill, Jackson County, Missouri was one such guerrilla spy. She hailed from the Vaughn family; several of her family members, including women who married into her family, were deeply involved with bushwhackers. Family ties often underpinned guerrilla supply and information networks. Vaughn Clifton's sisters Mary and Susan were arrested for supplying guerrillas. They were imprisoned at Gratiot Street Prison and later transferred outside Union lines. At sixteen, Margaret Vaughn married Samuel Clifton, a guerrilla. Her brother Daniel Vaughn rode with Samuel Clifton and rode in Quantrill's gang. Her husband, brother, and fellow guerrilla Richard Yeager had robbed a steamer, the *Samuel Gaty*, in April 1863 on the Missouri River near Lafayette County.<sup>39</sup> During the robbery the guerrillas murdered a Union soldier. Margaret Vaughn Clifton was arrested in Lafayette County in connection to the robbery for treason and accessory to murder. She was also charged with spying. Union officials knew she was in the Westport area and it is likely she was spying on them to learn about troop movements and to gather information about those who might

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<sup>37</sup> Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 142.

<sup>38</sup> John N. Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, (St. Louis, Missouri: Bryan, Brand and Company, 1877), 248.

<sup>39</sup> Margaret Clifton, NARA M0345 Reel 53, MSA Reel F1239, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA.



be targeted for disloyal activities. Margaret Vaughn Clifton provided information to her husband and brother so that they could relay it to other guerrillas.<sup>40</sup>

Women bushwhackers not only sustained Confederate and guerrilla communications lines, they also worked to obstruct Union communication systems. The Union army's General Order Number 32 forbade civilian destruction of communication and transportation property belonging to the United States government. If a person was found guilty, the sentence was execution -- even for women. Although there are multiple cases of women who were arrested for destructing communication lines, not one female prisoner was executed even though that was the sentence. Sarah Jane Smith, a sixteen-year-old girl, destroyed two to three miles of telegraph lines between Rolla and Springfield, Missouri.<sup>41</sup> Smith came from a northern Arkansas county but crossed into Missouri to help her male cousins who acted as guerrillas. After her arrest, the military commission ordered her to Gratiot Street Prison, where she waited for her sentence of execution by hanging. While at Gratiot, a doctor deemed Smith insane due to her epilepsy and President Abraham Lincoln pardoned her on April 13, 1865.<sup>42</sup> It is possible that a medical reason was manufactured in order to lessen her sentence because authorities were uncomfortable with

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<sup>40</sup> Margaret Clifton, NARA M0345 Reel 53, MSA Reel F1239, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA. The Union Provost Marshal charged Susannah with being a guerrilla spy in St. Joseph, Missouri in 1864. See also, Susannah Justice, NARA M0345 Reel 149, MSA Reel F1353, Union Provost Marshal, NARA viewed at MSA.

<sup>41</sup> *The Nashville Daily Union*, (Nashville, Tenn.), 22 Nov. 1864, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress. See also Sarah Jane Smith, NARA M0345, Fayetteville, Arkansas: Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Reel MC 736, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA. *Missouri Digital Heritage*, <http://cdm.sos.mo.gov/cdm/compoundobject/collection/mack/id/2667/rec/12>.

<sup>42</sup> Sarah Jane Smith, NARA M0345, Fayetteville, Arkansas: Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Reel MC 736, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA, *Missouri's Digital Heritage*, <http://cdm.sos.mo.gov/cdm/compoundobject/collection/mack/id/2667/rec/12>.

executing female prisoners. Men, however, did not enjoy the same fate as their female counterparts.<sup>43</sup>

Guerrillas engaged women to work as hostage negotiators because if a male guerrilla left the bush in order to negotiate the freedom of his companion, he likely would be arrested or killed. Woman posed no threat and could pass communication back and forth between guerrillas and Union officials. Women typically negotiated for the release of imprisoned guerrillas using captured horses or Union soldiers as bargaining chips. Ella Mayfield proved to be a particularly effective hostage negotiator. In a hostage release effort after the skirmish at William Gabbert's farmstead in Vernon County, an unknown guerrilla informant came to Ella Mayfield and asked her to ride to Fort Scott in order gain the release of Dr. Davis, a guerrilla in the Gabbert gang, who was held prisoner by Union troops and sentenced to death.<sup>44</sup> Mayfield rode to a house four miles outside of Fort Scott and learned that if she provided a photo from her family's home, Davis would be set free. Mayfield rode 125 miles in twenty-four hours to complete the hostage negotiation by returning to her home and then back to Fort Scott.<sup>45</sup> Released from Union custody, Davis returned to Vernon County where he continued as a guerrilla. It is suspected that the photo was of a Mayfield family member and Dr. Davis was mistaken as Mayfield's brother, who was a guerrilla. Ella Mayfield would find herself running one more hostage trip along with Eliza Gabbert to Fort Scott to gain the release of Henry Taylor in exchange for the captured twenty-seven Union cavalymen and horses held hostage by the Mayfield and Gabbert gang.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> LeeAnn Whites and Alecia P. Long, ed., *Occupied Women*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009).

<sup>44</sup> Neither Patrick Brophy nor the Vernon County History provided any additional information on who Dr. Davis was or why the photograph was needed by the Union.

<sup>45</sup> *The History of Vernon County, Missouri*, (St. Louis, Missouri: Brown & Company, 1887), 320-322.

<sup>46</sup> *The History of Vernon County, Missouri*, 320-322.

