

A "DESPERATE AND BLOODY" FIGHT: THE BATTLE OF MOORE'S MILL, CALLAWAY COUNTY, MISSOURI, JULY 28, 1862¹

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¹ The phrase "desperate and bloody" was used to characterize the Moore's Mill battle in at least three early county histories--those for Shelby, Marion, and Lewis counties (Anonymous 1884b:746; 1884d:120; and 1887:456, respectively). In each instance, the phrase probably derives from the same anonymous author.

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Introduction

On July 28, 1862, a Union cavalry column was ambushed by a Confederate force near present-day Calwood in Callaway County, Missouri. For several hours on that July afternoon, hundreds of men fought not far from Auxvasse Creek, a tributary of the Missouri River, near a place called Moore's Mill. The purpose of this report is to review the many historical sources that bear on the events of July 28, 1862, and to describe the methods and results of archeological investigations of the battlefield that took place in 2013 at the request of the Missouri's Civil War Heritage Foundation with support from a grant from the American Battlefield Protection Program of the National Park Service. The Missouri's Civil War Heritage Foundation is planning to interpretively link this site to other significant Civil War locales in mid-Missouri that can be visited by persons with an interest in that state's rich Civil War heritage. It is hoped that by reviewing the state of knowledge of the battle and confirming the location of the battlefield through archeological evidence, the battle will be better understood and the battlefield can continue to be preserved.

If history turns pages, then archeology turns the ground; historical archeology, as the name implies, does both. Records and documents are essential ingredients in historical archeology but no more so than the knowledge gleaned from artifacts left behind by participants in the event. Thus, historical archeologists weave the strands of history with clues painstakingly sifted from the earth to form a fabric unlike that attainable through history or archeology alone.

The basic premise is that the modern study of a battlefield requires a combination of historical sources and archeological data. In solving a crime, police rely upon two very different types of evidence. Detectives interview witnesses while other investigators gather fingerprints, blood samples, and other physical evidence. These investigators address different types of evidence using unique methods. Evaluated together, this partnership enhances the likelihood of solving the crime; likewise, the documentary sources and physical evidence of historical archeology partner to gain a greater and more complete understanding of past events.

The records and documents that historical archeologists utilize, especially first-hand accounts of historical events, are tantamount to eyewitness testimony. They provide the material for generating hypotheses that can be tested in the archeological record. They also furnish the basis by which archeologically observed patterns can be assigned historically meaningful identities. The archeological record contains historical clues in the form of physical remains, including artifacts, and their contextual relationships. These relationships, which include distributions and spatial associations of various types of artifacts, can reveal a great deal about the activities that were carried out at a site. The historical archeologist continually compares both sets of data as work progresses in order to eventually better explain the events under scrutiny, allowing more complete approaches to understanding historical events and the cultural milieu within which they transpired.

Battlefields represent the most violent expressions of human behavior, and the premise of battlefield archeology is that physical evidence of violent behavior is patterned and the patterns are likely to remain (Fox and Scott 1987). Warfare has special rules by which it is practiced. Within our own culture this may be seen in the preparation and training given members of the

military. This training is given, and such was true during the Civil War, to insure that those engaged in battle will perform their duties based on their training and respond to orders without dwelling on the consequences. That is patterned behavior.

The archeological tenet argues that artifacts, the leavings of behavioral acts, will occur in recognizable and interpretable patterns. Battlefields provide a unique opportunity to study the material by-products of human conflict. Just as the written word or oral testimony can be assessed and analyzed, the meaning of artifacts and their context can be understood and interpreted.

The analysis of the artifacts recovered in an archeological investigation can take a myriad of forms. It can be simple inductive reasoning or it can be hypothetical and deductive. The process followed here is the deductive approach based on the development of research questions that guided the recovery of information and the analysis of the data. It is with these conceptual tools that the reassessment of the historical sources and the archeological investigations of the Moore's Mill battlefield were developed, and are here reported.

The Battle of Moore's Mill – Historical Background²

On July 28, 1862, a Union cavalry column was ambushed by a Confederate force near present-day Calwood in Callaway County, Missouri. For approximately four hours on a hot July afternoon, hundreds of men fought a hotly contested battle not far from Auxvasse Creek, a tributary of the Missouri River, near a place called Moore's Mill. The Union force was commanded by Colonel (later Brigadier General) Odon Guitar, commander of the Ninth Missouri State Militia Cavalry and the Federal forces at Jefferson City. The Confederates were comprised largely of a mixed force of local guerrillas and newly recruited men raised and commanded by Colonel Joseph Chrisman Porter.

Following the Confederate defeat at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, in March, 1862, the Confederacy lost most of northwestern Arkansas (north of the Arkansas River) to Union occupation. Confederate leaders focused their primary attention on the defense of Corinth and, ultimately, Vicksburg, Mississippi. For this, they needed to bolster Confederate forces operating in western Tennessee and Mississippi. Consequently, 22,000 Confederate soldiers, most of the Confederate military force in Arkansas, were transferred east of the Mississippi River in the spring of 1862, leaving only about 1,000 Confederates in that state (Kerby 1972:31). This movement left minimal Confederate military forces to defend Arkansas, and inadequate forces to invade Missouri and wrest that state into the Confederate alliance, an avowed objective of the commanders of the

² As with virtually any historical research about the Civil War, an indispensable source is the series of volumes titled *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, published by the Government Printing Office in 128 volumes issued between 1881 and 1902. Documents pertaining to Porter's 1862 campaign in northeastern Missouri are largely found in Series I, Volume 13, published in 1885. Hereafter these will be referred to in the text as the *Official Records* and will be cited as "O.R. [series], [volume]:[page]."

Trans-Mississippi Confederacy (Brownlee 1958:76; Castel 1968:66; Neal and Kremm 1993:122). One solution to the problem of defending a weakened Arkansas from Union "aggression" was to recruit Missourians to serve in the Confederate army in Arkansas.

Confederate Recruiting in Missouri

In the Spring of 1862, Major General Sterling Price, commander of the Missouri State Guardsmen who had fought at Pea Ridge and later commander of the Confederate army in Arkansas, made plans to increase the size of the Confederate army in that state, with the eventual goal of invading Missouri. He sent officers into Missouri to recruit men and send them south to join the Confederate army in Arkansas.³ In addition to raising men, recruiting officers were to promote the formation of guerrilla auxiliaries, commission their officers, and harass the enemy as much as possible to keep Federal forces from being transferred to other theaters of war east of the Mississippi River. These officers were typically Missouri residents who were familiar with their home territories and the people who lived there. They were of various ranks, usually of field grade rank (major through colonel), and some of them subsequently commanded regiments of men that they recruited.⁴ Porter is one of the best known of them, largely because of a detailed memoir written by one of his recruits, Joseph A. Mudd, originally published in 1909 and later reprinted (Mudd 1992).

Precisely when the Confederate 1862 recruiting campaign began in Missouri is not well documented, though it is often presumed to have begun under the direction of Major General Sterling Price in the early spring of that year and after the Confederate defeat at Pea Ridge, Arkansas. After Price's transfer to duty east of the Mississippi River, these recruiting efforts continued under the direction of Major General Thomas C. Hindman, who was appointed on May 26, 1862, to command the newly-designated Trans-Mississippi District, comprised of the states of Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana north of the Red River, and the Indian Territory (O.R. I, 13:28; Neal and Kremm 1993:117). The terminology of district vs. department as it relates to the Confederacy's Trans-Mississippi West is confusing. Hindman's Trans-Mississippi District, redefined on May 27, was originally constituted on January 10, 1862, and commanded by Major General Earl Van Dorn until his transfer east after the battle of Shiloh in early April, 1862 (O.R. I, 13:28, 830). Hindman's Trans-Mississippi District was part of the Department of the Trans-Mississippi, redefined on the day previous to the District's definition (May 26) and which also included the state of Texas as well as all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River (O.R. I, 13:829). On August 20, 1862, Hindman was given command of the District of Arkansas,

³ These assignments may have begun soon after the Pea Ridge defeat, as Union authorities in St. Louis expressed concern about Price's commissions to "certain bandits in this state" as early as March 13, 1862. See General Orders No. 2, Department of the Mississippi, March 13, 1862 (O.R. I, 8:611-612). If so, this occurred before Price resigned from the Missouri State Guard and accepted a major general's commission in the Confederate army (O.R. I, 8:813-814; Castel 1968:82).

⁴ An example of a commission issued to one such officer, Major Robert R. Lawther on May 29, 1862, by the Confederate Secretary of War can be found in the *Rebellion Record*, fifth volume, pages 568-569 (Moore 1863).

comprised of the states of Arkansas and Missouri "and the Indian country west thereof" (O.R. I, 13:877). On September 28, 1862, he was relieved of that command and assigned to command the First Army Corps of the Army of the West, an active field command based in northwestern Arkansas, southwestern Missouri, and the Indian Territory (O.R. I, 13:883-884). Major General Theophilus Holmes was appointed to command the Trans-Mississippi Department on July 16, thereby presaging Hindman's command of the District of Arkansas, which Holmes redefined on August 20 as one of three districts in the Department (O.R. I, 13:43, 855, 877).

Confederate recruiting activity in Missouri continued during all these command changes in Arkansas, with recruiting officers being sent north into Missouri into the fall of 1862. As late as September 15, 1862, Colonel Waldo P. Johnson, who had been sent by Price to Holmes to assume immediate supervision of recruiting, reported that "Soon after I reached here [i.e., Little Rock, where he had arrived about a week previous] I dispatched about 30 persons to different parts of Missouri for the purpose of enlisting and swearing into the service of the C.S. Army all the able-bodied men they could meet with, to have them reported at camp for organization and instruction..." (O.R. I, 13:880, 919).

The activities, both successes and failures, of these recruiting officers are generally little known because of the difficulty in communicating with the Confederate command in Arkansas from behind enemy lines in Missouri. In his report of June 19, 1863, Major General Hindman stated: "With the view to revive the hopes of loyal men in Missouri and to get troops from that State I gave authority to various persons to raise companies and regiments there and to operate as guerrillas. They soon became exceedingly active and rendered important services, destroying wagon trains and transports, tearing up railways, breaking telegraph lines, capturing towns, and thus compelling the enemy to keep there a large force that might have been employed elsewhere...Besides the officers above mentioned, Colonel Porter and others highly distinguished themselves and greatly annoyed the enemy. I regret that the difficulty of communicating with me while they were so employed prevented any written reports, and leaves me unable to speak of their operations in the terms deserved" (O.R. I, 13:33). Because one of his recruits published an extensive memoir about his 1862 campaign in Missouri, Joseph Chrisman Porter is among the best known of these generally shadowy figures.

Joseph C. Porter and His Mission

Porter was a native of Kentucky whose family settled in Lewis County, Missouri, in 1829 (Mudd 1992:330; Brownlee 1958:81). At the outbreak of the Civil War he was farming a few miles east of Newark, (pronounced New ARK [Roth and Sallee 2000:55]) a small village in neighboring Knox County (Anonymous 1884b:741; 1887:114-115; Shoemaker 1913:118).⁵ As a lieutenant colonel in the Missouri State Guard he participated in the 1861 battles at Athens, Shelbina, and Lexington, Missouri, and in 1862 at Pea Ridge, Arkansas (Anonymous 1884b:741; 1887:115;

⁵ Porter has been said to have lived near Monticello, Missouri (Sallee 2000:7, 8), but that is correct only in a broad sense. Monticello is the county seat of Lewis County, in which Porter resided. His farm was located in the southwest corner of that county a few miles east of Newark, a small village in neighboring Knox County.

Shoemaker 1913:118; Mudd 1992:24-26).⁶ Shortly after Pea Ridge he was dispatched to Missouri from Arkansas by Major General Sterling Price to undertake recruiting duty in his home territory of northeast Missouri (Anonymous 1884b:741; Mudd 1992:26). He performed this duty through mid-October, 1862, when he rejoined the Confederate army in Arkansas. Porter was said to have furnished 5,000 recruits for the Confederate army (Mudd 1992:311, 317; O.R. I, 53:581).⁷

Joseph Mudd (Figure 1), who joined Porter's command on July 9 and served with it until Porter's men dispersed and temporarily disbanded during the night following the Moore's Mill fight on July 28, described the impression of Porter that he received upon first meeting the officer (Mudd 1992:36):

...Colonel Porter was about five feet, ten inches high and rather slender. His eyes were blue-gray; countenance most agreeable and voice low and musical. He received us courteously and pleasantly. His conversation never drifted away from the commonplace. I scanned every feature, every tone, look and play of muscle...There was repose that might indicate reserve power and there was an occasional gleam of the eye as if to read one's very thought.

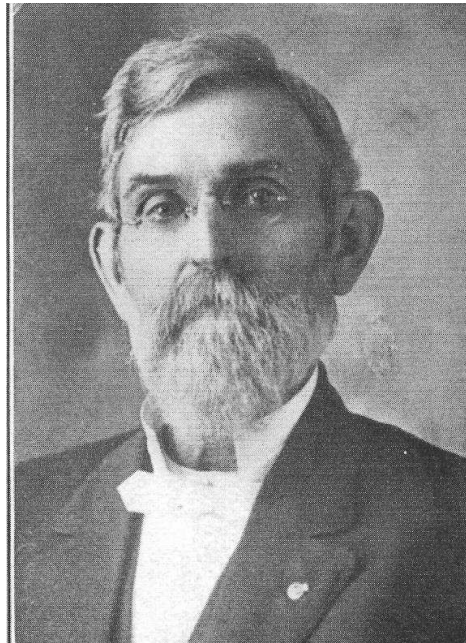


Figure 1. Joseph Mudd, author of *With Porter in North Missouri* and a participant in the Moore's Mill Battle (from Mudd 1992).

⁶ Porter was wounded slightly in the fighting at Lexington (Peterson et al. 2007:103 note 4).

⁷ Missouri Congressman Benjamin Laon stated this estimate to President Lincoln in an undated message, probably written in September or October, 1863.

Other writers have also praised Porter's qualities. The anonymous author or authors of early histories of Shelby, Marion, and Lewis counties (Anonymous 1884b:741; 1884d:451; 1887:115)⁸ stated that Porter "was a brave and skillful soldier, a man of mature years, of great personal bravery, of indomitable will and perseverance, and endowed with remarkable powers of endurance and indifference to exposure and every sort of hardship."

The Marion County history (Anonymous 1884d:488-489) goes on to say:

Of Col. Joe Porter it may be said that he possessed very many of the elements of a military genius. Had his lieutenants in Northeast Missouri possessed his great personal courage, powers of endurance, and enthusiasm for the Southern cause, or had his forces been thoroughly organized and disciplined - even if they had not been well armed and supplied with artillery - it is difficult to say what might have been the termination of his famous raid. It was strange, somewhat, that an inconspicuous country gentleman, a farmer by vocation, should make a daring raider and a brave military commander, with many of the qualities and much of the genius of Francis Marion, Forest and Custer.

Col. Porter was an intelligent, genial, hospitable gentleman, of a warm, generous nature, a firm friend and a dangerous enemy. It might have been said of him, as it was said of Sir Launcelot, that, in all his little army, he was "the fairest person and the goodliest of any that rode in the press of knights; the truest to a sworn brother of any that ever buckled on a spur; the sternest to a mortal foe that ever laid spear in rest, and the kindest and gentlest to that foe when he was subdued."

General John McNeil, one of Porter's most aggressive opponents, commented on his elusiveness and tactical abilities (Anonymous 1884d:455):

...Asked where Porter was, he [McNeil] replied, "How can I tell? He may be at any point within 100 miles. He runs like a deer and doubles like a fox. I hear that he crossed the North Missouri [Railroad], going south, to-day, but I would not be surprised if he fired on our pickets before morning."

Porter is said to be one of the recruiting officers selected by Major General Sterling Price to return to Missouri for the purpose of enlisting pro-Southern Missourians for the Confederate

⁸ As noted below, these three county histories all have nearly identical comprehensive descriptions of Porter's north Missouri campaign, and are likely to have been written by the same author.

army in Arkansas (Mudd 1992:26; Kenyon 1992). However, at least one writer has attributed his selection to Major General Thomas C. Hindman, commander of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi District and the District of Arkansas during part of the time that Porter was active in northeastern Missouri (Brownlee 1958:79). This seems unlikely, as Hindman was appointed to this command on May 26, 1862, more than a month after Porter returned to his home in April to begin organizing for his recruiting mission (O.R. I, 13:28; Mudd 1992:26). Moreover, Price was accused by Major General Henry W. Halleck, commander of the Department of the Mississippi headquartered at St. Louis, as early as mid-March of commissioning "certain bandits in this state" to raise guerrilla forces (General Orders No. 2, March 13, 1862; O.R. I, 8:611-612).⁹

Although the assignment was a disappointment to Porter, who probably would have preferred an active command in organized Confederate forces (Mudd 1992:39), he accepted the assignment without protest. Soon after returning to his home, Porter began preparations for his recruiting activity. This involved caching ammunition, gunpowder, and other supplies and setting up an intelligence network of informers, guides, and couriers throughout his area of operations, which comprised the several counties of northeastern Missouri. The day after joining Porter's command, Captain Sylvester Baesman ("Wes") Penny met with Porter on July 10, who explained his mission and his organizational efforts (Mudd 1992:38-51). Mudd, who was a member of Penny's company, was present and reconstructed the conversation from memory. According to Mudd (1992:40-46), Porter explained:

When I came from the army last April I went to an old man in Knox County whom I had known well for many years... He is one of the best of my men. As mapped out between us he was to acquaint himself fully with the roads, paths, streams, woods, fields, and prairies, especially their appearance at night, of as much of his immediate neighborhood and beyond as he could cover; select, with my assistance or suggestion, other men to do likewise with adjoining territories, preference being given to elderly men as less liable to suspicion. These men are known to me and to each other as guides. Then there are couriers whose duty it is to bring information. There are more of these, as wherever practicable they live not over five miles apart, so that the relays are short enough to allow rapid riding and in the event of meeting Federals or the militia to avert suspicion by being not very far from home. Some of the guides and some of the couriers are called organizers, but they are what might be termed recruiting agents. Each man's duties and his location are known to all the others. They have signs and passwords which are changed at stated periods.

⁹ This likely pertained to Price's recruiting officers, as the order predated by more than a month the Partisan Ranger Act of April 21, 1862, which made the commissioning of officers among guerrilla bands official Confederate policy.

...I have something more than the eastern half of North Missouri...covered by trustworthy and efficient agents. I can travel...by easy stages or by a furious march of day and night, and never be without a guide who knows every foot of the way...

...In every locality I can learn where needed supplies may be had. In a certain corn crib, so many feet from the door, is a quantity of lead, powder, and percussion caps brought out from Hannibal in the bottom of a capricious pair of saddle-bags topped over by a number of small packages, such as tea, rice, candy, spool thread, and the like, by some decrepit old farmer whose honest face was proof against suspicion of deceit...In the bottom of the feed trough of a certain stall, apparently used but really unused, in a certain stable is another lot of ammunition, and so on. At every point, if I need one horse or a dozen, I can get the best without the loss of an hour's time...

As I said, in every locality I know where to get what I want. I also am told in every locality how many men are ready for me. These are disposed of according to what is best under the circumstances. If there are only a few, with a chance for more, and it is safe to do so, I leave them to complete the work; if conditions are different I take them with me. I enrolled a hundred and ten men in Callaway County the other day. They made good selection of officers and they will take care of themselves, see to things generally and take a suitable opportunity to get across the Missouri river and reach the Confederate lines in safety... I do not want too many men with me...

Crossing the Missouri River in 1862 was no easy matter for Confederates, recruits or otherwise. In his report for the period April 10-November 20, 1862, Brigadier General John M. Schofield, commander of the District of Missouri, summarized measures he had ordered for obstructing crossings (O.R. I, 13:13):

The rebel bands, under Porter, Poindexter, Cobb, and others of less note, amounted to somewhat more than 5,000 men, the number in one band varying with their varied success from a few hundred to 3,000.

Determined to destroy this force, and not in any event allow it to join the enemy south of the river, I caused all boats and other means of crossing the Missouri River, and not under guard of my troops, to be destroyed or securely guarded, and stopped all navigation of the river, except by strongly guarded boats, and for a short time under convoy of a gunboat extemporized for the purpose of patrolling the

river. These means proved effectual. Though broken up and scattered, captured or killed, no considerable number ever succeeded in making their way to the South...

The accuracy of Schofield's claim for the efficacy of these measures remains to be seen, particularly in light of Congressman Laon estimate (repeated by Mudd) that Porter alone furnished 5,000 men for Confederate service in Arkansas and Hindman's claim that Missouri recruits added five infantry regiments, seven cavalry regiments, and three artillery batteries to the Confederate army in Arkansas (Mudd 1992:311; O.R. I, 13:43; O.R. I, 53:581).

As to his strategy for engaging enemy forces, Mudd (1992:48) recalls Porter as stating:

I propose to give battle whenever the circumstances are favorable, because I am satisfied that in doing so I shall greatly stimulate enlistments. I have another reason for occasionally-and perhaps oftener than occasionally-giving battle. The greater activity I display the more Federals I shall keep from the front. I believe that with 1,000 men -say five of us with an average of 200 each-we can keep at least 5,000 Federals scattered in Missouri and at the same time keep squads and companies continually going to the Confederate lines. In speaking of fighting when the circumstances are favorable, I do not mean that we shall have the advantage in numbers. We shall generally-perhaps always--be outnumbered and sometimes greatly outnumbered...

Porter proved to be a masterful tactician when engaging Union forces in combat in Missouri. A favorite tactic, repeated several times by Porter, was ambush from concealment. Typically, his ambushes consisted of men concealed in timber and brush alongside roadways on which pursuing or patrolling Union forces traveled. This was precisely the case at Moore's Mill, but also occurred in several other engagements. One attempted ambush that was rather atypical occurred in the town of Kirksville, where hundreds of his men took cover in the town's buildings and behind fences and other outbuildings and features. Surprise ambushes helped make up for the relatively short range of his weapons compared to the rifled arms of his better trained and equipped opponents. He sometimes employed small parties of his men to lure Union patrols into set ambushes. These decoys might have portrayed themselves in rear guard actions such as being engaged in destroying bridges, or as stragglers to the main body of his command. Other tactics involved occupying towns for brief periods of time, typically a day or less. These presented opportunities to replenish provisions and supplies, capture and parole local militiamen and seize their arms and uniforms, obtain intelligence about local enemy dispositions, release pro-Southern prisoners from custody, and occasionally eliminate zealous local pro-Unionists, which sometimes led to brutal reprisals. Another tactic, common to virtually all guerrilla forces operating in enemy territory, was temporary dispersal in the face of pursuit, followed by later regrouping.

Primary Sources

Accounts of the fight at Moore's Mill by participants in the battle are relatively few. On the Confederate side are accounts left by four of Porter's men; all were written and published long after the war's end. The most detailed of these is a book entitled *With Porter in North Missouri*, written by Joseph A. Mudd and published in 1909, later reprinted (Mudd 1992). Born in 1842, Mudd was a native of Millwood in Lincoln County, Missouri (Mudd 1951:890). At the outbreak of the war he was a medical student living in St. Louis. During the war he served the Southern cause in three separate periods punctuated by interludes of civilian life (Kenyon 1992). He enlisted in the Missouri State Guard and fought at the battle of Wilson's Creek, of which he later published his recollections (Mudd 1913). In July of 1862 he joined Porter's force in northeast Missouri and served with it until after the battle near Moore's Mill. After graduating from the University of Maryland in 1864 he rejoined the Confederate army as an assistant surgeon and served in that capacity until the end of the war (Mudd 1951:891). At the war's end he accompanied Joseph Shelby, Sterling Price, and other Confederate exiles to Mexico (Mudd 1951:891). After returning from Mexico he moved to Maryland, married Virginia Elizabeth Clements in 1867, and practiced medicine, dying in his home at Hyattsville on January 21, 1916 (Mudd 1951:890; *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Volume 66 [1916], Number 5, page 371).

A remarkable feature of Mudd's memoir is that he gathered information by corresponding with other veterans of the battle from both sides. In a November 28, 1912, letter to Ovid Bell, the editor of the *Fulton Gazette* (Ovid Bell Papers, Collection C3224, Folder 204, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia), Mudd wrote:

I wrote hundreds of letters to survivors both Federal and Confederate, drawing out the facts as they remembered them without asking what the lawyers call a leading question and I was amazed to find how faithfully my own memory had served me.

