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KILLED AND CAPTURED: MISSOURI CIVIL WAR GUERRILLAS IN MYTH AND
REALITY

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ABSTRACT

Within the larger picture of the Civil War, guerrilla soldiers were not only killed, but they were captured, oftentimes along with their horses, weapons and any other equipment or stores they may have had on their persons. With this being said, my research determines that there is a correlation between the death or capture of a Civil War guerrilla, and the equipment carried on his immediate person. I used a variety of research methods, utilizing census records, the Official Records of the Civil War, other primary resources that provide witness observations of the war, guerrilla memoirs, and secondary sources to analyze the arguments of other scholars. Furthermore, my research shows that the equipment carried on or about the immediate person of a claimed guerrilla, in the end, provides itself as a determining factor as to whether the man was a true guerrilla fighter or rather a Confederate soldier, deserter, partisan soldier, or simply an outlaw. This correlation, along with the other relationships drawn between a captured or killed guerrilla and his circumstance at the time, will allow us to further understand the Missouri guerrilla, and thus further understand their unique place in the war at large.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iv

Chapter 1 Introduction 1

Chapter 2 Outfitting the Guerrilla..... 13

Chapter 3 Misnomers 34

Chapter 4 True Guerrillas 50

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 75

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1: Lawrence, Kansas. This image captures the burning town of Lawrence, Missouri as the guerrillas rode through and enacted their revenge. This particular image appeared in Harper's Weekly on September 5, 1863.9
- Figure 2: Colt Model 1851 Navy Revolver. This image illustrates the moving parts of the revolver that the guerrillas would have had to know how to operate perfectly. As one can see, the weapon was relatively simple, and could be used with ease after only minimal practice. 18
- Figure 3: William T. "Bloody Bill" Anderson. This photograph of William T. Anderson captures the image of "Bloody Bill" perfectly. The black hat with the star pin insinuating military rank or precedence, the black jacket, black pants, broad gun belt and multiple revolvers, and long "guerrilla curls" capture the ferocious bushwhacker captain perfectly in one image. 55
- Figure 4: Archie Clements and Company. Bushwhackers Archie Clements (1) and Dave Pool (3) pose with another guerrilla in an 1864 photograph. Clements confident facial expression portrays his dominance of his craft; bushwhacking. The amount of fire arms in this particular photograph is also very emblematic of the number of arms carried on an everyday basis by the guerrillas.....59
- Figure 5: Jesse James. This photograph shows a young Jesse Woodson James shortly after he joined the guerrillas. His distinctive guerrilla shirt and multiple fire arms stand out as the "uniform" of the guerrilla. Even here at the young age of sixteen, Jesse's eyes are cold and his face is taut.....70

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Shortly after seven o'clock at night on January 27, 1865, the troops of Colonel Felix Prince Salm of the Sixty-Eighth New York Infantry opened fire on a group of guerrillas led by a certain Lieutenant Smith. Prior to their encounter with this band, Salm and his men had captured a bushwhacker by the name Williams, which alerted them to the presence of guerrillas in the area. Shortly after capturing Williams, the campfires of the guerrillas were spotted, and the native New Yorkers sprang into action. Due to the darkness, terrain, and fallen timber, one section of Salm's men inadvertently charged before the remainder of his unit, causing slight confusion in the attack. They fired several volleys into the guerrillas while their comrades in arms followed suit. Despite this confusion, Salm records that, "The loss of the enemy was 1 killed, 8 wounded, and 3 captured. They were completely routed, and left a number of arms and equipment on the field...and their strength is supposed to have been from thirty-six to forty in all."¹ After the initial encounter, the remainder of the guerrillas struck back against Salm and his men: "The enemy followed me in the rear and on the flanks without any demonstration until 5 p. m., when a party of about 100, under a Captain Butler attacked me in the rear, but were fairly repulsed with a loss of 5 men disabled. My men poured two well-directed volleys into them and they skedaddle as quick as they came."² Even though the total number of guerrillas numbered upwards of one hundred and forty, Salm and his New Yorkers were able to defeat them with

¹ U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Unions and Confederate Armies*, 128vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), ser.1, vol. 49, 10-12 (cited hereafter as *OR*).

² *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 49, 10-12.

minimal casualties, proving their dominance over the guerrillas and clearing the area of the guerrillas.

Colonel Salm's official report not only details the actions of the attack and the number of killed and wounded, but also the equipment and stores appropriated from the guerrillas by the Union soldiers. Salm's recorded that the guerrillas left a number of their arms and equipment lying upon the battlefield, which were of course all captured or destroyed by the Union forces. While the victory was certainly a rout, it was not a complete annihilation of the guerrilla troops. Regardless of this, the fact still remains that only arms and equipment were recovered by the Union troops from the field after the guerrillas fled. While numbers were not included in the report in regards to equipment, the assumption can be made that if there were a total of twelve casualties, that at least twelve arms—and likely more since these men were guerrillas who were always heavily armed—would have been recovered after the brief battle. The language of the report insinuates rather that a small number of arms were recovered and captured, as it is recorded that only some arms were captured.³ With this being said, could this factor have played into the defeat of Lieutenant Smith and his men, and then later the defeat of Captain Butler and his men in the second skirmish? Could the poor armaments and lack thereof have hindered their tactical success on the battlefield?

Guerrilla soldiers were not only killed, but they were captured, oftentimes along with their horses, weapons, and any other equipment or stores they may have on their persons. With this being said, there is a correlation between the equipment that the guerrilla carried and the exact nature of his identity. In short, there are countless misnomers littered throughout Union

³ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 49, 10-12.

military reports that insinuate certain groups and individuals as guerrillas when in fact, they simply were not. These misnomers were likely perpetuated and exaggerated by the horrific nature of the guerrilla conflict.⁴ Using the equipment of the guerrilla as a touchstone—as it was very specific—we can better define the line between the true guerrilla and the simple misnomer, furthering history’s understanding of the guerrilla man and thus aiding for future endeavors where the guerrilla man may be involved.⁵ This newly tightened definition will allow us as contemporary citizens to further understand the Missouri guerrilla as well as his self-constructed image, and thus further understand the war.

The guerrilla conflict within the Civil War has become a growing area of interest for many historians and authors in recent years, but no conclusions have been drawn on the relations between captured and killed guerrillas, their equipment, and the truth of their identity as guerrillas. In short, this specific area of the conflict has not been specifically studied. Many authors and historians such as Albert E. Castel, William Elsey Connelley, Michael Fellman, Thomas Goodrich, Joseph M. Beilein, and Daniel E. Sutherland have written notable contemporary works on the guerrilla warfare of the Civil War, and the identity of the guerrilla man within that conflict.⁶ These authors and more highlight the guerrilla man as an often

⁴ As will be fully explained throughout this paper, the guerrilla conflict throughout the war took on a very brutal nature. Union soldiers likely labeled all individuals that they could as guerrillas in order to help them mentally cope. What I mean by this is that the defeat of band of guerrillas would aid the Union soldiers in their mental and emotional conflict with this brutal war, even if the guerrillas were in fact misnomers. Thus, the reports containing these misnomers likely stemmed partially from this thought, as it caused the Union soldiers to think they were combatting the guerrillas more effectively than they actually were. Another explanation could be that the Union soldiers themselves had not developed a full definition of the guerrilla, as his image was so new and unique.

⁵ It has not yet been discovered that any women actively fought in the guerrilla conflict, but this is not to say that they were not actively involved in many other ways. As will be discussed later, the women in the guerrilla network acted as the guerrillas suppliers in many ways. So, in comparison to a formal military, the guerrillas themselves were the combat arms soldiers while the women were the logisticians.

⁶ These authors and many others have respectively written books including but not limited to, Albert E. Castel, *Bloody Bill Anderson: The Short, Savage Life of a Civil War Guerrilla* (Lawrence, University Press of Kansas: 1998), William Elsey Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Norman, University Press of Oklahoma: 1999),

dashing individual, representing Southern masculinity and fighting not for his country, but rather for his home and loved ones. Through study of this part of the Civil War, the true—while brutal intentions—of the guerrilla man have been discovered. Historians such as Fellman have painted the guerrilla man as a savage, hell-bent on destruction and bloodshed, while other historians such as Beilein paint the guerrilla rather as a man; fighting for those that he loved and the land that he loved.⁷ These men were still from slaveholding states and families, and historians do not excuse the terrible actions committed by these bushwhackers, but the truth of their story and conflict must be told in order to fully understand their part in the war, and thus the conflict as a whole.

While the field of guerrilla conflict within the Civil War is growing steadily, research of captured and killed guerrillas within the conflict is still very limited. A handful of guerrillas such as John McCorkle, Cole Younger, Joseph Bailey, and others have left behind memoirs written specifically about their time spent as guerrillas within the Civil War. The guerrilla war has also been recorded by newspaper articles as it was often reported upon in the local papers, and also by common journals. The most valuable source of information containing firsthand information in regards to the capture and death of guerrillas—especially in regards to numbers, statistics, and details—lies within *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Standing true to its title, this particular group of records is the largest compilation of military records in regards to the Civil War, and will thus be

Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press: 1989), Thomas Goodrich, *Black Flag: Guerrilla Warfare on the Western Border, 1861-1865* (New York, Oxford University Press: 1989), Joseph M. Beilein, “The Guerrilla Shirt: A Labor of Love and the Style of Rebellion in Civil War Missouri,” in *Civil War History* vol. 41, no. 1 (2012): 151-179., and Daniel E. Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 2009).

⁷ Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press: 1989), Joseph M. Beilein, “The Guerrilla Shirt: A Labor of Love and the Style of Rebellion in Civil War Missouri,” in *Civil War History* vol. 41, no. 1 (2012): 151-179.

used as the basis for this study of the correlation between the guerrilla's equipment and their true identity. Through the previously mentioned works the stories of guerrillas can be patched together in order to tell one complete story, the story of the phenomena of the death and capture of these men, its relation to their equipment, lives, and much more, as well as how it played a role in the larger war and still holds importance today.

Before delving into the specifics of the guerrilla's equipment, one must first understand why these men left their homes to fight a war in the method that they did. Why guerrilla warfare began along the Kansas and Missouri border has been argued and debated, but it is safe to say that a great many of the guerrillas who left their homes and opted to fight with partisan bands rather than with the traditional Confederate armies did so in large part as a response to the Kansas jayhawkers and their violent actions. In the opening of his book *Black Flag: Guerrilla Warfare on the Western Border 1861-1865*, Thomas Goodrich writes, "While others throughout the North were shocked and outraged by the firing on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, Kansans reacted differently. Many in the new state were elated at the prospects of a war with the South, or more specifically, many in Kansas relished the opportunity to punish their one and only neighbor, Missouri."⁸ As the passage indicates, the pro-Union Kansans took full advantage of the conflict to vent their frustrations on the pro-slavery planters of the Missouri border. In short, ever since the passage of the Kansas/Nebraska Act of 1854, pro-slavery planters of Missouri had been trying their utmost along with the Pro-Slavery Party to cause Kansas to become a slave state. Missourians had gone to great lengths in their attempts, even crossing the border to illegally vote and sway elections in Kansas. Gangs of Missouri "border ruffians" also patrolled

⁸ Thomas Goodrich, *Black Flag: Guerrilla Warfare on the Western Border, 1861-1865* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press: 1995), 6.

the roads of Missouri along the border, scaring abolitionists away and even resorting to violence in some cases.⁹ All of this began before the war itself, but the outset of the Civil War opened the option for revenge in the minds of Kansans. They could now wreak vengeance upon the Missourians in a more-or-less legal standing, and this is exactly what they did.

Men such as Charles “Doc” Jennison led gangs of Kansas jayhawkers over the border, onto the farms of and into the homes of pro-Southern Missourian families, and wreaked havoc and terror all along the Kansas and Missouri border.¹⁰ In many cases these men resorted to violence, and their violent means often did not discriminate between men and women, soldiers and farmers, or any social distinctions of the like. According to records, many of the young guerrillas rode off to join the forces of men like William Clarke Quantrill—an early guerilla leader credited with being one of the shapers of the conflict—because of the deaths of or harm done to family members. In one particular example, Cole Younger records the death of his father in his personal memoir written long after the war and his outlaw days. According to his writings, Younger’s father was simply responding to a string of robberies made on the livery stables and stage lines that he was in charge of. He did not respond to these incidents in a violent way, but simply went about his response in legal manners. Younger writes, “He had started back to Harrisonville in a buggy, but was waylaid one mile south of Westport, a suburb of Kansas City, and brutally murdered; falling out of his buggy into the road with three mortal bullet wounds.”¹¹ Simply stated, Younger’s father was murdered for being the man that he was. He did not act outright against the Kansas jayhawkers, but was brutally put down anyways. Later in

⁹ Goodrich, *Black Flag*, 6-7.

¹⁰ Goodrich, *Black Flag*, 11.

¹¹ Cole Younger, *The Story of Cole Younger by Himself: Being an Autobiography of the Missouri Guerrilla Captain and Outlaw, His Capture and Prison Life, and the Only Authentic Account of the Northfield Raid Ever Published* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2000), 6.

his book, Younger cites this as one of the reasons for running off to join Quantrill at the young age of seventeen, and while this was surely not the case for all guerrillas, harm towards their families definitely stood as prime motivation for many.¹² Regardless of cause, these men felt a pull from the brush for whatever reason—whether it was vengeance or defense of the homeland as will be explored later—and they entered upon their own method of warfare, enacting brutal and efficient strikes.¹³

While Kansas jayhawking may stand as a prime cause for many young Missourians running off to join the pro-Confederate guerrilla bands, the peculiarity of this type of warfare must still be explored. In most cases during this time period, men went off to war and enlisted in their respective army, traveling wherever the army traveled in order to fight for what they believed was the just cause, and thus defend their values. This stands as the perfect picture of the romantic scene that was painted when viewing war by most people during the time of the Civil War. The men of the guerrilla conflict of Missouri may still have had similar causes in going off to war as those of the conventional armies did, but their causes differed in many ways as well. Why didn't these men go off and enlist in the Confederate armies when they felt the call? Why did they join partisan bands that were treated as outlaws when captured? The answer is quite simple; the young guerrillas of Missouri realized that the best way to defend their values and

¹² Younger, *The Story of Cole Younger*, 14.

¹³ Many notable guerrillas such as Cole Younger (as depicted), Jesse James, Archie “The Head Devil” Clements, and William T. “Bloody Bill” Anderson joined the conflict in part out of motivation to avenge family members harmed by Unionists, jayhawkers, or Union soldiers of some type. Records of each respectively—starting with James as Younger's memoir has already been cited—can be found in Stella F. James, *In the Shadow of Jesse James* (Thousand Oaks, CA: The Revolver Press, 1989), 40, Albert Castel and Thomas Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson: The Short, Savage Life of a Civil War Guerrilla* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 13-19, and Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 133.

what they loved was to stay in the immediate vicinity of all that they cared for.¹⁴ In fighting the war, they were fighting for their families, their households, their personal values, and all that they held dear. These men did not care about the larger cause, rather they fought for what was important to them. Guerrilla bands stayed in the general vicinity of their homes, using their households and the households of their friends and families as their supply line.¹⁵ So, in running off to join these partisan bands, these young men could say with confidence that they were directly defending all that they held dear.

Now seeing these bands of partisan warriors for what they truly were, the attraction that they may have had towards young Missourians becomes quite evident. Yes, in many cases men were attracted through revenge, but others were also recruited because of the immediacy of the fighting and the tactics with which they fought. There were countless guerrilla skirmishes and fights throughout the Civil War, but several key battles and massacres stand out and thus highlight the actions of the guerrillas, as well as their motives. To understand accurately the actions taken by these men when they attacked at large, it is best to refer to particular examples, and in this case we refer to the raid on Lawrence, Missouri. At the time of the Civil War, Lawrence, Missouri was a center for Unionist activity, and was occupied by a majority of Northern sympathizers.