Women led prisoner escape plans to free guerrilla men who were held captive in Union prisons. In many cases, these men were sentenced to death and were awaiting their execution. Anna Fickle attempted to aid in a prisoner escape from the military prison in Lexington, Missouri.<sup>47</sup> A Maysville, Kentucky newspaper from May 10, 1864 detailed the plot of nineteen-year-old Fickle and seventy-eight year-old widow Ann Reid to bribe a Union soldier to cut a guard's throat and free guerrilla Ortho Hinton from his ball and chain. The bribed Union soldier ratted out the women and when the exchange was to occur, the guards killed Hinton instead. The Union army descended upon Ann Reid's home, arresting Reid and Fickle.<sup>48</sup> Reid's home was burned to the ground after the women's arrest.<sup>49</sup> A Unionist Kentucky newspaper proclaimed, "Such women! They would strangle their own children to carry any wicked purpose their hearts might conceive!"<sup>50</sup>

In many cases female spies and informants performed the dirty work that men could not without an unacceptably high risk of capture or death. The women provided information that enabled the guerrillas to stay clear from the Union troops or identify potential targets from which to acquire supplies. Their communication network also enabled the guerrillas to keep in contact with each other as they moved throughout the Missouri countryside. In short, they filled a huge void in the guerrilla ranks by serving as their communication lines.

### **SIDE PANEL BIOGRAPHIES**

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<sup>47</sup> Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 199.

<sup>48</sup> Anna Fickle and Anna Reid, NARA M0345 Reel 91, MSA F1659-837-21953, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA.

<sup>49</sup> William Young, *Young's History of Lafayette County, Missouri*, (Indianapolis, Indiana: B.F. Bowen and Company, 1910), 135.

<sup>50</sup> "From the Lexington, Missouri Weekly Union," *The Dollar Weekly Bulletin*, Maysville, Kentucky, 10 March 1864, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress.

## **Margaret Vaughn Clifton**

A known guerrilla spy, Margaret Ann Vaughn-Clifton was born about 1847 in Jackson County, Missouri to Josiah and Mary Vaughn. There were several active guerrillas in the Vaughn family, including Margaret's brother Daniel. On August 10, 1862, sixteen-year-old Margaret married Samuel Clifton, who was a guerrilla who rode with her brother Daniel as members of William Clark Quantrill's gang. On April 30, 1863 Margaret Vaughn Clifton was arrested outside of Westport, Missouri as a guerrilla spy after her brother, husband, and a companion robbed a steamer, killing a Union soldier in the process. The provost marshal charged her with spying, treason, and accessory to murder and additionally charged her with supplying, feeding, and harboring guerrillas. Clifton's sisters Mary and Susan also were arrested for supplying guerrillas. They were imprisoned at Gratiot Street Prison and later transferred past Union lines. Margaret Vaughn Clifton was imprisoned in Westport, Missouri. After the war, Margaret and Samuel lived in Pleasant Hill, Missouri and had three children. She died at the age of thirty-nine on September 22, 1886.

## **Anna Fickle**

Anna Fickle was born on April 9, 1839 to Henry H. and Frances Fickle and was raised on a small farm in Odessa in Lafayette County, Missouri. According to the 1860 federal census, Fickle was one of seven children. One of her brothers, Joseph, was a known guerrilla, who was killed alongside three other guerrillas in a skirmish with one hundred Union soldiers on April 1863.<sup>51</sup> According to a former guerrilla's memoir, Anna Fickle made William Clarke Quantrill's black flag from a dress and presented the flag to him in his camp. Fickle also was involved in an

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<sup>51</sup> *The History of Lafayette County, Missouri*, (St. Louis, Missouri: Missouri Historical Company, 1881), 289.

unsuccessful prisoner escape. She was later captured for her involvement and sentenced to ten years in prison. She was first imprisoned at Myrtle Street Prison in St. Louis and later transferred to the Missouri Penitentiary in Jefferson City, where President Lincoln pardoned her on February 4, 1865. After the war, she married George Parker in Lafayette County on December 2, 1867. Fickle had four children, three daughters and a son. She died on June 20, 1920 at age eighty-one and is buried in Odessa, Missouri.

### **FEMALE SUPPLIERS: THE BASKET SUPPLY LINE**

*[See Appendix 5. At the top of the page, two images will be provided of Kate Clarke and Bill “Bloody Bill” Anderson. I chose these two images because Clarke was a supplier and Anderson is wearing a guerrilla shirt made by guerrilla women. A quote from Thomas Ewing, Jr. about women’s role in guerrilla warfare will be included at the top as well. The essay about female suppliers will appear after the quote. On the right side will be the biographical sketch panel.]*

[Image of Kate Clarke Quantrell] [Image of William “Bloody Bill” Anderson in Guerrilla Shirt]

“All of the people of the country through fear or favor, feed them and give information as to their movements. Having all the inhabitants, by good will or compulsion, thus practically their friends and being familiar with the fastness of the country wonderfully adapted by nature to guerrilla warfare.”<sup>52</sup>

-Union General Thomas Ewing, Jr., August 1863

***The Union had Wagon Trains, Guerrillas had Household Baskets***

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<sup>52</sup> James W. Erwin, *Guerrillas in Civil War Missouri*, (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2012), 73.

The Union army had a federally-funded supply line complete with supply depots, wagon trains, quartermasters, and procurement officers.<sup>53</sup> In contrast, lacking a formal, logistical infrastructure, the guerrilla bands in Missouri relied heavily on women to purchase and deliver food, medicine, clothing, and to transport items to the men. By foot, wagon, or horse, these women took their supplies in baskets to guerrillas' hidden camps in the Missouri bush and caves. The Union Provost Marshal Records reveal that most of the women arrested or interrogated in Missouri simply supplied guerrillas, many of whom were their husbands, brothers, and sons. Women on both sides, Union or Confederate, were eager to demonstrate their loyalties by providing domestic supplies to their men.<sup>54</sup> Historians have overwhelmingly agreed; women's domestic supply line maintained guerrillas in Missouri.<sup>55</sup> Women not only cared for their men's livelihood by providing food and medicine, they played a vital role in the military effort by arranging for the delivery of ammunition, uniforms and specialized clothing and flags. Though the women were engaged in domestic activities, the fact that they were providing enemy combatants with supplies meant that they were actively working against the Union cause. Women could have ignored the men in the bush, but for them to act out against the Union shows that they understood that carrying a basket out to the men in hiding was serving a cause that they felt was important.