Mudd included much of this collected information in his book, often as direct quotations. Other Confederate veterans who contributed recollections of the Moore's Mill fight to Mudd included J.R. Wine and E.B. McGee, as well as C.H. Hance. Merrill's Horse veterans with whom Mudd corresponded included George H. Rowell, J.E. Mason, and D.G. Harrington. Elijah Hopper, formerly a corporal in Company F of the Ninth Missouri State Militia Cavalry, also shared recollections with Mudd. For clarity, these contributions to Mudd's book have been individually extracted and appear as appendices in this report.

Mudd's own personal recollections of the Porter campaign are particularly credible because he enjoyed the confidence of Porter. For example, the day after Captain "Wes" Penny's company (which included Mudd) joined Porter's command, Porter described his objectives and methods of operation in detail to Penny and Mudd in a confidential conversation (Mudd 1992:38-51). Mudd (1992:204) was also present at a potentially contentious conversation between Porter and guerrilla chieftain Alvin Cobb.

Another Confederate participant in the Moore's Mill battle was C.H. Hance of Randolph County.¹⁰ Hance was wounded by three bullets in the Moore's Mill fight, one of which shattered his right arm, which subsequently was amputated.¹¹ In 1915 Hance published his life story in a book titled *Reminiscences of One Who Suffered in the Lost Cause*.¹² The Soldiers' Records database on the Missouri Secretary of State's website contains two separate records pertaining to the Confederate service of one or perhaps two men named C.H. Hance. The first attests that, like Mudd, he was in the company commanded by Captain Sylvester B. Penny, who was killed in the Moore's Mill engagement. The second gives his rank as captain and states that he served under Major General Sterling Price, which seems unlikely for a one-armed man (presuming that this service was after being wounded). Hance's memoir does not mention any military service after being with Porter's command or after losing his arm, so the second record is possibly in error or relates to another man.¹³

The third major description of the Moore's Mill fight by a former Confederate is that of C.C. Turner, whose account was published in the April 9, 1897 issue of the *Columbia Missouri Herald* (Appendix 27). Turner was also a member of the Blackfoot Rangers, a company of mostly Boone County men who joined Porter at the Brown's Spring camp on July 26 (Mudd 1992:122 note 1).¹⁴ Turner describes an attempt to ambush Guitar's advancing column near the Brown's Spring camp. That effort failing, Turner relates that Porter withdrew his men in small squads in good order, camped for the night, then set up another ambush on the following day which resulted in the Moore's Mill fight.

¹⁰ After the war, Hance became the city treasurer of Los Angeles, California (Mudd 1992:122 note 1). Like C.C. Turner (discussed below), Hance was a member of a group self-styled the Blackfoot Rangers, but he was one of a group of seven Randolph County men in the mostly Boone County company (Mudd 1992:122 note 1, 160).

¹¹ Strangely, and perhaps coincidentally, Mrs. D.V. Bogie, who resided in the Callaway County town of Williamsburg during the early part of the Civil War, related a story about a local man named "Charley H." who lost an arm in the Moore's Mill fight and was tended by a local physician, probably her father (Appendix 32). Later a resident of Richmond, Missouri, Doratha Virginia (Maughas) Bogie was the wife of Thomas D. Bogie, owner, editor, and publisher of the *Richmond Democrat* newspaper (Anonymous 1881:515-516).

¹² Hance actually left two slightly different accounts of his Confederate service with Porter. One is what he communicated to Mudd at an unknown date but which was published in 1909 in Mudd's book (1992:189-194; see Appendix 13) and the other is his memoir published in 1915 (Appendix 14). Possibly the later version benefitted from further reflection and perhaps correction (as in the instance of the identity of the Fletcher woman) by Hance. Calloway county tax records indicate Lucy Fletcher bought land immediately south of what is now the Liddle property in 1860. This suggests Hance went to a house likely located on the uplands south of the ravine and within one-quarter mile of the fight.

¹³ Captain D.K. Hance (no known relation to C.H. Hance) served as a surgeon in a cavalry battalion of the Missouri State Guard (Peterson et al. 2007:133). Charles H. Hance's own brother, Edmund C. Hance, served with him under Porter (Mudd 1992:190; Hance 1915:5).

¹⁴ After the war Turner became the presiding justice of the Boone County court (Mudd 1992:122 note 1).

The fourth Confederate account stems from the recollections of Samuel O. Minor on the occasion of his 86th birthday in 1931. He shared highlights of his Civil War service with a reporter, who paraphrased the information and published it in the *Louisiana (Missouri) Press-Journal* issue of August 4, 1931 (Appendix 31). By that date, several accounts of the Moore's Mill fight had been published by other participants, and Minor possibly was aware of these and perhaps could have refreshed his memory from them.

Four Union soldiers left important accounts of the Moore's Mill battle. The most detailed and comprehensive description of the fight is contained in Colonel Odon Guitar's (Figure 2) official report written at Columbia on an unspecified date in October, 1862.¹⁵ The report was published twenty years after the end of the war in the *Official Records* (O.R. I, 13:184-189; see Appendix 1). It also was published in the *Columbia Missouri Herald* on March 19, 1897, and was later included in Mudd's book. Guitar was the commanding officer of the Ninth Missouri State Militia Cavalry regiment, and also commanded the other Union forces engaged in the pursuit of Porter that resulted in the fight near Moore's Mill. Five sources of biographical information about Guitar are available (Connelley 1907:644; Gentry 1928, Zimmerman 1972, Guitar 1976, Weil 1999). An article about his death on March 13, 1908, appeared in *The National Tribune* issue of April 2, 1908.¹⁶ A native of Kentucky, Guitar moved to Columbia, Missouri, with his family in 1827 or 1828. He was educated at the University of Missouri and received his degree "in absentia" while serving as a private under Alexander W. Doniphan in the Mexican War.¹⁷ After the end of that war he practiced law in Columbia and served in the state legislature. Described as a "strong, uncompromising Union man" (Gentry 1928:422), Guitar raised and commanded the Ninth Missouri State Militia Cavalry during 1861 and 1862. Following the battle near Moore's Mill he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general for gallant conduct on the field, and he subsequently served as provost marshal at St. Joseph and Columbia. After the war he resumed his law practice.

On October 28, 1862, Major Henry C. Caldwell (Figure 3), the commander of the second battalion of the Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, wrote a report on the movements and activities of the battalion from December, 1861, through the battle at Kirksville on August 6, 1862.¹⁸ The Moore's Mill engagement is discussed only briefly in a portion of the concluding paragraph. Appendix 2 is a transcription of a handwritten copy of the report preserved in the archives of the State Historical Society of Iowa at Des Moines. Versions of this report, with minor editorial differences, were published in 1863 in Volume II of the annual report of the Adjutant General of Iowa (Adjutant General of Iowa 1863:856-857); in 1910 in Volume 4 of *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* (Adjutant General of Iowa 1910:420-421); and in Part

¹⁵ Guitar's report, written more than two months after the Moore's Mill fight, appears to contain at least two factual errors, however, as will be explained below in the description of the battle.

¹⁶ Gentry (1928:437) incorrectly states the date of Guitar's death as May 13, 1908.

¹⁷ Connelley (1907:560-562) includes Guitar as a private soldier in the roster of Company H, 1st Regiment Missouri Mounted Volunteers.

¹⁸ After the war, Caldwell served as U.S. Judge for the Eastern District Court of Arkansas (Anonymous 1884b:236; 1884d:456). His full name was Henry Clay Caldwell (Stuart 1865:591-596).



Figure 2. Odon Guitar as a Brigadier General. Guitar commanded the Union forces at Moore's Mill (Wilson's Creek National Battlefield).



Figure 3. Colonel Henry C. Caldwell, Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry. As a Major, Caldwell commanded the Iowa troops at Moore's Mill (Stuart 1865).

III, Volume 2, Serial No. 94 of the *Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Hewett 1999:128-130).

A Union survivor of the Moore's Mill fight published his memoir in book form soon after the turn of the twentieth century. Harvey Argyle's book was titled *As I Saw It* (Argyle 1902¹⁹). There are problems with using Argyle's memoir as an accurate source for historical information, however. The book fails to identify the unit in which he served and the text tends to be largely free of chronological markers.²⁰ In fact, the only date mentioned during his Civil War service is July 28, 1862, the date of the Moore's Mill fight, of which he could have been aware from the *Official Records* published before his 1902 book. Also, Argyle states that Porter's retreating Confederates took shelter in a tobacco barn at which the Federals subsequently fired their artillery, an incident that is not mentioned by any other eyewitness to the battle. Virtually all of the information in Argyle's description of the Moore's Mill fight could have been available to him through Odon Guitar's published report, except for the tobacco barn incident, which makes the authenticity of his account suspicious. An excerpt from Argyle's book that relates to the Moore's Mill fight is reproduced in Appendix 3.

A typescript copy of an unpublished memoir written by an enlisted man in the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry is preserved in the archival collections of the U.S. Army Military History Institute at Carlyle Barracks, Pennsylvania (Appendix 4). At an unknown date after the war, William A. Johnson,²¹ formerly a private in Company K, wrote a brief memoir describing the anti-guerrilla activities of the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry in Missouri. The Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry was also called "Merrill's Horse" after the name of the regiment's commander, Colonel (later Brigadier General) Lewis Merrill (Baird 1981:5).²² Johnson's memoir includes a description of the Moore's Mill fight, in which Johnson participated. Unfortunately, Johnson's memoir is not wholly reliable, as it describes events that, as a member of Company K, Johnson could not have personally witnessed, such as the Moore's Mill battle before the arrival of the Second Missouri cavalrymen (Figure 4) after the fight began. In

¹⁹ Authorship is sometimes mistakenly attributed to John Jackson McIntire, who evidently published the book, as he held the copyright to it.

²⁰ Harvey Argyle's name does not appear in the Soldiers' Records database at the Missouri Secretary of State's website nor in the National Park Service's Civil War Soldiers and Sailors database.

²¹ In an email dated November 15, 2012, Dr. Richard J. Sommers of the U.S. Army Military History Institute informed Thiessen that the memoirist's name was Johnston, not Johnson, but the Soldiers' Records database on the Missouri Secretary of State's website shows no Johnston in the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, only a William A. Johnson in Company K.

²² The regiment has also been called the "White Horse Cavalry," presumably because some of its companies were mounted on white horses (Anonymous 1887:120, 124). In terms of the men's state origins, Merrill's Horse was a mixed regiment. After the war, George H. Rowell, a first lieutenant in Merrill's Horse at the time of the Moore's Mill fight, explained to Mudd (1992:91) that companies A and B were comprised of men from Michigan and Missourians from St. Louis; companies D, E, and F were men from northern Missouri; companies C, G, and K were from Cincinnati, Ohio; and companies H and I were from Michigan. Two other companies, L and M, presumably were formed after the Porter campaign.

attempting to make his memoir more romanticized and novel-like, the narrative goes back and forth between the past and present tenses, sometimes in the same sentence, and his few dates seem occasionally confused. He estimates the strength of the Union force at the Moore's Mill



Figure 4. An unidentified Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry private. He has a Model 1860 Colt Army revolver tucked in his belt and his hand rests on a Model 1859 (aka Model 1860) Light Cavalry saber. (Wilson's Creek National Battlefield).

fight at 1,600, more than twice the number that were present, and that of the Confederates at "over 7000," approximately 28 times their likely number. Also, Johnson describes a mounted saber charge by Company K that he claims saved the cannon from being captured by the Confederates. No other witness to the battle describes any mounted charge, and it is clear from other accounts that the men fought dismounted in heavily wooded terrain and close to the ground for cover. All of these serve to undermine the credibility of his account. Nevertheless his account is important from several perspectives.

The Guitar, Caldwell, Argyle, and Johnson accounts are the most substantive of extant Union narratives that mention the Moore's Mill fight. Letters written by two Second Missouri cavalymen and two members of the Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry who participated in that battle have survived but shed little light on the action there. As typical for letters written by soldiers in the field, the writers seem more concerned about assuring relatives of their good health and the status of other soldiers from their home communities than they do about describing their soldierly activities. Another post-war memoir was written by a former member of the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, but likewise does not reveal any details of the action.

Two letters written by Daniel Galusha Harrington briefly comment on the Moore's Mill fight (Appendix 5). In a letter dated August 3, written at Newark, Missouri, to his parents, Harrington stated, "I come off all right only I was very tired as we had right hard work, but I came off alive

thank God." He stated the Union loss as nine men killed and 20 wounded, and the Confederate loss at "over 60 killed & 50 wounded" (ibid.). In a later letter written on August 10 at Laporte, Missouri, Harrington again mentioned the Moore's Mill fight to his parents, with different casualty figures for both sides (eight killed and 50 wounded on the Union side, and 130 killed and "80 or more" wounded on the Confederate side). The letters are privately owned. Interestingly, Harrington was one of Mudd's correspondents after the war.

The other Second Missouri Cavalry letter writer was Solomon V. Munger (or Monger), a private in Company I. On July 30, 1862, Munger wrote to his wife from Mexico, Missouri, informing her of the battle and the death of "Tip," the only casualty from Company I and evidently a friend of the couple (Appendix 7).²³ He estimated the Union casualties at "about fifteen kild and wounded" [sic] and the Confederate killed and wounded at "from seventy five to one hundred of them that wee [sic] have found." Munger did not survive the war, but died of disease on May 28, 1864, at Little Rock, Arkansas. The letters of Solomon V. Munger, and his son Hiram V. Munger, who also served in Merrill's Horse, are archived at the Butler Center for Arkansas Studies at Little Rock.

After the Civil War, a former member of the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, Samuel E. Baird, formerly of Company H, wrote a memoir of his war experiences at the request of his sister. The memoir was published in 1981 (Baird 1981). He fought at Moore's Mill, but unfortunately said little about it: "At Memphis, Missouri, Moore's Mills and Rose Hill we had hard fighting" (Baird 1981:8).

On September 12, 1862, about two weeks after the Moore's Mill fight, Commissary Sergeant Oliver W. Magee of the Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry wrote a letter to the father of Teamster James Cross, who was killed in the battle. In the letter Magee assures the father that his son's grave will not be disturbed in the future, and he informs the father that James died owing four dollars to a comrade. The letter is from the Cross Family Papers in the *Civil War Times Illustrated* Collection at the U.S. Army Military History Institute, U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center at Carlyle Barracks, Pennsylvania. The letter and a separate handwritten note listing Third Iowa casualties from the Moore's Mill fighting, also from the Cross Family Papers, appear as Appendix 8. The note appears to be written in a different hand from the letter.

Long after the end of the war, L.B. Reno, a veteran of the Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, shared some confused recollections of his experiences. He was in Company E, commanded by Captain George Duffield and stationed at Fulton, the county seat of Callaway County. His recollection mostly focuses on an encounter with Colonel (later Commanding General of the Army and President of the United States) U.S. Grant at Mexico in neighboring Audrain County and is confused in several respects, particularly dates and the identity of the Confederate commander. An excerpt from his published letter is presented in Appendix 29.

²³ "Tip" may have been Private James Taylor, a Company I member who was killed in the Moore's Mill fight (see Appendix 23).

Newspaper Coverage of the Battle

Generally, the Moore's Mill battle received little attention from the contemporary press, probably because of the small scale of the fight and its lack of strategic consequences for the war in Missouri. However, in keeping with common journalistic practice of the day, some of the few articles that appeared in print were picked up by other newspapers and republished.

Two issues of the *Fulton Telegraph*, the nearest newspaper to the scene of the fight, appeared soon after the battle and provided substantial details about the engagement. An "extra" was published on July 29, the day after the fight (Appendix 18).²⁴ It was republished at least five times in Missouri newspapers between July 31 and August 6 (see Appendix 18 for a list of them), and also in the fifth volume of a series of books titled the *Rebellion Record* (Moore 1863) and in the first volume of Walter Williams' 1913 book, *The History of Northeast Missouri*. The *Fulton Telegraph* article contains a relatively detailed and accurate account of the fight.

The *Fulton Telegraph* followed up the July 29 extra with another article published on August 1, which related the names of the killed and wounded on both sides as best could be determined at the time, though certainly the list is only partial, if the reported casualty figures are to be believed (Tables 1 and 2; Appendix 23). The *Columbia Missouri Statesman* also published a named list of Union casualties on August 1 (Appendix 24).

Other Missouri newspapers, and even some in neighboring states, published short notices of the battle in the days following the fight (Appendices 19-22, 24-25). Generally, these articles contain little detail of the action and offer highly variable casualty figures. They are generally not useful for reconstructing the events of July 28. Undoubtedly other newspaper articles were published in the days and weeks that followed the battle, some of which have surely escaped detection for the present study.

Other Secondary Sources

Important early sources of information about Porter and his 1862 campaign are the county histories that were published in the 1880s for virtually each county in northeastern Missouri in which Porter operated. These include histories for Boone (Switzler 1882); Callaway (Anonymous 1884a); Monroe and Shelby (Anonymous 1884b); Audrain (Anonymous 1884c); Marion (Anonymous 1884d); Montgomery (Anonymous 1885); Lewis, Clark, Knox, and Scotland (Anonymous 1887); and Adair and Schuyler (Anonymous 1888) counties. Despite the fact that most of these county histories are anonymously authored and typically lack citation of specific sources of information, they contain a wealth of information regarding Porter's activities.

²⁴ No original copy of the July 29 or August 1 *Fulton Telegraph* issues could be located at the State Historical Society of Missouri or the Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society. Consequently, the article as it appeared in the *Daily Missouri Democrat* of July 31 appears in Appendix 18. Likewise, the version of the *Fulton Telegraph's* follow-up article of August 1 that appears in the Callaway County history (Anonymous 1884a:391-393) is reproduced in Appendix 23. A somewhat paraphrased version of the August 1 issue is contained in Mudd's book (1992:185).

They each primarily focus on individual counties, but characteristically relate information about Porter's activities in other counties as well. In fact, three of the histories (for Shelby, Marion, and Lewis counties) contain comprehensive descriptions of Porter's entire 1862 campaign. These three accounts are so similar in organization and wording as to be virtually identical, suggesting they may have been written by the same author. The Lewis County history is the latest of the three and contains some additional information not found in the two earlier publications. Published in 1887, it may have benefitted from information contained in a volume of the *Official Records* (Series I, Volume 13) that appeared in 1885. Certainly, it mentions Porter's camp at Brown's Spring and Guitar's attempted attack on it, which is information omitted from the 1884 county histories.

Later county histories (e.g., those for Schuyler [Anonymous 1910] and Adair [Violette 1911a]) also describe Porter's campaign but in general contribute little new information. They are typically a virtual rehash of the 1880s histories.

The Porter campaign of 1862 has also been reviewed in detail by more recent scholars, such as Grant House in his 1989 master's thesis. Banasik (1996) provides an insightful review of Porter's activities in North Missouri and a description of the battle near Moore's Mill. The primary focus of his book is the history of the Civil War during the year 1862 in Arkansas and neighboring Missouri, culminating in the 1862 battle of Prairie Grove, Arkansas. Asbury (2012) also reviews the Porter campaign as historical context for the Kirksville battle. Porter's campaign is briefly synopsized in Louis Gerteis' (2012:141-144) recent history of the Civil War in Missouri, but the Battle of Moore's Mill is not mentioned.

The only published secondary study devoted exclusively to the Moore's Mill battle itself is an article by Hugh P. Williamson, published in the *Missouri Historical Review* in 1972.

Literature written for a lay readership has not neglected Porter's story. A popular article about Porter was published in the Winter 2000 issue of *Blue & Gray Magazine* (Sallee 2000). Places associated with him are identified in another article in the same magazine (Roth and Sallee 2000) and in *A Tour Guide to Missouri's Civil War* (Wolk 2010). Three recent introductory books about guerrilla warfare in Missouri also briefly discuss Porter's 1862 activities there (McLachlan 2009; Erwin 2012, 2013).

Participating Units, Union

Union forces that participated in the battle near Moore's Mill came from two military divisions within the state of Missouri (Dyer 1994, 1:540, 548). Most of the troops were attached to the Division of Northeastern Missouri, commanded at the time of the battle by Colonel John McNeil. These included the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry (Merrill's Horse), Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, and Colonel Odon Guitar's Ninth Missouri State Militia Cavalry (Dyer 1994, 1:548). At the time of the Moore's Mill fight, Colonel Guitar and at least part of his regiment appear to have been stationed at Jefferson City in the Central Division.

Of the 12 companies of the Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, eight were stationed in southwest Missouri and four, the battalion commanded by Major Henry C. Caldwell, operated in northeastern Missouri. The regiment reunited in December, 1863, at Little Rock, Arkansas (Gilpin n.d.:2-3).²⁵

The Third Indiana Light Artillery Battery was part of the Division of Central Missouri (Dyer 1994, 1:548). That division was commanded at the time by Brigadier General James Totten. The location of the battle itself was in the Division of Northeastern Missouri. The Tenth Missouri State Militia Cavalry was evidently divided between the military divisions of St. Louis and Northeastern Missouri (Dyer 1994, 1:166).

Brigadier General John M. Schofield, commanded the District of Missouri and was in overall charge of Union forces in the state.

Judging from Guitar's official report, it appears that approximately 733 Federal soldiers participated in the Moore's Mill fight. The Union force (see Appendix 1) consisted, in part, of two columns; one commanded by Colonel Guitar, commander of the Ninth Missouri State Militia (hereafter MSM) Cavalry. Guitar selected 25 picked men from each of four companies (E, F, G, H) of his regiment, stationed at Jefferson City.²⁶ These men were also augmented by one battery of two cannon from the Third Independent Battery of Indiana Light Artillery, comprised of 32 men under the command of Lieutenant Adolphus G. Armington.²⁷ Ordered by the District of Missouri commander, Brigadier General John M. Schofield, to send two companies of his regiment to join Lieutenant Colonel Shaffer's Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry for the pursuit of Porter, Guitar sent Companies A and B of his regiment across the Missouri River to join Shaffer at Columbia. When shortly later he received word from Fulton that Porter was encamped at Brown's Spring north of that town, he crossed the river with a picked force of 100 men from his regiment and two guns of the Third Indiana Battery. At Fulton, Callaway County, his force was augmented by 50 men from Company E of the Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, commanded by Captain George Duffield, making a combined strength of about 186 men in his column (O.R. I, 13:185).

The other column was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel William F. Shaffer and consisted of detachments from eight companies (A, C, E, F, G, H, I, K) of Shaffer's own Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, augmented by detachments from three companies (F, G, H) of the Third Iowa

²⁵ Thomas C. Gilpin's *History of the 3rd Iowa Volunteer Cavalry from August, 1861 to September, 1865* is comprised mostly of excerpts from the *Official Records*.

²⁶ Dyer's (1994, 1:548) list of military units assigned to the District/Division of Northeastern Missouri shows the Ninth MSM Cavalry in that district/division from February 1862.

²⁷ Two Union veterans who corresponded with Mudd prior to the 1909 publication of his book exhibited faulty memories in regard to the number of cannon engaged in the battle. Elijah Hopper, a corporal in the Ninth MSM Cavalry (in Mudd 1992:187; Appendix 11), recalled that three guns were used, while George Rowell, a first lieutenant in Merrill's Horse (Mudd 1992:196; Appendix 9), remembered "six mountain howitzers." Noel Crowson (n.d.:4) identifies these guns as likely to have been Model 1841 six pounders. The archeological evidence, presented later, demonstrates the guns were 3.8 inch guns with James rifling.

Volunteer Cavalry, commanded by Major Henry C. Caldwell, two companies (B and D) of the Tenth MSM Cavalry, and an understrength (38 men) independent company of cavalry called the Red Rovers, from Louisiana, Missouri, commanded by Captain Hiram A. Rice.²⁸

There is some potential confusion about the naming of two of the militia units in Shaffer's column. Rice's independent Red Rovers eventually became Company I in the Tenth MSM Cavalry. The unit designated the Tenth MSM Cavalry at the time of the Moore's Mill fight was later (February 1863) renamed the Third MSM Cavalry (Adjutant General of Missouri 1864:169; Adjutant General's Office 1867:14; Dyer 1994, 2:1304, 1310); thereafter the Tenth MSM Cavalry no longer existed.

Guitar (O.R. I, 13:185, 186) reported the strength of his column as 186 men and that of Shaffer's column as 547 men, making an aggregate Union force of 733 men. Guitar (O.R. I, 13:184) states that on orders from Brigadier General Schofield he dispatched Companies A and B of his own regiment, the Ninth MSM Cavalry, to Columbia to join Lieutenant Colonel Shaffer for the pursuit of Porter in northern Boone County. However, he makes no subsequent mention of these two companies participating in the action near Moore's Mill, so it must be presumed that those men were not present during the Moore's Mill fight. Puzzlingly, in his comprehensive listing of battles and campaigns in Missouri, Frederick Dyer (1994, 1:803) lists Companies A and B as present at Moore's Mill. Possibly he made this notation because Guitar reported that both companies rejoined him in the vicinity of Moore's Mill during the morning of the day following the battle (O.R. I, 13:189).