The exact premise for the attack on Lawrence has been seen mostly as one of vengeance and revenge.¹⁶ Almost all sources recounting the raid on Lawrence cite the justification for this

¹⁴ Joseph M. Beilein Jr, "The Guerrilla Shirt: A Labor of Love and the Style of Rebellion in Civil War Missouri," in *Civil War History*, vol. 58, no. 2 (June 2012): 153.

¹⁵ Beilein, "The Guerrilla Shirt," 154.

¹⁶ Clements has been credited with consistently running with William T. Anderson's band of bushwhackers, and Anderson's band played a very large role in this particular attack. Due to this, Clements presence while not documented is assumed. As a devoted guerrilla, he would not have missed this opportunity, as it was one of the largest massed guerrilla attacks.

raid behind the collapse of a rickety prison within which several sisters and female relatives of the guerillas were housed. During this collapse, at least two women were killed, and several others were maimed and crippled. This event, along with varying others, serves as the main justification for the deeds done at Lawrence.¹⁷ According to the words of Cole Younger, “‘You have heard the report,’ said Quantrill...Speak out. Anderson!’ ‘Lawrence or hell,’ replied Anderson, instantly. With fire flashing in his eyes as he recalled the recent wreck from which his sister had been taken in Kansas City, he added: ‘But with one proviso, that we kill every male thing.’”¹⁸

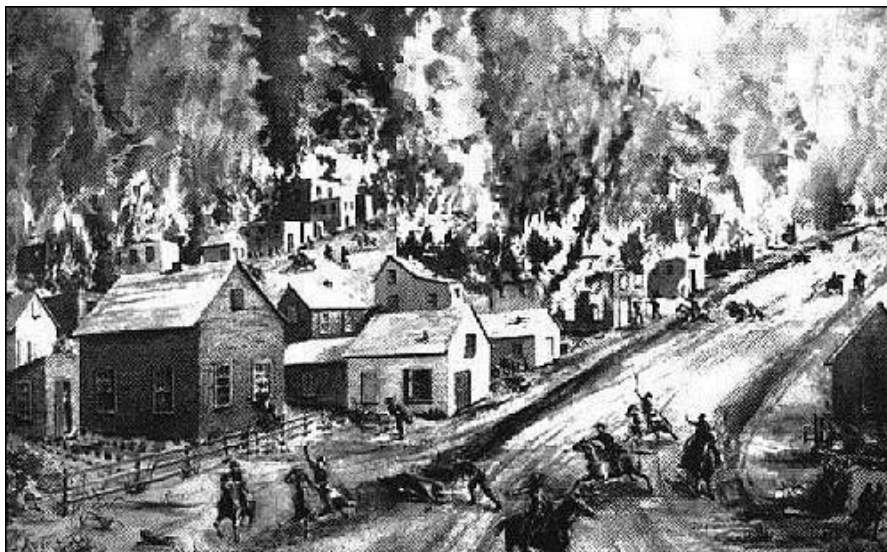


Figure 1: Lawrence, Kansas. This image captures the burning town of Lawrence, Missouri as the guerrillas rode through and enacted their revenge. This particular image appeared in Harper's Weekly on September 5, 1863.

¹⁷ Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University, 1989), 207.

¹⁸ Younger, *The Story of Cole Younger*, 42.

On the morning of August 21, 1863, William Clarke Quantrill, “Bloody Bill” Anderson, Archie Clements, and nearly four hundred bushwhackers charged into the town of Lawrence, Missouri with—seen from “Bloody Bill” Anderson’s own words—vengeance in their hearts and death on their minds.¹⁹ In attacking Lawrence, the guerrillas were not only avenging those that they loved, but were also striking at the heart of the Unionists on their own soil, making this raid a perfect combination. In reflecting on the raid itself, Thomas Goodrich writes these words in his book *Bloody Dawn: The Story of the Lawrence Massacre*: “A number of men quickly jumped down, and loose saddle girths were hurriedly cinched. Blue jackets were stripped off, red sleeves rolled up, revolvers were drawn, percussion caps checked...One final time Quantrill turned and reminded the Missourians why they had come. They knew...Behind, a wild, explosive shout went up and the entire command lunged forward in a run.”²⁰ In turning, Quantrill reminded his men—the men of Missouri—that they had come for vengeance in order to defend all that they loved, but while it may not have been understood at the time, that was not limited to only their relatives and loved ones that had been harmed. The guerrillas saw their acts at Lawrence as acts of revenge, captured perfectly in the corpses of over one hundred fifty men and boys that were left behind to rot.²¹ Behind this violent vengeance there was always—even if it was unknown—the cause of the defense of all that they loved, which included an unjust system of slavery and a violent racial hierarchy. In short, raids like Lawrence provide themselves as a prime example of how and why the guerrillas fought, as they show the true emotional discourse caused by the war, prompting these men into action for the sake of all they held dear.

¹⁹ O.S. Barton, *Three Years with Quantrill: A True Story Told by His Scout John McCorkle* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1992), 6.

²⁰ Goodrich, *Bloody Dawn*, 86.

²¹ Barton, *Three Years with Quantrill*, 6.

Attacks such as that on Lawrence not only exemplify the actions of the guerrilla man, but also the motivation behind those actions. The bushwhackers fought ferociously for their slaveholding states, but it is important to point out that they also fought for a great deal of time without outside assistance. The guerrillas could have gone off to join the armies of the Confederacy, but that would have required leaving their homes behind which was not an option for them. Instead, they created their own war within the conflict of their homeland. The formal Confederate military did not engage in Missouri until later in the conflict. Due to this, the guerrillas were forced to either fail at their mission, or adapt and overcome. In order to adapt and overcome, they adopted a very specific material culture that allowed them to fight often on their own grounds. They strove to form this material culture to suit not only their abilities, but also the terrain and natural advantages that they already had fighting in familiar territory.

As the conflict wore on, their motivation stayed its course, but as we know the condition of the Confederacy began to deteriorate. It was rumored towards the end of the war that General Robert E. Lee—commanding General of the Armies of Northern Virginia—was encouraged to call all of his forces to engage in a guerrilla war until the Confederacy won. While this may simply be a rumor, its importance still stands. The guerrilla conflict in Missouri and surrounding states ended very indecisively, as the bushwhackers themselves wreaked great havoc against the Union troops and Unionists in the area. In addition, many of the bushwhackers never formally surrendered. Men such as Archie Clements, Jesse James, and Cole Younger continued to act as politically driven outlaws after the war officially ended until either their deaths or capture. For many of the guerrillas, the war never ended. Their homelands had been encroached upon and

their loved ones had been harmed to much by orders such as General Order No. 11.²² Surrender was not an option for them.

As the guerrillas fought their war, they quickly developed a standard of equipment that they carried, wore, and used throughout the war. The true bushwhacker equipped himself with this high standard of equipment not only because of operational necessity, but also because of the image, archetype, and standard that he and his comrades held for themselves. This material culture that the guerrillas created was unique, but it also serves as an identifying factor for the true guerrilla, creating a division between him and the other soldiers of the Civil War.

Throughout the remainder of this essay, the accoutrements of the guerrilla will be focused on; relying heavily on the horses, weapons, clothing or uniforms, and the method of supply that the bushwhackers utilized. As will be discovered, the equipment that the guerrillas carried serves as a key determinant for understanding whether they were truly guerrillas, or rather simply misnomers entitled guerrillas by the written records solidified in history. Making this distinction will not only add to the definition of the guerrilla man, but will also aid contemporary historians in truly understanding the divisions between regular soldiers and guerrillas, as this will help us understand the complexities of the Civil War even more.

²² In short, General Order No. 11 was an order enforced by the Union Army and written by General Thomas Ewing that displaced all Missouri families within a certain radius, focusing on families that were either kin to or aided the bushwhackers. This order was enacted in order to cut off the household supply line of the guerrillas, and was a last straw for many of the guerrillas. The bushwhackers overcame the order in many cases due to their versatility, and thus enhanced their violent acts.

Chapter 2

Outfitting the Guerrilla

The guerrilla man of the Civil War has been illustrated by contemporary history as a dashing individual, clothed in a brightly colored and patterned guerrilla shirt overtop of his more drab civilian attire. Crowning his head and atop his long locks of hair this bushwhacker would be wearing a hat crowned with a long feather or plume, while his face would be framed by a long flowing beard, grown in resistance of the war.²³ Around his waist this individual would have a broad belt, holstered to which would be at least two revolvers, with two more jammed into the belt, along with a large bowie knife. Slung over his shoulder would be the guerrilla's possible bag, filled with rations of a sort.²⁴ His bag would typically contain extra pre-loaded cylinders for his revolvers, gunpowder and lead balls, locks of hair from the loving women in his life, small amounts of home-cooked food procured through his visits with family and friends, and possibly a portrait of a lover, sister, or mother. As the stereotype holds, the bushwhacker would be astride a splendid mount, saddled with the best equestrian equipment that Missouri had to offer at the time. Said guerrilla would have two more revolvers holstered to his saddle, and possibly even more tied off with string to his neck and saddle horn in order to expand his firepower. Upon the

²³ Joseph M. Beilein, "The Guerrilla Shirt: A Labor of Love and the Style of Rebellion in Civil War Missouri," in *Civil War History* vol. 58, no. 2 (June 2012): 172.

²⁴ A possible bag was essentially the knapsack of the American backwoodsmen. These bags often contained their musket balls, priming powder, a small portion of rations, and any other small necessities—possibly including trinkets from home. These bags were typically constructed from the hide of an animal, but as the years wore on canvas and cloth bags began to be created. The bag of a guerrilla would be common to that of the American backwoodsmen, but rather than simply musket balls and powder, it would likely also contain cap and ball as well as preloaded cylinders. These bags may not have been carried by all guerrillas, but they would have been a likely piece of supplies, as they were easy to carry and access while mounted.

back of his saddle he would have a light bedroll, a canteen of water, and a saddlebag in which there may be small gifts for his family and friends stolen in raids, trinkets procured for himself, rations of food, and possibly a bottle of whiskey. This commonly accepted archetype of the guerrilla man has framed the legend that has followed these men throughout their birth in history, and thus caused them to become memorialized.

As one can see, the archetype of the guerrilla man has been largely framed around and characterized by his equipment, as his high standard of equipment is one of the key dividers between him and other individuals; including outlaws, regular soldiers, deserters, and more. Armed and equipped as they were, the guerrilla bands of the Civil War were unique, but many Union military reports from the period use the term guerrilla very loosely. Based on these reports, the assumption can be made that any individual or group that fought irregularly was titled as a guerrilla by many Union officers and troops. Through this study one will see that in these instances, the authors of the military reports were simply mistaken. Guerrillas were characterized by much more than just their tactics and the evidence drawn on through the remainder of this chapter will further prove this point. As this chapter will demonstrate, the equipment that the guerrilla men carried and utilized drew the line between the true bushwhacker and the common soldier, deserter, or outlaw.

The fighting styles of these men were dictated by their equipment, and the equipment was dictated by the way they desired to fight. In regards to conventional fighting forces, the tactics used by the Missouri guerrillas could be compared and contrasted closest with the conventional cavalry tactics of the time, but even then their methods differed. These men fought on horseback using brutal and efficient methods. A typical guerrilla band numbered anywhere from fifteen or so men to about eighty. There were surely larger bands, but the average force of guerrillas was

relatively small, with many small forces gathering together to form a larger force for bigger raids and campaigns. Guerrilla fighters always rode the best mounts that they could find. Being men of Missouri, they had practically grown up in the saddle, so they remained as some of the best horsemen in the country. In regards to arms, the 1851 Colt Navy revolver stood as the favorite weapon of the guerrilla. The reasons are quite practical, as this pistol was relatively light, could fire off six rounds in quick succession, could be easily carried on your person, and could be fired with relative ease from the back of a horse. Typically, guerilla bands did not strike or engage unless they knew that they would come out victorious. They perfected the tactic of the ambush, and used this in an almost religious manner.²⁵ Riding down upon their prey, the bushwhackers would fire their revolvers—most carried at least two and many carried upwards of six in order to have more shots—in quick succession down upon their enemies, often delivering the killing blows and shots at point blank range as they rode through the enemy ranks.²⁶ Their tactics were seen as brutal by many, but they were effective in presenting the message that the guerrillas would not stand to be overrun, and that they would defend what they held dear at all costs.

The weapons carried by the guerrillas serve as a useful starting point in the discussion of equipment. According to the majority of contemporary Civil War guerrilla history, the bushwhacker carried a revolver—and typically many—as his primary weapon. As previously mentioned, the 1851 Colt Navy revolver was the commonly accepted weapon of choice among the guerrillas, and for good reason. The choice of this particular revolver seemed logical as Samuel Colt specifically designed it to be concealed, to be fired quickly with little skill, and to

²⁵ John N. Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas, of the Warfare of the Border* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Company, 1877), 244.

²⁶ Thomas Goodrich, *Bloody Dawn: The Story of the Lawrence Massacre* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University, 1991), 16.

be used in violent situations. Like many other fire arms of the day the revolver was not designed to be a multipurpose tool.²⁷ It was a weapon, and it was designed to take human life. Consistent reports throughout the *Official Records*, cite the usage of revolvers by known guerrillas such as Jim Anderson.²⁸ In another example, John McCorkle—a guerrilla known to have rode with William Clarke Quantrill and functioned as his scout for a period of time—cites a particular situation in his memoir in which a group of Union soldiers came up over a hill in pursuit of Quantrill and his men. Upon approaching the lines of battle, a black man said to the Union commander, ““But my advice marster, would be, not to follow them men any further, because befo’ God, they had more pistols on them than any men he had ever seen befo’.””²⁹ As one can observe from this passage, the guerrillas favored the revolver, and certainly preferred to engage in combat with a large amount of firepower. With this being said, the Colt Navy—and any other revolver for that matter—was the perfect weapon for the guerrillas, but it was by no means the only fire arm used.³⁰

As the guerrillas themselves left their homes for the bush, they left with whatever they may have at the time, and this often became their weapon of choice until—or even unless—another could be procured. Men were often armed with shotguns, hunting rifles, and even

²⁷ Michael A. Bellesiles, “The Origins of Gun Culture in the United States,” in *The Journal of American History*, vol. 83, no. 2, (September 1996): 448.

²⁸ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 41, pt. 1, 229-230.

²⁹ John McCorkle, *Three Years with Quantrill: A True Story Told by His Scout John McCorkle* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 198-199.

³⁰ The 1851 Colt Navy was by no means the only revolver used by the bushwhackers. While records indicate it was the most commonly used revolver throughout the war, plenty of other revolvers were used by forces on both sides during the Civil War. These weapons include but are not limited to the Colt Model 1860 fluted revolvers, Smith and Wesson No. 2 army revolver, Remington New Model army revolver, Whitney navy revolver, Massachusetts Arms Company Adams Patent navy revolver, Colt Model 1849 pocket revolver, Colt Model 1860 army revolver, J.H. Dance & Brothers navy revolver, J.H. Dance & Brothers army revolver, Le Mat first and second model revolvers, Columbus Fire Arms Mfg. Co. revolver, T.W. Cofer revolver, Tucker Sherrad and Co. revolver, Griswold and Gunnison early model revolver and much more. Angus Konstam, *The Civil War Soldier* (London: Pavilion Books, 2015), 133-134.

flintlock muskets as these were simply the weapons that they owned at the start of the conflict. Unlike portions of the conventional army, guerrillas were not issued fire arms. McCorkle cites the fact that he himself initially joined the guerrillas with household weapons stating that, “When we had told Cole Younger our object, he asked us what arms we could get and I secured a rifle and eight cartridges and George a double-barreled shotgun.”³¹ As their bands became more successful and engaged in more combat, guerrillas often procured the fire arms of their enemies, but again this was the exception and not the rule. Surely, a guerrilla would see it as essential to take a revolver from a dead Union cavalryman to replace his own cumbersome scattergun, but if there was no revolver to take, the guerrilla was simply left with his more cumbersome weapon.³²

The revolver itself was made up of a complex number of parts, but for the shooter the weapon was simple and easy to load, aim, and fire. In short, the parts of the weapon that would most concern the shooter—or in this case the guerrilla—would be the trigger, hammer, cylinder, cylinder lock, and barrel.³³ The removable cylinder of the revolver would be loaded with powder, put in place, and then locked in place by the cylinder lock. The shooter would then pull back the hammer, aim, and pull the trigger thus firing the weapon. In order to aim the weapon, the shooter could line up the iron sights as one would when firing a rifle, but as a shooter's level of skill rose they would be able to simply point their arm and weapon in the direction in which they desired to fire and thus score a hit. As with anything, practice made perfect and muscle

³¹ McCorkle, *Three Years with Quantrill*, 57.