Women aided men not only through food and ammunition supplies, but also in ways that boosted the morale of the guerrillas and helped them to identify as a military unit. The aesthetics of a military regiment are demonstrated through uniforms and flags creating distinctive looks that served as identifying factors for soldiers. The Union army wore the standard issue navy blue

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<sup>53</sup> Erwin, *Guerrillas in Civil War Missouri*, 71.

<sup>54</sup> Whites, *Occupied Women*, 88.

<sup>55</sup> Whites, *Occupied Women*, 7. See also: Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 248.

uniform. Missouri guerrillas also identified as a military unit by proudly donning “guerrilla shirts”. These homemade shirts had elaborate ornate hand-stitched flowers of all shapes, sizes, and colors, which were crafted by the wives, mothers, or sisters of guerrillas. Former guerrilla Andrew Walker recollected in his memoir that by 1862 the guerrillas wore only one distinctive garment, “a handsome embroidered shirt...that was worn at nearly all times by each and all of us.”<sup>56</sup> The shirt had four pockets, two on the breast and two large side pockets, like a coat. The fabric weight and color varied based on what was available to the woman making the shirt. The dominant colors of the shirt’s fabric were scarlet red, amber, or butternut.<sup>57</sup> In the summer of 1863, Union troops rode out to the Munday house near Westport, Missouri. When the soldiers searched the house they found forty shirts, far too many for one household. Those forty shirts resembled the distinctive “guerrilla shirt” with embroidery and large pockets. The women were imprisoned for sewing the shirts.<sup>58</sup>

In Missouri, one flag was remarkably different from the red, white, and blue variations of the Confederate and U.S. flags. The guerrilla bands in Missouri rode under a black flag. In the military, the black flag represents the opposite of the white flag of surrender; it signifies “no quarter,” or that troops would not take prisoners if captured. The flag and the policy was a response to the Union military’s proclamation that it would not treat guerrillas as regular soldiers

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<sup>56</sup> Joseph M. Beilein Jr., “The Guerrilla Shirt: A Labor of Love and the Style of Rebellion in Civil War Missouri,” in *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri: The Long Civil War on the Border*, eds. Jonathan Earle and Diane Mutti Burke, (University Press of Kansas: Lawrence, Kansas, 2013), 173. See also LeeAnn Whites, “Forty Shirts and a Wagonload of Wheat: Women, the Domestic Supply Line, and the Civil War on the Western Border,” *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 1, no. 1, (March 2011): 56-78.

<sup>57</sup>Connelly, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 317.

<sup>58</sup> See also Mollie Grandstaff, NARA M0345 Reel 109, MSA Reel F1331, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA, and Two Page List of Women Arrested, NARA M0345 Reel, MSA Reel F1625-605-12789, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA.

if captured. The guerrillas would in turn offer the same hospitality as was promised by the Union army. The rebel message rang out clearly: those Union soldiers who came into their possession faced execution.<sup>59</sup>

Women sewed many guerrilla shirts, but Missouri women who were as rebellious as Betsy Ross had been during the American Revolution, also created flags. According to George Sheppard, one of Quantrill's men, Anna Fickle, who was also a spy, supplied Quantrill's band with supplies and his infamous black flag.<sup>60</sup> She made the flag from the skirt of her dress and sewed Quantrill's name across it. At Quantrill's camp in the township of Sni-A-Bar, Sheppard recalled that Fickle came with a walking stick and with the flag wrapped in a newspaper under her arm. She presented the flag to William Quantrill, while reading General Blunt's order of "death to all guerrillas." After she made her speech, she attached the flag to the walking stick and presented it to Quantrill. The flag was three by five feet and in somber colored letters "Quantrell" ran endwise through the middle of the flag; Quantrill's name was misspelled.<sup>61</sup> The flag, Sheppard claimed, was used during the raid on Lawrence and disappeared in Kentucky after Quantrill died. Quantrill was not the only guerrilla with a black flag. John Thraikill, a guerrilla captain, received from the women of Platte County, Missouri a little black flag that he fought under in skirmishes.<sup>62</sup>

Secessionists and guerrilla men charged Union forces with taking secessionist women hostage (those who were imprisoned in the Kansas City prison in 1863, for example), but the women were arrested for disloyal activities, many of them for supplying the guerrillas. In

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<sup>59</sup> Thomas Goodrich, *Black Flag: Guerrilla Warfare on the Western Border, 1861-1865*, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), 34.

<sup>60</sup> James W. Buel, *The Border Outlaws*, (St. Louis, Missouri: St. Louis Publishing Company, 1881), 36.

<sup>61</sup> Buel, *The Border Outlaws*, 41.

<sup>62</sup> Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 78.