A puzzling statement appeared in the *Fulton Telegraph's* extra edition of July 29 containing the first contemporary report of the battle. The article about the battle stated that "a part of Colonel Glover's regiment" participated in the fight (see Appendix 18). This appears to be a reference to the Third Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, which was commanded by Colonel John M. Glover (Soldiers' Records database on the Missouri Secretary of State website), a unit that did not take part in the Moore's Mill fight.²⁹ This fallacy was perpetuated by Floyd C. Shoemaker in his 1913 article about the Civil War in northeast Missouri in the *Missouri Historical Review*, and in his contribution on the same subject in Walter Williams' *The History of Northeast Missouri*, also published in 1913. As the *Fulton Telegraph* article and Shoemaker's article both mention the Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry as part of Guitar's force, this statement does not appear to be a simple case of confusing one regiment for the other. The reason for including the Third Missouri Volunteer Cavalry in the Union force that fought at Moore's Mill is not apparent unless the Third Missouri Volunteer Cavalry was mistaken for the Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry.

Participating Units, Confederate

The Confederate force at the Moore's Mill fight was commanded by Colonel Joseph C. Porter, who was a commissioned Confederate officer dispatched from Arkansas to recruit men in the

²⁸ Also designated as Rice's Independent Company of Cavalry by Dyer (1994, 1:803).

²⁹ At the time of the Moore's Mill fight, the Third Missouri Volunteer Cavalry was stationed in southeastern Missouri (Dyer 1994, 2:1304).

part of Missouri that he knew best.³⁰ Another part of his duty was to harass Union forces as much as his resources allowed, and foment the formation of guerrilla bands.

Porter's force, though composed of "farmers and farmers' boys, with no drilling or training" (Anonymous 1884d:457; 1887:121), probably did not number more than about 250 men at the time of the Moore's Mill fight. It was reported to Guitar (O.R. I, 13:184, 185) that Porter had 600 to 900 men with him, but this may have been disinformation intended to deceive the enemy about Porter's actual strength. Joseph A. Mudd (1992:142) comments on this practice:

The guides and couriers along the route were carefully instructed as to what they were to say to the Federals in answer to their questioning concerning our movements and our strength. In certain contingencies our numbers were to be underestimated, our appearance demoralized, our horses worn out, but still pressed forward with whip and spur; in others our numbers were to be greatly overestimated, recruits pouring in, morale unimpaired and men eager to meet the enemy.

While the 900 figure appeared in Guitar's official report and in the press soon after the battle (e.g., *Daily Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, July 30, 1862), two Confederate participants in the battle insisted after the war that Porter's force numbered from 255 to 280 men (Mudd 1992:159-160, 187-189; Appendix 12).³¹ At Brown's Spring Porter was joined by detachments led by Alvin Cobb, a guerrilla leader from Montgomery County, with 75 men, and by Captain L.M. ("Matt") Frost and Lieutenant John Bowles, who commanded a company of about 65 men assembled in Boone County. The latter were called the Blackfoot Rangers after the Blackfoot Hills in that county (Mudd 1992:159-160; Hance 1915:5).

In actuality, Porter's strength probably varied considerably from time to time during his campaign in northeast Missouri. In the battle that was fought at Kirksville on August 6, just nine days after his defeat near Moore's Mill, Porter's strength was estimated to have totaled about 2,000-2,500 men (Violette 1911b:99).³² When Porter's force was low in numbers, that fact may be attributed to the recent dispatch of recruits southward to join the Confederate army in

³⁰ Porter was a commissioned officer in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States (Peterson et al. 2007:103 note 4), although Union authorities tended to look on his activities in North Missouri - behind enemy lines - as those of a guerrilla or bushwhacker. See Kerby (1972:44-50) for a summary of the Unionist view of guerrillas and their irregular form of warfare.

³¹ Hance (1915:5) believed that Porter's command numbered "perhaps two hundred" when he and the rest of the Blackfoot Rangers joined it at Brown's Spring. Without the addition of Hance and his six companions, Hance estimated the number of men in the Blackfoot Rangers as 75 (ibid.)

³² It should be noted that not all of the Confederates present at Kirksville were Porter's recruits. Porter's force had been augmented by a battalion or "regiment" of men commanded by Colonel Cyrus Franklin (Violette 1911b:98). This latter command has sometimes been referred to as the Second Northeast Regiment (McGhee 2008:63-64).

Arkansas. Surges in numbers, such as seems apparent before the Kirksville battle, may be partly explained by the issuance of General Orders No. 19 on July 22, 1862, which declared compulsory militia service for "every able-bodied man capable of bearing arms and subject to military duty" (O.R. I, 13:506). Faced with service in support of the Union cause, Southern sympathizers or neutral "fence sitters" who had previously taken no part in the war were faced with a decision to align with one or the other side; hence, many may have joined the Confederate forces or become bushwhackers (O.R. I, 13:10-11; Brownlee 1958:83-84; Banasik 1996:125 note 32; see also Anonymous 1887:122 and Mudd 1992:241).

Porter's force was essentially comprised of three elements: 1) the men he had recruited, 2) Alvin Cobb's guerrillas from Montgomery County, and 3) Captain Frost's and Lieutenant Bowles' Blackfoot Rangers. Although his command was loosely organized because of his recruiting mission and the fluid number of recruits moving through his force, if Porter had an aggregate of 255-280 men in the Moore's Mill engagement, then after subtracting Cobb's 75 men and the 65 Blackfoot Rangers, Porter's actual recruit force may have totaled around 115-140 men. Porter's command was sometimes called the 1st Northeast Regiment or Porter's Regiment (McGhee 2008:51-54).³³

Alvin Cobb was regarded as a fierce guerrilla chieftain who led a small band of marauders in Montgomery and adjacent counties. His band linked up with Porter at Brown's Spring shortly before the Moore's Mill fight. Porter disliked Cobb's style of warfare but cooperated out of necessity because of Guitar's pursuit of both of them (Mudd 1992:204). After the Moore's Mill fight Cobb separated from Porter and does not appear to have rejoined him later (O.R. I, 13:189; Mudd 1992:204; Anonymous 1885:636).³⁴

Cobb must have been a colorful if not frightful person. He and his band raided Fulton, Missouri, on Wednesday, August 13, 1862. His personal appearance was described in a newspaper article published two days later:

The Rebel Col. Alvin Cobb.

As stated in another column, this somewhat noted Rebel chieftain, visited Fulton on Wednesday last. We understand that he is a native of Virginia. He moved to Montgomery county in this State about fifteen years ago - he spent much of his life as a mountaineer - having made several trips to the Rocky mountains.

At the commencement of this rebellion he took sides with the rebels. He is about forty-five years old-six feet tall, symmetrically formed, and weighing about one hundred and eighty. His right arm has been cut off about the wrist. He has an iron hook fastened to his arm by which he holds his bridle. He dresses awkwardly and odly [sic] - he has a savage

³³ Sallee (2000:51 note 7) observes that the 1st Northeast Regiment designation does not appear in the contemporary documents published in the *Official Records* and may have been used as an "afterthought" during the publication process.

³⁴ Although, the Marion and Lewis county histories (Anonymous 1884d:457 and 1887:12, respectively) have Cobb and Porter operating together shortly after the Moore's Mill battle.

looking countenance, (what can be seen of it,) his hair hangs down to his shoulders, and his face is covered with beard, which is long--reaching to his waist. His eyes are grey and piercing. He looks but little like a military man. To say the least of him, he is a "hard looking customer."

Fulton suffered, it is true, much from his visit, but not nigh to the extent we had reason to expect from the character Cobb had acquired before coming here. - *Telegraph*, 15th. [Weekly California News, California, Missouri, August 23, 1862, page 1; see Erwin 2012:64 for a slightly paraphrased description from the *Liberty (Missouri) Tribune* newspaper of unknown date.]

An early history of Montgomery County, from which Cobb hailed, provides another description of him (Anonymous 1885:620):

...He was a man of about middle age when the war began. He had but one arm, the other having been shot off accidentally. Upon the outbreak of the war he raised a band of desperate fellows like himself, and from the start pursued a guerrilla warfare. It is not believed that he ever held a commission. He was in many small fights in skirmishes in this part of the State - Mt. Zion, Fulton, Moore's Mill, and in one or two others in 1862 with Col. Joe Porter...For a one-armed man Alvin Cobb did the Federal cause considerable injury. He roamed about in this and Callaway county, killing now and then a Federal soldier or a Union man, and caused a force of troops to be kept in the two counties for a year or two. He had from six to 100 men at different times.

Cobb was also described by Mudd (1992:204-205), who had personally seen him:

Captain Alvin Cobb was a large man of magnificent physical physique; his face broad and the features finely chiseled. His countenance lacked an indefinable something of being pleasant. As I viewed it there was a suspicion of something sinister. He rarely spoke and when he did his voice was pleasant, his words few and well chosen. The *History of Lewis County*, page 120, calls him a "one-armed bushwhacker captain." This description is not exactly correct. He had both arms, but he had lost his left hand and half of the forearm. To the stump was attached an iron hook by which the bridle rein was managed. He carried a short, heavy rifle and two or three revolvers.

We heard it said that he would not fight if it were possible to avoid it; that his plan was to kill Federal soldiers - one or twenty - and get away before they fired a

gun. Whether this was true or not he fought at Moore's Mill and his men fought, too, like veterans. He made his men lie flat, but he scorned the slightest protection. Standing before his line, he maintained an unceasing fire and as fast as a piece could be emptied he passed it to the men behind him for reloading. He seemed to begrudge the time wasted in the transfers.

The county history (Anonymous 1885:614) agrees with Mudd's statement that Cobb lost his left hand, not his right hand as stated in the newspaper articles. Cobb is believed to have survived the war, later living in the Indian Territory and by 1885 in California (Anonymous 1885:615, 620; Eakin and Hale 1993:82).

The third element of the Confederate force was a company of recruits, mostly from Boone County though a few were from Randolph County, commanded by Captain L.M. Frost and Lieutenant John Bowles. Self-styled the Blackfoot Rangers, they too had joined Porter at Brown's Spring shortly before the Moore's Mill battle.

Joseph C. Porter's Campaign in North Missouri Before Moore's Mill

Colonel Joseph C. Porter returned to his home in Lewis County, Missouri, from Arkansas in early April, 1862 (Mudd 1992:26). He spent the following two months quietly making preparations for his recruiting campaign, by establishing a system of guides and couriers, stashing caches of ammunition and other supplies, and enlisting men. By mid-June he was ready to begin active operations. From then until mid-October, a period of about four months, he crossed and crisscrossed the counties of northeastern Missouri, often closely pursued by Union forces. During these travels he recruited men from the disaffected and pro-Southern elements of the local population and often engaged local militiamen and other Union forces.

On June 17, after some two months of making preparations such as described above, Porter with 43 men captured and paroled four members of the 11th MSM Cavalry near Warren or New Market in Marion County, which signaled the beginning of his overt hostile actions behind enemy lines (Anonymous 1884b:742; 1884d:451; 1887:115),³⁵. He soon fought a series of skirmishes and small-scale battles as he traveled through the counties of northeastern Missouri.

After the capture of the four militiamen, Porter and his men moved through western Marion and Lewis counties (passing near his own home), and into Knox County where they camped near Sulphur Springs close to the town of Colony in the northeastern corner of the county. Here

³⁵ In his 1909 memoir Joseph A. Mudd (1992:26) stated that with 43 men Porter captured an unspecified number of militiamen. Mudd served under Porter, but joined his command after June 17, the date of this incident. Later writers say that Porter captured 43 militiamen (Shoemaker 1913:118; Banasik 1996:122) or an unspecified number of prisoners (Brownlee 1958:82).

Porter was joined by "Captain" Frisby McCullough, a Confederate recruiter who "had been in the country for some months" (Anonymous 1887:115).³⁶

From the Sulphur Springs camp, Porter moved north to a place called Short's Well, evidently in Scotland County. Porter's men had a brief skirmish with the Home Guards at Memphis, the county seat of Scotland, then moved west into Schuyler County (ibid.). In the meantime, a column of several companies of the 11th MSM Cavalry under the command of Colonel Henry S. Lipscomb picked up Porter's trail and followed it to Colony. They overtook Porter at Cherry Grove in the northeast part of Schuyler County, where they defeated him in a skirmish at sundown on July 1 (O.R. I, 13:136; Anonymous 1887:116).³⁷ The Confederate loss was reported as "about 12 killed and some 20 or 25 wounded", while the Union loss was three wounded, one of whom (Captain Horace E. Yorke) subsequently died (O.R. I, 13:136; Missouri Secretary of State Soldiers' Records database). Porter retreated southward, while Lipscomb's command made camp for the night (O.R. I, 13:136). Colonel Lipscomb's pursuit of Porter after the Cherry Grove engagement has been criticized as inefficient and "leisurely," and ultimately led to his being removed from command (Anonymous 1887:691; Mudd 1992:408-409).

Porter's men evidently turned eastward into Knox County and temporarily dispersed near Newark. On July 7, Captain Jim Porter, the colonel's brother, briefly occupied Newark with 75 men, where the stores "were visited and patronized very liberally" (Anonymous 1887:116). During the afternoon and early evening of July 7, a detachment of the Second MSM Cavalry was attacked by Porter's men within three miles of Newark. They were rescued by comrades from the same regiment, but two men were wounded (O.R. I, 13:152-153). Monticello, the seat of neighboring Lewis County, was occupied briefly on July 8, then the command went into camp at the "Sugar Camp ford" on the Middle Fabius Creek (ibid.).

On Saturday, July 12, Porter's men occupied Memphis, the seat of Knox County, for about three hours (Anonymous 1887:117; Mudd 1992:58, 64).³⁸ In Memphis, a local citizen, Dr. William Aylward, was arrested. Aylward was an ardent Unionist who admitted that he had killed two of the men led by Tom Stacey, one of Porter's company commanders and a former guerrilla chieftain. Aylward and another prisoner, Captain William Dawson, were taken into Porter's camp on the Henry Downing farm east of Memphis in the evening of July 13. Aylward was hanged during the night and Dawson was released on July 17 (Anonymous 1887:117, 521; Mudd 1992:72-75, 81).

³⁶ Frisby Henderson McCullough seems to have been under Porter's command, though he appears to have operated largely independently as a detached recruiter. His rank seems to have been lieutenant colonel, not captain. Mudd (1992:275-276) states that he was an officer of the Missouri State Guard at the time of his death, and did not hold a commission in the Confederate army. During his briefing of Captain Penny and Mudd on July 10, Porter referred to McCullough: "My lieutenant-colonel, Frisby H. McCullough, whom you have not seen and who is seldom with the command, being actively and successfully engaged in recruiting..." (Mudd 1992:47). McCullough was alone when captured soon after the battle at Kirksville. His first name is variously spelled as Frisby or Frisbie.

³⁷ The Lewis County history (Anonymous 1887:116) states the date of the skirmish as June 26, but an officer's report dated July 4 clearly gives the date as July 1 (O.R. I, 13:136).

³⁸ Mudd (1992:53) recalled the date as Sunday, July 13.

In the morning of July 15, Colonel John McNeil led a strong Union column from Palmyra, the seat of Marion County and the headquarters of the Northeastern Division of the military District of Missouri, which McNeil commanded (O.R. I, 13:417; Anonymous 1887:117; Banasik 1996:115). McNeil arrived at Newark on Wednesday, July 16, where he was joined by Major John Y. Clopper and a battalion of the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry (Anonymous 1887:117).³⁹ McNeil paused at Newark for a day or two to wait for his supply wagons to catch up to him, but dispatched Clopper with the Merrill's Horse cavalry and a detachment of the 11th MSM Cavalry under Major J.B. Rogers to pursue Porter (ibid.).

Meanwhile, according to Mudd (1992:76), Porter's men were "leisurely marching hither and thither." Porter was aware of the Union pursuit, however, and during the morning of Friday, July 18, he decided to set an ambush for the Federal column. At the bridge over Fabius Creek he left a detail of men to feign that they were destroying the structure, while he proceeded two to two and a half miles further to deploy his men for an ambush along the road. He selected an area of "dense woods" on a hill and directed his men to dismount, hitch their horses in a secure concealed place, lie down in prone positions, and await the Federal column. Soon the decoys from the bridge rode past the ambush spot, followed by an advance scouting party from the Union column. A volley was fired by Porter's men at close range and all but three of the 21-man advance party were unhorsed (Mudd 1992:83-84). The three mounted men raced back to warn the main column of the ambush. In the meantime, Porter repositioned his men in a new ambush location along the road a half mile to the north (Mudd 1992:84).

Clopper's Second Missouri cavalymen were the first element of the column to arrive, and another advance party rode into the second ambush. This time surprise was not complete, but the advance party suffered casualties before rejoining the main column. Clopper ordered a series of costly mounted charges at the concealed Confederates, but was not successful in dislodging them. It is generally conceded that the Merrill's Horse troopers charged the Confederate position six or seven times (Mudd 1992:87). Major Rogers came up with his 11th MSM Cavalry troopers, dismounted them, and joined the fight. While the Union troops withdrew some distance to regroup, the Confederates withdrew from the battlefield and resumed their march.

The fight was largely a standoff, but it was costly for the Federals. In his report, Clopper reported losses of 83 men killed or wounded (45 in Merrill's Horse, 38 in the 11th MSM Cavalry; O.R. I, 13:163-164).⁴⁰ However, the lesson was not lost on the Federal commander. In subsequent fights, Clopper never again ordered murderous mounted charges against Porter's "concealed assassins" (ibid.). Mudd (1992:88) states that out of 125 Confederates engaged in the fighting, two were killed and five or six were wounded, one mortally.⁴¹ The battle, which

³⁹ The Lewis County history is evidently in error in stating the date of McNeil's arrival at Newark as July 9 (Anonymous 1887:117).

⁴⁰ The Lewis County history (Anonymous 1887:118) breaks this figure down further to 10 killed and 35 wounded in the Merrill's Horse, and 14 killed and 24 wounded in the 11th MSM Cavalry.

⁴¹ The Lewis County history (Anonymous 1887:118) gives the Confederate casualty figures as six men killed, three mortally wounded, and 10 other wounded men "left on the field."

occurred near present-day Bible Grove in southwestern Scotland County, was called Vassar Hill by Mudd, but Porter and other Confederates referred to it as Oak Ridge while Union sympathizers called it Pierce's (or Pearce's) Mill (Mudd 1992:101; Anonymous 1887:118, 519-520). Clopper camped for the night to give his men much-needed rest (O.R. I, 13:164).

Porter resumed his movement westward, the men getting what sleep they could in the saddle, then turned south and moved through eastern Adair County and southeast into Knox County (Anonymous 1887:118; Mudd 1992:114). His column camped four miles southwest of Newark the night of Saturday, July 19 (Anonymous 1887:118). Early in the morning of Sunday, July 20, Porter halted east of Newark a few miles, near Whaley's Mill, and he took advantage of the occasion to briefly visit his nearby family (Mudd 1992:114-115, 117; Anonymous 1884b:745; 1887:119).

McNeil joined Clopper and Rogers near the Vassar Hill battlefield the evening of the fight, then sent the two officers and their men in pursuit of Porter again. McNeil himself returned to Palmyra via Newark, arriving there at midnight on July 23 (Anonymous 1887:119).

Having decided to cross the Missouri River, Porter proceeded southward (Anonymous 1884b:745). With about 200 men he left Whaley's Mill on July 20 and struck southeast past Warren in Marion County, then crossed the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad and proceeded south toward Florida in Monroe County, where he arrived early in the morning of July 22. The column passed quietly through the sleeping village and made a temporary camp about a mile away, on the South Fork of the Salt River (Mudd 1992:119). About sunrise Porter's commissary officer returned to the village for supplies and found his party being fired on by a party of 50 Third Iowa cavalymen under the command of Major Henry C. Caldwell (Anonymous 1884b:236; 1887:119; Mudd 1992:119). Porter rushed most of his men to the town to engage the Federals and sent Captain Penny with 20 mounted men to harass the enemy's rear (Mudd 1992:119). In the sharp engagement Caldwell lost 26 men killed, wounded, and missing (O.R. I, 13:172-173; Mudd 1992:119-134). The Confederates lost two killed and two wounded (Mudd 1992:133). The Iowa cavalymen retreated and Porter's men returned to camp to feed themselves and their horses (Mudd 1992:139).

Porter continued his movement southwesterly during the remainder of the day and the following night, and camped near the village of Santa Fe in southern Monroe County at daylight on the morning of July 23 (Mudd 1992:142). The men and horses rested for 30 hours (*ibid.*). In the afternoon of July 24 the column resumed its march southward. After proceeding only a mile or two, Porter's lead companies (those commanded by Captains Porter and Penny) learned of the presence of Federals on the road ahead of them (Mudd 1992:148). Porter closed up his column, took a defensive position about a half mile to his left, and deployed his men in prone positions behind the cover afforded by a bank and two large fallen logs (Mudd 1992:149). The Federals detected the Confederate position and opened fire, which was returned. Both sides fired on each other for a time, and then the Federals withdrew from sight. Each side sent out pickets to scout the position of the other. The Federal pickets withdrew and the Confederate pickets reported the loss of contact, which was confirmed by two mounted scouts sent out by Porter (Mudd 1992:156). This skirmish occurred on the Botts farm near Santa Fe in southern Monroe County; consequently, the engagement has been called the Botts' Bluff (or Farm) fight and the Battle of

Santa Fe (Anonymous 1884b:236; 1887:119-120; Mudd 1992:148-158). The Federals were members of the Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, which is reported to have lost two men killed and 13 wounded during two days of skirmishing near Santa Fe (pronounced Santa FEE [Roth and Sallee 2000:59]) on July 24 and 25 (Adjutant General's Office 1867:232).

Porter resumed his southward march, leaving Monroe County and going into camp near the southern line of Audrain County at daybreak on July 25 (Mudd 1992:157). The men rested the remainder of the day in camp, which was near the head of the South Fork of the Salt River (ibid.). During the night of July 25-26, the Confederate column resumed its movement southward and crossed into Boone County, where camp was made at daylight (Mudd 1992:159). The following night (July 26-27) the column marched "some fifteen or twenty miles eastward" to Brown's Spring in north central Callaway County (ibid.)

Incident at Brown's Spring, July 27

Sometime early on Saturday, July 26, 1862, Colonel Joseph C. Porter's recruit command arrived at Brown's Spring and went into camp nearby (Mudd 1992:159-160). That morning Porter was joined by the Blackfoot Rangers, about 65 men led by Captain L.M. Frost and Lieutenant John Bowles, and soon thereafter by Alvin Cobb with about 75 guerrillas from Montgomery County (ibid.).⁴²

On that same day,⁴³ Colonel Odon Guitar, who was in charge of the Federal garrison at Jefferson City, received orders from District of Missouri commander Brigadier General John M. Schofield to send two companies of his regiment across the Missouri River to link up with Lieutenant Colonel Shaffer of the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry at Columbia, to pursue Porter, who was reported to be in the northern part of Boone County (O.R. I, 13:184). Guitar dispatched Companies A and B of the Ninth MSM Cavalry for that purpose.⁴⁴ He later received, on the same day, word from Captain George Duffield,⁴⁵ stationed at Fulton in Callaway County with Company E of the Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, that Porter was at Brown's Spring, about ten miles north of Fulton, with an estimated 600 to 900 men (ibid.). On his own initiative, Guitar

⁴² The Marion County history (Anonymous 1884d:456) states that Cobb joined Porter on July 23.

⁴³ Guitar's report incorrectly states the date as July 27 (Guitar 1885:184), an error that was noted by Williamson (1972:543 note 11) and Banasik (1996:125 note 33). There appears to be some potential confusion in Mudd's recall of the dates along the Confederate march leading to the Moore's Mill fight. Careful reading of his text indicates Porter's arrival at Brown's Spring early on Sunday, July 27, but Captain Duffield reported his presence there to Colonel Guitar on Saturday, July 26. Porter's arrival there on July 26 seems more likely and it is possible that Mudd's memory compressed the timeframe of the Confederates' movements. The dates inferred in Guitar's official report, despite the error concerning July 26/27, are preferred for the purpose of this reconstruction of events (O.R. I, 13:184-189).