³² McCorkle, *Three Years with Quantrill*, 73, 140. Joseph M. Bailey, *Confederate Guerrilla: The Civil War Memoir of Joseph M. Bailey* (Fayetteville, AK: University of Arkansas Press, 2007), 48.

³³ Robert A. Howard, “Interchangeable Parts Reexamined: The Private Sector of the American Arms Industry on the Eve of the Civil War,” in *The Journal of the Civil War Era*, vol. 2, no.1 (1978), 644.

memory is as sure a part of shooting a revolver as it is exercising.³⁴ These guerrillas were true professionals of their craft, which included the firing of the revolver.

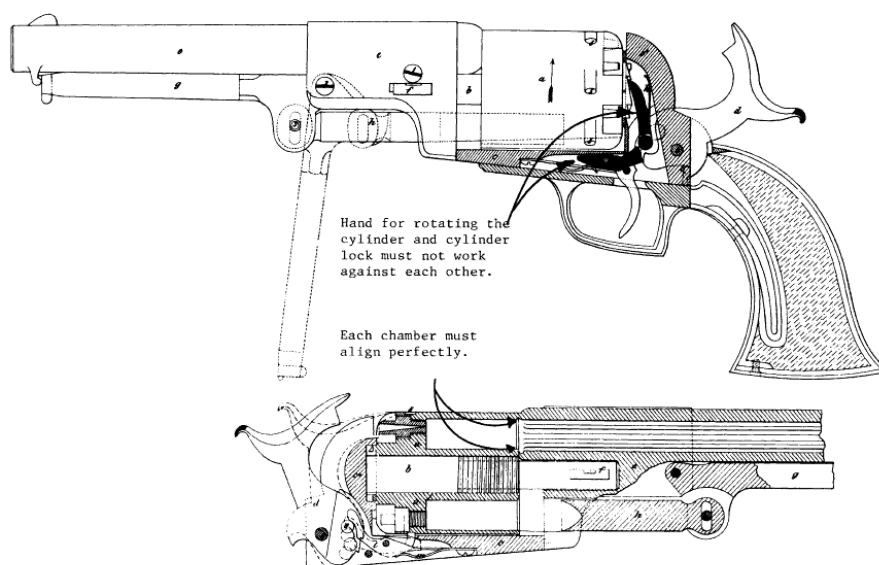


FIG. 1.—Cutaway of a typical revolver from Colt's English patent no. 12688 (June 20, 1849)

Figure 2: Colt Model 1851 Navy Revolver. This image illustrates the moving parts of the revolver that the guerrillas would have had to know how to operate perfectly. As one can see, the weapon was relatively simple, and could be used with ease after only minimal practice.

Relying heavily on the 1851 Colt Navy revolver, a guerrilla would have had the option to switch out broken parts when necessary. Prior to Samuel Colt's revolver production, most firearms producers did not mass produce their weapons, which thus caused their parts to not be interchangeable.³⁵ Samuel Colt was one of the first firearms producers to adopt mass production,

³⁴ There is no indication that bushwhackers received any sort of formal military training. Their training would have come from either their own personal practice with their equipment, previous knowledge, and refining their skills in battle, or a combination of all three.

³⁵ Stephen V. Grancsay, "An Exhibition of Colt Percussion Revolvers," in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 37, no. 2 (1942), 30.

which gave his weapons a rough interchangeability. I say here that the weapons had a rough interchangeability due to the fact that mass production at the time was still not perfect. Parts such as the cylinder sleeve may need some filing in order to fit them into a new weapon, but the fact that the parts of these weapons were interchangeable to even a varying extent is truly what matters.³⁶ This rough interchangeability is important to the argument at hand as it aids in hammering home the simple fact that the guerrillas most commonly carried revolvers; many revolvers. The simple fact that revolvers were constructed mostly of steel also aids in hammering home their use to the guerrillas. The only wooden—or rather non-metal as it was not always wooden—portion of a revolver would be the hand grips. With this being said, the durability of the revolver becomes even more obvious, as it was nearly all metal as opposed to rifles that typically had a long wooden stock. The lifestyle that the guerrillas lived in the bush demanded a hardy and durable weapon, which provided itself in the form of the revolver. With all of the hallmarks of a revolver—and specifically the 1851 Colt Navy—laid out in the open, the guerrilla's choice of firearms is clear. Revolvers were small, light, easy to fire, held a large amount of fire power, had roughly interchangeable parts, and were easy to carry in comparison to rifles. Recalling the tactics that the guerrillas used, why would they ever choose to commonly carry a firearm other than the revolver?

While it is true that the guerrillas did not carry solely revolvers, it is important to note that the carrying of rifles, shotguns, and other firearms was the exception, not the norm. At the beginning of the conflict, guerrillas would leave their homes with whatever arms they had, and fight with whatever they could get their hands on. As the war progressed, they became meticulous about their armaments, and leaned more and more towards the revolver. For

³⁶ Howard, "Interchangeable Parts Reexamined," 644.

example, McCorkle writes, “About this time, Colonel Hayes noticed some of the Federal soldiers behind the rock fence on the Kansas City road and, calling me to him, said ‘John, you are the only man with a long-range rifle. Make those fellows take their heads down.’”³⁷ Here, it is important to note that while McCorkle was at the time the only one with a long-range rifle as Quantrill utilized him as a sharpshooter, he later upgraded to revolvers as his many comrades did earlier in the war. In yet another example, William T. “Bloody Bill” Anderson brags about the abilities of his men in a letter to the editors of two prominent Lexington, MO newspapers. Anderson wrote, “If you proclaim to be in arms against the guerillas I will kill you. I will hunt you down like wolves and murder you. You cannot escape. It will not be the Federals after you. Your arms will be no protection to you. Twenty-five of my men can whip all that can get together. It will not be militia such as McFerran’s, but regulars that have been in the field for three years, that are armed with from two to four pistols and Sharps rifles.”³⁸ While it is quite clear that Anderson stated that his men would be armed with Sharps rifles, he also stated that they would each be armed with two to four revolvers. They may have been carrying rifles, but they still carried many more revolvers, which thus dominated their firepower. In short, the guerrilla man is not noted as being a rifle-wielding bushwhacker, but rather a revolver wielding bushwhacker. Rifles were carried among their ranks, but they were the exception and the not the rule. As has been demonstrated and will continue to be throughout this work, revolvers were the dominant weapon of choice among the guerrillas, and thus have become an identifying factor for the true guerrilla man.

³⁷ McCorkle, *Three Years with Quantrill*, 59.

³⁸ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 41, pt. 1, 74-76.

While the importance of the weaponry of a guerrilla cannot be argued, it also stands to reason that the basic supplies—such as food and clothing—of a guerrilla and the ways in which they procured these supplies are just as important. The guerrilla conflict of the Civil War has been framed as being supplied through a network known as the household supply line, as discussed by historians such as LeeAnn Whites. Unlike a traditional military supply line, the household supply line of the guerrilla conflict ran rather through the guerrillas own network of families and friends instead of through a formal supply line operated and run through systems of wagons and trains. As discussed previously, the guerrillas decided to fight as partisans in order to protect their homes and loved ones where they felt that they could to the best of their ability—in the immediate vicinity of their homes. With this being said, a guerrilla’s network of friends and family in the area immediately turned into his source of food and daily supplies, as he could typically go to any pro-Southern household in the area and expect to be served a hearty meal and given any supplies that he may need.³⁹ The importance here is quite simple, as this was the guerrilla’s most reliable source of food and supplies. Sure, bushwhackers conducted raids and often took supplies during these raids, but their greatest source of food came from the homes of their kin and neighbors. If a guerrilla either operated in an area in which he had no friends or no family, he was sure to be worse off than many of his counterparts. The risk to his life and his risk of capture would even be increased. Additionally, if a guerrilla’s household supply line were taken away, he would also be subject to a greater risk.

The emergence of General Order No. 11 did just this during 1863; it ordered all citizens that could not prove or swear allegiance to the Union to evacuate the state of Missouri. Even

³⁹ LeeAnn Whites, “Forty Shirts and a Wagonload of Wheat: Women, the Domestic Supply Line, and the Civil War Era on the Western Border,” in *The Journal of the Civil War Era*, vol. 1, no.1 (March, 2011).

those that could prove their loyalty to the Union were forced to leave their farms and occupy specific towns and cities. As may seem obvious, this order—designed by General Halleck—was carried out in order to hopefully eliminate the supply lines through which the guerrillas operated. While the plan ultimately did not work as it caused a mighty backlash due to harsh requirements, its theoretical importance still stands. A guerrilla's ability to operate could be greatly harmed by a lack of food and supply, so simply stated any guerrilla without this could be subject to a greater risk of capture or death. Without food and basic supplies, a guerrilla attempting to survive in the bush would be extremely susceptible to death or capture. Additionally, the household supply line seats itself as a defining factor of the true guerrilla.⁴⁰

While the guerrillas supplied themselves through a household supply line and armed themselves primarily with revolvers, one must also note that their clothing and uniform added to their image and archetype, characterizing them and often leading to confusion by the Federal forces. Since bushwhacker bands were not formal military outfits, they were not issued Confederate uniforms. Guerrillas typically wore civilian clothing, as it is what they left their homes wearing. Furthermore, their civilian clothing enabled them to blend in with the populace and enact their hit-and-run tactics in an even more effective manner. With this being said, it quickly became the common rule that persons—typically guerrillas—fighting for the Confederacy but not fighting under a formal unit or wearing a uniform would thus not be entitled to the treatment of a prisoner of war. They would be treated as simple outlaws, who lose nearly all rights in war. For example, in the *Official Records* one particular report by a Union officer

⁴⁰ For more information on the household supply line, see LeAnn 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*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2011): 56-78., and Joseph M. Beilein Jr., "The Guerrilla Shirt: A Labor of Love and the Style of Rebellion in Civil War Missouri," *Civil War History*, vol. 58, no. 2 (2012): 151-179.

states that, “Persons acting as guerrillas without organization and without uniform to distinguish them from private citizens are not entitled to the treatment of prisoners or war when caught, and will not receive such treatment.”⁴¹ With this report in mind, it is important to recognize that this did not stop guerrillas from wearing civilian clothes. If anything, it caused their sense of style to grow even more unique, as they began to personalize the commonly accepted archetype of the guerrilla man mentioned previously.

Beyond this, after the conflict had matured the guerrillas in many areas began to procure and wear Federal uniforms in order to cause confusion among the Union ranks. As can be assumed, the wearing of Federal uniforms by the guerrillas enabled them to get much closer to their enemy and thus cause a much more devastating effect.⁴² In addition, Federal uniforms were used by certain notable guerrillas to sneak through enemy lines and conduct reconnaissance missions or procure supplies. As Cole Younger writes in his memoir, “Capt. Quantrill, George Todd and myself, attired as Union officers, went to Hamilton, a small town... Todd passed as a major in the Sixth Missouri Cavalry, Quantrill a major in the Ninth, and I a captain in an Illinois regiment... While in Hannibal we bought 50,000 revolver caps and such other ammunition as we needed.”⁴³ As one can observe from this passage, the use of Federal uniforms as previously stated was not solely utilized to enact carnage at a close range. In this situation, Quantrill, Younger, and Todd—three notable Missouri guerrillas—literally rode directly through Union lines and fooled them by their appearance.

⁴¹ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 17, pt. 1, 68.

⁴² *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 34, pt. 1, 114.

⁴³ Cole Younger, *The Story of Cole Younger: by Himself Being an Autobiography of the Missouri Guerrilla Captain and Outlaw, His Capture and Prison Life, and the Only Authentic Account of the Northfield Raid Ever Published* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2000), 19.

Looking even further, one must acknowledge that the mount of a guerrilla proved essential to his survival as well, often the determining factor between his capture, death, or escape in a tight situation. While it may seem simple, a good horse was indispensable in the world of guerrilla warfare. Due to the tactics of their engagements, a fast and agile steed was absolutely necessary. As author and Civil War soldier John N. Edwards writes in his book *Noted Guerrillas, or the Warfare of the Border*, “To halt, to wheel, to gallop, to run, to swing from the saddle, to go at full speed bareback, to turn as upon a pivot—to do all these things and shoot either with the right hand or the left while doing them—this was Guerrilla drill and Guerrilla discipline.”⁴⁴ Witnessed simply from the words of Edwards, a magnificent steed would be absolutely necessary in order to conduct movements such as those described here.

Additionally, it must be noted that the Union forces religiously recorded the number of horses that were captured in raids and battles, which underscores their importance even more. In one particular example, Major-General H.G. Wright writes in a report to Major-General H.W. Halleck that, “Twenty-five horses and a large amount of clothing, blankets, guns, pistols, and ammunitions that were being transported to Humphrey Marshall’s camp, were also captured.”⁴⁵ Here, it is important to note that while the captured equipment is all generally recorded, great care is taken in noting the number of horses that were captured. Throughout countless reports within the *Official Records*, great care is taken to record the number of horses either taken or captured from guerrillas or their relations.⁴⁶ With this being said, it stands to reason that the Union troops took such careful record due to the importance of these mounts to them. Logically,

⁴⁴ John N. Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas, of the Warfare of the Border* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Company, 1877), 244.

⁴⁵ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 20, pt. 1, 166.

⁴⁶ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 47, pt. 1, 73. *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 4, ser. 1, 648. *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 32, pt. 1, 492.

one horse taken by the Union forces from the guerrillas added a mount to the stables of the Union Army, and removed a mount from the herds of the guerrillas and their relatives and friends. With the necessity of horses clear and the tactics of the guerrillas out in the open, the importance of a good mount becomes obvious and also adds to the archetype of the guerrilla man. As previously mentioned, these bushwhackers did not ride into battle on simple farm horses and nags, but rather the most exceptional steeds in Missouri and its border states.

While the majority of the battles fought by guerrillas carried political means and worked towards their cause of protecting their families and loved ones, some raids were simply conducted to gain new mounts.⁴⁷ Bailey cites in his memoir that feeding and grooming their horses was their first great care as guerrillas. Often times, his band would go hungry simply in order to ensure that their mounts were fed and well-rested. Bailey also reflects fondly on his mount Wild Bill, whom he had captured from a Union soldier, stating that, "I was the owner of a dark bay horse...He was of medium size, fleet of foot, a splendid saddle horse, and endowed with wonderful powers of endurance. To say that I became strongly attached to Wild Bill is but a mild expression...But for his speed and endurance on several occasions, this story would not have been written."⁴⁸ This excerpt demonstrates not only the connection that can be had between human and beast, but also the importance of a splendid mount in the realm of guerrilla warfare. As Bailey states, he may have died several times had it not been for the speed and endurance of his horse, Wild Bill. With this being said, the importance of a superb mount added to the level at which a guerrilla could operate. If his mount could not perform at the proper level, a bushwhacker raised his risk of capture or death.

⁴⁷ Sutherland, *American Civil War Guerrilla*, 29.

⁴⁸ Bailey, *Confederate Guerrilla*, 44.