Johnson County, just to the east of Jackson County, several women came under investigation for their involvement with guerrillas. Doratha, Elizabeth, and Sarah Durrirt were arrested and charged in August 1864 for providing supplies and encouragement to bushwhackers.<sup>63</sup> At the time of their arrest, Doratha Durrirt, 24, and her sisters Sarah, 18, and Elizabeth, 17, lived on the family farm with their parents.<sup>64</sup> Their sister Elizabeth had attracted the attention of the assistant provost marshal in Warrensburg prior to their arrest because of prior multiple arrests for guerrilla-related activities.<sup>65</sup> During her interrogation before her official arrest, Doratha Durrirt denied that she aided bushwhackers but the weight of the evidence provided by their neighbors cemented the sisters' guilt. German Unionist Reym Lotspiech claimed that he was intimately acquainted with the Durrirt family and knew Doratha and Sarah to be active rebels who expressed their sympathies with the guerrillas.<sup>66</sup> What sealed Durrirt's fate was her testimony after detainment. She claimed she was a southern sympathizer and defended her actions of supplying guerrillas. At this point, Durrirt knew she was either going to prison or would be banished. Union authorities banished the sisters, along with other Johnson County women, and sent them east of the Mississippi River and north of Springfield, Illinois.<sup>67</sup>

Missouri was a politically divided state and this reality is evident in the records of the many disloyalty cases prosecuted by the Union army in the state. Neighbors turned against neighbors as they reported disloyal activities to the local provost marshal. Despite the very real

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<sup>63</sup> Sarah and Doratha Durrirt, NARA M0345 Reel 80, MSA Reel F1307, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA.

<sup>64</sup> Doratha Durrirt, Johnson County, Missouri, 1860 U.S. Census, retrieved February 25, 2014 from ancestry.com.

<sup>65</sup> Elizabeth Durrirt, NARA M0345 Reel 80, MSA Reel F1625-535-12784, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA.

<sup>66</sup> Sarah and Doratha Durrirt, NARA M0345 Reel 80, MSA Reel F1307, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA.

<sup>67</sup> Sarah and Doratha Durrirt, NARA M0345 Reel 80, MSA Reel F1307, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA.

threat of banishment or imprisonment, many Missouri women supported the guerrillas for the duration of the war. Supplier Henrietta Burgess, a mother and widow, was arrested in Johnson County, Missouri. In Burgess's case file, her neighbor of ten years, Margaret Burk, testified to the provost marshal and claimed that since the war broke out Burgess:

“... has been a violent rebel. I have seen her carrying materials to the bushwhackers at different times in the summers of 1862, 1863, and I know that she has aided them in every way. I have heard her say she always would feed them.”<sup>68</sup>

This case illustrates how some women, especially if they sympathized with the Union, turned against their female neighbors. Still, Burk likely stood on solid ground with her testimony. Banished at fifty years of age from Johnson County in 1864, the census records indicate that Burgess's son William was twenty-four at the time of her arrest and according to Quantrill's roster was a guerrilla.<sup>69</sup> It would have been surprising if this mother did not supply her son and his guerrilla companions in the bush.<sup>70</sup>

The idea of banishing women from guerrilla populated areas was the Union army's way of hoping that guerrilla riders would disperse from the western border of Missouri if they no longer had allies who would provide them with supplies. It was more socially acceptable and easier for Union officers to banish female operatives from Missouri than to imprison them. In addition, military prisons, like Gratiot Street in St. Louis, overflowed with male prisoners of war.

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<sup>68</sup> Henrietta Burgess, NARA M0345 Reel 40, MSA Reel F1288, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA.

<sup>69</sup> U.S. Census Bureau. (1850 & 1860). *Henrietta Burgess, Johnson County, Missouri*. Washington: NARA. Retrieved February 25, 2014 from ancestry.com. For Quantrill's Roster see W.C. Quantrill, MSA Reel F1660, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA, viewed at MSA.

<sup>70</sup> As listed in the 1850 census, Henrietta's son was William McCown Burgess. He is listed on Quantrill's roster found on a dead guerrilla after the Battle of Pleasant Hill. Roll of 93, Quantrill's Gang of Outlaws, NARA M0345, MSA Reel F01660, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA.

Yet, many Missouri women spent time in military prisons merely for the act of supplying guerrillas. Isabella Fox of Keytesville, Missouri, and her daughters, America and Melissa, fed, harbored, purchased supplies at the store in town, and made clothing for bushwhackers. Melissa and America also doubled as riders and often rode through Keytesville on horses with a company of bushwhackers.<sup>71</sup> Again, the word of local residents proved sufficient to establish their guilt and send them to prison. At the same time of the Fox women's arrest, Isabella's sister-in-law America Fox Huckshorn and her daughter Josephine received the same punishment from the Union provost marshal who arrested them for harboring and feeding guerrillas based on the testimony of neighbors.<sup>72</sup> They spent twenty-three days in Gratiot Street Prison before their release on January 23, 1865.<sup>73</sup>

The Provost Marshal Records from Missouri contain numerous accounts of women's activities harboring, feeding and supplying guerrillas. These domestic activities were the most gender appropriate and widely practiced form of resistance against the Union army. Yet, the Provost Marshal Records reveal that Missouri women frequently took advantage of conventional gender expectations and used them to their advantage as they defied the Union military occupation. It was not unusual for women to verbally engage their Union enemies—an act for which men might be shot or arrested. Women also wrote letters and gave testimony during military interrogations that reveals that they held their own political beliefs and frequently acted on them, wishing to help their men fight for a cause in which they also believed in.

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<sup>71</sup> Isabella and Melissa Fox, NARA M0345 Reel 96, MSA Reel F1322, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA.

<sup>72</sup> Josephine and America Huckshorn, NARA M0345 Reel 135, MSA Reel F1630-921-14508, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA. See also W. C. Streeter, U.S. War Department, Office of Commissary General of Prisoners, *Gratiot and Myrtle Streets Prisons, St. Louis, MO*, <http://www.civilwarstlouis.com/gratiot/Listwomen.htm>.

<sup>73</sup> Josephine and America Huckshorn, NARA M0345 Reel 135, MSA Reel F1630-921-14508, Union Provost Marshal Records, NARA viewed at MSA.