⁴⁴ As noted previously, these two companies do not seem to have participated in the Moore's Mill battle.

⁴⁵ Duffield subsequently rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel and resigned on September 20, 1864 (Adjutant General's Office 1867:231).

then crossed the Missouri River in the evening of July 26 with 100 men selected from Companies E, F, G, and H of his regiment together with a section of two guns of the Third Indiana Battery under the command of 1st Lieutenant Adolphus G. Armington⁴⁶ (*ibid.*; Adjutant General of Indiana 1866:390).⁴⁷ The column marched throughout the night and reached Fulton about daylight on Sunday, July 27, where they found Captain Duffield with 80 men of Company E of the Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry (O.R. I, 13:185).

Despite advice from local residents to await reinforcements, Guitar proceeded toward Brown's Spring with his small force, augmented by Captain Duffield and 50 men of the Third Iowa, a total of 186 men (*ibid.*).

At some point during that Sunday (Turner states the evening of that day, but it was likely earlier), Porter sent out a scouting party under Lieutenant Bowles, which reported the approach of Guitar (Mudd 1992:187; Appendix 12). Porter ordered the camp hurriedly evacuated and the men left in small groups, instructed to reassemble at a point about one-half mile to the northeast of the spring (Mudd 1992:161, 187; Appendix 12). There, the men dismounted and marched back to within a few hundred yards of the spring, where they lay down in line of battle and awaited Guitar's approach (Mudd 1992:188; Hance 1915:5-6; Appendices 12 and 14). When Guitar did not arrive as expected, the ambush was called off. Porter made an address to encourage the disappointed recruits, and the men marched southward, and then dispersed in small groups to seek food from the local populace. They finally reached a new camping place about midnight (Mudd 1992:161, 188; Hance 1915:6-7; Appendices 12 and 14).⁴⁸

The Federals approached the vicinity of Brown's Spring about 1 p.m. Local residents, characterized by Guitar as "rebel citizens," informed Guitar that Porter was encamped at Brown's Spring with 600 to 900 men, likely an intentional exaggeration (O.R. I, 13:185). Guitar described the spring as being "on the south bank of the Auxvasse, in a narrow horseshoe bottom, completely hemmed in by a low bluff, covered with heavy timber and dense undergrowth, being about 1 mile east of the crossing of the Mexico and Fulton road" (*ibid.*). Features labeled "Browns ford" and "Brown's Spring" are both depicted on an 1864 map as being east of the "Mexico Road," which is shown trending north-south (Douglas 2001:179). At approximately one mile south of the spring, Guitar sent Duffield's partial company north along the road to the north (i.e., left) bank of the Auxvasse, where he was ordered to dismount and position his men along a path between the road and the spring, "to await the retreat of the enemy or to come up in his rear in case he made a stand at the Spring" (O.R. I, 13:185). In the meantime, Guitar moved the rest of his force (about 136 men) and the artillery in a northeasterly direction toward the presumed location of Porter's camp. In an open field about 400 yards southeast of the

⁴⁶ First Lieutenant Adolphus G. Armington resigned on April 10, 1863 (Adjutant General's Office 1865:25).

⁴⁷ The other two sections of the Third Indiana Battery remained at Jefferson City, guarding road approaches to the town (letter of 1st Lieutenant Hubbard T. Thomas, Third Independent Battery of Indiana Light Artillery, to his parents, July 27, 1862; Collection 8C/447, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis).

⁴⁸ Mudd (1992:161) states that the camp was on the farm of Thomas Pratt, three or four miles distant.

Confederate camp⁴⁹ Guitar dismounted his men and ordered Captain Henry S. Glaze⁵⁰ to move toward the camp with 50 men and engage the enemy, if found (ibid.). While this movement was taking place, Guitar received word that a small party of the enemy had been spotted about a half mile to his right, or generally to the east or northeast (ibid.). Guitar dispatched Captain Henry N. Cook⁵¹ with 20 men to reconnoiter in that direction. At the edge of the brush, Cook found 10 to 15 Confederates emerging from the timber and fired on them, unhorsing three of them, one of whom was mortally wounded and another seriously (ibid.).⁵² Glaze eventually reached the camp site and reported back that it had been hastily abandoned, with one wagon, a quantity of provisions, several sheep, and a prepared meal having been left behind (ibid.).⁵³ It was surmised that Porter's force had dispersed to the northeast. Captain Duffield was recalled from the north bank and Guitar's men camped for the night at their initial position southeast of the camp (ibid.).

At about 8 p.m. that evening, Guitar received word of a moving mounted column about ten miles to the west, which proved to be Lieutenant Colonel William F. Shaffer⁵⁴ with detachments from Companies A, C, E, F, G, H, I, and K of the Second Missouri Cavalry, portions of Companies F, G, and H of the Third Iowa Cavalry, Companies B and D of the Tenth MSM Cavalry, and Captain Hiram A. Rice's⁵⁵ Red Rovers, a total of about 547 men (O.R. I, 13:186).

The Battle near Moore's Mill, July 28

Porter's men spent the night on the property of Thomas Pratt, which was within a few miles of Brown's Spring. On the morning of July 28, Porter had a local resident, David J. Judy, guide him to the Old Auxvasse Presbyterian Church on the St. Charles road (Rudi Keller, "150 Years

⁴⁹ Guitar (O.R. I, 13::185) states that this position was "about 150 yards from the brush skirting the camp," indicating that the Confederate camp was likely within the cover of the underbrush.

⁵⁰ Captain Henry S. Glaze, Ninth MSM Cavalry, mustered out on May 4, 1865 and was recommissioned as major on May 15 of that year (Adjutant General's Office 1867:35).

⁵¹ Captain Henry N. Cook, Ninth MSM Cavalry, mustered out on April 21, 1865 (Adjutant General's Office 1867:35).

⁵² Guitar does not state the condition of the third man who was unhorsed, nor does he report that he was taken prisoner. Perhaps the man escaped. An early county history (Anonymous 1887:120) states that three of Porter's command were wounded in the action near Brown's Spring.

⁵³ For an indication of some of the provisions that were obtained locally while Porter's command was at Brown's Spring, see Appendix 17.

⁵⁴ Lieutenant Colonel William F. Shaffer, Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, resigned on November 15, 1862 (Adjutant General's Office 1867:6). His name is given as Wm. M. Schaeffer in the Missouri Adjutant General's report (Adjutant General of Missouri 1864:344). The Soldiers' Records database on the Missouri Secretary of State's website shows the former spelling.

⁵⁵ Later of the Third MSM Cavalry, Captain Hiram A. Rice mustered out on June 6, 1865 (Adjutant General's Office 1867:14).

Ago" column in the *Columbia Daily Tribune*, Columbia, Missouri, August 8, 2012, page A2). From there it would have been easy for the Confederate column to proceed southward to reach the "wagon road" at Moore's Mill. Their route would have been generally parallel to the west (i.e., right) bank of the Auxvasse until Porter found a good position from which to again attempt an ambush of the pursuing Federals under Guitar (Figure 5). Mudd (1992:161), Turner (Appendix 27; in Mudd 1992:188), and Hance (1915:7; Appendix 14) state that at one point the men left the road and detoured through an oat field to obtain oats for their horses, and to leave a plainly visible trail of oat stems for Guitar's scouts to follow. This departure from the road may have occurred near the home of Lucy Fletcher, on the southwest quarter of the northwest quarter of Section 29 in Township 48 North, Range 8 West (Calloway County Tax Records).



Figure 5. A modern aerial image of the Moore's Mill Battle area. The white arrow denotes the approximate route Union troops used as they arrived from the north traveling southeasterly along the road from Moore's Mill, now Calwood. Modern Missouri Highway JJ approximates the original route.

At daylight on Monday, July 28th, Guitar sent Lieutenant Julius Pinhard⁵⁶ with 25 men across Auxvasse Creek to the north (i.e., left) bank, with orders to move down the north side of the creek (ibid.). He also ordered Lieutenant Horace A. Spencer⁵⁷ of Company E, Third Iowa Cavalry, to move down the south side (i.e., right bank) with 25 men as an advance scouting party (ibid.).

Believing that Porter was moving southward along the Auxvasse, Guitar (O.R. I, 13:186) moved toward the place where he believed Porter had encamped the previous night after leaving the Brown's Spring camp. On reaching the St. Charles road, Guitar encountered an advance party of Shaffer's men under Captain William H. Higdon⁵⁸ (ibid.). Together they advanced along the St. Charles road to "a point about 1 mile east of the Auxvasse," where the remainder of Shaffer's column joined Guitar's force (ibid.).⁵⁹

Guitar ordered Shaffer, with the Second Missouri Cavalry (306 men), the two companies of the Tenth MSM Cavalry (120 men), and the Red Rovers (38 men), about 461 men in all, to cross the Auxvasse and proceed down the east side (left bank) of the creek and "as near to it as practicable" (ibid.). With the rest of his men, including Caldwell's Third Iowa troopers, now detached from Shaffer's column, Guitar proceeded down the west side (right bank) of the creek, presumably along a roadway to facilitate transport of the artillery. If the enemy were engaged by either column, the other would be able to hear the shooting and could come to its support.

In the meantime, Porter's men, having left the road and traveled east toward the Auxvasse, found a suitable place to set an ambush and made a temporary day camp nearby (Mudd 1992:161):

We hitched our horses in a sheltered valley, placed before them the remaining sheaves of oats, made ready as to guns and ammunition, and cooked a rather slim ration of flour, but before it was ready the order was passed around to form in line of battle. We marched about five hundred yards to the side of the road, and lying on the ground in the thick brush, awaited the enemy. In about an hour, and at noon or a little before, they came.

⁵⁶ First Lieutenant Julius Pinhard, Ninth MSM Cavalry, was killed in action nearly two months later, near Cambridge, Missouri, on September 26, 1862 (O.R. I, 13:283-284; Adjutant General's Office 1867:35; Adjutant General of Missouri 1864:198).

⁵⁷ Later a captain, Horace A. Spencer, Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, resigned on August 22, 1864 (Adjutant General's Office 1867:231).

⁵⁸ Captain William H. Higdon mustered out on November 4, 1864 (Adjutant General's Office 1867:6).

⁵⁹ Here we believe Guitar again erred. He possibly mistakenly wrote "east" instead of "west," or else this is a clerical error made in the post-war transcription and publication process. If Guitar was already located east of the Auxvasse, why would he then order Shaffer, with a considerable part of the command, "to cross the Auxvasse, moving down the east side of the creek" (O.R. I, 13:186)?

Hance (1915:7) also describes the morning's events:

Reaching a small stream, we dismounted and there was a mad rush for the commissary for flour, the only thing in stock for breakfast. I had just taken some flour and was mixing it with water that I had obtained from the little branch, where we had pitched our camp, when our pickets came rushing in, reporting the enemy near. Without a moment's notice the dough and camp were abandoned and we made a wild rush through the timber to meet the advancing foe. After marching about a mile in double quick time, we were formed in line to face the enemy, who were advancing rapidly.

Private William A. Johnson (Appendix 4), a member of Company K, Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, years later described the initial positions during the fighting:

He [the enemy] has chosen a position near "Moore's Mills"⁶⁰ in a belt of timber interspersed with a dense growth of underbrush, and had formed his line of battle, the right resting on the wagon road on which Guitar was advancing, and flank thrown out on either side describing nearly a half circle, into which V shaped line the militia deliberately marched in columns of fours and were allowed to advance until the head of the column had reached nearly the centre [sic] of the rebel line, before fire was opened upon them. The battery unlimbered and took a position on the right of the road...

It must be remembered that as a member of Company K, Merrill's Horse, Johnson was not an eyewitness to this phase of the battle since he was with Shaffer's column on the other side of Auxvasse Creek at the time of the action described.

"Through some misapprehension of orders, and in their eagerness," Guitar's column "shot ahead" and the advance party (Lieutenant Spencer's 25 men of Company E, Third Iowa) proceeded into the ambush, receiving a fierce volley of fire from east of the road.⁶¹ The advance party wheeled

⁶⁰ Sometime after the war, a wartime resident of nearby Williamsburg recalled the community of Moore's Mill: "This little place, which could scarcely be distinguished as a village, consisted of a store, postoffice, mill, blacksmith shop and one pretentious looking house above that of any other dwelling in the place, owned and inhabited by the Strother family, perched high on the hillside on the north side of the road..." (Mrs. D.V. Bogie in the *Richmond (Missouri) Democrat* of unknown date; see Appendix 32).

⁶¹ Guitar (O.R. I, 13:188) describes the location of the battle as being "about 1 mile west of the Auxvasse, and about the same distance south of Moore's Mill." Ninth MSM Cavalry veteran Elijah Hopper described the road as "running north and south" (Mudd 1992:187). Private Johnson, of Merrill's Horse, recalled that

into line and returned fire. Guitar, who had been galloping to catch up with the advance, arrived and quickly ordered the men to dismount (*ibid.*). The remainder of Guitar's column came up and he ordered them to dismount and deploy in the woods "on the right and left of the road" (O.R. I, 13:187).⁶²

The Confederates kept up a continual fire, "chiefly on the center" of the Union line, while the Federals returned fire (*ibid.*). Major Caldwell arrived with the men from the Third Iowa Cavalry and was ordered to take position on the Union right⁶³, in order to prevent its being flanked; this he did by advancing "into the woods 70 or 80 yards east of the road" (*ibid.*). Both sides exchanged fire for a time.

Mudd (1992:162) describes Colonel Guitar as being much excited, "and he roared out, 'Bring on them cannon.'" One of the Third Indiana Battery guns was brought forward and positioned on the road, at the center of the Union line (O.R. I, 13:187). Guitar states that at this point the road was so narrow that the gun had to be unlimbered and brought forward by hand (*ibid.*). Rebels were spotted crossing to the west side of the road, presumably beyond the Union left flank, so Guitar ordered Armington to fire shell and canister at them from the first gun, positioned on the road (*ibid.*). He also ordered the second gun to take position in the rear of the Union line and to shell the woods "upon our left" (*ibid.*). This shelling, combined with an advance of the Union left wing, forced the Confederates back to the east side of the road (*ibid.*).

At this point in the fight and somewhat to the rear, near the horses which were hitched on either side of a "little ravine," Mudd (1992:162-163) relates an incident about a Black slave with a farm wagon that was being guarded by one of the Confederates who was talking with Lieutenant Bowles.⁶⁴ The slave was terrified by a "cannonball" that landed nearby, but was not allowed by the guard to flee.⁶⁵ After five more "cannonballs" landed, all within a space of ground said to be ten feet square, the terrified Black man was permitted to leave with the wagon. A quantity of shucked corn, which evidently had been unloaded from the wagon, was fed to the horses.⁶⁶

Guitar's column proceeded "southward" on the "main road" (Appendix 4). See also the 1897 atlas by Geo. A. Ogle and Co.

⁶² Despite the fact that most of the participants on both sides were cavalymen, the engagement was fought dismounted in an environment of thick timber and brush. Of the Confederates, Guitar (O.R. I, 13:188) stated that "They were posted behind logs and trees, under cover of brush, so perfectly concealed and protected that you were compelled to approach within a few steps of them before they could be seen."

⁶³ Although Guitar (O.R. I, 13:187) stated that Caldwell formed his men on the right of the Union line, he also stated (*ibid.*) that Caldwell advanced his men "70 or 80 yards east of the road," which would be the left of the Union line. He later (*ibid.*) stated that Caldwell was "upon the extreme left" of the Union position, so his earlier reference to the "right" was probably in error.

⁶⁴ Mudd (1992:163) identifies the young Black man as "Buck" and belonging to Mrs. Mary Strother.

⁶⁵ Likely not a solid shot, but probably canister or a fragment of an exploded shell.

⁶⁶ Sometime during the day of July 27, while camped at Brown's Spring and before the arrival of Guitar's force, Porter's quartermaster and commissary officers bought provisions from at least three local farmers.

A brief lull in the fighting ensued, during which the Union troops advanced, with Captains Duffield and Cook on the right, Major Henry C. Caldwell⁶⁷ on the extreme left, and Captain Glaze and Lieutenant John V. Dunn⁶⁸ immediately left of the center of the line (O.R. I, 13:187). Porter's men opened a heavy fire on the Union left wing and center, and the Confederates charged toward the forward gun, which was positioned on the road at the Federals' center. According to Guitar, the rebel fire killed and wounded four of the gunners manning the cannon, as well as "quite a number of others in the immediate vicinity of the gun" (ibid.).⁶⁹ The remaining gunner is said to have fired a charge of canister into the charging Confederates, which drove them back (ibid.). According to Guitar's report (O.R. I, 13:187-188), Porter's men made two more charges to capture the gun, but were unsuccessful.

At this point in the battle, Lieutenant Colonel Shaffer arrived from the east side (i.e., left bank) of the Auxvasse with approximately 460 men. Private William A. Johnson rode with Shaffer's column, which had been sent to the east side (i.e., left bank) of Auxvasse Creek. His reminiscent account states that the gunfire at the ambush site was heard by the left bank column (Appendix 4):

One [i.e. Our] regiment had reached nearly three miles to the left, halted and dismounted, when the sound of artillery

Commissary officer S.L. Hickerson purchased 150 pounds of bacon from David J. Judy for \$9.00, and four sheep from C.C. Firebaugh for \$10.00. Quartermaster J.S. Slacum bought \$9.25 worth of corn from Judy, and \$10.00 worth of corn and hay from R.J. Brown. Receipts for these four transactions survive in the Odon Guitar Collection, Collection 1007, Folder 4, at the State Historical Society of Missouri in Columbia (Appendix 17). Judy apparently was arrested by Federal authorities at Mexico for this collaboration, but he was freed on parole when he testified that he had been forced to remain with the Confederates until the next day: "I attempted to leave and Porter told me that I could not leave and made me pilot them to the Auxvasse Church, and he did not permit me to leave until Monday morning" (Rudi Keller, "150 Years Ago: Guerilla war enters brutal new phase as evidenced by report of executions," *Columbia Daily Tribune*, Columbia, Missouri, August 8, 2012, page A2). A man named Slacum was a Missouri State Guard officer from Schuyler County in 1861 (Anonymous 1888:708; Peterson et al. 2007:163). He apparently had only recently been appointed Porter's quartermaster to replace Captain John Marks who was killed in the July 22 skirmish at Florida (Mudd 1992:121). Silas L. Hickerson participated in the California "gold rush" and later was an officer in an Audrain County company of the Missouri State Guard (Anonymous 1884c:350; Peterson et al. 2007:153). More information about farmer Judy's alleged collaboration can be found in the Missouri's Union Provost Marshal Papers: 1861-1866 records at the Missouri State Archives in the Missouri Secretary of State's office in Jefferson City (reel no. 1353). Judy may not have been as neutral or pro-Union as he might have professed, as he appears to have later served time in Gratiot prison at St. Louis from September 1862 until January, 1863, when he was transferred to the prison at Alton, Illinois (Douglas 2001:71).

⁶⁷ Later a colonel, Henry C. Caldwell resigned on June 25, 1864 (Adjutant General's Office 1867:231).

⁶⁸ Second Lieutenant John V. Dunn, Ninth MSM Cavalry, resigned on January 27, 1863 (Adjutant General's Office 1867:35).

⁶⁹ Other sources, notably the *Fulton Telegraph* article of July 29, 1862 (see Appendix 18), state this number as one gunner killed and two wounded. The battery lost one man killed in action and three men wounded, two of whom later died (Table 2).

and volley firing greeted our ears. Mount, counter-march, by the right flank, trot, gallop, we are off on our way back to the point where we had left the main road. Now we turn south, two miles more, and one column covered with dust and foam after a five mile ride under an August [sic] midday sun came thundering into the woods. "Merrills Horse" to the rescue...

There is some dispute as to whether or not the Confederates actually captured one of the Union guns. Confederate participants generally claim that at least one of the guns was actually seized for a brief time. Mudd (1992:166) implies that the rebels obtained possession of the gun when he states "We could have carried off the guns, but they would have been more useless to us than would a fifth wheel to a wagon."⁷⁰ Another of Porter's men, E.B. McGee, recalled that the Confederates captured the guns but were forced to spike them and give them up (Mudd 1992:166).⁷¹ Mudd (ibid.) disagrees with McGee's statement about spiking the guns, maintaining that "I don't think we had anything to spike them with." C.H. Hance (1915:7-8), who believed his company's position "was directly in front of the enemy's artillery," states that "I never understood why we did not take the artillery when it was abandoned by the enemy, unless it was because Col. Porter lacked artillerymen and did not have the force to spare."

Union eyewitnesses generally deny that one or both guns were captured. Guitar (O.R. I, 13:187; Appendix 1) says that the Confederates made three attempts to capture one of the guns and at one time got within 40 feet of it but failed to take it. Private William A. Johnson, of Company K of the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, stated in his memoir (Appendix 4) that the Confederates were "swarming" around the "battery" when the Merrill's Horse cavalrymen arrived at the scene. He recalled that his company formed and made a mounted saber charge which saved the guns. Private J.E. Mason, of Company H of the Merrill's Horse, stated to Mudd (1992:197) that the rebels "had nearly captured the artillery" when his command "charged in and saved the guns." He further stated that the Federals "came very near losing" the artillery. Elijah Hopper, of the Ninth MSM Cavalry, also stated to Mudd (1992:187) that "We had three pieces of the Third Indiana battery and the rebels charged it [sic] and tried to capture it." Though he was mistaken about the number of guns present, his statement implies that the effort to capture one or both guns was not successful. First Lieutenant George H. Rowell, of Company H, stated to Mudd (1992:196) that Captain Higdon of Company I, Merrill's Horse, "distinctly heard the order given to charge the battery," presumably given by Alvin Cobb. Rowell said that the guns, which he mistakenly thought were six in number, discharged twice at the charging rebels, killing and wounding 13 or 14 of them.

There is no doubt that Lieutenant Colonel Shaffer's column of Merrill's Horse cavalrymen would have galloped to the relief of the beleaguered force of Colonel Guitar, but it cannot be

⁷⁰ Here Mudd refers to the guns in the plural, but in the previous sentence he states "I know that one gun was not put out of service and that it was used at intervals until the close of the engagement..."

⁷¹ Note that McGee refers to the guns as plural, but this is not likely as the two cannon were positioned in different places on the battlefield.

determined if a mounted charge against the Confederates was actually made, as Johnson asserts.⁷² Certainly, Guitar made no mention of a mounted charge in his official report. The heavily wooded terrain would also argue against such a charge, and the road on which one of the guns (apparently the more forward of the two) was described as narrow, requiring movement of the gun by hand. Rowell also does not mention a mounted charge, but stated to Mudd (1992:196; Appendix 9) that "When we came in and stripped for action, our sabres detached and placed in a pile where each company went in, I distinctly remember that the order to each company commander was to have his men lie down..."⁷³

Guitar (O.R. I, 13:188) ordered the reinforcements to dismount and take position, with one company (G of the Second Missouri Cavalry) on the extreme right, one company held in reserve, and the rest of the men placed on the extreme left. In taking position, some of the men were exposed to enemy fire and Company K of the Second Missouri Cavalry in particular "suffered seriously," losing its Lieutenant Joseph V. Myers⁷⁴ (ibid.). When the fresh troops were in position, Guitar ordered the entire line to advance. The men did so, and "raising a wild shout of triumph, rushed upon the enemy, completely routing and driving him from the field" (ibid.).

C.H. Hance (1915:8) states that the Confederates were "forced to fall back to a gully" after the reinforcements arrived. That was where he and three comrades were wounded. After being wounded in three places, including having his right arm shattered, Hance (1915:8) "stepped back to a gully in our rear." After the battle Union soldiers offered him water and brandy and offered to take him "up the road" to where the Union dead and wounded were being taken.⁷⁵ Hance(1915:9) accepted the offer and was taken "to the roadside and placed among the Federal dead and wounded," where he passed into unconsciousness. When he woke up he found himself alone but remembered "a little log cabin just at the edge of the timber where we had turned in for encampment" (ibid.). He reached the cabin, which he believed was owned by a woman named Fletcher.⁷⁶ The woman tended to him and other wounded soldiers all night, and was assisted the next day by two girls whom Hance (ibid.) believed were named Maddox. Three doctors from the

⁷² Private Johnson (Appendix 4) claimed that his company (K) made a mounted saber charge to save the threatened gun, but no other eyewitness to the battle mentions any such action. Though Mason states that the Second Missouri cavalrymen "charged in and saved the guns," his statement does not explicitly mention a mounted charge (Mudd 1992:197).