While the importance of a good mount to a true guerrilla is quite clear, one must also recognize that these animals were not solely self-sufficient, and thus required care. Horses are certainly a hardy animal with over four hundred different breeds existing, but their size obviously causes them to require a significant portion of food everyday.⁴⁹ While the guerrillas of the Civil War very well could have ridden a vast variety of horse breeds, for the purpose at hand we will use the American Quarter Horse as an example. The American Quarter Horse averages a height of fourteen and a half to sixteen hands, which equates to about fifty seven to sixty four inches. Their weight also varies from approximately nine hundred fifty to one thousand two hundred pounds.⁵⁰ With this being said, a well-fed horse should eat about one to two percent of its body weight in roughage—such as grass or hay—everyday. Additionally, unlike cows horses have only one stomach, and it is quite small for their size. Due to this, in order to get enough food they are forced to graze and feed throughout the day.⁵¹ Horses are herbivores, so of course grass and hay are not the limitation of their diet. Many domesticated mounts are fed bran, oats, wheat, and other sources of vegetation.

Using an American Quarter Horse at fifteen and a half hands in height weighing one thousand pounds as an example, we see that said horse would need to eat roughly ten to twenty pounds of roughage daily in order to maintain its health. These ten to twenty pounds of food would need to be eaten throughout the day. Additionally of course, the horse would have to drink enough water to stay hydrated, which would depend on its level of activity throughout the

⁴⁹ National Academy of Sciences National Research Council, *Nutrient Requirements of Horses*. Second Revised Edition Washington, D.C., 1966.

⁵⁰ Steven D. Price, *The American Quarter Horse: An Introduction to Selection, Care, and Enjoyment* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 1999), 51.

⁵¹ National Academy of Sciences National Research Council, *Nutrient Requirements of Horses*. Second Revised Edition Washington, D.C., 1966.

day, the weather, and many other circumstances. In short, in order to keep working at the rate necessary and also stay healthy, the mount of a guerrilla would need to be fed and watered regularly and constantly.

A bushwhacker's mount would not only require a great deal of food and water in order to maintain the rigorous riding and travelling that the guerrillas underwent, but would also require care from either a farrier or an individual with similar skills. Being mostly white men of the antebellum South, the guerrillas would have shod their horses and cared for them in the modern ways at hand. Shoeing a horse was a special skill carried out typically by farriers or blacksmiths skilled in the art of shoeing a horse. In short, this was not a skill that would have been widely spread across the ranks of Missourian society. In order to maintain the care of their horse's hooves, the guerrillas would have to have them shod periodically, forcing them to rely on the household supply line to an even greater degree. Not only did the beasts need to be shod periodically, but they also needed to have their hooves trimmed and fitted in order to avoid overgrowth and lameness. This surely required even more skill and specialized tools, which clearly demonstrates that this specialized care could not have been done in the bush.⁵² The guerrillas would have had to take their mounts to either a blacksmith, farrier, or nearby farm, which would require them to leave the bush and risk their lives, as Union soldiers infested their neighborhoods later in the war.

We also see throughout the manuscripts of guerrillas that they were consistently switching mounts and attempting to gain new ones.⁵³ With this being said, it can be assumed that at least part of the reason lies behind the fact that it was hard for the guerrillas to properly

⁵² Robert F. Wiseman, *The Complete Horseshoeing Guide* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), 78-80.

⁵³ Countless examples of this are seen throughout the biography of notable guerrilla Sam Hildebrand. Carl W. Breihan, *Sam Hildebrand: Guerrilla* (Wauwatosa, WI: Pine Mountain Press, 1984), 66, 71, 116, 122, 135.

care for their horses in the bush. As was evidenced throughout accounts such as Bailey's and Edwards, the guerrillas demanded the best of their mounts at all times, so a sick or lame horse simply would not cut it.⁵⁴ The guerrillas surely cared for their mounts to the best of their ability in the bush, but the switching of mounts demonstrates the guerrilla's necessity for the perfect specimen of horse. So, the division between the true guerrilla and the misnomer gathers yet another deciding factor, as the type of—or lack of—mount ridden by a supposed guerrilla aids in proving whether or not he truly was a guerrilla or a simple misnomer by Union reports.

While it stands to reason that a good deal of the equipment used and carried by the guerrillas was supplied to them through their household supply line, one simple fact remains; much of the equipment that they used, wore, and carried was not necessarily easily accessible to them or to their household network. How then, did the guerrillas get their hands on this equipment? Another question that may stand as even more important is why; why did the guerrillas take great risks to use this equipment to create their image and why was it so important to them? The simple answer is that revolvers, horses, and the clothing that they wore were the best tools to use for the job at hand, but as always complexities underlie simplicity. As has been mentioned, splendid horses were the best mounts to ride, and fighting from the back of a horse was more natural for the guerrilla. It also enabled him to utilize hit-and-run tactics even more effectively. The revolver was simply the best firearm to use while riding. Blending into not only the civilian population, but also the Union military population, was key for the guerrilla, as he was not fighting a stand-up war against the North, but rather a hit-and-run war against the Union

⁵⁴ John N. Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas, of the Warfare of the Border* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Company, 1877), 244., Bailey, *Confederate Guerrilla*, 44.

soldiers and Unionists in his immediate area. For these reasons and more, the tools utilized by the bushwhacker were the best tools for the task at hand.

Another necessity to the image of the guerrilla focused mostly around the guerrilla shirt. The guerrilla shirt was not a formal uniform, but as the war progressed it became the default piece of clothing that nearly all guerrillas wore. These shirts were handmade—typically by the bushwhacker’s sweetheart, mother, or sister—and baggy in fit. They were low-cut around the neck and often had several deep pockets designed to hold extra revolver cylinders and other everyday wares. Whoever made the shirt often embroidered it with flowers and other complicated stitching’s, adding to its beauty. No two shirts were alike, as they were often made of different types of cloth, different colors, similar but ultimately different cuts and sizes, and different stitching and embroidery.⁵⁵ These shirts were highly practical as they were breathable and could be worn alone, or could be worn underneath or overtop of other clothes in order to stay warm.⁵⁶ Of course, their pockets added a great deal of practicality as well, originating from the hunting shirts of the American backwoodsmen. There is no argument against the practicality of the shirts themselves, but as with all the equipment of the guerrilla, there was a great risk imposed on not only the individual bushwhacker but the household network itself in supplying the guerrillas with these articles of clothing. The women of the guerrilla’s household supply line had to not only make the shirts, but also secure the material with which to make them, which often resulted in either stealing material or purchasing large quantities of it, which of course led to suspicion later in the war as the Federals began to figure out the guerrilla network.⁵⁷ Risk was

⁵⁵ Joseph M. Beilein, “The Guerrilla Shirt: A Labor of Love and the Style of Rebellion in Civil War Missouri,” in *Civil War History*, vol. 58, no. 2 (2012), 158-159.

⁵⁶ Beilein, “The Guerrilla Shirt,” 160.

⁵⁷ Beilein, “The Guerrilla Shirt,” 161.

also imposed for the guerrilla himself, as he would have to receive the shirt somehow; whether that be through riding to the house itself and picking it up, or picking it up at a previously designated concealed location. Regardless, there was a great risk imposed upon the guerrillas in order for them to wear what they desired, and this risk surely could have been avoided—but yet again, it added to their image. The importance of the material culture of the guerrilla lies not only in the practical application of the equipment that they carried, but also in its formational assistance to their own personal and public image and archetype as a bushwhacker.

The guerrillas favored the revolver for its volume and capacity of fire, but very few guerrillas actually left their homes to join the conflict armed with revolvers. The vast majority left with shotguns, hunting rifles, and other common firearms that would have been found around the typical rural Missourian home. In order to procure the revolvers that they used and that became more and more popular as the war progressed, the bushwhackers were required to take great risks. The majority of the revolvers in use during the Civil War—on both sides—were either made by companies in the North, or were imported from European countries. The very few Southern companies that did attempt to make revolvers did very poorly. Despite their Confederate patriotism, their lack of experience in the arms industry caused their weapons to lack the quality necessary on the battlefield.⁵⁸ With the Confederate arms industry greatly lacking, the guerrillas were usually forced to obtain their revolvers by either taking them from the battlefield, stealing them from Union troops or arsenals, or stealing them during raids of Unionist towns.

The guerrillas surely could have continued to use their household weapons and avoided the greater risk of attempting to capture revolvers, but they did not. Instead, at the earliest

⁵⁸ Angus Konstam, *The Civil War Soldier* (London: Pavilion Books, 2015), 120-121.

possible chance they cast aside their shotguns and hunting rifles in favor of risking their own skin to pick up a revolver or two. In a practical sense, the revolver was much easier to fire from the back of a horse and operate mounted, and it also allowed for a greater volume of power. But, the guerrillas could have just as easily fought unmounted hit and run tactics with their long-arms and been very effective as well. Still, they opted for the revolver as it added to their dashing and ferocious image. Clad in his brightly colored and embroidered shirt with his head crowned by a wide-brimmed hat sat at a rakish angle with a feather in the band, the guerrillas brace of revolvers—or more—simply added to his graceful and deadly image. He had not only one or two shots, but rather six or more, poised and ready to defend his home and loved ones to the death. The revolver gave him a sense of power and masculinity, as it was not—in this day and age—a common weapon owned by everyone. This was an officers weapon; a gentlemen’s weapon.⁵⁹ So, this dashing yet dangerous gentlemen clung to his self-constructed image, and strove to take whatever risks may be necessary to add to this material culture and keep his image complete.

The mount of a guerrilla added to his image, as he refused to ride anything but the finest specimen of horse that could be found in Missouri and its surrounding states. While Missouri was a horse-breeding state, magnificent mounts were still not necessarily easy to come by. For the bushwhackers to be as selective about their mounts as they were, they were again causing great—virtually unnecessary—risk to themselves. As previously mentioned, guerrilla bands would often go on raids solely in order to steal new or better mounts for themselves. The mounts that they were riding would often suffice, but still, they demanded perfection from their horses. Sure, operational necessity was part of this as the guerrillas typically fought at a very fast pace

⁵⁹ Angus Konstam, *The Civil War Soldier* (London: Pavilion Books, 2015), 133-134.

from the saddle, but they could have formed techniques for fighting on foot, or they could have just as easily engaged in less conflicts and in order to rest their horses more. Yet, the guerrillas still placed their lives at great risk to constantly secure new and better mounts beside the fact that it was not always a necessity. Again, their horses aided in forming their image; one of the dashing, ferocious, gentlemen warrior impeccably clad and armed to the teeth with revolvers astride the best mount of Missouri.

The guerrilla man occupied a specific sphere of the Civil War, and additionally was constructed in a specific way. His character, image, lifestyle, and the equipment he carried all made the bushwhacker a true guerrilla. All of these aspects—and namely that of equipment—separated true guerrillas from not only the rest of the armed forces at the time, but also the misnamed guerrillas. As has been mentioned, many Union reports and other primary resources liberally use the term guerrilla to refer to combatants of many types; outlaws, deserters, regular Confederate soldiers, simple civilians, and more. Simply stated, this liberal use of the title of guerrilla has caused the name to be associated with a broader spectrum.

Guerrillas equipped themselves specifically for the task at hand; defending their homes and loved ones at all cost against their enemies, namely Unionists and Union soldiers. They dressed in either civilian clothing or Federal uniforms, utilizing their disguises for tactical advantage. Due to the nature of their tactics, the guerrillas rode the best mounts that their state could provide, as a good horse was just as important to them as the clothes on their back the gun in their hand. In regards to the weapon in hand, the bushwhackers typically armed themselves with revolvers, focusing on the 1851 Colt Navy. While this—and a revolver in general—was certainly not the only firearm carried by true guerrillas, it was definitely the weapon of choice and thus dominated their armaments. These men would not arm themselves with simply one

revolver, but often carried at least two and upwards of a half-dozen in order to increase their volume of firepower. As the war wore on, the volume of revolvers among the ranks of the bushwhackers increased, just as the number of shotguns, rifles, and other firearms decreased. These men supplied themselves with ammunition, clothes, food, and anything else that they may need in the brush through what has become known as the household supply network. Due to the nature of their war, a traditional supply line was not only unfeasible, but impossible. The guerrilla bands started as neighborhood groups, not formal units. They did not have logistical units supporting them or the infrastructure of an institution supplying them. These men had their families and their friends, thus their supplies came from these same people.

The definition of the true guerrilla is tightened by not only his image, but the equipment he carried, wore, and utilized. Through this new definition, one can sift through history and determine who the true guerrillas were, and which were simple historical misnomers. Utilizing this new lens, the remainder of this paper will continue to build on the evidence presented here, focusing on captured and killed guerrillas that can be identified as both true guerrillas and simple misnomers, and the effects that this had on the war at large.

Chapter 3

Misnomers

Daniel McGee and his band were surrounded at the house of southern sympathizer, Simeon Cato, and either killed or captured by Union Major Reeder and his soldiers. In the reports written by Major Reeder, he referred to McGee and his men as guerrillas. Major Reeder wrote, “We counted 9 killed, amongst them McGee: 20 mortally wounded, and 3 slightly, the latter of whom we brought in...Besides we captured some 25 horses and equipments...and some arms.”⁶⁰ Based on this report, thirty two men were either killed or wounded by the Union troopers, and the report claimed earlier that McGee was in the area with thirty five of his best men.⁶¹ While there were at least thirty two supposed guerrillas at the encounter, only twenty five horses were captured by Reeder and his men. This means that either seven horses escaped, or there were simply more men than horses to begin with.⁶² Major Reeder could have also lied in order to embellish his report. One thing is for sure, the numbers simply do not add up.⁶³

In fact Daniel McGee and his men were not guerrillas fighting for the Confederacy, but were rather formal Confederate soldiers. According to records, McGee was actually Captain Daniel McGee of the CSA.⁶⁴ Captain McGee and his men were wearing Confederate uniforms

⁶⁰ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 22, pt. 1, 225-227.

⁶¹ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 22, pt. 1, 225-227.

⁶² *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 22, pt. 1, 225-227.

⁶³ Regardless of whether or not this is true, throughout the research presented all parties involved—guerrillas and their Union counterparts—will be generally taken at their word, and it will not be assumed that either guerrilla or a Union officer or trooper is lying. The reason behind this assumption is quite simple: the discipline of history is a human construction. For the purpose of argument in the discipline of history, we must take these documents at their word when it comes to the statistics offered, because these are the only ones we have to reference.

⁶⁴ Missouri Soldiers Records: War of 1812-WWI.

<https://s1.sos.mo.gov/records/archives/archivesdb/soldiers/Detail.aspx?id=S405438&conflict=Civil%20War>

at the time of the attack, which was never done by guerrillas.⁶⁵ In addition, they were under equipped with firearms, as no revolvers were reported recovered and, twenty five horses—in contrast to at least thirty two men—were captured by the Union troops. In short, Major Reeder's rout of Captain McGee and his men is the perfect example of the guerrilla misnomer.⁶⁶ Due to the language of Major Reeder's report, McGee and his men have been recorded in history as guerrillas in the *Official Records*, while they were in fact simply Confederate regulars, and they were not the only ones.

Using McGee and his men as an example, it is possible to wade through Union military records and discover that many reports contained these same misnomers. It is even possible to uncover these misnomers and draw a definite line between the true guerrilla and the mistaken Union reports.⁶⁷ With this line drawn, the archetype of the true guerrilla man will become more clearly defined, and thus aid in the further study of the guerrilla man of the Civil War. Throughout the *Official Records*, the title of guerrilla has been misused countless times, as the authors of the reports focused on the tactics, fighting techniques, unit size and the geographic location of the true action instead of the equipment utilized by the misnomers. Viewing these reports through the lens of material culture will allow us to do the impossible: prove a negative.