## **SIDE PANEL BIOGRAPHIES**

### **Charity McCorkle Kerr**

[Image of Charity McCorkle Kerr]

Charity McCorkle Kerr was arrested in July 1863 riding in a wagon full of wheat that she was transporting to the mill. Union soldiers had destroyed her neighborhood flourmill along the Little Blue River in an effort to stop the guerrilla activity in the area. This gave the women little choice but to venture into Kansas City. The Union army arrested her, along with her sister-in-law Nannie Harris McCorkle, for suspicion that they were supplying the guerrillas with food. Charity McCorkle Kerr was born around 1836 in Missouri to Jabez and Nancy McCorkle and was married to Nathan Barnett Kerr on January 26, 1860. Kerr's husband joined William Quantrill's guerrillas after his father was hanged by Union troops. Her brothers, John and Jabez McCorkle, also rode with Quantrill. After her arrest, she was imprisoned at the 1409 Grand Avenue prison. Charity McCorkle Kerr was twenty-seven years old when she died along with three other women when the prison collapsed on August 13, 1863.

### **Henrietta Burgess**

While many of the women arrested for guerrilla activities were in their teens and twenties, Henrietta McCown Burgess was fifty years old at the time of her arrest. She was born in western Virginia on January 4, 1814. Burgess married an Anglican minister and farmer, Garland Burgess, and the couple came to Missouri in the early 1840s. Garland Burgess died shortly before the war. In 1850, Henrietta Burgess lived in Johnson County, Missouri with three daughters, Francis, Mary, and Harriet, and a son, William. Her youngest child Julia died in 1845

at the age of three. During the war, Burgess was a mother and a widow, with all of her children grown and living away from the home. Burgess was banished from Johnson County in 1864, likely for supplying her son William, who rode with William Quantrill. It is unclear where Burgess went during her banishment but she returned to Johnson County after the war and was buried in Centerview, Missouri after her death on February 16, 1879.

## **UNION PROVOST MARSHAL RECORDS OF GUERRILLA WOMEN**

*[See Appendix 6. At the top of the page, background information on what the Union Provost Marshal Records are will be provided. There will be links to individual women's records categorized by their names. Once you click on a name, PDF file scans of the documents will open so that the case files can be viewed in Adobe Reader].*

On September 1862 under General Order No. 140, the Adjutant General dispatched provost marshals to Missouri to act as military police.<sup>74</sup> Located in a county's major city, they policed civilians suspected of disloyal acts against the Union, deserters, and anyone associated with the Confederacy. After the provost marshal arrested a person, a hearing before a provost court determined a civilian's sentence of imprisonment, banishment, or execution. The provost marshal also issued military passes to civilians who were traveling and dealt with issues involving stolen property and enslaved people, as well as oversaw the administration of loyalty oaths to the Union.

In a politically divided state like Missouri, the Union Provost Marshal Records are the best source material to investigate civilians who were accused of disloyalty to the Union. The records also reveal how neighbors turned against one another as they provided testimony to the

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<sup>74</sup> "Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers, 1861-1866," *Missouri Digital History*, <http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/provost/#history>, accessed February 2014.

provost marshal. There are also instances of slaves who reported their owners or neighbors to Union authorities. Scholars have traditionally used the Provost Marshal Records as a source for military and legal research but these records also illuminate the experiences of women during the Civil War, more specifically women who were involved with guerrilla warfare. Each case file includes records of interrogation, arrest, and depositions from witnesses. These case files contain 8-10 pages of materials ranging from correspondence, court documents, orders, paroles, and oaths of allegiance to the United States. Some women were arrested for actively backing the guerrilla cause, while others were arrested because of their relationship with male and female guerrillas. In the records related to Missouri civilians alone, there are over 130 case files of women who were connected to guerrillas.

The Union Provost Marshal Records are located at the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C., formally archived in the Records of the Provost Marshal General's Bureau (Civil War), Record Group 110, more specifically, 110.4 Records of State and District Offices: Missouri. These records are broken down into two categories, Individual Civilians and Two or More Civilians.

*[The following is the current listing for an estimated 143 Union Provost Marshal Records, which provide the names of an estimated 159 women who were involved with guerrilla warfare. These records can be found at the Missouri State Archives on microfilm. On the website, a list of a female's name will be provided, and once clicked, her case file will open in Adobe Reader. The images of the Provost Marshal record will be provided in PDF format.]*