⁷³ Mudd (1992:167) states that "The men [i.e., the Second Missouri cavalrymen] 'hugged the ground,' as we did."

⁷⁴ The officers' roster of the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry (Adjutant General's Office 1867:7) states Lieutenant Joseph V. Myers' date of death as August 25, nearly a month after being wounded in the Moore's Mill fight. The report of the Adjutant General of Missouri (1864:346) gives 1st Lieutenant Myers' name as Joseph I. Meyers. The Missouri Secretary of State's Soldiers' Records database states his name as Joseph V. Myers and his rank as Second Lieutenant.

⁷⁵ Might this not imply northward, in the direction of Moore's Mill?

⁷⁶ In an earlier version of his account, published in Mudd's book (1992:193; see also Appendix 13), Hance recollected the woman's name as Maddox.

nearby communities of Fulton and Concord took Hance outside to amputate his arm, but judged him too weak for the operation (Hance 1915:9-10). Soon a nearby neighbor, Colonel Moses McCue, placed Hance on a feather mattress in a wagon and took him to his home two miles away. Sometime later, the same three surgeons came to the McCue home and amputated Hance's arm, ending his brief military career.

The battle is said to have lasted four hours, from about noon to about 4 p.m., and to have been a fierce contest, one of the hardest fought Civil War battles in Missouri despite its small scale (*Fulton Telegraph* articles of July 29 and August 1, 1862) [see Appendices 18 and 23, as well as Mudd (1992:182, 184)]. Mudd (1992:168) reported that by 3 p.m. the Confederates were running short of ammunition, which may have been an important factor in closing the engagement.⁷⁷ Porter's men subsequently retreated in good order. They were ordered to withdraw and Mudd (1992:168) noted that they simply walked away from the battlefield. The order did not reach two companies of Confederates commanded by Captain Sylvester B. (Wes) Penny, a very popular officer with the men, and Captain James W. Porter, brother to the colonel. Mudd (1992:168-169) relates that the men in these two companies were puzzled to see their comrades walk off the battlefield, but they held their position until a messenger belatedly informed them of the order to withdraw. During the late withdrawal of these two companies, at a similarly casual pace, several men were wounded and Captain Penny was hit in the breast by a canister shot and killed while assisting with the evacuation of a wounded comrade (Mudd 1992:169, 238).⁷⁸ His body was subsequently buried "right close to a farmhouse owned by a Mr. Strother" (Mrs. Mary Wright, Penny's sister, quoted in Mudd 1992:238; see Appendix 16).

The Confederate retreat was orderly and, as described by Mudd (1992:198), not hurried or panic-stricken. When Mudd and the men of Penny's company, one of the last to leave the field of battle, reached the day camp, the leading element of Porter's command was already mounted and striking northward, while the dismounted men helped wounded comrades to mount and made other preparations to leave the camp. Mudd (1992:242 note 1) also states that Porter left his camp near Moore's Mill two hours after dark and four or five hours after the battle.

As the Confederates withdrew, Guitar ordered two companies to mount and pursue them. The Rebels' nearby day camp was eventually discovered, and a wagon and a few horses were captured. Instead of further pursuing the fleeing enemy, Guitar camped near the battlefield because of the fatigue, thirst, and hunger of his men (O.R. I, 13:188). The dead and wounded of both sides were gathered from the battlefield, with the former being buried either the evening of July 28 or on July 29th "near a store" (George H. Rowell in Mudd 1992:197; Elijah Hopper in Mudd 1992:187; see Appendix 11). Mudd (1992:199) marveled that Guitar's follow-up pursuit was not more vigorous, but concluded that "we had given them enough for one day."

⁷⁷ One of Porter's men, C.C. Turner, told Mudd (1992:188-189) that Porter was concerned about an ammunition shortage during the fight and exhorted his men to take good aim at targets and not waste ammunition.

⁷⁸ The Lewis County history (Anonymous 1887:121) states that Penny fell "while charging the battery," but this is unlikely at this late stage of the fighting.

Guitar searched for the rebels' trail the next morning. He found it about four miles lower down the Auxvasse, and discovered that it doubled back northward. While he was engaged in this, Companies A and B of his regiment rejoined him and confirmed that the retreating Confederates had separated into two bodies of men. Those led by Porter set off to the northeast, toward the community of Wellsville, while "Cobb, Frost, and Purcell" are reported to have fled northwest through Concord (O.R. I, 13:189).⁷⁹

Colonel Guitar believed that he had faced over 900 Confederates at Moore's Mill, whereas three of Porter's men insist that their actual number was less than 300 and probably closer to 250. Guitar (O.R. I, 13:189) reported his loss at 13 killed and 55 wounded, and that of Porter at 52 killed and 125 to 150 wounded (see Table 1). One prisoner was taken,⁸⁰ Dr. William W. Macfarlane, who was captured when his color blindness led to his mistaking some Union soldiers for Confederates.⁸¹

Tables 1 and 2 present information on casualty estimates and identified casualties from the Moore's Mill battle. Published estimates vary widely and several sources have obviously copied each other (Table 1). The Union estimates for killed range from 8 to 16 and for wounded, 20 to 55, making the range of total casualties from 28 to 68. Nearly three months after the battle, the Union commander, Odon Guitar, reported the Union loss at 13 killed and 55 wounded (O.R. I, 13:188-189).

Confederate estimates are generally in the nature of guesses, since Porter did not have the opportunity to file reports and many of his casualties, especially wounded men, are presumed to have been carried from the field by retreating or withdrawing comrades. Despite this substantial degree of vagueness, Confederate loss estimates range from 6 to 130 men killed and from 21 to as high as 150 wounded, making the range of total casualties from 27 to as high as 210. Clearly, Confederate losses appear to be higher than for the Union force, but the highest figures would not seem realistic when compared to Porter's total force of perhaps 250 to 280 men. If half or more of his force had been killed or wounded, surely some of the Confederate veterans who wrote about the fight after the war would have commented on such a devastating loss.

⁷⁹ Mudd (1992:283-284; see also Switzler 1882:422-424) refers to Purcell as a captain and states that he raided Columbia on August 9, freeing a number of prisoners and capturing horses. A man named Young Purcell was a company commander under Porter (McGhee 2008:51).

⁸⁰ Ninth MSM Cavalry veteran Elijah Hopper (Mudd 1992:187; Appendix 11) refers to prisoners in the plural in his brief statement to Joseph A. Mudd.

⁸¹ Dr. Macfarlane's (or MacFarlane, MacFarland, or McFarland) brother served as a captain in Guitar's regiment, the Ninth MSM Cavalry (*Fulton Telegraph*, August 1, 1862; see Appendix 23). Despite being threatened with execution, Dr. Macfarlane survived the war (Anonymous 1884c:358-359; Mudd 1992:403-405; see Appendix 12). The newspaper account gives his name as William M. McFarlane. The brother may have been Captain John D. McFarland, who served in Company C of the Ninth MSM Cavalry (Adjutant General's Office 1867:35; Soldiers' Records database on the Missouri Secretary of State website). The Audrain County history (Anonymous 1884c:358-359) quotes a lengthy *Mexico Ledger* newspaper article of unknown date about Macfarlane's story.

Table 1. Summaries of casualty estimates for the Battle of Moore's Mill, Missouri.

Source: Odon Guitar report in O.R. I, 13:188-189; Appendix 1.

Union:		
3rd IA Cavalry	2 killed	24 wounded
9th MSM Cavalry	2 killed	10 wounded
2nd MO Cavalry	6 killed	11 wounded
3rd IN Battery	1 killed	3 wounded
Red Rovers	2 killed	7 wounded
Total	13 killed	55 wounded

Confederate: 52 killed 125-150 wounded

Source: Henry C. Caldwell report (Appendix 2).

Union:		
3rd IA Cavalry	4 killed	20 wounded
Confederate:	30 killed	"near" 100 wounded

Source: D.G. Harrington letters (Appendix 5).

Letter of August 3, 1862:		
Union:	9 killed	20 wounded
Confederate:	"over" 60 killed	50 wounded

Letter of August 10, 1862:		
Union:	8 killed	50 wounded
Confederate:	130 killed	80 "or more" wounded

Source: D.G. Harrington account (Mudd 1992:197; Appendix 6).

Union:	"about" 19 killed	46 wounded
Confederate:	"about" 60 killed	91 wounded

Source: Solomon V. Munger letter (Appendix 7).

Union:	"about" 15 killed and wounded
Confederate:	75-100 killed and wounded

Source: Elijah Hopper account (Mudd 1992:187; Appendix 11).

Union:	13 killed	55 wounded
Confederate:	No figures presented	

Source: *History of Shelby County* (Mudd 1992:181; Anonymous 1884b:746).

Union:		16 killed	43 wounded
Confederate:	11 killed	21 "severely" wounded	

Source: *History of Marion County* (Anonymous 1884d:456).

Union:		16 killed	43 wounded
Confederate:	11 killed	21 "severely" wounded	

Source: *History of Boone County* (Mudd 1992:181; Switzler 1882:422).

Union:		16 killed	50 wounded
Confederate:		"about the same"	

Source: *History of Lewis County* (Anonymous 1887:121).

Union:		13 killed	55 wounded
Confederate:	32 dead were buried by local citizens		

Source: *Fulton Telegraph*, July 29, 1862 (Appendix 18).

Union:		9 killed	40 wounded
Confederate:		75-100 killed and wounded	

Source: *Daily Missouri Democrat*, July 30, 1862 (Appendix 19).

Union:		45 killed	and wounded
Confederate:		75-100 killed and wounded	

Source: *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, July 30, 1862 (Appendix 20).

Union:		45 killed	and wounded
Confederate:		75-100 killed and wounded	

Source: *Daily Gate City*, July 30, 1862 (Appendix 21).

Union:		45 killed	and wounded
Confederate:		75-100 killed and wounded	

Source: *Daily Gate City*, July 31, 1862 (Appendix 22).

Union:		10 killed	30 wounded
Confederate:		50 killed	"about" 100 wounded

Source: *Fulton Telegraph*, August 1, 1862 (Appendix 23).

Union: 59 killed and wounded (including 15 dead)
Confederate: 27 killed and wounded (including 6 dead)

Source: *Weekly California News*, August 2, 1862 (Appendix 25).

Union: 9 killed 40 wounded
Confederate: 75-100 killed and wounded

Table 2. Partial lists of casualties at the battle near Moore's Mill, Callaway County, Missouri.

Source 1: Anonymous 1884a:391-392; Appendix 18; Compiled Service Records, NARA

Union:

2nd Missouri Volunteer Cavalry:

Killed:

Sgt. Robert Cameron (K)
Bugler Ludwig Stege, aka Ludwigstize [sic⁸²] (K)
Pvt. James L. McBride (K)
Pvt. Peter Walters (K)
Pvt. John Taylor (I) – aka James Taylor

Wounded:

Lt. Joseph Myers (K; several places, severe) [since died]
Pvt. Joseph Leichte, aka Liechte (K; in the knee, slight)
Pvt. John Hoyer (K; in groin and breast, died of wounds)
Pvt. George Vankamp (K; in the leg, severe)
Pvt. John Kidner (K; right thigh, severe)
Cpl. Albert Bower (K; in the leg and shoulder, severe)
1st Sgt. George F. Bradshaw (I; in the neck and shoulder, severe)
Pvt. J.J. Long (I; right arm and shoulder, severe)
Pvt. N.H. Trude, aka Truder (H; in the arm, slight)
Pvt. John Tozer, aka E. Toyer (H; below right eye, slight)

3rd Iowa Volunteer Cavalry:

Killed:

James Cross (E)
B.F. Holland (E)
John Morgan (E)
Robert Parker (G)

Wounded:

T. Johnson (E; in the thigh, slight)
C. Gregory (E; in the breast, severe)

⁸² Noel Crowson noted that this is a conjoined name (personal communication to Thiessen, October 24, 2012). The Missouri Secretary of State Soldiers' Records database shows the name as Ludwick Stege.

M.J. Clark (E; in the groin, severe)
W.F. Craven (E; in the arm and knee, slight)
M. Worley (E; in the leg, slight)
J. Worley (E; in the shoulder, slight)
H. Morris (E; in the arm, slight)
G. Cheatham (E; in the breast, severe)
J. Harber (E; in the cheek and shoulder, severe)
S. Shane (G; in the leg, severe)
J. Burton (G; in the leg, slight)
R. Watts (G; in the shoulder, severe)
W. Vandyke (G; in the breast, severe)
J.A. Dunham (G; in the arm, severe)
C.W. Gleason (H; in the leg and foot)
F.W. Campbell (H; in the shoulder, severe)
S.H. Owens (H; in the shoulder)
A.C. Barker (H)

Louisiana Independent Red Rovers:

Wounded:

G.W. Selvy (in the breast, severe; since died)
L.B. McCans (in the neck, mortal; since died)
A.D. Tipple (in the leg and shoulder, severe)
W. Ousley (in the wrist, severe)
W. Codey (in the thigh, severe)
Oscar Gilbert (in the leg, severe)
W.P. McCans (in the face, severe)
T.R. Doge (in the leg, slight)
George W. Moore

9th MSM Cavalry:

Killed:

Richard Baker
George Shultz

Wounded:

Bugler Gallatly (in several places, dangerous)
[since died]
H. Shrader (in the head, severe)
P. Knitzer (in the head, severe)
L. Snowden (mortally)
J. Tudor (in the leg, severe)
W.A. Mason (in the hip and hand, severe)
H. Shultz (in the thigh, slight)
--- Fleming (in the arm, severe)
R.H. Breese (in the head, slight)
M. Dalton (in the elbow, slight)
E.C. Music

3rd Indiana Battery: none named; 1 killed and 2 wounded

Confederates:

Killed:

Capt. Penny (grape shot)
Pvt. J. Fowler (minie ball)

Wounded:

C.H. Hance (in the arm and thigh, very severe)
D.P. Brown (in the head, mortally)
William Gibson (in the left shoulder, not dangerous)
Thomas B. Moore (in the left breast, severe)
James Tolson (in the leg below the knee, severe)
G.T. Joyner (in the leg, severe)
John McKnight (in the shoulder, severe)
J.W. Splawn (in the breast; since died)
E.B. McGee (in the head, dangerous)
George D.J. Endine
--- Tole
--- Hamilton

Source 2: Switzler 1882:422, 481

9th MSM Cavalry:

Killed:

Richard Baker
George Schultz

Wounded:

Bugler John Gallatly (in several places,
dangerous; wounded in the side and in the
chin)
H. Shrader (in head, severe)
P. Knitzer (in head, severe)
L. Snowden (mortally)
J. Tudor (in leg, severe)
W.A. Mason (in hip and hand, severe)
H. Shultz (in thigh, slight)
--- Fleming (in arm, severe)
R.H. Breese (in head, slight)
M. Dalton (in elbow, slight)
E.C. Music

Confederates:

Killed:

D.P. Brown
Henry Pigg

Wounded:

Wm. T. Tolston
John McKinzie
John Bergen
John Jeffries

Source 3: Anonymous 1884d:456

Confederates

Killed:

Capt. Penny

Wounded:

George D.J. Endine
--- Tolle
--- Hamilton

Source 4: Adjutant General of Indiana 1867:701-702, 704 (see also Adjutant General of Indiana 1868:731)

3rd Battery, Light Artillery

Killed:

Recruit James L. Northrop

Wounded:

Corporal Martin Stone (died August 30, 1862)
Private John James (died October 7, 1862)

Source 5: Hewett 1995a:558

3rd Battery, Indiana Mounted Light Artillery

Killed:

Pvt. James L. Northrop

Wounded:

Sgt. John James (since died)
Pvt. Daniel W. Stoll
Pvt. Theodore Harris

Source 6: Hewett 1995b:211-212, 242

3rd Iowa Volunteer Cavalry

Killed:

Robert W. Parker (G)
James M. Cross (E)
Benjamin F. Holland (E)

Wounded:

John I. Morgan (E; since died)
13 others of Company E
5 men from Company H

Source 7: Hewett 1996:612

2nd Missouri Volunteer Cavalry
Killed:
Pvt. J.H. Taylor (I)

Source 8: Iowa Adjutant General Military Reports, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines, "Monthly Statement of the Surgeon of the 3d Iowa Cav Regiment, at Mexico Missouri" [for July, 1862]:

3rd Iowa Volunteer Cavalry
"Killed...At Moor's Mill July 27th" [sic]
James M Cross Co E 3d Iowa Cav
Benj. F. Holland Co E 3d " "
John Morgan Co E " "
Robert Parker Co G " "

Source 9: Adjutant General of Iowa 1863, 1:472, 473, 474, 483, respectively:
3rd Iowa Volunteer Cavalry

Killed:
Teamster James M. Cross, Co. E
Pvt. John J. Morgan, Co. E, died 29 July
Pvt. Benjamin F. Holland, Co. E
Pvt. Robert M. Parker, Co. G

The most complete list of identified casualties is from the *Fulton Telegraph* article of August 1, 1862 (Table 2 and Appendix 23). Additional sources include at least two of the early county histories (Switzler 1882; Anonymous 1884d), but these name only fallen men who were from their respective counties. Another source is the Compiled Service Records for the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry at the National Archives and accessible online at Fold3©; and occasional mention of casualties in the synopsised regimental and company reports published in the *Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Hewett 1995a-b, 1996). Reporting of events and casualties by regimental and company officers was very uneven and information was often omitted by them. However the battery returns for the Third Indiana Light Artillery Battery and post-war reports of the Indiana adjutant general give the names of the unit's four casualties, information not readily available elsewhere (Hewett 1995a:558; Adjutant General of Indiana 1867, 1868). One of the Indiana artillerymen was killed in action at Moore's Mill and three others were wounded, two of whom subsequently died of their wounds (ibid.; Table 2).

The dead of both sides were buried on the field of battle, but accounts differ as to whether they were buried during the evening of July 28 after the battle or during the following morning. The Lewis County history (Anonymous 1887:121) states that 32 Confederates were buried by local citizens. Four Union veterans and one Confederate veteran have remarked about the treatment and/or burial of the dead after the battle:

The enemy are now in full retreat...Now we turn back and again the sad task is ours of burying our dead and caring for the wounded. (William A. Johnson memoir, Appendix 4)

The next morning, while the sun was drying up the tears night had shed on the dimpled cheeks of the wild rosebud, the fallen heroes, both the blue and the gray, were laid to rest near the spot where they made their last gallant charge. (Argyle 1902:70)

Presently several of Merrill's and Rice's Red Rovers came up; one of Merrill's orderlies carried water and poured some of it and some brandy down my throat, and asked me if I wished to be taken up the road where they had taken their dead and wounded. I said I would like to be taken there... I was then taken to the roadside and placed among the Federal dead and wounded. I lapsed into unconsciousness and when I came to myself, I was all alone, and the sun was setting. (Hance 1915:8-9; see also Mudd 1992:192)

That evening we buried our dead, and took the wounded over to Fulton and the next morning pushed on after the enemy. (George H. Rowell in Mudd 1992:197)

We collected the dead - both sides - after the fight and buried them near a store on the 29th. (Elijah Hopper in Mudd 1992:187)

Two of these statements are equivocal as to the time of burial (Johnson, Hance), while one (Rowell) states that burial was done on the evening of the 28th and two (Hopper, Argyle) attest to burial the following morning. One of the last, however, is a statement by Harvey Argyle, whose account of the battle, as stated previously in this report, is dubious.

The Conclusion of Joseph C. Porter's North Missouri Campaign

Though Porter's southward progress toward the Missouri River was temporarily thwarted by the Moore's Mill fight, he soon resumed his travels and recruiting efforts in northeastern Missouri. After leaving his day camp after the Moore's Mill fight, Porter marched northward (Mudd 1992:198). By sunset, the command had camped three miles from the battlefield (Mudd 1992:201). Leaderless after the death of Captain Penny, Mudd's somewhat demoralized

comrades asked Mudd to seek Porter's permission for them to return to their homes and ostensibly recruit new men to send to Arkansas (Mudd 1992:201-204). Porter consented to the plan for Penny's men to disperse (Mudd 1992:206). Mudd and his comrades left camp that night, while the rest of Porter's command struck out in the opposite direction. That was the end of Mudd's direct connection with Porter; consequently, Porter's story as related from this point in Mudd's memoir is based on hearsay information from his former comrades or other sources (Mudd 1992:241).

Porter marched northward, briefly occupying Paris in central Monroe County on July 30 and then camped 10 or 12 miles east of the town (Anonymous 1884b:235; 1887:121-122; Mudd 1992:242). Colonel McNeil had set out from Palmyra with a strong force to pursue and intercept Porter, and arrived in Paris early on July 31 soon after Porter had evacuated the town (Mudd 1992:242). Porter feigned an attack on the town, which kept McNeil there in anticipation of its defense while Porter resumed his northward march (Anonymous 1887:122; Mudd 1992:243). Porter crossed the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad and advanced on Newark in southeastern Knox County. McNeil, reinforced by about 1,000 men comprised of elements of the Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, militiamen from Pike County, the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, and the Ninth MSM Cavalry, pursued him. Meanwhile, Porter's strength had swelled to about 1,000 men (Anonymous 1887:122).

Newark was garrisoned by two companies from the 11th MSM Cavalry commanded by Captain W.W. Lair⁸³, about 75 to 80 men (Anonymous 1887:692; Mudd 1992:243). Porter's force divided and entered Newark from two directions in the late afternoon of August 1 (Anonymous 1887:692-693). The militiamen, who were camped near the town, occupied three buildings (at least one of them, a church, of sturdy brick construction) in the town and offered resistance to the Confederates. Both sides exchanged fire for a time, until two wagons were loaded with hay, to be pushed against the walls of the buildings and ignited (Anonymous 1887:693-694; Mudd 1992:244). Under a flag of truce the surrender of the Federals was demanded, and after a brief consultation between Porter and Lair, they did so. The militiamen were paroled and released the following morning (Anonymous 1887:694; Mudd 1992:244-245). The Federals suffered four killed (including Captain Lair's son), six or seven wounded, and 72 prisoners. Porter's loss was four to 20 killed, two mortally wounded, and about 20 to 30 men with survivable wounds (Anonymous 1887:694-695; Mudd 243-245).⁸⁴

Learning of the approach of the pursuing McNeil, Porter left Newark in the morning of August 2 and continued northward to join forces with Colonel Cyrus Franklin and Lieutenant Colonel Frisby McCullough, who had been operating near Canton in eastern Lewis County (Anonymous 1887:123; Mudd 1992:247). McNeil's advance detachment arrived at Newark and drove Porter's rear guard from the town (Anonymous 1887:696). Then McNeil remained in Newark to await reinforcements, which arrived on August 3 (Anonymous 1887:124). McNeil left Newark at mid-day on August 3 and continued his northward pursuit of Porter (Anonymous 1887:124). McNeil

⁸³ Captain Wesley Lair, of Company K, 11th MSM Cavalry (Missouri Secretary of State Soldiers' Records database).

⁸⁴ Strangely, Mudd cites two sets of differing casualty figures for each side.

sent a battalion of the 11th MSM Cavalry north to defend Scotland and Schuyler counties and possibly strike Porter's force while McNeil attacked him from the south (Anonymous 1887:124-125).

In the meantime Porter had linked up with Colonel Franklin and Lieutenant Colonel McCullough on the North Fabius Creek near the Lewis County line (Anonymous 1887:124). Their combined forces totaled 2,000 to 2,200 men and new recruits arrived daily (*ibid.*; Mudd 1992:247).

The Confederate commanders conferred about the best course of collective action to take, and a decision was made to attempt to cross the Missouri River after a "feint in force" at Memphis to draw Federal troops away from the river (*ibid.*). Little action seems to have been taken to implement this plan, however, and at another conference in their camp at Short's Well during the evening of August 4, it was decided to move west and south to link up with a large force operating in Chariton County under the command of Colonel John A. Poindexter (Anonymous 1887:125).

Word reached Porter that a local guerrilla named Tice Cain had taken possession of Kirksville, a town of about 600 residents in Adair County, so Porter ordered his column on August 5 to march west, toward Kirksville, with the intent to stage yet another ambush there (Asbury 2012:18; Anonymous 1887:126). Porter reached Kirksville during the morning of August 6, with McNeil in close pursuit (Anonymous 1887:127).