⁶⁵ Greenbriar Cemetery, located in southern Bollinger County, contains a mass grave that is believed by many to be to have contained that remains of McGee and his men. After an archeological investigation of the grave, it was determined that the remains were those of Confederate soldiers. Skeletal remains, along with coats, uniforms, and buttons were found.

⁶⁶Missouri Soldiers Records: War of 1812-WWI.

<https://s1.sos.mo.gov/records/archives/archivesdb/soldiers/Detail.aspx?id=S405438&conflict=Civil%20War>

⁶⁷ It is quite likely that these misnomers found their way into the reports of Union officers through a variety of methods. First of all, the definition of the guerrilla may not have been fully tightened when the reports were being written. The guerrilla methods being utilized by the bushwhackers were unique and had not been widely used before. Secondly, Union troops may have wanted to make it seem that they were defeating a larger number of guerrillas than they truly were. In addition, they could have used the term guerrilla liberally within reports to make it seem as if there were more guerrillas than there truly were in order to explain many of their defeats. Regardless of its origin, the misnomer heavily populates Unions military records.

While the guerrilla man stayed in the general vicinity of his home and loved ones to fight his war, the Confederate regular enlisted in the formal military, traveled hundreds of miles away from his home and loved ones, and then began to fight his war. In contrast to the dashing archetype of the guerrilla man, the Confederate regular typically clothed himself in either gray or butternut clothing; often worn thin and several sizes too large or small if it was issued, which in itself would be a blessing as the CSA rarely had the funds to issue their soldiers equipment. While Richmond authorities published a very detailed description of the uniforms that they envisioned their soldiers wearing, the reality was much different than the vision.⁶⁸ At the very start of the war almost every unit had a different uniform of sorts, but as the war wore on the Confederacy in general began to adopt the gray and butternut that they have become known for. Not only were the bright-colored uniforms of 1861 unpractical; they were also expensive and difficult to create. Soldiers began leaving home in the common homespun butternut, and thus receiving items to replenish their wardrobe in packages sent from home.⁶⁹ As we see, many soldiers relied on homespun clothing, but the ones that did receive issued uniforms consistently complained about how ill-fitting they were.⁷⁰ The Confederate soldier also may have worn any assortment of headwear; from slouch cap to forage cap to even a common wide-brimmed

⁶⁸ According to specified Army regulations, Bell Irvin Wiley writes of the envisioned Confederate uniform stating that, "His coat was a long double-breasted tunic of cadet gray, fronted with two rows of buttons and trimmed at the edges and at the collar and cuffs with colors designating the branch of service—infantry in blue, cavalry in yellow and artillery in red; the collar was the stand-up type...For fatigue purposes a double-breasted light-gray blouse with turn-down collar might be worn instead of the tunic. Trousers were of sky blue, cut loose in the leg and of sufficient length to spread well over the shoe. Overcoats, or 'great coats' as they were sometimes called, were of gray flannel, double-breasted and fitted with capes; for the infantry, capes were short, extending only to the elbows, while those of the cavalry extended the full length of the arm. The headpiece was a cap modeled after the style of the French kepi; the crown was of cloth, colored to designate the branch of the wearer's service. Havelock's, of white duck for summer and of oil cloth for winter, were prescribed. The cravat was of black leather. Boots were the Jefferson type. Shirts, socks, and drawers completed the official regalia, but no requirements were published as to the color of material of these lowly items." Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University, 1943), 108.

⁶⁹ Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 110.

⁷⁰ Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 112.

farmer's hat.⁷¹ Unlike the guerrilla, the Confederate regular would not be sporting a long beard or flowing locks, as the formal military often enforced hair length regulations.⁷²

In regards to arms, the Confederate soldier would typically be carrying a muzzleloader of some sort. At the beginning of the war, the Confederacy mostly armed its soldiers with the dregs of the armories which typically consisted of smoothbore rifles and some rifled muskets. In many cases, cities and armories would transform the communities common squirrel rifles and long rifles into weapons fit for taking human life.⁷³ As the war continued on, the Confederacy was able to get its hands on more and more modern serviceable weapons. They bought these weapons from Europe, procured them from the North, and took them from battlefields. In short, the typical Confederate soldier was better armed later in the war than he would have been at the beginning of the war. After 1862, the shoulder arms of the average Confederate infantryman would have been typically either the .577 caliber long Enfield rifle musket or the .58 caliber Springfield musket.⁷⁴ Unlike the guerrilla man, the typical Confederate soldier did not carry a revolver, as it was of no use on the conventional battlefield.⁷⁵

The common Confederate soldier had a much different image than the archetype of the guerrilla man, nearly embodying another conflict if not another war entirely. Bell Irvin Wiley sums up the typical Confederate soldier perfectly in his book, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy*, quoting a Confederate soldier that wrote, "Reduced to the minimum, the private soldier consisted of one man, one hat, one jacket, one shirt, one pair of pants, one pair of drawers, one pair of shoes, and one pair of socks. His baggage was one

⁷¹ Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 112.

⁷² Beilein, "The Guerrilla Shirt," 172.

⁷³ Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 286-289.

⁷⁴ Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 291.

⁷⁵ While the common infantry soldier did not carry a revolver, officers typically did. Cavalrymen did as well, but they also carried rifles, and most commonly the short Enfield rifle. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 292-294.

blanket, one rubber blanket, and one haversack.’ His weapon, if he was a walking soldier, was one gun, more than likely a muzzle-loader, *sans* bayonet.”⁷⁶ Based on the previous explanations, it is clear that the common Confederate soldier differed greatly in appearance and the equipment that he wore, carried, and used from the guerrilla man. With this image in mind, we can further define the divide between the true guerrilla man and the misnomer, creating a tighter definition for the guerrilla man.

If this man was rather a deserter of the Confederate army—as oftentimes deserters turned rogue were wrongly characterized as guerrillas—he would likely be dressed in a similar fashion, but he may be mounted, carrying any assortment of weaponry, and dressed in an even greater mixture of uniform items and civilian clothing.⁷⁷ Deserters were commonly misconstrued as guerrillas as they engaged in some of the same actions—raids, the stealing of horses, conflict with Union troops and Unionists, and more. The difference here of course is obvious; the guerrillas were fighting for a cause, while deserters that had left the formal army and not joined a guerrilla band—as some did—were simply fighting for their own self-gain. Additionally, if one looks through the lens of equipment, it can easily be seen that there was a difference between guerrillas and Confederate deserters as well as Confederate soldiers.

In contemporary guerrilla history, unfortunately the reports containing misnomers have been utilized by many historians as evidence in a wide variety of written works. Many historians have written notable contemporary works on the guerrilla warfare of the Civil War.⁷⁸ These

⁷⁶ Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 307.

⁷⁷ Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 134-135.

⁷⁸ These authors and many others have respectively written books including but not limited to, Albert E. Castel, *Bloody Bill Anderson: The Short, Savage Life of a Civil War Guerrilla* (Lawrence, University Press of Kansas: 1998), William Elsey Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Norman, University Press of Oklahoma: 1999), Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press: 1989), Thomas Goodrich, *Black Flag: Guerrilla Warfare on the Western Border, 1861-1865*

have utilized the reports of the misnomers, not focusing on the division between the true guerrilla and the misnomer but rather utilizing any reports that title an individual as a guerrilla as evidence in support of their arguments. I am by no means stating that the use of these misnomer reports discredits the arguments of these prominent historians. This statement is rather a call to better define who is in fact a guerrilla and who is rather a misnomer. It is important that historians and other researchers do not simply take the written records of history at face value, as this is how blatant errors within history occur. Rather, one must analyze a source with a detail drive mindset before committing to its use. With the division made and the identifying factors of true guerrillas and misnomers laid out in the open, historians and author such as those presented may be able to better define the guerrilla man, and thus enhance their utilization of reports.

Looking deeper into the *Official Records*, several reports require more attention. In one particular report, a certain Lieutenant John E. Phelps informed his superiors that he and his men had stumbled upon the possible movements of Stand Watie and about five to six hundred of his troops. At this time, Stand Watie—who was a leader and governor within the Cherokee nation—was a Brigadier General in the Confederate Army. Watie’s troops were largely other Cherokee’s and Native Americans of various other tribes. Watie was a Confederate regular down to the core. During this report, Lieutenant Phelps never expressly accuses Watie of being a guerrilla, but he does cite an incident between one of his units and a group of guerrillas. After losing the trail of Stand Watie and his men, Lieutenant Phelps wrote, “Ten miles below, on the same stream, in another cave, of 3 guerrillas found there, 1 was killed, 1 wounded, the other escaped. In this cave Lieutenant Garner found a small parcel of dry goods, about 2 pounds of gunpowder,

(New York, Oxford University Press: 1989)., and Daniel E. Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 2009).

1 bushel of salt, and 1 rifle.”⁷⁹ Based on all that has been previously uncovered about the equipment of the guerrillas and its definition of their archetype—including the guerrillas favor towards revolvers, their need for the perfect specimen of horse, their use of the household supply line, and their wearing of civilian clothes and Federal uniforms instead of Confederate uniforms—this particular case is clearly another example of the loose term.

Another report highlights an attack exacted against a clear Confederate regular, similar to Captain Daniel McGee. Lieutenant Colonel C.E. Moss, reported to Brigadier General James Totten that he and his men were closing in on Captain Feaster and his men, and thus intended to raid their camp and eliminate the unit. Moss wrote, “We killed 6 men and wounded 4 (1 mortally), and captured 1 yoke of oxen, 4 mules, 7 horses, 7 men, and 6 guns and rifles. Most of the guns were worthless and destroyed them. If the weather had been pleasant I doubt not but the whole guerrilla band would have been surprised in camp.”⁸⁰ While Moss characterizes these men as guerrillas, they were in fact Confederate regulars. According to records, Captain Feaster was actually Captain Elbert S. Feaster of the 11th Missouri Regiment Infantry Volunteers.⁸¹ Even without these records, it is clear that Feaster and his men were not in fact guerrillas, as many of the clear distinctions made by their equipment are not present.

The examples presented get to the heart of the misnomer, but all three also focus on several key pieces of evidence that aid in proving that these reports in fact highlight misnomers, not true guerrillas. Throughout all three examples, it is quite prevalent that the presence—and lack thereof—of horses aids in proving that the soldiers of McGee, Feaster, and the men found

⁷⁹ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 22, 785.

⁸⁰ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 13, 52.

⁸¹ Missouri Soldiers Records: War of 1812-WWI.

<https://s1.sos.mo.gov/records/archives/archivesdb/soldiers/Detail.aspx?id=S385778&conflict=Civil%20War>

near Watie were simple misnomers. In the case of the massacre of McGee's unit, twenty five horses were captured, while at least thirty two men were present according to the report.⁸² Focusing solely on the numbers, this leaves seven mounts unaccounted for, as a true guerrilla band would have all men mounted at all times. With seven mounts unaccounted for, it is obvious that these soldiers were not guerrillas, but rather simple misnomers. Moving on to the next report focusing on the three men in the cave, we see that no horses were mentioned in the report.⁸³ Without any horses, how could these men have been guerrillas? Simply stated, they couldn't have been. Additionally, Captain Feaster and his men were not mounted, which just adds to the gathering evidence. Drawing similarities between these three reports, we see that each report contains either no record of mounts at all, or a record that contains a lower number of horses in comparison to the number of soldiers present. With this being said, the evidence presented that horses are crucial to the true identity of the guerrilla man is proved here, as these misnomers are either under-mounted or simply not mounted at all.

In addition to this evidence, the primary weapon of the guerrilla—the revolver—is barely mentioned throughout the reports presented. Major Reeder reported that Captain McGee and his men were carrying some arms, but no mention of revolvers is made throughout the entirety of the report. According to the report on the three men located in the cave, they were carrying a rifle and a shotgun, and no revolvers were found.⁸⁴ Lastly, according to the record of the attack on Captain Feaster, again it was presented that the weapons taken during the raid of the camp were not only all rifles, but also worthless.⁸⁵ Simply stated, the true guerrilla would not bother to hang

⁸² *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 22, pt. 1, 225-227

⁸³ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 22, 785

⁸⁴ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 22, 785

⁸⁵ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 13, 52

on to a weapon if it was worthless. The guerrilla man was constantly upgrading his weaponry to ensure that he not only had amassed as much firepower as possible, but also that he was carrying the best quality weapons that he could. For example, noted guerrilla John McCorkle wrote in his memoir of a particular situation stating that, “I told him to hand me his rifle, which he did, and taking the cap off of it, I handed it back to him and demanded his revolver...I then told him to remount his horse and, as we were returning to the command, we found the revolver lying in the grass. I kept his horse and pistol and gave the rifle to a raw recruit.”⁸⁶ Through this passage, it is quite clear that McCorkle was trading up in weaponry, ensuring that he selected the best of the best for himself. In simple terms, the guerrillas armed themselves with the best weaponry that they could get their hands on. The similarities drawn between these three accounts not only prove that no revolvers were located on the scene of any of the attacks, but also prove further that these men could not have been guerrillas. These misnomers—armed with either rifles, shotguns, or ill-cared for weaponry—could not have been guerrillas as their arms simply dictated otherwise.

Furthermore, we see throughout the rest of the *Official Records* that there are countless reports indicating that men are guerrillas, but also containing either no record of revolvers or a record of weaponry other than revolvers. In one particular report, a certain Captain W.A. Cochran records an encounter with a group of guerrillas, stating that, “We pursued them within fourteen miles of Murphy, and killed 5 of them, captured 15 horses, 2 spencer rifles, 2 carbines, 2 fine pistols, and other property.”⁸⁷ As one can see from this passage, at least five men were killed, but yet only two revolvers were captured. Sure, there were four rifled weapons as well,

⁸⁶ McCorkle, *Three Years With Quantrill*, 73.

⁸⁷ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 41, 73.

but this report was written in 1865. By this time, guerrillas had matured to the point of being armed to the teeth with revolvers. Two revolvers spread amongst five men can mean one thing; these men were not guerrillas but rather yet another case of misnomers. The fact that they had fifteen horses with them simply means that these misnomers were likely horse-thieves of a sort.⁸⁸ Moving through records, one can find many cases similar to this one.

In another example, Brigadier General R.A. Cameron writes a correspondence to Major G.B. Drake clarifying an earlier note stating, “The guns captured by Major Conover from the guerrilla robbers were shotguns, nothing more. I hope I did not leave the impression that they had artillery.”⁸⁹ Keeping in mind that guerrillas were very particular about their arms and were found carrying shotguns and similar weapons only at the beginning of the war directly after they had left their homes, this report is another clear example of a misnomer as it was written in 1864. These men were carrying shotguns and nothing more. If they were true guerrillas, they may have carried shotguns but the bulk of their armament would again have been taken up by revolvers. Additionally, the report indicates that Cameron was worried about giving the impression that these misnomers were armed with artillery.⁹⁰ Reflecting upon what has been revealed about bushwhacker tactics, artillery simply would have never been used by true guerrillas. Their hit-and-run tactics and need for mobility would never have allowed for the cumbersome addition of artillery. So, even though they were in fact armed with shotguns rather than artillery, the point that they were certainly misnomers still stands as guerrillas never would have armed themselves solely with shotguns.

⁸⁸ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 41, 73.

⁸⁹ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 53, 135.

⁹⁰ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 53, 135.

Similarities can also be drawn between the three events and their link to uniforms or clothing, as we know that true guerrillas never wore Confederate uniforms. While the reports themselves contain no mention of uniforms, other records indicate that a mass grave in Greenbriar Cemetery nearby the estate of Simeon Cato—the southern sympathizer that housed McGee and his men—was uncovered years later. The grave contained approximately the same number of bodies that are recorded as either dead or mortally wounded during the attack. In addition, these bodies were clothed in Confederate uniforms, which further supports the fact that Captain Daniel McGee and his men were regular Confederate soldiers.⁹¹ While reports in the other two cases illustrated do not cite anything in regards to clothing worn, the uniforms worn by McGee and his men go a long way in adding another piece of evidence to the argument. As stated previously, guerrillas did not—under any circumstances—wear Confederate uniforms. The fact that a grave containing remains that were likely those of Captain Daniel McGee and his men was found containing bodies clothed in Confederate uniforms, in addition to the other evidence presented, proves to a further degree that these soldiers—and the others in the cases related to theirs—were misnomers.