*Jennie Anderson*

*Josephine Anderson*

*Martha Anderson*

*Louisa Archy*

*Nancy Burris*

*Matlida Dawson*

*Mary Archy*

*Mrs. Cavardin*

*Penelope Devers*

*Nancy Atterbury*

*Martha Cassell*

*Elizabeth DeWitt*

*Sarah Basham*

*Helen Cave*

*Caroline Doak*

*Eliza Bennett*

*Sarah Childs*

*Cynthia Donald*

*Betty Bivens*

*Sarah "Kate" Clarke*

*Martha Donald*

*America Bivin*

*Quantrill*

*Elizabeth Duncan*

*Catherine Bivin*

*Margaret Clifton*

*Janye Duncan*

*Mary Bivin*

*Mrs. Conway*

*Mary Duncan*

*Nancy Bivin*

*Mrs. Copeland*

*Martha Dunham*

*Ruth Bond*

*Celia Cox*

*Doratha Durrirt*

*Sarah Bond*

*Nancy Cox*

*Elizabeth Durrirt*

*Jane Boswell*

*Mary Cull*

*Sarah Durrirt*

*Mary E. Bowles*

*Emily Cull*

*Emma English*

*Maggie Brice*

*Fannie Dalton*

*Anna Fickle*

*Henrietta Burgess*

*Mary E. Davis*

*Isabella Fox*

*Melissa Fox*

*Lydia Haynie*

*Charity Kerr*

*Eliza Gabbert*

*Nancy Hibbitts*

*Mrs. King*

*Polly Gardner*

*Margaret Hildebrand*

*Mary Kincheloe*

*Martha Gilmore*

*Rebeka Hildebrand*

*June Lane*

*Rebecca Gilmore*

*Louisa Hirst*

*Martha Lindsey*

*Mollie Goggin*

*Annie Holt*

*Susan Lindsey*

*Mollie Grandstaff*

*Alice Holts*

*Emma Lindsey*

*Barbara Greenwood*

*Catherine Hoskin*

*Clara Little*

*Elizabeth Gregg*

*Fannie Houx*

*Fannie Little*

*Julia Halbert*

*Josephine Huckshorn*

*Martha Little*

*Miss Hall*

*America Huckshorn*

*Cordelia Long*

*Catherine Hardin*

*Susannah Justice*

*Isabelle Longacre*

*Mary Ann Harlow*

*Bettie Jackson*

*Martha Longacre*

*Emma Harris*

*Mary Jackson*

*Nancy Longacre*

*Mrs. Harris*

*Sue Jackson*

*Josephine Lowery*

*Eliza Haynie*

*Lydia Jenkins*

*Lucy Maddox*



*Martha Maddox*

*Puss Michaels*

*Armenia Silvey*

*Mary Maddox*

*Mary Mizer*

*Ella Simms*

*Julia Martin*

*Susan Munday*

*Harriet Spencer*

*Lucy Maxwell*

*Martha "Mattie"*

*Eliza Spencer*

*Mary Maxwell*

*Munday*

*Jennie Spencer*

*Nancy Maxwell*

*Lou Munday Gray*

*Mary Spencer*

*Amanda Ella Mayfield*

*Lucy Nickolson*

*Lotta Smith*

*Clardina Mayfield*

*Margaret Oliphant*

*Sarah Jane Smith*

*Lenora Mayfield*

*Sarah Payton*

*Selia Smith*

*Nannie McConnell*

*Sarah Pendleton*

*Vernettia Smith*

*Nannie McCorkle*

*Anne Reid*

*Leonice Stark*

*Eliza McGovern*

*Tabitha Rider*

*Mary Turner*

*Mariah McKeehan*

*Wealthy Robinson*

*Susan Vandiver*

*Johanna McMahan*

*Sarah Roup*

*Alice VanNess*

*Jane Meeley*

*Mrs. Rucker*

*Nancy Vaughn*

*Mary Mercer*

*Mrs. Samuels*

*Susan Vaughn*

*Jane Vestle*

*Louisa West*

*Mary Jane Whitsett*

*Sarah Waitman*

*Mollie Wigginton*

*Caroline Younger*

*Mrs. Waters*

*Mary Ann Wilson*

*Josie Younger*

*Sallie Wayman*

*Mrs. Wilson*

*Sally Younger*

*Josephine West*

*Amy Windell*

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[See Appendix 7. This section will appear on the website, whereas the complete bibliography will not. There will also be a section that links to other websites that are of interest and importance.]

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Civil War in the West Virtual Museum -- Springfield-Green County Public Library  
<http://www.civilwarvirtualmuseum.org/>

## APPENDICES: MOCK UPS

### Appendix 1: About Page

# *Bushwhacker Belles*

**Gender, Missouri's Civil War, and the  
Union Provost Marshal Records**



[About](#) · [Interpretive Essay](#) · [Female Riders](#) · [Spies, Saboteurs, Hostage Negotiators](#) · [Suppliers](#) · [Provost Marshal Records](#) · [Further Reading](#)

#### About Page

The story of women who were involved in guerrilla activity in Civil War Missouri has not been fully explored, especially in a venue that can be easily accessed by a public audience. This website engages primary source material from the Union Provost Marshal Records, newspaper articles, guerrilla memoirs, and historical societies to tell the stories of women who politically acted out against the United States government. This site was developed for Civil War scholars, students, and those who enjoy researching the history of Missouri, the Civil War, and women. On this website you will find images of original historic documents, scholarly essays, and leads to secondary materials to further enhance your knowledge of these topics. Viewers should begin by reading the "Interpretive Essay" to grasp what was occurring in Missouri during the Civil War and why women supported the guerrillas. From there, viewers can explore essays and primary documents in the other tabs on the main toolbar.

Appendix 1

## Appendix 2: Interpretive Essay

### *Bushwhacker*

### *Belles*

#### Gender, Missouri's Civil War, and the Union Provost Marshal Records



[About](#) [Interpretive Essay](#) [Female Riders](#) [Spies, Saboteurs, Hostage Negotiators](#) [Suppliers](#) [Provost Marshal Record](#) [Further Reading](#)

"I would take you to be a man of too much honor as to stoop so low as to incarcerate women for the deeds of men, but I see that you have done so in some cases. I do not like the idea of warring with women and children but if you do not release all the women you have arrested in Lafayette County, I will hold all Union ladies in the county as hostages for them. I will tie them by the neck in the brush and starve them until they are released. The ladies of Warrensburg must have Miss Fickle released. I hold them responsible for her speedy and safe return..." – William "Bloody Bill" Anderson, guerrilla

#### *ESSAY: Gender, Guerrilla Warfare, and Missouri*


On August 13, 1863, the cracks in the ceiling and walls of 1409 Grand Avenue, a three-story brick building in Kansas City, Missouri, worried the merchant on the first floor to such an extent he began to move his store merchandise into the middle of the street. It was speculated that the foundation was weak due to poor construction; others believed the Union army weakened support beams in the basement to cause a collapse. On the second floor of the building above the store was the location of a Civil War prison operated by Union officials. Seventeen women, a small boy, and one Union guard occupied the prison. The women were sisters, wives, and cousins of pro-Confederate, male guerrilla insurgents. Arrested in a sweep conducted by the Union Army in Bates, Cass, Jackson, and Lafayette Counties in the summer of 1863, these women were charged with sheltering, feeding and supplying the "bushwhackers," so named by the Unionists for taking sanctuary in the dense bush of western Missouri.