The battle at Kirksville proved to be the largest-scale action of Porter's entire four-month-long campaign (Anonymous 1888:304-308; Mudd 1992:248-267; Asbury 2012:103-163; Violette 1911b). It was fought at the time that Porter had the most Confederates under his command, though many of them were undisciplined and poorly armed or not armed at all.⁸⁵ Porter deployed several hundred men in the town itself, concealed behind the cover of buildings and fences. He placed a smaller number of his men in the cornfields outside the town, but placed most of his troops in the woods to the west of Kirksville, between the town and the Chariton River, to act as a large but poorly armed reserve.

McNeil's force arrived outside Kirksville at mid-morning. After some reconnoitering, they deployed in line of battle to the east and northeast of the town, largely unaware of the Confederate dispositions. McNeil had fewer men than Porter but they were better armed and trained, and had the advantage of five artillery pieces, including the two Third Indiana Battery guns that were used at Moore's Mill. A scouting party of eight volunteers commanded by Lieutenant John N. Cowdrey of the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry rode into town and dashed around the courthouse square. Porter's undisciplined men concealed in the town poured a voluminous fire on them, revealing their presence. Knowing as a result that large numbers of Confederates were concealed within the town, McNeil's artillery and dismounted cavalymen opened fire, with devastating results for the rebels. Their weapons were more capable of longer-range effect than were Porter's firearms, and the Confederates were soon driven from the fields and the town into the woods west of the village. The retreat turned into a rout, and Porter's men

⁸⁵ One estimate of the number of Confederates in the combined Porter and Franklin force is as high as 2,800 (Anonymous 1887:131).

sought to cross the Chariton. The pursuing Union cavalymen turned back when they perceived that the fleeing Confederates had gained the western bank of the river. The Battle of Kirksville ended in a decisive Union victory. McNeil claimed only five Federals killed and 25 to 32 wounded (O.R. I, 13:212, 215). He estimated the Confederate loss at 150 killed, 300 to 400 wounded, and 47 prisoners (O.R. I, 13:215).⁸⁶

Soon after the Kirksville fight, two events occurred which presaged similar tragedies in the months to follow. First, Lieutenant Colonel Frisby McCullough attempted to make his way to his home in Marion County, but, said to be ill and dispirited, was taken prisoner on August 7 by local militiamen and turned over to McNeil at Kirksville. Given a summary trial, he was executed on the day after his capture, an action for which McNeil received enduring criticism (Mudd 1992:268-282; Anonymous 1887:135-137, 699-700).

The second event was the execution of 15 of the Confederates taken prisoner at Kirksville (Anonymous 1884b:757; 1884e:858-860; 1887:522-523). The men were found to have broken their oaths of allegiance to the Union made as terms of earlier paroles.⁸⁷

Part of Porter's and Franklin's force defeated at Kirksville simply melted away as dispirited men deserted to return to their homes. Immediately after Kirksville, Porter's movements are little known, though he seems to have resumed recruiting with some success and he probably resolved to link up with Poindexter to the southwest.

Porter encountered a Federal force under McNeil near Stockton in Macon County on August 8 and is reported to have suffered 50 killed and wounded with "some prisoners," in contrast to eight killed and wounded on the Union side, one of whom died (O.R. I, 13:224; Wallace in Mudd 1992:285). Twenty-six of the Confederate prisoners were executed for having broken their parole oaths (O.R. I, 13:224). After the Stockton skirmish, Porter's men retreated toward the Chariton River. On August 9 they spotted a column of Federal cavalry in pursuit of them. They crossed the Chariton, where Porter detached two companies from the main body and laid another ambush for the pursuing Federals. The men from these companies took concealed positions along the river bank overlooking a ford in the river. When the Federal cavalry were in the river, they let loose a volley that had a "terrible" effect on the mounted troopers. J.T. Wallace, who was in Porter's command and may have participated in the ambush, stated that not less than 125 men "must have fallen" in the fusillade, though this is probably a gross exaggeration (Mudd 1992:286). Other veterans of Porter's command offered lesser, but still probably highly exaggerated, Union casualty figures (Mudd 1992:289, 290, 291).⁸⁸ This ambush

⁸⁶ Lieutenant Colonel William F. Shaffer of the Merrill's Horse reported the Confederate loss at 128 killed and "at least" 300 wounded (O.R. I, 13:217).

⁸⁷ At least two mass executions of Porter's men for parole violations occurred soon after this one. On September 26, 10 Confederate prisoners were executed at Macon on the order of Colonel Lewis Merrill (Anonymous 1883:283-284; 1884b:734-736), and on October 18 10 more were executed by order of Colonel John McNeil in the notorious "Palmyra Massacre."

⁸⁸ The history of Lewis County (Anonymous 1887:133), for example, reports that only two Federals were killed and 20 wounded.

occurred at See's or Sear's Ford of the Chariton (Anonymous 1884d:467; 1887:133). The Confederates withdrew without detection and the Federal artillery shelled the empty woods on the opposite bank for some time afterwards.

On August 10 or 11, the command was again temporarily dispersed by individual companies (Mudd 1992:286, 289-290, 291). After this Porter seems to have shifted his operation to Shelby and Monroe counties. On August 25 he was again reported near Florida and threatening nearby Paris (Anonymous 1887:138). McNeil occupied Paris to protect the town, then moved into Lewis County, which, with neighboring Marion County, was said to be "full of bands of Confederates," possibly a reference to Porter's dispersed companies (Anonymous 1887:138).

By September 12, Porter had regrouped, at least partly. On that date, with 400 men, he occupied Palmyra with only minor loss (one man killed and one or two wounded; Anonymous 1884d:480; 1887:138). The town's defenders lost one civilian resident killed and three militiamen wounded (Anonymous 1887:138). Most of the town's militia garrison took cover in the courthouse and successfully defended themselves, while others fled to Hannibal (Anonymous 1884d:476-481). Forty-five or more Confederate prisoners were released from the jail, and the office of the Provost Marshal, who had fled the town, was raided and many parole bond records of former Confederate prisoners were destroyed (Anonymous 1884d:479, 482; 1887:138; Mudd 1992:293-294). A Federal soldier "who was in jail for shooting a prisoner" was taken outside the town and shot dead (Anonymous 1887:138). An aged local Union zealot and informer named Andrew Allsman was taken prisoner and kept with the Confederates when they left the town. He was murdered several days later, a circumstance that resulted in the infamous retaliatory "Palmyra Massacre" a little over a month later.⁸⁹

Porter moved circuitously northwestward and by September 16 or 17 was again camped near Whaley's Mill in northeastern Shelby County and not far from Newark and Porter's home (Anonymous 1887:139).

In the meantime, General McNeil, at Monticello in Lewis County, received word of Porter's capture of Palmyra and marched southward in pursuit of Porter (Anonymous 1887:139). Porter's trail was found and led McNeil to the vicinity of Newark. A local resident guided McNeil to Porter's camp near Whaley's Mill, which Porter hastily abandoned at McNeil's approach. The Confederates offered little resistance but fled their pursuers for miles. Porter's men, with McNeil's force on their heels, reached Bragg's schoolhouse in eastern Shelby County. There they quickly disbanded and dispersed in all directions to escape their pursuers (Anonymous 1887:139-141).

⁸⁹ On October 8, McNeil published a letter to Porter, demanding that the missing Allsman be returned unharmed to his family within 10 days, and threatening to execute 10 Confederate prisoners if he was not returned. Allsman, of course, did not appear and McNeil made good on his ultimatum. Ten prisoners were selected from those held captive at Palmyra and were executed on October 18, giving rise to the infamous "Palmyra Massacre" (Anonymous 1883:284-287; 1884d:489-515; Mudd 1992:299-309, 415-436). The history for Marion County (Anonymous 1884d:490-515) contains a particularly detailed description of the Allsman affair, the Palmyra executions, and the aftermath.

During the pursuit, McNeil's men killed three Confederates, and wounded and captured many others (Anonymous 1887:141). The Federals halted at Bragg's schoolhouse, where Porter's force had dispersed. Two Confederates were captured near the schoolhouse and executed the following day (Anonymous 1887:141).

Porter, evidently somewhat dispirited from this reverse, "kept himself hidden for some days," while he pondered the prospects for successful recruiting in the future (Anonymous 1887:142). He decided to abandon his recruiting mission and leave northeastern Missouri with one final batch of recruits. Planning to cross the Missouri River on October 16, he designated Moore's Mill as the point of rendezvous for 1,200 men (Mudd 1992:314-315). However, "Through some misunderstanding a thousand men were two or three hours late" (ibid.). Consequently, with only about 200 men he made his way to the Missouri River at Portland in Callaway County, where he captured the steamboat *Emelie* when it put ashore to off-load passengers. He used the boat to cross about 175 of his men and their horses to the south bank. While this was happening, a detachment of Federal militiamen attacked his rear guard on the north shore. Seven of Porter's men were killed and the rest again dispersed (O.R. I, 13:319-320; Mudd 1992:436-439). At some undocumented date soon after the *Emelie* crossing Porter and three or four dozen followers crossed the Missouri in a skiff at Providence in Boone County and made their way into Arkansas to rejoin the Confederate army (Anonymous 1887:142; Mudd 1992:315). Porter's recruiting mission in northeastern Missouri came to an end.

Epilogue

At the very least, the Moore's Mill fight temporarily thwarted Porter's immediate effort to move a body of recruits south to Arkansas (Williams and Shoemaker 1930, 2:9; Switzler 1879:413-414). He turned back north and successfully continued recruiting, and fought small actions for two and a half more months before finally succeeding in crossing the Missouri and rejoining Confederate forces in Arkansas.

Banasik (1996:177) has nicely summarized the legacy of the Confederate recruiters that operated in Missouri in 1862:

Porter, Poindexter, Hays, Cockrell, Shelby, and Quantrill had done their jobs to perfection. Operating deep in enemy territory these guerrillas had effectively shifted the war in the Trans-Mississippi area away from embattled Arkansas and had effectively controlled the tone of operations in July and August 1862.

Porter's recruiting campaign was only a small part of a larger effort by a number of officers sent into Missouri to recruit men for the Confederate army in Arkansas. Due largely to a memoir written by one of his recruits, Porter's activities are generally better known than those of his colleagues who clandestinely operated behind enemy lines in a state heavily occupied by Federal soldiers and Missouri militia. Major General Thomas C. Hindman paid eloquent tribute to these men in his June 29, 1863, report to the Confederacy's chief Adjutant and Inspector General (O.R. I, 13:45):

...I beg to mention here the officers to whom I am most indebted for assistance in the labor performed while commanding the Trans-Mississippi District.

In the enrollment and organization of troops from Missouri, Brigadier-Generals Parsons and McBride; Colonels Clark, Payne, Jackman, Thompson, Porter, MacDonald, and Shelby; Lieutenant-Colonels Caldwell, Lewis, and Johnson; Majors Murray, Musser, and Pindall, and Captains Standish, Buchanan, Cravens, Peery, Quantrill, and Harrison were especially zealous and useful. In estimating the value of their labors and of the many other devoted men who assisted them, it is to be considered that in order to bring out recruits from their State it was necessary to go within the enemy's lines, taking the risks of detection and punishment as spies, secretly collecting the men in squads and companies, arming, equipping, and subsisting them by stealth, and then moving them rapidly southward through a country swarming with Federal soldiers and an organized militia, and whose population could only give assistance at the hazard of confiscation of property and even death itself. That they succeeded at all under such circumstances is attributable to a courage and fidelity unsurpassed in the history of the war. That they did succeed beyond all expectation is shown by the twelve fine regiments and three batteries of Missouri troops now serving in the Trans-Mississippi Department.

Hindman's tribute to the recruiters is quoted by Mudd (1992:316), who adds that

The enumeration of General Hindman does not include all the Missouri recruits of the summer of 1862. Many joined Missouri regiments operating in Tennessee and many joined Virginia and Kentucky troops.

After returning to Arkansas from Missouri in October 1862, Porter was appointed the temporary commander of a brigade of Missouri cavalry that would participate in General Marmaduke's incursion into Missouri in early 1863. After Marmaduke's defeat at Springfield in early January, the Confederates began a withdrawal to Arkansas. In the fighting at Hartville east of Springfield on January 11, Porter was wounded in the leg and hand, and died near Batesville, Arkansas on February 18, more than a month later (Anonymous 1884d:488; Robinett 1964:168; Mudd 1992:322, 326; Goman 1999:73, 76, 107). Thus the Confederacy lost one of its most capable and promising officers.

Archeological Project Methods

In archeology it is not enough to know where artifacts are found, but also where artifacts are not found. A primary research goal of the Moore's Mill Archeological Inventory was to locate and define evidence of fighting. The first requirement, then, was to develop field procedures that are capable of examining the entire extent of the battlefield. Faced with examining a large area, and assuming that most surviving artifacts of war are either metallic or associated with metal, metal detectors were employed as an inventory tool based on the success of the technique at Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument (Scott and Fox 1987; Scott et al. 1989). The use of metal detectors operated by knowledgeable people has overwhelmingly proven its value (Connor and Scott 1998; Espenshade et al. 2002; Cornelison and Cooper 2001) and is now a common tool employed in archeological investigations of battlefields and campsites.

The archeological investigations employed metal detectors with operators spaced about 3 meters apart. The metal detector operators walked each area in a series of roughly parallel transects covering approximately 20 acres. Previous metal detecting projects indicate this operator spacing provides at least a 35% sample of the area detected (Scott et al. 1989; Scott 2010). Two homes are located on the inventoried properties and their formal lawn areas were searched, but only at a reconnaissance level so as to limit the disturbance impact. The total lawn area searched in this manner was less than one acre. Metal detecting transects were ceased when either property boundaries were reached or Civil War era artifact density reduced to zero (Figure 6). Locational control was accomplished through the use of a Global Positioning System handheld unit and electronic data collector (Trimble GeoExplorer XT, mapping grade). Each item or location recorded on the data recorder was identified by unique UTM coordinates and a previously established identification code.

Inventory Phase

The inventory phase included three sequential operations: survey, recovery, and recording. During survey artifact finds were located and marked (Figure 7). The recovery crew followed and carefully uncovered subsurface finds, leaving them in place where possible. The recording team then plotted individual artifact locations, assigned field specimen numbers, and collected the specimens.

Inventory operations were designed primarily to locate subsurface metallic items with the use of electronic metal detectors. Visual inspection of the surface was also carried out concurrently with the metal detector survey. Volunteer operators were provided with metal detectors or furnished their own machines. The brands of machines used included Fisher, Garrett, Minelab, Tesoro, and White metal detectors. Metal detector operators were aligned at approximately 3 meter intervals. The operators walked transects oriented to cardinal directions or, as necessary, oriented by topographic feature orientation. Detector operators proceeded in line, using a sweeping motion to examine the ground.

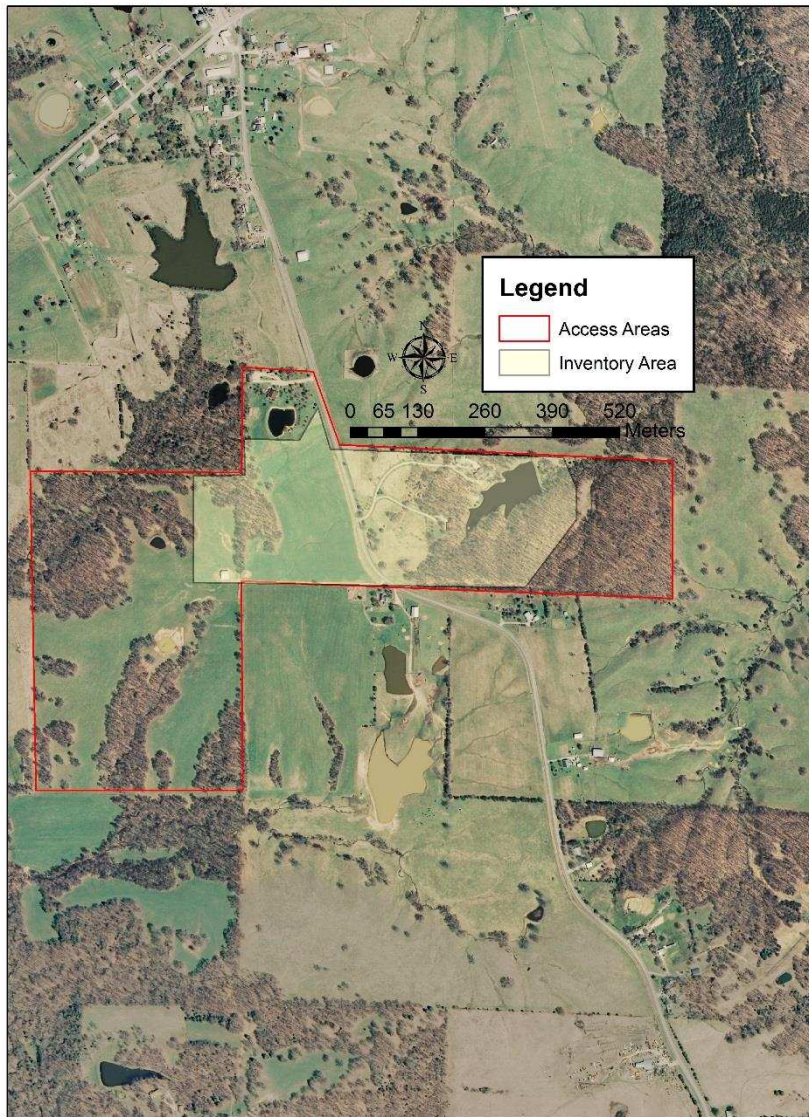


Figure 6. Lands accessible to the Moore's Mill Battle project and areas inventoried with metal detectors.

Artifact Recovery

The recovery crew excavated artifact locations marked by pin flags and left the artifacts in place for recording. This team consisted of excavators and metal detector operators (Figure 8). The number of operators and excavators varied from day to day depending on the workload.

Hand tools, such as spades and trowels were used to expose subsurface artifacts. Excavators were assisted by metal detector operators to ensure in place exposure. Detector operators provided pinpointing and depth information to the excavator, thereby allowing a careful and accurate approach to the artifact. After exposure the pin flag was left upright at the location to signal the recording crew.



Figure 7. Metal detector operators lined up to begin a sweep of the battlefield.



Figure 8. Landowner Bryant Liddle with a Minié ball he metal detected and recovered.

Recording

The recording crew assigned field specimen numbers, recorded artifact proveniences, and collected the specimens. Recorders backfilled artifact location holes upon completion of recording duties. Artifacts were assigned sequential field specimen numbers beginning at 001.

Land Forms Investigated

Three landowners, Bryant D. and Mary Kathryn Liddle, Wayne Simcoe, James Ray Smith and Merlin and Regina Smith, allowed us access to their properties for the field investigations. The areas investigated are primarily located in the Northeast $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Northeast $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 30 and a small portion of the Northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 29, T48N R8W in Callaway County, Missouri. The area is situated on the Lindely-Gorin soil association which is characterized by a gently sloping terrain with narrow ridgetops, narrow dissected drainageways, and convex and concave side slopes (Figures 5, 6, 9, 10) leading to the drainages that were largely timbered in the past (Soil Survey of Callaway County, Missouri, 1919 and 1986; accessed online at soils.usda.gov/survey/online_surveys/Missouri/callawayMO1919 and soildatamart.nrcs.usda.gov/manuscripts.MO027/0/callaway_MO.pdf).

Ridgetops in the upper Ozark area became the favored location for agricultural activities during the Euro-American settlement era of the nineteenth century. Areas adjacent to ridgetops, largely the flatter ground, were favored locations to build homes, barns, and other outbuildings in the early to mid-nineteenth century (Wettstead 2003).



Figure 9. A view of the ridgetop flanked by lower ground on which the battle was fought.

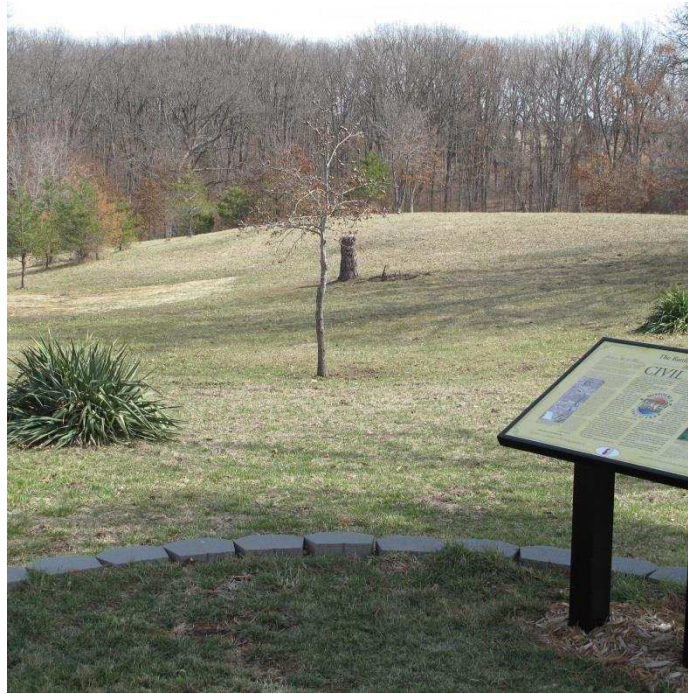


Figure 10. A view of the sloping timbered drainages used by the Confederates to effect their ambush of the Union troops.

The battle took place on these landforms with Confederate forces occupying the side slopes above the drainages and lying in ambush in the dense brush and timber that grew there. The Union forces rode south along the road that was on the ridgetop which was flanked by the dissected timbered drainages. The current Missouri JJ highway approximates the historic road alignment and travels along the same ridgetops. The Liddle and Smith properties are situated east of the road. From the road and ridgetop the dissected landscape slopes gently to the east and is cut by a series of small drainages which flow south and southeasterly through the property. Two modern homes and associated outbuildings and gravel drives are located on the western side of the properties, and a large water impoundment is located in the center of the property in the drainage bottom.

The Simcoe property lies on the west side of the road. The southern portion of the property is on a ridgetop. The northern part, approximately three-quarters of the inventory area, is lower ground that has been artificially altered by earthmoving activities at some time in the past. The original ground surface is completely destroyed in this northern area, except for a small strip adjacent to Highway JJ.

Soils within the project area can be characterized in a rough manner as either plowed or not plowed. Those soils not plowed can be further subdivided into disturbed and undisturbed. Using these three general designations, the project area can be divided into roughly three parts. The first is the plowed field west of Highway JJ. The second is the unplowed, disturbed areas primarily north and west of the main Liddle-Smith driveway (the northern driveway) forming a

rough triangle making up the northwest corner of his property east of Highway JJ (with two small areas around the modern houses). The third is the undisturbed area made up of the remaining land south and east of the main Liddle-Smith driveway.

Soil profiles east of Highway JJ suggest that with the exception of the northwest corner of the Liddle property, this large portion of the project area has never been plowed, and that some areas have been heavily wooded for perhaps the past 500 years (this is a raw estimate based on similar observations of dated soil profiles in eastern Missouri as the crew did not collect soil samples for absolute dating methods). Indeed, very few “older” (50 or so years old) trees are on the property even though much of the Liddle property is currently wooded.

The crew excavated 10 soil profile pits, and documented three of these, on the east side of Highway JJ. There was little variation in test pits placed on ridge tops with the exception of E-horizons. E-horizon soils are present in two of these pits, with one showing formerly significant forestation with an 11 centimeter thick E-horizon. These soil test pits are both located on ridge tops. C-horizon clay soils are present in all pits on ridgetops at approximately 30 centimeters. Erosion has and still is occurring east of Highway JJ. Test pits in the swales between these small finger ridges suggest a small amount of colluvial erosion. A-horizon and B-horizon soils have washed downslope, slightly filling in the small drainages over time, but not significantly. The erosion does not appear to be significant enough to have covered artifacts to a depth where the project’s metal detectors could not penetrate as the crew did recover artifacts within these drainages.

The crew also placed three soil test pits in the plowed field on the west side of Highway JJ. Due to the obvious signs of plowing, this is an adequate number to ascertain disturbance depth (which matched well with the normal plowing depth of approximately 30 centimeters). Only the larger drainage areas in this western field have not been plowed recently. Both of these drainages had significant trash dumping activity.

Due to the plowing of the western field, one must assume that the artifacts located during the survey have been moved. Odell and Cowan (1987) demonstrated that artifacts move between .9 and 1.6 meters with some being moved as far as three meters. This movement, however, is probably not significant for the purposes of this project and would not significantly affect theories about troop movement and artillery placement. Conversely, artifacts found east of Highway JJ during this survey have probably moved very little with the possible exception of some artifacts found at the bottom of drainages.