Reports scattered throughout the *Official Records* also do not always contain enough evidence to label a group as a guerrilla band, as one can see in one particular report written by Lieutenant Colonel George L. Shoup. In this report, Shoup entitles a group of men in an

⁹¹ While I was unable to discover any original or primary sources recording the discovery of the mass grave, according to The Southeast Missouri Regional Planning Commission website, “Greenbriar Cemetery, in southern Bollinger County, contains a mass grave discovered many years ago. An investigation of the grave determined the plot contained the remains of Confederate soldiers. Uniforms, coats, buttons and skeletal remains were found. The remains are thought by some to be those of Confederate troops under the command of Captain Daniel McGee who were killed by Union troops in the Mingo Swamp on February 3 or 4, 1863. Although accounts may vary, over 20 Confederates were killed in the encounter, while no Union soldiers were injured. Although McGee is documented in the National Archives as being a Confederate officer, Union troops at the time considered him an outlaw.”

encampment that was reconnoitered by his unit as a guerrilla band, but his record of the recon indicates that, “Sergeant Rigsby and party returned...He saw in camp 1 man and 2 mules.”⁹² Based on this record alone—as well as the newly-tightened definition of the guerrilla man that has been presented throughout—it is quite clear that this group could not have been a band of guerrillas. Horses and arms—among other things—are not mentioned at all. In short, a true guerrilla would not ride a mule as it did not assist his operational necessity or fit the image that he would have desired to fulfill. These men were not guerrillas, but yet again simple misnomers.

All of the reports mentioned that contain misnomers have at least one commonality: some, if not all, of the misnomers within the report were either killed or captured. It is by no means true that guerrillas were not killed throughout the war, but the fact that nearly all of the misnomers within these reports were either killed or captured surely indicates something. Did the equipment that the true guerrilla man outfitted himself with aid in the evasion of capture and death as a guerrilla? Absolutely. The fact that the term guerrilla was used so loosely throughout the Original Records may insinuate that certain members of the Union military were set on demonstrating that they had killed more real guerrillas than they actually had. The men that are recorded within this work as misnomers certainly were overcome in part due to their poor or inadequate equipment for the task that they may have been trying to accomplish. For example, Captain McGee and his men had seven more men than they did mounts. Additionally, they were not armed with revolvers.⁹³ Being caught unawares, without revolvers, and with less mounts than men, McGee’s unit exited the conflict with a casualty rate of thirty two; no escapees are recorded within the report. Their lack of horses and suitable arms surely contributed to their

⁹² *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 22, 249.

⁹³ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 22, pt. 1, 225-227.

defeat. Captain Feaster's men faced a very similar situation, as they also had more men than mounts and were carrying weapons that were deemed worthless by the Union troops that defeated them.⁹⁴ The men discovered near Watie were armed with one rifle among the three of them, and hiding in a cave without any horses.⁹⁵ None of these groups were properly outfitted or prepared to fight.

Focusing on the misnomers of Captain McGee and his men, the men located near Stand Waite's troops, and Captain Feaster and his men, one must acknowledge that there are several similarities that stand out and thus further tighten the definition of the misnomer. One that has already been discussed is the simple fact that all of these units were either unmounted or undersupplied in regards to mounts. Another similarity that has been mentioned previously is the lack of presence of revolvers, weapons in general, or the disrepair of firearms. As we know, mounts and firearms were two of the most crucial identifying factors of the true guerrilla. Without one of these two or either, a man was simply not a true guerrilla. Beyond this, another similarity that can be drawn between the three cases is the fact that either one of the misnomers in each case—or an individual easily related to the group—was a definite Confederate regular according to known records. Both Captain McGee and Captain Feaster were commissioned officers in the Confederate Army. McGee commanded a cavalry unit, while Feaster commanded an infantry unit.⁹⁶ They may have utilized unconventional or even guerrilla-like tactics, but they were certainly not true guerrilla fighters. While McGee and Feaster were directly involved,

⁹⁴ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 13, 52.

⁹⁵ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 22, 785.

⁹⁶ Missouri Soldiers Records: War of 1812-WWI.

<https://s1.sos.mo.gov/records/archives/archivesdb/soldiers/Detail.aspx?id=S405438&conflict=Civil%20War>,
Missouri Soldiers Records: War of 1812-WWI.

[https://s1.sos.mo.gov/records/archives/archivesdb/soldiers/Detail.aspx?id=S385778&conflict=Civil%](https://s1.sos.mo.gov/records/archives/archivesdb/soldiers/Detail.aspx?id=S385778&conflict=Civil%20War)

Stand Watie, who was also a known Confederate regular, was not directly involved. Watie himself was not accused of being a guerrilla within the report, but the men accused were located merely ten miles away from the supposed location of General Watie and a large force of Confederate soldiers.⁹⁷ Can this be some kind of coincidence? I certainly think not.

The report details that a certain Lieutenant Garner was searching for Watie and a force of approximately five to six hundred troops. Garner and his men located the camp that Watie's troops had been utilizing, but they were nowhere to be found. Approximately ten miles down the river, a cave was discovered in which the three misnomers were located. In short, there is an extremely high chance that these men were related to Watie's unit in some way. They may have been regular soldiers, hired scouts, or even deserters.⁹⁸ Regardless of these men's true identities, the point still stands that there are recorded Confederate regulars either directly or indirectly related to each of these three cases, thus confirming that these men were not true guerrillas, but rather misnomers. All of the reports listed throughout detail units of men either unprepared for battle or underprepared in regards to their equipment. The simple fact of the matter is that a force of true guerrillas rarely let themselves get caught unprepared for battle. McGee, Feaster Watie, their troops, and the men mentioned throughout the rest of the examples were all listed as guerrillas, but due to the apparent limitations of their equipment, they were clearly misnomers.

The key importance of the division between the misnomer and the true guerrilla lies in its application to historical records in order to discriminate between the two for use in contemporary historical writings. In short, historians have utilized records from the *Official Records* and other

⁹⁷ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 22, 785.

⁹⁸ Regardless of whether or not these three men were related to Watie and his troops, the fact still stands that they were misnomers and could not have possibly been true guerrillas.

sources that document individuals as guerrillas, when they are in fact misnomers, to provide as evidence for guerrilla activity in an area. This proves that historians must be much more careful in their use of primary sources, as they sometimes contain misnomers, as has been identified. These primary reports and sources must be heavily scrutinized before they are used as evidence, or else they may be identified as wrongly used. For example, in the memoir of Samuel Hildebrand—a noted Missouri guerrilla—the footnotes of the edits contain mention of McGee, referring to him as a guerrilla. The footnotes speak originally of Thomas McGee—Daniel McGee’s father—and his relation to Hildebrand, stating that, “Thomas was a patriarch of the McGee/Cato clan and father of Confederate guerrilla chieftain Daniel McGee.”⁹⁹ As we now know, Daniel McGee was in fact a Captain in the regular Confederate Army, not a true guerrilla. This footnote was added to a re-edited version that was published in 2005, so this mistake was not made many years ago, but rather in the recent past. In regards to Hildebrand’s memoir, the fact that McGee was a Confederate soldier and not a guerrilla may not play a key role, but what does matter is that the mistake is there, and can now be either corrected or protected against for the future.

With the difference between misnomers and true guerrillas out in the open, historians—and anyone else for that matter—can now correctly determine whether or not an individual or group recorded within reports or other records is a true guerrilla, or rather just a misnomer that has improperly been given the title guerrilla. This new division—driven mostly by the equipment carried, worn, and used by the guerrillas—will help to not only inform us further about guerrilla conflicts of the Civil War and the guerrilla man, but also aid in the insurance of

⁹⁹ Samuel S. Hildebrand, *Autobiography of Samuel S. Hildebrand: The Renowned Missouri Bushwhacker* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2005), 178.

the proper use of historical records. Now that the misnomer has been identified, historians and authors alike will be able to see the division between the real guerrilla and those that were simply given the title. This will enable historians to utilize their sources more effectively, thus using them as proper evidence. In the case of Hildebrand's memoir, it is quite obvious that the historian that made the footnote was mistaken in his or her assumption that Daniel McGee was a guerrilla, as the evidence presented here has proven otherwise. Characters such as McGee certainly still hold an important place in history—as many were still soldiers during the war—but identifying them as misnomers is key to the history of the guerrilla man, as it further tightens his definition and helps us to understand the conflict in another light, narrowing the lens used to view guerrillas. With this newly narrowed lens we can view the guerrilla more specifically, focusing not on the generalities of his image but rather the specifics such as the egotistical self-construction of his image, the specific reasons behind his desire to defend his homeland and thus the institution of slavery.

Chapter 4

True Guerrillas

On October 27, 1864, William T. “Bloody Bill” Anderson and his men rode directly into a trap laid by Lieutenant Colonel Samuel P. “Cob” Cox. After locating Anderson’s band through skilled reconnaissance, Cox had set the trap perfectly deploying his men in a heavy skirmish line astride a high-banked lane about a mile outside of Albany, Missouri. Cox then sent out a small group of mounted troops, giving them the express mission to locate and draw in the large guerrilla body that he knew was out beyond his battle lines. Minutes later, the mounted detachment came rushing back with the bushwhackers a few hundred yards behind them letting loose with blood-curdling screams, revolvers raised high expecting a massacre. The Union lines parted to let the scouting detachment through, reformed, and waited calmly for the crazed guerrillas to get within one hundred yards of their lines. As the screaming bushwhackers closed the gap and came within a range of less than one hundred yards of the Union lines, Cox and his men began to open a steady fire on them, shooting volley after volley, calmly reloading and taking precise aim. Guerrillas toppled from their mounts, horses fell, and confusion ensued. The battle-crazed bushwhackers pushed on, returning fire with their revolvers until they were within about forty yards of the Union lines.¹⁰⁰ At this range, the guerrillas began to slow down and mill about, realizing that their charge had been ineffective, but yet unwilling to simply ride away.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 53, 441.

¹⁰¹ Albert E. Castel and Thomas Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson: The Short, Savage Life of a Civil War Guerrilla* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 199), 125.

Out from the ranks of the confused bushwhackers, two solitary riders shot forth like arrows from a bow, riding splendid mounts and letting loose with their revolvers. The lead bushwhacker charged forward with the reins of his iron-gray mount clenched in his teeth, rapidly firing the revolvers that he held in each hand. On they charged, receiving concentrated fire from Cox's entire line. The two guerrillas plunged through the Union lines and well beyond, still firing their revolvers.¹⁰² As the riders continued to push through the lines, it appeared that they may escape unscathed, until they finally toppled from their saddles. The leader remained motionless on the ground while his companion dragged himself into the brush. When this leader fell from his horse, mass confusion broke out among the ranks of the guerrillas that did not join in the suicidal charge. They quickly broke ranks and began riding in all directions, with Major Cox reacting and sending his cavalry and mounted forces off after them at full speed.¹⁰³

After these forces had been dispatched, several men approached the body of the fallen guerrilla. He lay facedown with a hunk off his skull blown away behind the left ear, and a bullet hole in his left temple.¹⁰⁴ As the soldiers rolled the body over, they realized that this guerrilla must have been important, as he was dressed impeccably. He was clad in riding boots and dark colored pants, as well as an elaborately embroidered guerrilla shirt overtop of which he wore a blue cloth vest and close fitting dun-colored frock coat. A wide-brimmed white hat with a long black plume secured in the hat band lay next to him. The dashing bushwhacker sported long hair and a beard as nearly all did. In his dying grasp, he still clutched a revolver in each hand, with two more holstered in the broad belt around his hips. Standing nearby was his grey mare, clearly

¹⁰² Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 125.

¹⁰³ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 53, 441.

¹⁰⁴ Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 125.

the epitome of a magnificent specimen of horse. She was saddled with the best equestrian equipment in Missouri. Two more revolvers were holstered to the saddle, and a scalp likely taken from a Union soldier or Unionist was dangling from her bridle.¹⁰⁵ While the ghastly figure had not yet been identified by the soldiers inspecting him and his equipment, it was quite clear that he was not only an important bushwhacker, but a true guerrilla down to the core.

As the Union soldiers began to go through the guerrillas pockets, they discovered close to six hundred dollars in gold and paper currency, a lock of blondish woman's hair, a gold and silver pocket watch with a matching chain, a photograph of the man and his wife, along with a letter from his wife that also contained a lock of dark chestnut hair. The soldiers then found two small folded sheets of paper and a small Confederate flag among the guerrilla's belongings as well. On the flag, an inscription was stitched reading, "Presented to W.L. Anderson by his friend, F.M.R. Let it not be contaminated by Fed. Hands."¹⁰⁶ The sheets of paper appeared to be orders from General Price to "Captain" William T. Anderson.¹⁰⁷ It was then that the Union soldiers realized who they had brought out of the saddle of the magnificent grey mare. The dashing clad guerrilla lying on the ground before them was William T. "Bloody Bill" Anderson, the scourge of Missouri.¹⁰⁸ They—common militiamen and Union infantrymen—had brought the famed "Bloody Bill" out of his saddle and subsequently condemned his soul to hell. .

With countless guerrilla misnomers littering the after action reports of Union officers, one must rely upon the visual stereotype of the guerrilla to frame the true guerrilla and thus further create the division between the true guerrilla and the misnomer. Throughout the

¹⁰⁵ Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 126.

¹⁰⁶ Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 126.

¹⁰⁷ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 53, 441.

¹⁰⁸ Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 126.

remainder of this chapter, several specific guerrillas—including William T. Anderson—will be discussed at length. The historiography surrounding some of these men is detailed, while that surrounding others—namely Archie Clements—is nearly absent from the historical scene. Specific guerrillas such as William T. “Bloody Bill” Anderson and Jesse Woodson James have been studied by many scholars, with the most notable respectively being Albert Castel and Thomas Goodrich, and T.J. Stiles.¹⁰⁹ While the aforementioned authors wrote biographies of Anderson and James, many other authors including William Connelly, Richard Brownlee, Michael Fellman, and more have written works within which they either highlight the two infamous guerrillas or speak specifically on them for a period within a larger work.¹¹⁰ While Anderson and James are documented rather well, Archie Clements on the other hand has seemingly slipped through the cracks of Civil War history.¹¹¹ Archie Clements has been mentioned in a handful of contemporary historical writings on the guerrillas and some of the individual bushwhackers, but he has not been made the primary topic of any articles, essays, or books.¹¹² Regardless of the focus or lack thereof, these written works and more provide an

¹⁰⁹ Albert E. Castel and Thomas Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson: The Short, Savage Life of a Civil War Guerrilla* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998). T.J. Stiles, *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002).

¹¹⁰ William Elsey Connelly, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (New York Pageant Book Company, 1965). Richard S. Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958). Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Joseph M. Beilein, “The Guerrilla Shirt: A Labor of Love and the Style of Rebellion in Civil War Missouri,” in *Civil War History*, vol. 58, no. 2 (2012): 151-179.

¹¹¹ Anderson and James are documented rather well in comparison to the rest of Civil War guerrilla history. The fact that the history at large of the guerrilla conflict was not documented well still stands.

¹¹² Authors Albert Castel and Thomas Goodrich have written briefly of Clements in their works *Bloody Bill Anderson: The Short, Savage Life of a Civil War Guerrilla*, *Black Flag: Guerrilla Warfare on the Western Border, 1861-1865*, and *Bloody Dawn: The Story of the Lawrence Massacre*. As can be seen from the titles, these books do not focus on Clements in any way, but simply mention him as a participant in the conflict. Albert E. Castel and Thomas Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson: The Short, Savage Life of a Civil War Guerrilla* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998). Thomas Goodrich, *Black Flag: Guerrilla Warfare on the Western Border, 1861-1865* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

image of the guerrilla man that fits the archetype that has been framed and explained thus far throughout this paper. They will continue to reinforce the argument, as these authors represent these true guerrillas appropriately; clad in their civilian attire, guerrilla shirts, and Federal uniforms, armed to the teeth with revolvers, and mounted on the best horses that Missouri had to offer at the time.