Appendix 2


## Appendix 3: Female Riders

# *Bushwhacker Belles*

## Gender, Missouri's Civil War, and the Union Provost Marshal Records




About Interpretive Essay Female Riders Spies, Saboteurs, Hostage Negotiators Suppliers Provost Marshal Records Further Reading



*"The women and girls of that neighborhood did not faint at the smell of gunpowder or human blood or shrink at the sight of the dead."*

-Patrick Brophy, *Bushwhackers of the Border*



### *Women Who Did Not Faint at the Smell of Gunpowder: Riders*

Private Henry Dysart of the Union army wrote in his diary on August 1862 about a band of guerrillas who plundered a hospital in Keytesville, Missouri. They robbed the wounded soldiers of their guns, clothing, money, and ammunition. Dysart did not record the event merely to outline guerrilla crimes, but instead to reveal that this particular guerrilla band was comprised of women. Men and women alike wrote how some Missouri women pushed female agency to extremes, in the opinion of many, too far. Private Dysart's diary reveals his strongly held opinions on the proper behavior of women. He concluded that women should be in hospitals caring for the men instead of acting like "inhumane savages," as did the Keytesville raiders.

### Biographical Sketches

#### Eliza Gabbert

Born in Washington County, Indiana on December 12, 1834 to William and Rebecca Gabbert, Eliza Ann Gabbert was one of the most well-known guerrilla riders from Vernon County, Missouri. She was the oldest of eight siblings and settled in Vernon County with her family in 1859. When the war broke out, Gabbert was twenty-four years old and single. During the Civil War, her father was a leader of a guerrilla band, which included both Eliza Ann Gabbert and her brothers. She joined other Vernon County women in hostage negotiations and surrenditions to Fort Scott, Kansas. She married John Lipscomb, a Vernon County doctor, in 1868 and the couple had five children. Gabbert died at the age of forty-nine and is buried in Vernon County. In 2007, the Sons of the Confederacy erected a new tombstone on her grave site to commemorate her guerrilla activity.

#### Amanda "Ella" Mayfield

John Howard and Ella Justine (Barred) Mayfield had three daughters who actively engaged in guerrilla activity. Their daughter Amanda, who went by Ella, was born on February 28, 1837, in Vernon County, Missouri and was twenty-three years old when the Civil War began. Her first husband was a guerrilla named Joseph Phillips and soon after his death in 1861 she married another guerrilla, David Majors from Cass County, Missouri. The Federal troops came

Appendix 3

## Appendix 4: Female Spies, Saboteurs, and Messengers

### *Bushwhacker*

### *Belles*

Gender, Missouri's Civil War, and the Union Provost Marshal Records



[About](#) [Interpretive Essay](#) [Female Riders](#) [Spies, Saboteurs, Hostage Negotiators](#) [Suppliers](#) [Provost Marshal Record](#) [Further Reading](#)

#### *Communication and Guerrilla Warfare*

Few Missouri women actually rode with the guerrillas, but many took great risks by heading to the front lines of the guerrilla war as spies and informants. As the war progressed, the Missouri countryside became an increasingly dangerous place to navigate. Men's political enemies frequently targeted them as they traveled throughout the Missouri countryside. White women's movements were restricted by gender conventions before the war; during the war women ironically could more freely and safely travel than men because their gender provided them with protection. This mobility allowed them to aid the guerrillas by transporting supplies and through their spying, reconnaissance, and negotiating. The guerrillas treasured information brought to them by women who provided information and served as liaisons for the guerrillas in hostage negotiations.

#### Biographical Sketches

##### **Margaret Vaughn Clifton**

A known guerrilla spy, Margaret Ann Vaughn Clifton was born about 1847 in Jackson County, Missouri to Josiah and Mary Vaughn. There were several active guerrillas in the Vaughn family, including Margaret's brother Daniel. On August 10, 1862, sixteen-year-old Margaret married Samuel Clifton, who was a guerrilla who rode with her brother Daniel as members of William Clark Quantrill's gang. On April 30, 1863 Margaret Vaughn Clifton was arrested outside of Westport, Missouri as a guerrilla spy after her brother, husband, and.....

##### **Anna Fickle**

Anna Fickle was born on April 6, 1839 to Henry H. and Frances Fickle and was raised on a small farm in Odesia in Lafayette County, Missouri. According to the 1860 federal census, Fickle was one of seven children. One of her brothers, Joseph, was a known guerrilla, who was killed alongside three other guerrillas in a skirmish with one hundred Union soldiers on April 1863. According to a former guerrilla's memoir, Anna Fickle made William Clark Quantrill's black flag from a dress and presented the flag to him in his camp. Fickle also was involved in an unsuccessful prisoner escape. She was later captured for her involvement and sentenced to ten years in prison.....

Appendix 4



## Appendix 5: Suppliers

# Bushwhacker Belles

Gender, Missouri's Civil War, and the  
Union Provost Marshal Records



[About](#) [Interpretive Essay](#) [Female Riders](#) [Spies, Saboteurs, Hostage Negotiators](#) [Suppliers](#) [Provost Marshal Records](#) [Further Reading](#)



Katie King

"All of the people [women] of the country through fear or favor, feed them [the guerrillas] and give information as to their movements. Having all the inhabitants, by good will or compulsion, thus practically their friends [wives, mothers, sisters], and being familiar with the fastness of the country wonderfully adapted by nature to guerrilla warfare." - Union General Thomas Ewing, Jr.



### Biographical Sketches

#### Henrietta Burgess

While many of the women arrested for guerrilla activities were in their teens and twenties, Henrietta McCowan Burgess was fifty years old at her arrest. She was born in West Virginia on January 4, 1819. Burgess was married to an Anglican minister and farmer, Garland Burgess. They came to Missouri in the early 1840s. Her husband died shortly before the war. Living in Johnson County, Missouri, in 1850.