The heavily disturbed area in the northwest corner of the Simcoe property appears to have been graded. Evidence of twentieth century buildings or structures are present and is the likely cause of the grading activity. It is also possible that some fill has been placed in this area. A small strip of land directly adjacent to the drainage ditch along Highway JJ may be relatively undisturbed.

The total metal detected area encompassed approximately 20 acres on the three properties. Metal detecting and visual survey were conducted on each property until historic metal artifact density dropped off or became non-existent.

Metal Detected Artifacts - Description and Analysis

The metal detector investigations at Moore's Mill yielded a wide variety of artifacts. The majority of collected specimens can definitely be attributed to the battle, although some items of unknown function or date were also collected in the field, and through subsequent laboratory analyses were determined to date to the post-battle occupation. These latter artifacts represent items lost or discarded by occupants of the area. Post-battle artifacts that could be definitively identified as such in the field were not collected during metal detecting efforts.

This section consists of a description of the artifacts recovered during the metal detector inventory and observation made on two private collections of artifacts from the Battle of Moore's Mill. The emphasis of these descriptions focuses on the battle-related artifacts. Interpretation of the relationship of these artifacts will be found in the next section. The majority of artifacts recovered are bullets, and the majority of these are battle-related artifacts. Because of the large quantity of firearms related artifacts recovered, the description and analysis emphasizes that artifact type.

In addition to the descriptive component five artifacts, three lead bullets (FS75, 157, and 166), a pinfire cartridge (FS80) and an iron canister ball (FS44) were analyzed for their elemental content using a non-destructive and non-intrusive technique of X-Ray Fluorescence or XRF. The XRF analysis was done as an experiment to see if trace elements in the lead artifacts can be used to aid in the identification of Union or Confederate. The three bullets, a likely Union Minié ball, a Union conical pistol ball, and a likely Confederate buckshot were chosen to represent the collection. The iron canister ball was selected as a control piece. The XRF analysis was done by Dr. Lee Drake of the Bruker Corporation. Dr. Drake employed a Bruker Tracer Series IV XRF to identify the elements present in a specific artifact. X-ray fluorescence is a process whereby electrons are displaced from their atomic orbital positions, releasing a burst of energy that is characteristic of a specific element. This release of energy is then registered by the detector in the XRF instrument, which in turn categorizes the energies by element. The XRF results for the tested artifacts are presented in the descriptive section by artifact type. The XRF raw data is presented in Appendix 34.

Two locally-owned private collections were made available to the investigators, one comprising finds made east of the highway and the other from finds west of it. One collection is from the Liddle property. The collector had permission to search the property from time to time over the last several years. He employed a metal detector as well as visual inventory in apparently random search patterns. The Simcoe property collection resulted from a metal detector search of that property over a series of visits of unknown duration. The collector did use a hiking grade GPS unit to record his finds and plotted his finds on Google Earth® maps, which were provided to the archeological team. Though most artifacts lacked specific proveniences, the artifacts complemented the archeologically-recovered sample, and were useful to the interpretation phase of the project.

Analytical Procedures

The methods employed in cleaning and analyzing the artifacts consist of dry brushing or washing the accumulated dirt and mud from each artifact and then determining the condition of the artifact to see whether it requires further cleaning or conservation. For analysis and identification purposes some metallic items required a treatment in EZest® coin cleaner to remove oxides that had built up on them during the years in which they were in the ground. After it was cleaned each artifact was rebagged with its appropriate Field Specimen (FS) number and other relevant information on the bag. The artifacts were then identified, sorted, and analyzed.

The identification, sorting, and analysis consisted of dividing the artifacts into classes of like objects and then subsorting the artifacts into further identifiable discrete types. Sorting and identification of the artifacts were undertaken by personnel experienced with artifacts of this period, who compared the artifacts with type collections and with standard reference materials.

Firearms Identification Procedures

A primary analytical tool of the project is firearms identification analysis (Harris 1980; Hatcher, Jury, and Weller 1977; Hunt 1989). The comparative study of ammunition components is known as firearms identification analysis. Firearms, in their discharge, leave behind distinctive metallic fingerprints or signatures on the ammunition components. These signatures, called class characteristics, allow the determination of the type of firearm (i.e., model or brand) in which a given cartridge case or bullet was fired. This then allows determination of the number of different types of guns used in a given situation. This capability is very important because coupled with the precise artifact locations, the class characteristics can be used to identify specific combat areas and the weapon types used at those locations. With this information, patterns of movement can be established and sequences of activity can be more precisely interpreted.

Artifact Descriptions

.36-Caliber Bullets

Two .36-caliber bullets were recovered. One is a fired spherical ball (FS107e) (Figure 11). It is .34 inch in diameter and weighs 4.5 grams or 69.9 grains. The ball has a ramrod mark on one side and is slightly flattened on the opposite side by a low velocity impact. The ball has a 5 right hand and groove impression indicating it was fired from a .36-caliber Savage Navy revolver (Coggins 1990). The other .36-caliber bullet (FS166) is the so-called St. Louis style conical bullet (Figure 11a). In the years preceding the Civil War and during the war St. Louis Arsenal produced a uniquely shaped bullet type for the Colt revolver (Thomas 2003:15), although it could be used in any .36-caliber pistol. The bullet was dropped or lost as it is unfired. See XRF analysis section for further information. Another St. Louis Arsenal style bullet is in a private collection from the site. It was reportedly found on the west side of the highway on the Simcoe property.

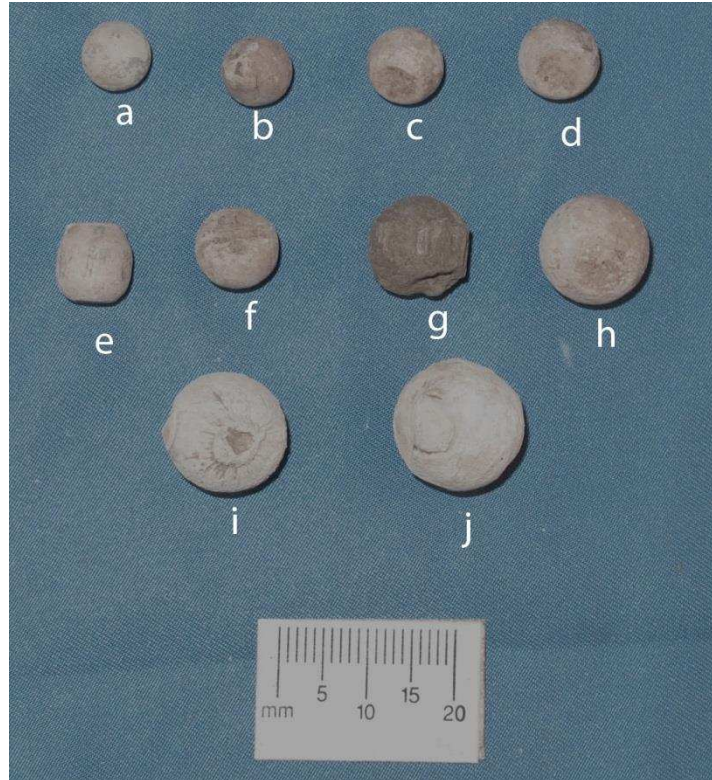


Figure 11. Spherical balls, a, b. #1 buckshot (FS36, 46), c. #00 buckshot (FS40), d. #000 buckshot (FS39), e. Savage .36-caliber ball (FS107), f. cast unfired ball (FS116), g. Colt .44-caliber ball (FS154), h. unfired.50-caliber ball (F45), i, j. .54-caliber poorly cast bullets (FS 61, 97).

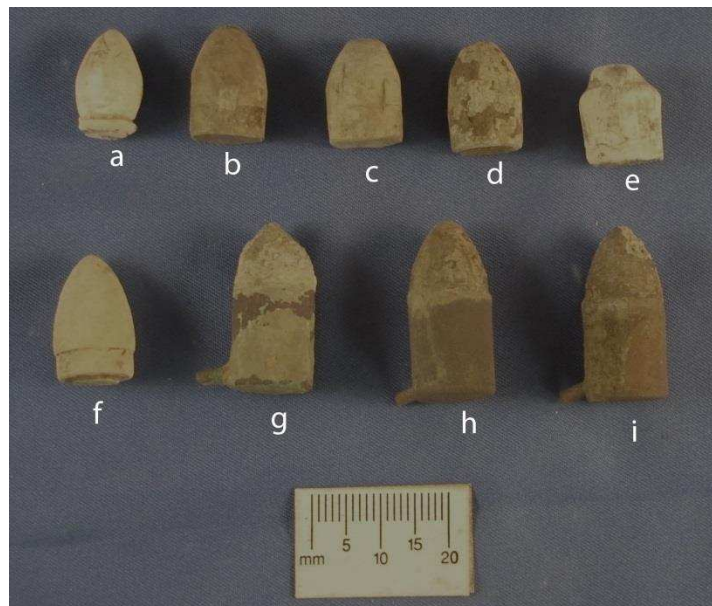


Figure 12. Conical bullets and cartridges, a. St. Louis style .36-caliber bullet (FS166), b, c, d.12mm pinfire revolver fired bullets (FS51, 131, 95), e. Colt M1860 44.caliber bullet (FS25), f. unfired .44-caliber bullet (FS118), g, h, i. unfired 12mm pinfire revolver cartridges (FS13, 80, 124).

.44-Caliber Bullets

Six recovered artifacts are .44-caliber bullets. Two are conical bullets with solid bases (FS25 and 118) (Figure 12c, d). Field specimen 25 is fired and retains a seven left land and groove rifling impression pattern. The bullet is .453 inch in diameter and weighs 13.9 grams or 214.2 grains. The rifling impressions are consistent with it being fired from a Model 1860 Colt Army revolver. The other conical bullet is unfired but is stylistically consistent with the standard Colt revolver bullet type. It is .450 inch in diameter and weighs 14.45 grams or 227.6 grains.

The other four bullets are fired spherical balls (FS78, 140, 154, and 177). Field specimen 78 is deformed from a medium velocity impact. Mold lines remain indicating it is a cast bullet. Field specimen 140 is also a cast bullet with indistinct rifling impressions. It is .446 inch in diameter and weighs 7.4 grams or 114.7 grains. A Colt M1860 Army revolver is represented by FS154 (Figure 10g) with its seven left land and groove rifling impressions. The spherical ball is .453 inch in diameter and weighs 8.8 grams or 125.7 grains. The final .44-caliber ball (FS177) was fired in a rifled weapon but the impressions are too indistinct to identify further. It is .433 inch in diameter and weighs 6.85 grams or 105.6 grains.

In addition to the archeologically recovered .44-caliber bullets one private collection also has a .44-caliber spherical ball from an unidentified provenience on the east side of the highway.

.50-Caliber Bullets

A single identifiable .50-caliber spherical ball (FS45) (Figure 11 h) was recovered. This bullet is cast and has some air voids indicating it was poorly cast. It is not fired but is .488 inch in diameter and weighs 11.1 grams or 171.1 grains.

Sharps .52-Caliber Bullets

The Sharps firearm was patented in 1852 and was a very popular military and commercial firearm for the next 50 years. It was produced in percussion ignition system in the early models and after the Civil War in cartridge styles. Its popularity was due to its accuracy and its reputation for having effective stopping power. Particularly in the larger calibers it was the favored gun of big game hunters on the plains and in the west in the years after the Civil War (Gluckman 1965:230, 268; Barnes 1989:139; McAuley 1996). The Sharps was favored by both Union and Confederate cavalry. The weapon utilized a paper or linen cartridge firing a .52-caliber conical bullet (Coates and Thomas 1990:45-46; Thomas 2002). An unfired .52 caliber Sharps tie-ring base conical bullet is in the private collection from the east side of the road. Three solid base Sharps style bullets are in the private collection from the east side of the road. A single solid base bullet with the distinct 6 land and groove impressions of the Sharps-made guns was found archeologically (FS29) Figure 13d). It is .556 inch in diameter and weighs 30.2 grams or 466.1 grains. Another fired bullet (FS66) was also likely fired in a Sharps carbine. It is too deformed to determine an accurate identification based on diameter or weight, but currently weighs 14.5 grams or 222.8 grains, and fits the Sharps bullet typology.

.54-Caliber Bullets

Eight .54-caliber bullets were recovered. Two unfired .54-caliber spherical balls are represented by field specimens 61 and 97 (Figure 11i, j). Both are poorly cast with untrimmed sprues and air voids. They are .53 and .555 inch in diameter and weigh 14.1 grams or 2176 grains and 17.5 grams or 276.1 grains respectively.

The remaining six are three-ring style Minié balls (hollow-based conical bullets) (Thomas 1997). All six are unfired or dropped (Figure 13a, b). FS30 is .525 inch in diameter and weighs 22.4 grams or 345.8 grains; FS 104 is .538 inch in diameter and weighs 27.95 grams or 431.2 grains; FS114 is .538 inch in diameter and weighs 28.9 grams or 447.1 grains; FS117 is .537 inch in diameter and weighs 29.3 grams or 452.2 grains; FS 127 is .537 inch in diameter and weighs 28.4 grams or 438 grains; and FS 156 is .535 inch in diameter and weighs 28.2 grams or 434.8 grains. The diameter and weight of these conical bullets is consistent with .54-caliber rounds, however, as there are no fired bullets identified in this caliber it is possible these are undersized .58-caliber Minié balls.

A number of weapons were designed to fire the .54-caliber bullet (Coggins 1990; McAuley 1996; Schmidt 1996). The U.S. Model 1841 Mississippi Rifle fired a .54-caliber spherical ball as did a Hall carbine. Several models of U.S. single shot pre-Civil War horse or cavalry pistols were .54-caliber smoothbore weapons (Gluckman 1965). Both the French and Austrians produced and sold to both Civil War governments .54-caliber weapons. Among them were the Austrian Model 1854 "Lorenz" rifle and the Model 1854 Short Rifle also often called the "Lorenz" short rifle (Noe et al. 1999:82).

.56-Caliber Bullet

An impact damaged .56-caliber solid base conical bullet (FS119) (Figure 13c) has impressions of 7 land and groove rifling that is consistent in style with the Colt .56-caliber Revolving Rifle bullet (McKee and Mason 1995:26-27). It is .545 inch in diameter and weighs 30.75 grams or 474.9 grains.

.58-Caliber Bullets

Eleven identifiable standard three-ring .58-caliber Minié balls were recovered. Six impact deformed balls are also Minié types and likely .58-caliber but they are too deformed by impact to make a clear identification. According to Coates and Thomas (1990:14; Thomas 1997) the Model 1855 Rifled Musket was the first gun produced by the United States to fire the famed .58-caliber Minié ball.

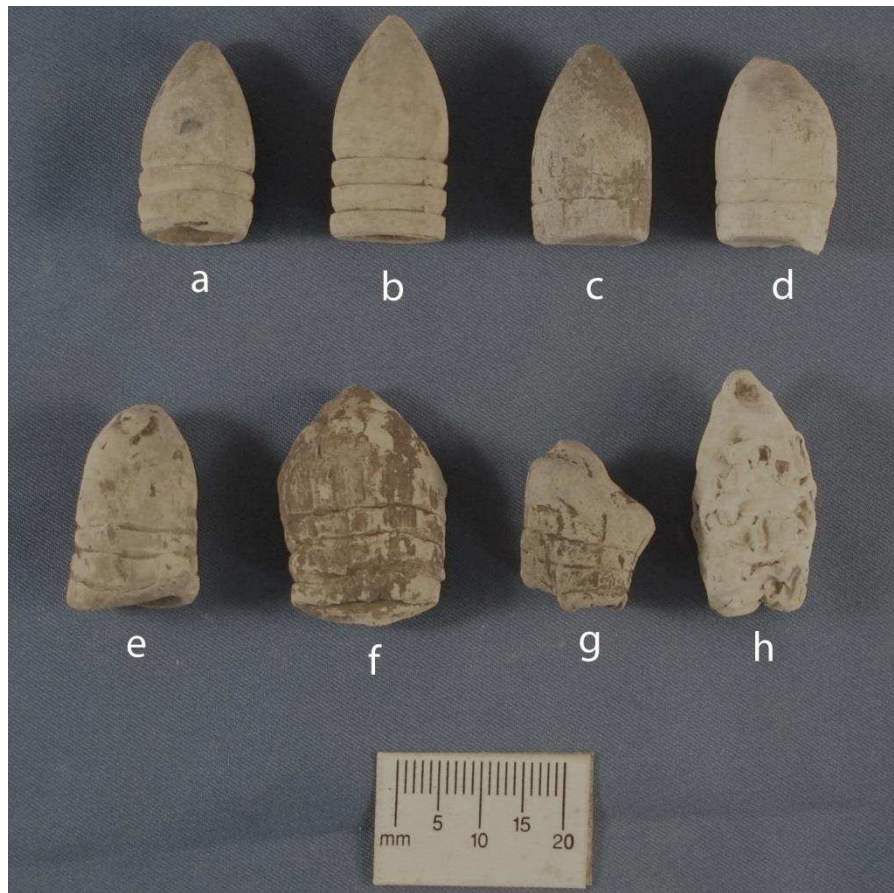


Figure 13. Conical bullets and Minié balls, a, b. .54-caliber unfired (FS30), b. .54-caliber unfired (FS117) c. .56-caliber Colt Revolving Rifle (FS119), d. .52-caliber Sharps (FS29), e. .58-caliber French or Austrian (FS128), f. .58-caliber Enfield (FS143), g. .58-caliber French or Austrian (FS155), h. .58-caliber with pig toothmarks.

Two .58-caliber bullets are unfired (FS75 and 165). They are, respectively, .564 inch and .562 inch in diameter and weigh 29.3 grams or 452.4 grains and 22.4 grams or 345.8 grains. See XRF analysis section for further interpretations. The fired and impact deformed Minié bullets can be broken down into three groups. One group is represented by four bullets (FS125, 152, 163, and 173), but are too deformed by impact to identify further (Figure 13h). The remaining surface features or weight place them in the .58-caliber category (27.9 grams or 430.8 grains, 17.5 grams or 264.4 grains, 27.5 grams or 420.7 grains, and 28.5 grams or 436.2 grains respectively).

Seven fired Minié balls (FS48, 49, 68, 85, 88, 143, and 160) have 5 right land and groove rifling impressions that are consistent with being fired in British Enfield type rifled muskets (Figure 13f). Four .58-caliber bullets have rifling impressions (4 right land and grooves) consistent with being fired from French or Austrian rifled muskets (Figure 13e, g). There are several possibilities as to the specific models. Noe et al. (1999:109) identify three French muskets (Model 1859 Short Rifle, Model 1859 Light Rifle, and the standard infantry rifled musket patterned after the Model 1857 rifled musket which was .69-caliber) sold to both the U.S. or Confederate governments. The Austrians produced four rifled musket or carbine models in .577

or .58-caliber: the Saxon Models 1851 and 1857, the Suhl Enfield rifled musket, and the Suhl Springfield Model 1861 rifled musket (Noe et al. 1999:95-96) that were also sold to both governments during the Civil War.

The bullets weights are: FS20 30.3 grams or 476.4 grains, FS48 27.95 grams or 433 grains, FS49 27.15 grams or 414.1 grains, FS68 28.5 grams or 440.4 grains, FS85 29.05 grams or 448.3 grains, FS88 29.35 grams or 452.9 grains, FS 125 27.9 grams or 430.8 grains, FS126 28.55 grams or 445.4 grains, FS128 27.6 grams or 426.6 grains, FS 143 29.1 grams or 448.7 grains, FS 152 17.5 grams or 264.4 grains, FS155 23.6 grams or 364.5 grains, FS160 27.85 grams or 429.6 grains, FS163 27.25 grams or 20.7 grains, and FS173 28.25 grams or 436.2 grains.

In addition to the archeologically collected Minié balls there are seven more .58-caliber Minié balls in the private collections. The collection from the east side of the road has four fired .58-caliber Minié balls and one unfired bullet. The collection from the west side of the road has two fired .58-caliber Minié balls.

.69 or .72-Caliber Bullets

According to Coates and Thomas (1990:8) the first U.S. .69-caliber rifled musket was the Model 1842 that was designed to fire the hollow based conical Minié ball. The Model 1842 rifled musket replaced the Model 1816 musket series and its variations, and the Model 1842 smoothbore musket. The smoothbore muskets were retained in federal arsenals as second class arms and were regularly distributed to state militia and guard units in the years preceding the Civil War.

There are two fired high impact velocity .69-caliber or .72-caliber Minié balls in the archeological collection. FS101 weighs 42.5 grams or 655.2 grains and FS122 weighs 45.95 grams or 709 grains. Both are too deformed by impact to determine an accurate diameter, but both fall in the range of .69-caliber or .72-caliber bullets. The U.S. did not produce a .72-caliber rifled musket, so if these are .72-caliber they are likely to be either Austrian or French import weapons (Noe et al. 1999:80-150).

Buckshot and Shotgun Shot Pellets

Twenty-three buckshot sized pellets were found. These lead buckshot represent four sizes of shot, #1, 0, 00, and 000 (Anonymous 2001) (Figure 11a, b, c, d); roughly ranging in diameter from .307 to .371 inch (Table 3). Many have facets appearing on the ball body indicating they were in contact with other balls before firing or are the result of contact reaction when they were fired. In the two private collections five additional spherical balls were observed that may be buckshot as well. Two are from the east side of the highway and others from the west side of the highway. See XRF analysis section for further interpretations.

Unidentified Lead

Thirty-seven pieces of lead were recovered that are high or medium velocity impact bullets and fragments of lead. Most of the lead pieces are small and were likely buckshot size, but some are clearly larger spherical lead balls and conical bullets deformed by impact. All are too deformed or fragmented to positively identify (Figure 14). Comparisons of weight to the known buckshot, larger caliber spherical balls, conical bullets suggest most of the unidentified lead is likely impact deformed buckshot (Figures 15, 16, 16, 18). Several artifacts (FS31, 42, 74 and 172), given their weight or general shape, may be circa .44-caliber revolver bullets. Field specimen 172 is a deformed conical bullet that retains some characteristics of a .44-caliber Colt style bullet. Field specimen 42 is part of a ball that has teeth marks on its surface. The tooth pattern is consistent with hogs or swine. Field specimen 142 is a flattened ball, high velocity impact, which has coarse weave cloth impressions impressed on one surface. The cloth impression is likely from patching the ball during loading to gain a tighter fit with the bore. Table 4 lists the lead, weights, and provides additional comments on the artifacts.

Pinfire System Cartridges and Bullets

Three copper (Bloomfield Gilding Metal) Civil War era 12mm pinfire type pistol cartridges (FS13, 80, and 124) (Figure 12g, h, i) commonly used in the Lefauchaux pinfire revolver were recovered. In addition the private collections contained one pinfire cartridge from the Liddle property and one complete and two cartridge case fragments from the Simcoe property. See XRF section for further interpretations.

Three solid base fired lead bullets were collected that have four right land and groove rifling impressions consistent with the Lefauchaux pinfire rifling system (Noe et al. 1999:110-111) (Figure 12, b, c, d). Private collections from the battle site have five more 12mm pinfire bullets.

The pinfire cartridge and its arms were a relatively new feature to firearms at the beginning of the Civil War as it was a self-contained copper cartridge with a brass pin protruding from one side that when hit by the revolver hammer ignited a primer. Union units procured the revolver from private funds, although many were purchased and issued by states and finally by the federal government during the Civil War (Curtis 2002). The U.S. imported around 800,000 pinfire cartridges and contracted with several U.S. manufacturers for more than one million additional rounds. U.S. ordnance officers were not impressed with the European made rounds as they lacked sufficient propellant from their perspective. The U.S. contract rounds had a longer case and more gun powder. The style of the pinfire rounds recovered at Moore's Mill suggests they may be from the contract made rounds supplied by C. D. Leet (Thomas 2003:150-164).



Figure 14. Lead balls and bullets too deformed to identify, a, b, c, d, e, f. likely buckshot (FS21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28), g. larger caliber ball (FS33), h, i, j. conical bullets (FS 66, 74, 172), k. likely a .58-caliber Minié ball (FS20).

Table 3. Diameter and weights of recovered buckshot.