William Anderson was a Missouri native, but unlike many of his counterparts he resided in Kansas at the outbreak of the conflict. In 1857, he and his brother Jim, along with their sisters Mary Ellen, Josephine, and Janie, their brother Ellis, and their mother Martha crossed the border into Kansas to join their father—William Sr.—who had moved earlier in hopes of establishing a new life for his family. William Sr. opened a grocery store and engaged in a freighting business in order to support his family. His eldest son, William, began working at a ranch owned by a man named Eli Sewell, and shortly after he turned twenty-one he purchased his own claim and began accompanying wagon trains along the Santa-Fe trail. During this time, the life of William T. Anderson took a turn. In short, Anderson's youngest brother Ellis and his mother Martha both died within a short period of time, upsetting his life. During this period—within the year of 1860—Anderson began engaging in scams during the wagon train trips that he took. Many of these scams involved the illegal stealing and selling of ponies, while others included the selling of other people's property. Either way, his actions began to become much more illegal than legal. When the war broke out and the Kansas jayhawkers began heavily employing their raids and terror tactics, Anderson gathered a band of his own and began similar raids, initially as an outlaw and for money.¹¹³

¹¹³ Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 11-15.

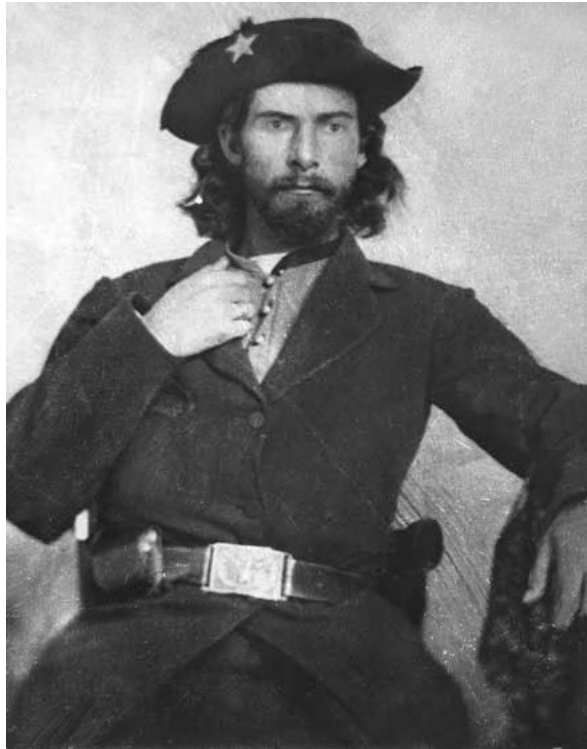


Figure 3: William T. "Bloody Bill" Anderson. This photograph of William T. Anderson captures the image of "Bloody Bill" perfectly. The black hat with the star pin insinuating military rank or precedence, the black jacket, black pants, broad gun belt and multiple revolvers, and long "guerrilla curls" capture the ferocious bushwhacker captain perfectly in one image.

In contrast to most jayhawkers, Anderson maintained his southern beliefs and sympathies to an extent, due to his family and the way in which he was raised. After a while, his common banditry and outlaw actions took a turn toward the targeting of Unionists in particular. This was especially exacerbated by the death of his father, who had been killed in a family feud of sorts by a man by the name of Arthur Inghram Baker. Baker had led a band of jayhawkers with which the Andersons had run until the band was attacked, and many of the men were either captured or killed. In short, Baker had made it out of jail and accused a cousin of the Andersons of horse thievery. Responding in kind, William Sr., William, and Jim threatened Baker with his life if he did not lift his accusation from their relative. Baker refused, and an inebriated William Sr. confronted him the next morning with a shotgun, which did not turn out to be very useful to him

as Baker shot him with his own scattergun first. Thus, both Anderson brothers vowed vengeance against the man who had killed their father, seating a common theme of revenge in place for William T. Anderson.¹¹⁴ After killing Baker, they joined other men and formed their first guerrilla band, dedicating themselves to the eradication of Unionists, revenge for their father's death, the protection of their homes and the ones they loved, and the bushwhacking life. Like many others, this was just the start down a long bloody path that would eventually lead to all out guerrilla warfare against Unionists and blue-clad soldiers of any kind. The character of "Bloody Bill" Anderson had been born and was here to stay—to make his mark on American history.

With Archie Clements as one of his top lieutenants, Anderson rose to become "Bloody Bill," and his band of bushwhackers became one of the most notoriously feared partisan bands of the border war. After the death of his father, his episode of revenge, and his subsequent permanent joining of the guerrilla forces, Anderson quickly rose among the ranks of the bushwhackers and became a recognized leader, which in many ways was influenced by Clements himself. While Anderson may have been the first of the pair to enter the brush, Clements has been noted by several of his comrades as being the brains of the operation.¹¹⁵ While "Bloody Bill" certainly committed acts himself that prompted his notorious nickname to come about, Clements and his symbolic scalping and mutilating of victims stands as the true push behind the guerilla bands claim to fame. Without Clements, Anderson's band of bushwhackers was just another pro-Confederate gang; galloping through the countryside of Missouri and wreaking havoc on Unionists and Federal soldiers alike.

¹¹⁴ Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 13-19.

¹¹⁵ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 114.

After Anderson's death, the conflict continued to rage for roughly another year officially, but the war never truly ended for many of the guerrillas. During this year, the bushwhackers continued to defend their loved ones with brutal methods, causing great grief for the Unionists and Union soldiers. As the Civil War officially came to a close, many bushwhackers held onto their guerrilla accoutrements.¹¹⁶ In their minds, they never knew if they would need them again. As stated previously, the war was not over for them. Many waited to rise up, and others—like Archie Clements—continued their war, committing acts of crime with political motive, attempting to sway elections, and much more.¹¹⁷

“Little Arch,” as Clements came to be called in his early days, stood just over five feet tall, and would not have been characterized as a menacing man by any standards, if it had not been for the bloody actions that he dedicated himself to—in particular those done under the blade of a knife. It is important to note here that Archie does not necessarily deviate from using the revolver as his primary weapon as the guerrillas did, but rather dedicated himself to mutilation with a knife. He still carried and used many revolvers, but also dedicated himself to using his blade. Bloody or not, Archie commanded respect from his fellow bushwhackers, and this was a respect earned by his actions. Clements signature was that of scalped soldiers or Unionists, and this signature is exemplified perfectly in a note left behind with several of these scalped soldiers that read “You come to hunt bush whackers. Now you are skelpt. Cleyment Skelpt you. Wm. Anderson.”¹¹⁸ Whether this note was written by Anderson or Clements holds little importance. What is significant is that the note was written. This simple note, regardless of

¹¹⁶ Clements is a prime example of this, as he clearly never gave up any of his guerrilla equipment. Statement of J.M. Turley, box 1, fold. 37, William Connelley Collection.

¹¹⁷ T.J. Stiles, *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 186.

¹¹⁸ Richard S. Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1958), 205.

its author, indicates the importance with which the guerrillas viewed Clements acts of scalping.¹¹⁹ This act is not only brutal, but has held great symbolism since its beginnings.¹²⁰ Clearly, by leaving a note, Anderson, Clements, and the other members of the band saw the importance of this act, and also recognized the terror that it inflicted in their enemies.¹²¹ They wanted the acts to become known; they wanted to be feared. While brutal, acts such as scalping were extremely efficient in achieving their goals to institute fear and terror within their victims, and the life of Clements surely involved a great deal of these actions.

¹¹⁹ When a victim is scalped, their hair is pulled back, the area of the forehead where the hair and skin meet is slit, and the scalp is subsequently peeled off of the individual's skull.

¹²⁰ The origins of scalping date back to early Native American tribes. In short, the scalp lock of a warrior was seen to be a vessel for his soul. When a Native American warrior killed an enemy warrior, they would remove the scalp lock through the act of scalping. This act held a double meaning, as the warrior intended to take the scalp in order to show that he had conquered another brave warrior, but also to protect the soul of that warrior, as they believed that the soul lived on in the scalp lock. Native Americans of course still existed during the time of Clements, and the tradition was by no means outdated. Here, I believe that there is a correlation between the origins of the tradition and the carrying over of scalping into the bushwhackers warfare.

¹²¹ Even in his death, Clements still carried on the remnants of his scalping past, as he died carrying a fourteen inch long bowie knife. Statement of J.M. Turley, box 1, fold. 37.



Figure 4: Archie Clements and Company. Bushwhackers Archie Clements (1) and Dave Pool (3) pose with another guerrilla in an 1864 photograph. Clements confident facial expression portrays his dominance of his craft; bushwhacking. The amount of fire arms in this particular photograph is also very emblematic of the number of arms carried on an everyday basis by the guerrillas.

Acts like these taken by Clements may have been brutal, but here I want to divert attention from the brutality of the act itself and focus on the meaning behind it as previously mentioned. Many historians that have written accounts of the Missouri guerrillas characterize Clements as a bloody scoundrel that had a heart solely built for killing. As some authors write, Clements killed for the sake of killing.¹²² Archie Clements was not simply a bloody psychopath, killing Unionists for the sake of killing them and shedding blood and scalping simply on the whim of “Bloody Bill.” Many of the acts taken had a purpose behind them. For example, after

¹²² Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 24.

returning to Missouri from Texas, Clements and several other guerrillas encountered a militiaman whom Clements claimed to have recognized. According to records, he claimed that this particular man was part of the group of militiamen that had murdered his brother and burnt his home to the ground several years before. Thus, Clements' comrades pinned the man to the ground as "Little Arch" slit his throat and carved away his scalp.¹²³ This act was not one done simply for the sake of committing violence, but one prompted by avenging the death of his brother, which was one of his primary motivations for joining the war in the first place. Beyond this, the note left behind by Clements was not simply a way of bragging about his actions, but was additionally a message to any soldiers that happened upon the bodies that Anderson and his men were in the area, and thus meant business. Acts of terror? Surely. Acts of terror with a specific purpose in mind? Most definitely.

On December 13, 1866, Archie Clements—along with Jesse James, Frank James, and Dave Pool—led a column of one hundred sixteen bushwhackers and outlaws into the town of Lexington, Missouri with the intent of enrolling his men in the town militia. Bacon Montgomery, the leader of the militiamen currently occupying the town, allowed the bushwhackers to enlist in order to avoid what would have surely been a bloody conflict. After the enlistment, the men were ordered out of the town. All the ex-bushwhackers left except the notorious Clements, who was also the only man of the company that had refused to sign the enlistment papers. According to reports, Clements had gone to the saloon in Cather's Hotel to drink with an old friend, and Montgomery saw his moment of action. At the time there was a \$300 reward for Clements due to past bank robberies, and Montgomery maintained a warrant for

¹²³ Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 133.

his arrest. Upon receiving the information that Clements was still in town without his comrades to back him up, Montgomery quickly ordered three men—J.M. Turley, George N. Moses, and Tom Tebbs—to go to the hotel and arrest Clements. The rest of Montgomery's men were stationed outside the windows of the hotel and other adjacent buildings.¹²⁴ The events that unfolded are legendary, and surely seat Archie Clements as one of the most determined men that ever walked the earth.

The three men approached the hotel cautiously, entering the door with Turley approaching the drunken Clements, placing a hand on his shoulder. Then—as would be expected from a man with a reputation such as that of Archie Clements—all hell broke loose. Clements quickly drew two revolvers from his belt with practiced ease and took off firing and running for a side office in the hotel. Turley took two bullets, one in each side, but was able to continue on as they were just flesh wounds above the hips. While in hot pursuit, Moses got a shot off at Clements hitting him in the right side of his chest and sending him sprawling. Clements was able to get to his feet and thus to his horse which was tied outside, with Moses, Tebbs, and Turley hot on his heels. Clements mounted his steed, taking off down the icy street all the while exchanging shots with his pursuers. As he galloped down the street, Turley was able to catch up to him, riding so close that his horse's nose was directly behind the tail of Clements horse. All the while, Turley fired at Clements, emptying all six shots of one revolver into a space on his back that did not exceed the size of a man's palm. Eventually, Clements' horse fell, causing the daring man to topple and become pinned to the ground by his mount. According to the memoirs of Turley, "He would empty one pistol at me and throw it on the

¹²⁴Statement of J.M. Turley, box 1, fold. 37, William Connelley Collection.

ground, shooting back over his shoulder. He had eight or nine pistols. When he fell off his horse he had got another pistol and was trying to cock it with his teeth...I saw his eyes were glassy and said to him, 'Arch, you are dying; What do you want me to do with you?' He said, 'I've done what I always said I'd do,---die before I'd surrender.'"¹²⁵ T.J. Stiles writes in his renowned biography of Jesse James, "As Montgomery later remarked, 'I've never met better 'grit' on the face of the earth.'"¹²⁶

The "grit" seen by Bacon Montgomery was the character of a man that became known throughout the guerrilla war of Missouri as "Bloody Bills Head Devil" and "Chief Scalper," thus seating him among the guerrilla greats and giving him a fearsome reputation. According to census records, Archie Clements was born in Cass County, Missouri in 1846, which would subsequently put him at the age of seventeen in 1863 when he joined the guerrilla movement.¹²⁷ Clements was a guerrilla down to the core, demonstrated not only by his actions and mentality but also by the equipment that he carried.

Defining the greater picture of these guerrillas' lives helps us as contemporary citizens to understand not only the setting during which they lived, but also the motivation that drove them to fight in the ways that they did. Anderson, Clements, and many other guerrillas were drawn to the guerrilla war by the opportunity to defend their homes and loved ones in the most advantageous way possible. As we can see from the deaths of both men, they did not die unaware of their impending doom. Anderson and his partner charged alone, directly into oncoming enemy fire spewing from the muzzles of over one hundred muskets, rifles, and

¹²⁵ Statement of J.M. Turley, box 1, fold. 37, William Connelley Collection.

¹²⁶ T.J. Stiles, *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 186.

¹²⁷ Spelled Arch Clemens in the 1860 U.S. Census Records, Big Creek Township, Cass County, Missouri.

revolvers.¹²⁸ His death was a conscious decision, made for reasons that we may never know. Like Anderson, Clements death was a conscious decision as well. He was the only man of his band that did not sign the militia enlistment papers, and he surely knew that there was a three hundred dollar reward on his head. He was a wanted man. Despite all this, he still remained in Lexington and drank his full. Instead of willingly going with Turley and the other men which could have prolonged his life, he chose to fight, pulling his revolvers, firing, and making a run for it. His dying words proclaim that he did what he said he'd always do, die fighting.¹²⁹ The fact that these men made the conscious decision to die is another defining factor of the guerrilla masculinity. I am not arguing that all guerrillas made the conscious decision to die or be captured. That is certainly not true, as many died in regular conflict, were caught unawares, or were subject to other situations. What I am saying is that the true guerrilla—more often than not—was outfitted in such a way that he could avoid death and capture, except for the situations in which he was vastly outnumbered or made the conscious decision to die.

The men portrayed in the previous chapter did not make the conscious decision to either be captured or die. For example, McGee and his men were not vastly outnumbered. Their casualty rate numbered thirty two, and Major Reeder had forty men under his command.¹³⁰ A gap of eight men certainly does not qualify as being vastly outnumbered. Rather, they were caught unawares and without the proper equipment, as they were not true guerrillas. These misnomers could not defy death like the true guerrilla could. Their minimal equipment simply would not allow it. This depiction between the capture and death and of a true guerrilla versus

¹²⁸ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 53, 441.

¹²⁹ Statement of J.M. Turley, box 1, fold. 37, William Connelley Collection.