#### Charity McCorkle Kerr



Arrested in July 1863, Charity McCorkle Kerr was riding in a wagon filled with wheat on a road headed into Kansas City to have the wheat milled into flour. The Union army had destroyed her neighborhood flourmill in the Little Blue area. In an attempt to stop guerrilla activity, this left them little choice, but to venture into Kansas City. The Union army arrested her along with her sister-in-law, Nannie Harris McCorkle, for

#### *The Union had Wagon Trains, Guerrillas had Household Baskets*

The Union army had a federally-funded supply line complete with supply depots, wagon trains, quartermasters, and procurement officers. In contrast, lacking a formal, logistical infrastructure, the guerrilla bands in Missouri relied heavily on women to purchase and deliver food, medicine, clothing, and to transport items to the men. By foot, wagon, or horse, these women took their supplies in baskets to guerrillas' hidden camps in the Missouri bush and caves. The Union Provost Marshal Records reveal that most of the women arrested or interrogated in Missouri simply supplied guerrillas, many of whom were their husbands, brothers, and sons. Women on both sides, Union or Confederate, were eager to demonstrate their loyalties by providing domestic supplies to their men. Historians have overwhelmingly agreed; women's domestic supply line maintained guerrillas in Missouri. Women not only cared for their men's livelihood by providing food and medicine, they played a vital role in the military effort by arranging for the delivery of ammunition, uniforms and specialized clothing and flags. Though the women were engaged in domestic activities, the fact that they were providing enemy combatants with supplies meant that they were actively working against the Union cause. Women could have ignored the men in the bush, but for them to act out against the Union shows that they understood that carrying a basket out to the men in hiding was serving a cause that they felt was important.

Appendix 5

## Appendix 6: Union Provost Marshal Records

### *Bushwhacker*

### *Belles*

Gender, Missouri's Civil War, and the Union Provost Marshal Records



[About](#) [Interpretive Essay](#) [Female Riders](#) [Spies, Saboteurs, Hostage Negotiators](#) [Suppliers](#) [Provost Marshal Records](#) [Further Reading](#)

#### Union Provost Marshal Records

On September 1862 under General Order No. 140, the Adjutant General dispatched provost marshals to Missouri to act as military police. Located in a county's major city, they policed civilians suspected of disloyal acts against the Union, deserters, and anyone associated with the Confederacy. After the provost marshal arrested a person, a hearing before a provost court determined a civilian's sentence of imprisonment, banishment, or execution. The provost marshal also issued military passes to civilians who were traveling and dealt with issues involving stolen property and enslaved people, as well as oversaw the administration of loyalty oaths to the Union.

In a politically divided state like Missouri, the Union Provost Marshal Records are the best source material to investigate civilians who were accused of disloyalty to the Union. The records also reveal how neighbors turned against one another as they provided testimony to the provost marshal. There are also instances of slaves who reported their owners or neighbors to Union authorities. Scholars have traditionally used the Provost Marshal Records as a source for

#### List of Women

<i>Jennie Anderson</i>	<i>Martha Cassell</i>	<i>Sarah Durritt</i>
<i>Josephine Anderson</i>	<i>Helen Cave</i>	<i>Emma English</i>
<i>Martha Anderson</i>	<i>Sarah Childs</i>	<i>Anna Fickle</i>
<i>Louisa Archy</i>	<i>Sarah "Kate" Clarke</i>	<i>Isabella Fox</i>
<i>Mary Archy</i>	<i>Quantrill</i>	<i>Melissa Fox</i>
<i>Nancy Atterbury</i>	<i>Margaret Clifton</i>	<i>Eliza Gabbert</i>
<i>Sarah Basham</i>	<i>Mrs. Conway</i>	<i>Polly Gardner</i>
<i>Eliza Bennett</i>	<i>Mrs. Copeland</i>	<i>Martha Gilmore</i>
<i>Betty Bivens</i>	<i>Celia Cox</i>	<i>Rebecca Gilmore</i>
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<i>Catherine Bivin</i>	<i>Mary Cull</i>	<i>Mollie Grandstaff</i>
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<i>Sarah Bond</i>	<i>Matilda Dawson</i>	<i>Miss Hall</i>
<i>Jane Boswell</i>	<i>Penelope Devers</i>	<i>Catherine Hardin</i>
<i>Mary E. Bowles</i>	<i>Martha Donald</i>	<i>Mary Ann Harlow</i>
<i>Maggie Brice</i>	<i>Elizabeth Duncan</i>	<i>Emma Harris</i>
<i>Henrietta Burgess</i>	<i>Janye Duncan</i>	<i>Mrs. Harris</i>
<i>Nancy Burris</i>	<i>Mary Duncan</i>	<i>Eliza Haynie</i>
<i>Mrs. Cavardin</i>	<i>Martha Dunham</i>	
	<i>Doratha Durritt</i>	
	<i>Elizabeth Durritt</i>	

Appendix 6

## Appendix 7: Further Reading

### *Bushwhacker Belles*

Gender, Missouri's Civil War, and the  
Union Provost Marshal Records



[About](#) [Interpretive Essay](#) [Female Riders](#) [Spies, Saboteurs, Hostage Negotiators](#) [Suppliers](#) [Provost Marshal Records](#) [Further Reading](#)

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Civil War in the West Virtual Museum - Springfield Green County Public Library  
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## Appendix 7

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **Abbreviations Key**

MSA, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri

NARA, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

### **Photographs**

Eliza Gabbert, Lady Bushwhacker. Photograph. From Bushwhacker Museum Vernon County Historical Society. Eliza Gabbert File #631-7.

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