¹³⁰ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 22, pt. 1, 225-227.

the capture and death of a misnomer—along with the difference between the equipment carried, worn, and used by the two—widens the divide between the two even more, tightening the definition of the true guerrilla and further defining his archetype.

Clements, along with “Bloody Bill” were discovered to have numerous firearms on them in their death. According to records, Clements was carrying up to eight or nine revolvers at the time of his death, while Anderson was carrying at least six.¹³¹ Additionally, the infamous “Chief Scalper” was said to be carrying a fourteen inch bowie knife as well.¹³² In short, both men—as it has been identified that guerrillas typically were—were armed to the teeth. They were not only armed to the teeth, but they were also armed with the typical guerrilla accoutrements of war: revolvers and knives. Considering the numbers of revolvers that each man was carrying, Anderson would have been able to lose up to thirty six shots without reloading, while Clements would have been able to fire up to fifty four times without reloading.¹³³ This stands true to the guerrilla model proposed, as the revolver not only dominated their armory, but was also carried in great capacity.

Again comparing the two fallen guerrillas, we find that both were riding splendid mounts, as was another general rule among the true guerrillas. From the records concerning Anderson, we can see that the horse he was riding was a magnificent grey mare, while Clements was riding a mount that must have been tremendous in order to navigate the icy streets of Lexington in the

¹³¹ Statement of J.M. Turley, box 1, fold. 37, William Connelley Collection. Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 126.

¹³² Statement of J.M. Turley, box 1, fold. 37, William Connelley Collection.

¹³³ These calculations are done based off the 1851 Colt Navy, which was loaded with a six-shot cylinder. It is unknown as to what specific types of revolvers the two men were carrying. There very well may have been a variety among their arms. Other revolvers had varying capacities, but the point still remains that both men carried an enormous amount of firepower for one individual.

heart of winter.¹³⁴ In short, both mounts of these two guerrillas were nothing less than the best specimen of horse that Missouri had to offer. Both stood up to the archetypal guerrilla, and thus rode the best mounts they could find into battle. Without their magnificent mounts, Anderson and Clements very well could have died long before they truly did. It was to the credit of his horse that Clements got out of the vicinity of the hotel and down the street, as it was additionally to the credit of his mount that Anderson got as far through Cox's Union lines as he did. As true guerrillas, Anderson and Clements were not only riding the best mounts that they could find, but also riding them with the skill of a seasoned horseman; fitting the archetypal mold perfectly. The guerrillas—often being men of Missouri—did not simply ride the best mounts they could find, but they also rode them with extreme skill, as the majority of them had grown up in the saddle. Being men of rural Missouri and having grown up either on farms and ranches or working on farms and ranches, the skill of horseback-riding had been a necessary one for their mere existence. At war, they now translated this everyday skill into a deadly one, often outriding Union cavalry and militia, not only because their mounts were of better quality, but also because they were simply better horsemen. Anderson and Clements fit the archetype perfectly here, demonstrating that they could and would outride the Union forces they were facing. In both cases, these men were not brought down because of their inferior riding abilities, but rather by bullets.¹³⁵

Moving on, the clothing that each guerilla was wearing at the time of his death aids in solidifying his seat as a true guerrilla, as it falls within the range of clothing worn by guerrillas.

¹³⁴ Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 126. Statement of J.M. Turley, box 1, fold. 37, William Connelley Collection.

¹³⁵ Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 126. Statement of J.M. Turley, box 1, fold. 37, William Connelley Collection.

Clements clothing is not commented upon in great detail within the record of his death, but records do indicate that he was wearing a Federal government issued cavalry overcoat at the time of his death.¹³⁶ Here, Clements represents perfectly the habit that many guerrillas maintained; wearing Federal uniforms overtop of their civilian clothes. Even after the war—as this was when Clements was killed—he was still embodying the true guerrilla and dressing to their standard. Anderson, on the other hand, was clothed dashingly in the typical finery of a guerilla leader. His regular civilian clothes—including a pair of fine riding boots, dark-colored pants, tight-fitting blue cloth vest, dun-colored frock coat, and wide-brimmed white hat with a long black plume—were of the best quality.¹³⁷ The black embroidered shirt that he wore underneath his vest and jacket was what has become known as a guerrilla shirt. Outside of civilian clothing and Federal uniforms, the guerrilla shirt was the closest thing to a uniform that the guerrillas wore. Guerrilla shirts were handmade, and typically constructed by either the bushwhacker’s sweetheart or another woman in his life, such as his sister or mother. They were baggy in style, often cut low and containing several pockets, causing them to show their origins—the shirts are said to have been based loosely off of the hunting shirts of the American backwoodsmen. Baggy and pocketed, the shirts were made out of a variety of cloth and color, often embroidered and elaborately ornamented by the seamstress that created them.¹³⁸ In short, these shirts became the clothing of choice among the guerrillas, and many wore them either under or over their other clothing. Anderson, here, is clearly not an exception. Beilein writes of an image of Anderson after his death stating, “And there he is: killed, in his guerrilla shirt. The shirt is homemade, and

¹³⁶ Statement of J.M. Turley, box 1, fold. 37, William Connelley Collection.

¹³⁷ Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson*, 126.

¹³⁸ Joseph M. Beilein, “The Guerrilla Shirt: A Labor of Love and the Style of Rebellion in Civil War Missouri,” in *Civil War History*, vol. 58, no. 2 (2012), 158-159.

garish for being homemade, hand-stitched in flowers of all shapes and sizes and colors.”¹³⁹ With the style of the shirt out in the open as well as the fact that Anderson clearly died and met his maker clothed in the epitome of guerrilla clothing, it is even more evident that these two men were true guerrillas to the core.

The stories of Anderson and Clements may be emblematic of the true guerrilla man, but they were by no means alone in their method of conflict, appearance, self-constructed image, or death. One particular bushwhacker that admired Archie Clements and his actions was a young man by the name of Jesse Woodson James. Jesse James has become an infamous name associated with the West and most commonly with the legends of the outlaws of the West, but he started off as a young bushwhacker with “Bloody Bill’s” band of Missouri guerrillas. James was credited for running with Anderson’s band during the war, joining up at the young age of fifteen, and Clements and James have been recorded as often fighting alongside each other. Even beyond this, Clements, Dave Pool, the James brothers, and the Younger brothers ran together and led an outlaw gang of ex-bushwhackers after the war until Clements death in 1866. After Clements death, the gang became labeled as the James and Younger gang due to the two sets of brothers—Jesse and Frank James, and Jim and Cole Younger—that formed its internal leadership and workings.

The story of James’s motivation and purpose for joining the guerrillas in the brush is very similar to that of Anderson’s, Younger’s, and even Clements’ stories, which have all previously been mentioned. James’s older brother, Frank, had gone off to join Quantrill. Following this, a group of Union militiamen came to the Samuel farm in 1863—James’s mother

¹³⁹ Beilein, “The Guerrilla Shirt,” 153.

had remarried Dr. Reuben Samuel after James's father's death—in search of Frank. Upon being unable to locate Frank or get any information out of his relatives, the militiamen went to the fields of the farm where they found Dr. Samuel and young Jesse plowing and working. They then drove Samuel to a nearby tree at bayonet point, where they hanged him from a branch by a rope tied about his neck until he was within inches of his life. Meanwhile, other members of the militia forced young Jesse to watch his stepfather hang from the tree. After forcing him to watch this dreadful act, they drove him up and down the rows of corn, threatening him with bayonets and lashing him with lengths of rope. As the militiamen were able to garner no information as to the whereabouts of Frank from any members of the family, they left after their tortuous activities.¹⁴⁰ Later, after the ordeal, according to James's daughter-in-law Stella James, "When the militiamen had gone, Jesse went to his mother, took his shirt off, and showing her the lacerations on his back, he told her that this would never happen to him again. Later he left home, a boy of fifteen, and joined the guerrillas."¹⁴¹ From here, the legend of Jesse James was born, and subsequently his influence upon the world at such a young age had only started.

Jesse and his brother Frank James quickly rose in the guerrilla ranks as the warfare progressed and began to envelop the Missouri-Kansas border to a greater extent. Frank began fighting with Quantrill's band, but after his brother took to the brush it was more common for the two of them to fight side-by-side with Anderson and his guerrillas. When Jesse joined the guerrillas in late 1863, he was surely awed by what he saw around him, and he quickly began to form relationships with his fellow bushwhackers. As T.J. Stiles writes in his biography of James entitled *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War*, "Though Jesse began to forge friendships with

¹⁴⁰ Stella F. James, *In the Shadow of Jesse James* (Thousand Oaks, CA: The Revolver Press, 1989), 39-40.

¹⁴¹ James, *In the Shadow of Jesse James*, 40.

many of the bushwhackers gathered there, he probably settled on the grass among a cluster of Clay County guerrillas who now rode with Anderson. Having fought together under Taylor and Clement, they formed a tight-knit group that played a leading role in Bloody Bill's band."¹⁴² As is noted here, Jesse immediately fit into the rough and ready band of bushwhackers, even though he would have been younger than most. "After two months in the brush, the ritual would now be familiar to Jesse: currying his mount, cleaning and loading his revolvers...As the column of guerrillas trotted out of their creek-bottom or farmyard camp Jesse may have kept close to his friend Arch Clement... 'the real brains of Anderson's command,' in Franks words."¹⁴³ This excerpt written by Stiles perfectly captures the beginning of Jesse's life as a guerrilla, and his relationship with Clement, as this was clearly a large part of his life as a guerrilla. Beyond this, the passage also emphasizes—in the words of Frank James—that Clements was the real brains of Anderson's operation. Upon looking deeper, it is important to note that the relationship between Clements and James was not solely a friendship, but much more akin to a brotherly relationship. As has already been identified, these men served side by side from nearly the first days of James's enlistment until the day that Clements died his stubborn death.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Stiles, *Jesse James*, 119.

¹⁴³ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 114.

¹⁴⁴ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 185.



Figure 5: Jesse James. This photograph shows a young Jesse Woodson James shortly after he joined the guerrillas. His distinctive guerrilla shirt and multiple fire arms stand out as the “uniform” of the guerrilla. Even here at the young age of sixteen, Jesse’s eyes are cold and his face is taut.

Jesse James may have been young, but among the guerrillas he became just as violent and ferocious as the rest—surely with the exception of men like Clements. During the infamous Centralia Massacre, James has been rumored to have fired the killing blow to Major Johnston, as Stiles writes, “The boy aimed his revolver and fired. The Federal officer pitched to the ground. Then Jesse...reached down with a pistol, and fired another round into his head.”¹⁴⁵ As noted here, James’s actions were violent. The two key aspects to take away from this are simple: The relationships among the guerrillas not only caused their bands to retain consistency and strength, but also caused them to carry out the acts that they did. The actions of the guerrillas rubbed off

¹⁴⁵ Stiles, *Jesse James*, 126.

on one another, until they became an effective group acting in concert in their violent acts, feeding off of each other. This is surely exemplified perfectly by the relationship between James and Clements, as well as the relationship between Anderson and Clements.

On April 2, 1882, Jesse Woodson James left his house to curry the horses in his stable with friend Charley Ford. As they returned to the house, James shed his jacket and vest due to the heat, also remarking that it would do no good for anyone to see him walking about the yard with a brace of revolvers on. With this being said, he unbuckled his pistol belt and lay it—along with his two revolvers—on the bed. Then, noticing some dust on the pictures mounted on the wall in the main room, James pushed forward a chair, grabbed a brush, and stepped atop the chair and began to brush the dust away fastidiously. Then, according to T.J. Stiles in his biography of James entitled *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War*, “Then he heard a sound more familiar to him than any other: the metallic clack of cocking pistols. He turned his head toward the noise just as an enormous roar erupted, accompanied by the brief sensation of his skull disintegrating just behind his ear.”¹⁴⁶ Thus, the infamous Jesse James met his death, shot in the back by the Ford brothers—Bob and Charley. One of the last true guerrillas had finally met his match, but yet he had died in true guerrilla fashion; armed with a brace of revolvers.

Even years after he had quite fighting the guerrilla war, James was still carrying the remnants of the conflict with him. Granted, he went on after the war to become a common household name in regards to western outlaws, but the point still stands: James, dying nearly twenty years after the end of the Civil War, died with a brace of revolvers nearby thus dying a guerrilla. Jesse James, William T. Anderson, and Archie Clements—among with many others

¹⁴⁶ T.J. Stiles, *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 375.

unmentioned—all died guerrillas, and thus serve as perfect models for framing the archetypal guerrilla. With these men modeling the true guerrilla, it is quite clear that there is a drastic difference between the true guerrilla and the misnomer. Captain Daniel McGee and William T. “Bloody Bill” Anderson surely had their commonalities, but is inarguable that they also surely had their differences; with the latter outweighing the former. These three men encapsulate the model of the quintessential guerrilla man, and furthermore the equipment he carried, wore, and used.

The result of a guerrilla’s life within or shortly after the war relied directly upon the equipment that he carried, wore, and used throughout the conflict. This equipment was not only utilized due to operational necessity, but also defined the archetype of the true guerrilla and the image and standard that he held himself to, and thus risked his life to attain. The result of a guerrilla man’s life relied immediately on his equipment. In addition, his true identity was defined and framed by his equipment as well. The true guerrilla man was often clothed in his guerrilla shirt atop his civilian clothes—if he was not wearing a Federal uniform—with a wide-brimmed hat crowning his long flowing locks of hair. His face would be framed by a long and full beard while he would have several revolvers buckled around his waist, as well as a sharp knife. This dashing bushwhacker would be astride the perfect specimen of horse, outfitted with the best saddle and bridle that he could find, often with two more pistols holstered about the saddle-horn. With this being said, he differed greatly from the misnomer, as the misnomer was more often clothed in either a Confederate uniform or civilian clothes, armed with a rifle, musket, or shotgun, and possibly mounted—but not typically the perfect specimen of horse as the guerrilla. These misnomers carried a variety of equipment, and their definition is much broader than that of the true guerrilla. The simple fact of the matter is that there is a quite

definite division between the true guerrilla and the misnomer, who is typically given the title of guerrilla in military reports.

This division between the true guerrilla and the misnomer is widened by not only the equipment that they used, wore, and carried, but also by the correlation between their equipment and their possible capture or death. In short, the true guerrilla was able to evade death due to his tactical application, as well as his equipment, while the misnomer was not as readily able to avoid capture or death. There is no argument against the death of guerrillas, but they died like soldiers; they died when they made a mistake. For soldiers other than guerrillas—and the misnomer as we have outlined—that mistake was often determined for them by their officers or commanders, but the guerrilla had much more power to determine his own fate. This power came from the equipment that he carried, and thus the equipment he carried and used—his revolvers, guerrilla shirt, and wonderful mount—resulted in autonomy over himself. The misnomer did not have the luxury—due to his equipment—to evade death or capture as the true guerrilla did. As we see from the examples of McGee, Feaster, and more, the misnomers were captured and killed regularly, not able to fight off opposing forces as the guerrillas since they were not nearly as well equipped. Through men such as William T. Anderson, Archie Clements, and Jesse James we are given a glimpse of the true guerrilla—the dashing clad, bearded man, armed to the teeth and riding a splendid mount. Through men such as Captain Daniel McGee and Captain Feaster we are given a glimpse of the misnomer—men often fighting bravely for what they believed it, but simply given the wrong title in written records and military reports. True guerrillas and misnomers both played a vital role in the culture and conflict of the Civil War, but the newly tightened definition of the true guerrilla presented in this paper aids in not

only conforming the use of reports containing misnomers in writings on guerrillas, but also in tightening the lens through which we view guerrilla warfare in the Civil War and at large.

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Leadership Experience

Army ROTC Fall 2012-Current
-Learn general leadership skills and the skillset of an Army officer
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Cru (Campus Crusade for Christ)-President Spring 2012-Fall 2014
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