FS	ID	Diameter	Weight grams	Weight grains	Comment
35	#1 buckshot	0.307	2.90	44.20	facets
36	#1 buckshot	0.308	2.80	43.60	no marks
37	#1 buckshot	0.308	2.90	44.40	facets
46	#1 buckshot	0.311	2.90	45.20	cast ball, poor sprue cast
57	#1 buckshot	0.311	2.85	43.80	facets
70	0 buckshot	0.323	3.45	53.60	cast, poor sprue cast
71	0 buckshot	0.323	3.25	49.70	cast, poor sprue cast
72	0 buckshot	0.32	3.40	52.70	slight faceting
1	00 buckshot	0.332	2.05	31.70	rodent gnawing
38	00 buckshot	0.337	4.20	64.90	cast, facets
40	00 buckshot	0.339	3.80	58.50	flat on one surface and facet
58	00 buckshot	0.34	3.10	47.60	facets
64	00 buckshot	0.338	4.30	66.10	cast, air voids, facets
73	00 buckshot	0.335	3.65	56.60	no marks
76	00 buckshot	0.337	3.70	56.90	cast, several air voids
157	00 buckshot	0.334	3.90	60.50	no marks
	000				
34	buckshot	0.362	4.55	70.10	pig chewed, medium velocity impact
	000				
39	buckshot	0.358	4.55	70.20	flat on one surface and facet
	000				
41	buckshot	0.371	4.70	72.20	facets, medium velocity impact
	000				
47	buckshot	0.361	4.60	70.80	cast, poor sprue cast, facets
	000				
54	buckshot	0.364	4.00	61.50	facets, medium velocity impact
	000				
112	buckshot	0.35	4.40	68.20	facets
	000				
116	buckshot	0.366	4.55	70.10	cast, low velocity impact

Table 4. Unidentified lead

<u>Field Specimen No.</u>	<u>Weight in grams</u>	<u>Weight in grains</u>	<u>Comment</u>
21 (poss. buckshot)	3.85	59.0	High velocity impact
23 (poss. buckshot)	2.9	44.9	“
24 (poss. buckshot)	3.4	51.9	“
26 (poss. buckshot)	2.85	44.6	“
27 (poss. buckshot)	2.75	42.4	“
28 (poss. buckshot)	2.95	46.0	“
31 (poss. ball)	14.35	219.7	“
33 (poss. ball)	13.5	209.0	“
42 (ball, pig chewed)	25.25	390.0	“
52 (poss. buckshot)	2.35	37.3	“
53 (poss. buckshot)	2.7	41.3	“
55 (poss. buckshot)	4.2	65.1	“
62 (poss. buckshot)	3.1	47.8	“
63 (poss. ball)	23.65	365.1	“
66 (poss. Sharps bullet)	14.5	222.8	Medium velocity impact
74 (poss. ball)	58.8	218.8	High velocity impact
83 (poss. buckshot)	3.95	61.5	“
84 (poss. buckshot)	3.3	49.0	Medium velocity impact
99 (poss. buckshot)	2.85	44.7	High velocity impact
100 (poss. buckshot)	3.5	55.5	“
106 (poss. buckshot)	1.1	17.7	“
108 (poss. buckshot)	9.7	149.5	“
109 (poss. buckshot)	7.35	113.3	“
111 (poss. buckshot)	3.7	55.6	“
142 (ball, cloth imp.)	11.9	185.7	“
149 (poss. buckshot)	1.35	18.9	“
162 (poss. buckshot)	2.55	39.3	“
169 (poss. buckshot)	3.95	60.1	“
171 (poss. buckshot)	2.5	39.8	“
172 (conical .44?)	13.9	214.6	“
176 (poss. buckshot)	2.5	38.8	“
178 (poss. buckshot)	4.75	73.1	“
179 (poss. buckshot)	3.95	63.3	“
181 (poss. buckshot)	2.7	41.1	“
182 (poss. buckshot)	3.1	50.3	“

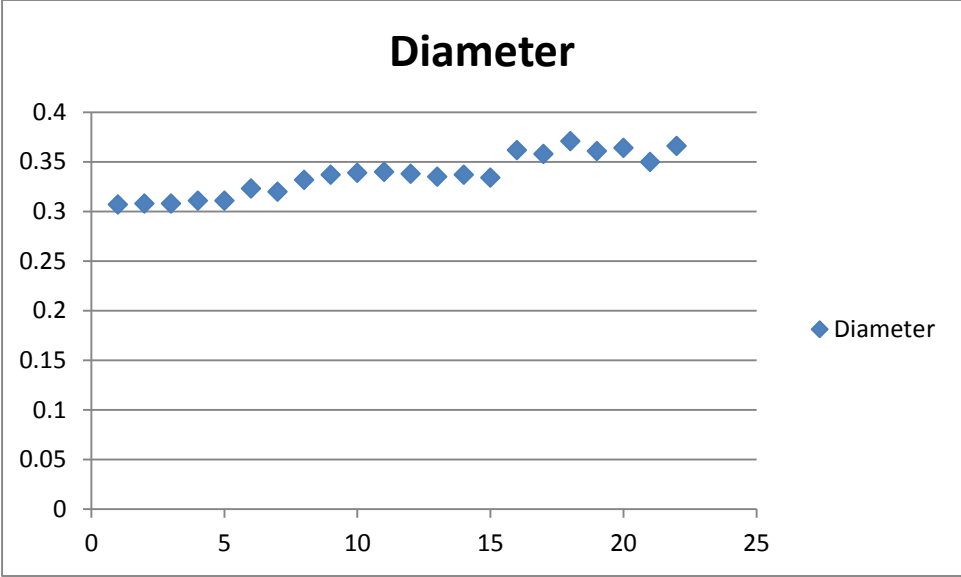


Figure 15. Known buckshot by diameter in inch

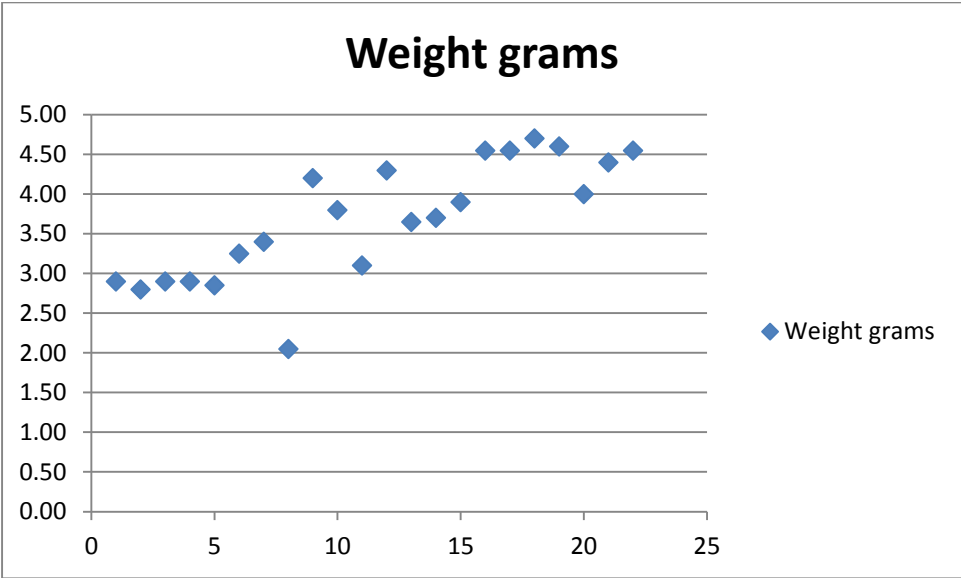


Figure 16. Known buckshot by weight in grams

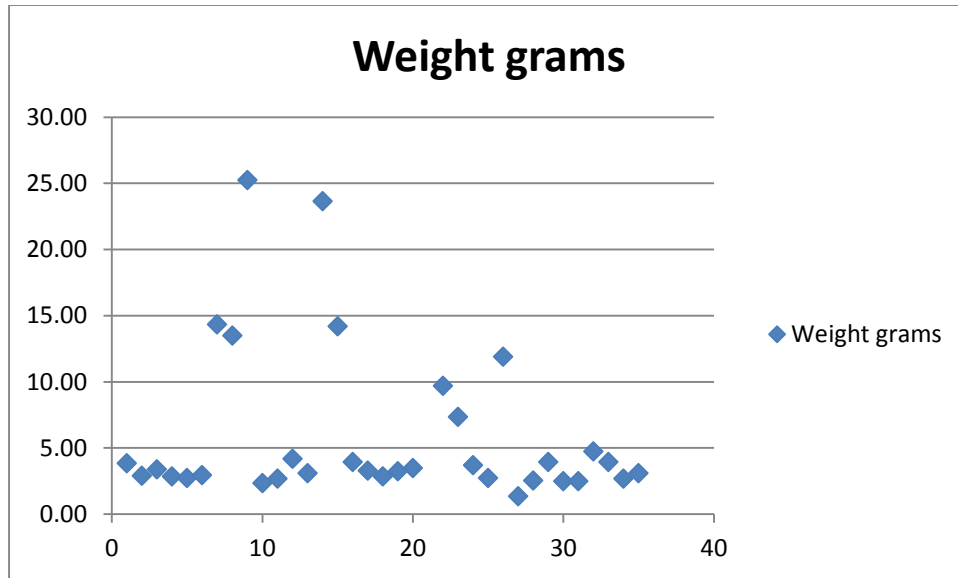


Figure 17. Unidentified lead distribution by weight. The lower weights conform to known buckshot weights and the heavier weights are consistent with .36, .44, and larger caliber balls.

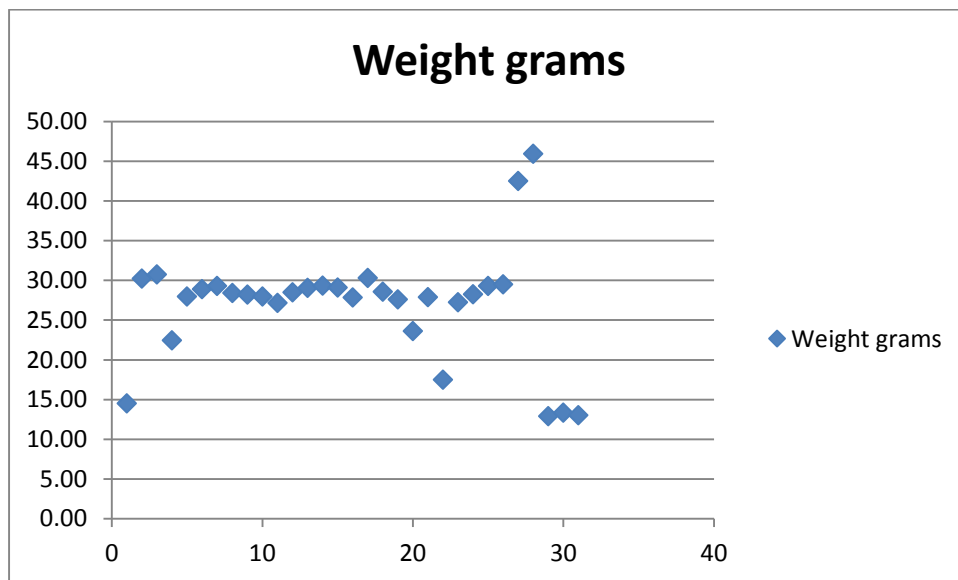


Figure 18. Weight of unidentified conical bullets indicating most fall in the .58-caliber range with those lighter and heavier falling the .36 and .44-caliber and .69 or .72-caliber ranges, respectively.

Artillery-Related Artifacts

Conical Shell Fragments

Nine conical shell and case shot fragments (FS 43, 90, 102, 129, 132, 133, 144, 158, and 159) were recovered during the investigations (Figure 19f, g, h). In addition one private collection has two additional shell fragments from the Liddle property. All artillery shell fragments are of the James Pattern, probably the Type I shell. Retired army general Charles James developed the famed James rifling system and the counterpart projectile. James developed a system to rifle smoothbore cannons using a 15 land and groove system although seven and ten lands and grooves were also used. The projectile he developed in 1856 was unique in its design, having an iron body or upper section with a series of vanes or openwork on the lower section. This lower section was covered with sheet lead over which was a layer of sheet tin, covered by a layer of oiled canvas. The canvas and tin were designed to protect the gun's bore on firing, and the lead band or sabot was intended to grip the rifling and impart spin to the projectile (Bell 2003:255). The lead sabots were prone to break up on exiting the gun subjecting nearby troops to the detriments of friendly fire (Dickey and George 1993:14-15). The shell is generally believed to have been relatively unstable in flight because the center of gravity was too far to the rear, in part caused by the lead covering of the vanes (Dickey and George 1993:15; Bell 2003:226).



Figure 19. James artillery fuse and shell fragments, a. fuse cap (FS135), b. complete fuse slider (FS147), c. fragment of fuse slider (FS136), d, e. lead and tin sabot fragments (FS 59, 77), f, g, h. James Type I iron shell fragments (FS129, 144, 113).

Artillery Fuses

Artillery fuses during the Civil War came in three varieties, timed, percussion, and combination. Timed fuses were prepared to detonate after a fixed time of flight, with the intent being to explode the shell in the air near a cluster of enemy troops, showering them with numerous pieces of shrapnel.

Percussion fuses, on the other hand, were designed to detonate whenever they struck a hard surface (Jones 2001). These could only be used with rifled guns firing oblong projectiles, as spherical projectiles would tumble in flight and were not likely to land with the fuse in a striking position. In 1863 a percussion fuse system was developed for spherical ammunition, but that was well after the Battle of Moore's Mill.

Combination fuses, as the name suggests, combine aspects of percussion and timed fuses. If the fuse struck something hard before the timed fuse burned through, the round would detonate. No combination fuse types were recovered.

Only one type of percussion fuse was identified in the archeological record at Moore's Mill. One complete example and four fragments as well as a fuse cap of the James percussion fuse system were recovered at Moore's Mill (Figure 18a, b, c). The James type percussion fuse employed a "West Point" style slider mechanism that was the standard for the artillery in 1861 (Jones 2001:30). Inside the shell, the fuse was a cylindrical slider made of white metal (brass and sometimes iron were also used) with a small musket cone and percussion cap fixed to the top. The fuse slider sat at the bottom of a small channel, sometimes held in place by a brass safety wire inserted through the side of the shell (Dickey and George 1993:459). At the other end of the channel was the nose of the shell, into which a small brass anvil cap was screwed. When the gun discharged, the safety wire would snap, and, upon impact, the slider would lurch forward and strike the anvil cap. This impact would detonate the percussion cap, sending a stream of sparks shooting into the powder chamber, detonating the shell (Dickey and George 1993:459). This system was prone to jamming and misfires and the system was taken out of service by mid-war (Jones 2001:30).

One intact white metal slider (FS147) was recovered as were four fragments of white metal sliders (FS82-base fragment, 136-approximately 1/2 of body, 146-base fragment, 161-approximately 1/2 of body). None of the slider fragments cross-mended suggesting that they represent five separate James shells. One brass anvil cap was also found (FS135).

Artillery Lead Sabots

Lead and tin sabot fragments were recovered, and along with the iron shell fragments themselves identify the James type shell as the conical projectile used in rifled cannon during the battle. James shell sabot fragments (Figure 19d, e) include eight pieces of lead with distinctive vane impressions and some still have rusted tin coverings adhering to one surface: FS59-lead, 77-lead and tin, 79-lead and tin, 91-lead and tin, 96-lead, 98-lead and tin, 103-lead and tin, and 145-lead and tin. In addition four lead and tin sabot fragments were found by private collectors prior to the

archeological investigations. Two are of unknown provenience on the Liddle property and two were found on the Simcoe property apparently just west of the fence line.

Canister Balls

Canister rounds are usually lead or iron balls placed in a tin container that were fired from cannon at a short range (less than 500 yards for field guns) as an antipersonnel device. Canister rounds performed as a large shotgun blast, sending large numbers of balls toward an on-coming enemy. The normal round was filled by the process of placing a layer of shot in sheet iron canister and then packing the voids with dry sawdust. The sawdust had a two-fold purpose, to give more solidity to the mass and to prevent the balls from crowding upon each other when the gun was fired (Dickey and George 1993:17).

The inventory work recovered seventeen iron canister balls (Table 5). Several of the spherical canister have sprues remaining and some are misaligned indicating quality control for the production of canister was, at times, limited (Figure 20a, b c). This observation is consistent with canister ball finds on other Civil War era sites (e.g. Scott et al. 2007; Carlson-Drexler et al. 2008). Two iron canister balls were observed in a private collection from the Liddle property. See XRF analysis section for further interpretations.

Table 5 Iron canister balls

<u>Field Specimen Number</u>	<u>Diameter in Inches</u>	<u>Comment</u>
44	1.226	Sprue and casting seam
81	1.227	Sprue and casting seam
86	1.235	Sprue and casting seam
89	1.21	Casting seam
92	1.163	Casting seam
93	1.163	Casting seam
94	1.218	Casting seam
110	1.216	Offset mold lines
120	1.213	Casting seam
130	1.224	Sprue and casting seam
134	1.252	Casting seam
138	1.18	Casting seam
139	1.204	Sprue and casting seam
141	1.21	Sprue and casting seam
150	1.175	Casting seam
151	1.25	Sprue and casting seam
164	1.21	Casting seam

Field Specimen 153 is a fragment of slightly curved sheet iron that is consistent with a fragment of a canister body (Melton and Pawl 1994:74-75). The James rifled cannon also fired a canister round that contained spherical lead balls (Figure 20d, e, f). This type of round is essentially unique to the James rifling system and was used in the earlier part of the Civil War only. Most James canister rounds are found in either the Western Theater or the Trans-Mississippi West.



Figure 20. Canister balls, a, b, c. iron canister balls, note the offset mold lines on a and c (FS 110, 120, 151), d, e, f. lead James Type I lead canister balls (FS137, 67, 105).

One intact lead canister ball (FS137 0.936 inch diameter, weighing 63.4 grams or 978.3 grains) and two high velocity impact deformed lead balls (FS 67 weighing 58.8 grams or 907.3 grains and FS105 weighing 63.6 grams or 981.6 grains) were recovered during the investigations. The weights of all three and the diameter of the intact ball are consistent with known James lead canister. The intact ball (FS137) also has several facets on its circumference indicating where it came in contact with other balls while in the canister or during its flight after being fired (reaction scars). A single large lead canister ball was also observed in a private collection from the Liddle property.

The 1860 Army Ordnance Manual (Gibbon 1860) noted that 6-pounder smoothbore gun canister balls were to be between 1.14 and 1.17 inches in diameter; 12-pounder smoothbore gun canister balls to be between 1.46 and 1.49 inches in diameter; and 12-pounder smoothbore howitzer canister balls to be between 1.05 and 1.08 inches in diameter. The recovered iron canister balls range in diameter between 1.163 and 1.252 inches in diameter. Even allowing for iron oxidation build up (rust) the diameters are a little too large for a standard 6-pounder gun or 12-pounder howitzer, and too small for a standard 12-pounder gun. However, they are closer in size to the 6-pounder gun and consistent with a 6-pounder gun that had been rebored to 3.8 inches in diameter for the James rifling process.

Gun Tool

A single gun maintenance tool (FS65) (Figure 21i) was recovered (McKee and Mason 1995:73). It is a .58-caliber cleaning worm or gun wiper that is either a state militia contract style or an unidentified foreign import style (Shaffer et al. 1992:104). Each soldier issued a .58-caliber musket normally carried one in his cartridge box.



Figure 21. Miscellaneous artifacts, a. brass rivet burr (FS17), b. brass rivet (FS167), c. iron triangle (FS120), d. brass rod (FS168), e. cut sheet zinc (FS32) f. brass harness buckle frame (FS7), g. brass oval link (FS56), g. iron halter bolt fragment (FS123), h. iron musket cleaning jag (FS65).

Post-Battle Ammunition

During the field work several items were collected that upon laboratory analysis proved to be modern ammunition components. FS69 is .22-caliber short cartridge case with no headstamp. FS60 is a .30-caliber conical lead bullet. It is a flat nose variety that weighs 5.9 grams or 92.7 grains. It is consistent with a .30-30-caliber round. The rifling marks are obscured and the type of weapon it was fired from cannot be determined. FS121 a modern 12 gauge shotgun slug. It weighs 27.7 grams or 426.4 grains. Field Specimen 10 is the head of a circa .28-caliber Colt style externally primed and fired cartridge case. It has no headstamp but likely dates 1880 to 1900. A single modern .38-caliber lead conical bullet is in a private collection of artifacts from the Liddle property.

Canteen Spout

A pewter canteen spout with tin collar was observed in a private collection from the Liddle property. The spout has a rounded lip and conforms to the Philadelphia Depot 1861 style canteen spout style (O'Donnell 2008:95-96). The spout has the initials **B E** deeply scratched into the side.

Buttons

Two buttons were recovered (Figure 22). One is a brass plain flat button (FS22) and the other is a gilt brass U.S. Navy button (FS113). The Navy coat button is 7/8 inch in diameter and had an omega style loop for attachment on the back. The loop is broken off. The Navy button has a backmark that reads "**Waterbury Button Co**" which is flanked by impressed dots. Waterbury, Connecticut was a famed center of button production for over 150 years (Tice 1997:53). This button style was produced from the Civil War to circa 1870. It designated as NA230A in the Tice system (Tice 1997:160, 163-164).

The plain brass button (FS23) is 5/8 inch in diameter and has the remains of an omega style loop on the back. It is consistent in style with nineteenth century cuff or vest buttons and could be from a homespun Confederate uniform or from the coat of a soldier who wore civilian clothes. The former is more likely, as Mudd (1992:209) quotes one of his comrades, after the battle, as saying that all the soldiers they faced that day wore uniforms.



Figure 22. Buttons, a. plain flat brass button (FS 22), b. gilt Civil War era U.S. Navy coat button (FS113).

Horse-related Artifacts

A few horse and wagon items were recovered during the investigations. They are ubiquitous enough that they cannot be directly associated with the battle. They were found on the northern side of the Liddle property on the high ground. The recovery context is unclear enough to state they are from the battle era given the long usage of horses and wagons as a means of conveyance. Two Burden style iron horseshoes (FS11 and 14) and two fragments of worn iron horseshoes (FS18 and 18) were collected. Several other horseshoes or fragments were also found in the same area but were not collected or recorded as they were clearly of a more modern design. In addition several horse tack items were collected. These are styles and types that could date to the Civil War era, but more likely date to late nineteenth agricultural use of the property. These include: a brass frame D-shaped (1 1/2 x 1 1/4 inches) harness buckle (FS7); a brass 1/2 inch rivet burr (FS17); a brass loop or link (1 x 3/4 inch) (FS56); a fragment of an iron halter bolt (FS123); and a complete 1/4 inch brass rivet (FS167) (Figure 21a, b, d, e, f, g, h). Two additional harness rivets and a rivet burr are known to have been collected by private collectors prior to the archeological investigations on the west side of the road.

Miscellaneous Artifacts

A wide variety of other materials were recovered during the field investigations. Most items were reburied if they could be positively identified in the field as post-battle in age, but some were collected if identification or affiliation was uncertain. Subsequent analysis determined them to be post-battle in origin. These items include: a lump of melted brass (FS15); three pieces of cut sheet zinc (FS32) (Figure 21e); thin cast brass strip likely from a machine of undetermined type (FS50), an iron triangle hook ring (FS120, 3/4 inch) (Figure 21c); a small piece of thin sheet iron (FS148); a fragment of a bent brass rod (FS168); a fragment of cut sheet brass (FS180); and five lead caps for roofing nails (FS9, 12, 115, 174, and 175). Several cut nails were also observed but not collected (FS2, 3, 4, 5, 8, and 19). Private collectors reported finding a brass suspender buckle and a harmonica tone plate near a residence on the southwest side of the road.

XRF Analysis

The iron canister ball (FS44) is essentially iron with a low carbon and manganese content. Traces of copper and nickel are also present. The trace element amounts of carbon, manganese and nickel indicate the canister ball falls in the range of a wrought or cast iron that was commonly produced in the mid-nineteenth century (Rostoker and Bronson 1990:12-20). The results of the XRF analysis indicates that elemental trace element analysis has potential to understand iron production when trace elements are examined at the less than 1% level.

The copper cartridge case of the pinfire cartridge (FS80) has a significant trace of Zinc with a minor trace of Nickel present in the copper artifact. Zinc was a common additive to copper to make Bloomfield Gilding metal, the basis of mid-nineteenth century cartridge cases. The copper to zinc ratio is consistent with a U. S. made cartridge case and not European production. This identification is also consistent with the cartridge style suggesting it was a U.S. made contract round.

The lead bullets are dominated in the XRF trace element analysis by lead as is expected, but the amount of lead present in the buckshot (FS157) is significantly less than the other bullets tested (Table 6). Other trace elements such as Arsenic, and Tin are present in meaningful levels as seen in Tables 7 and 8. The presence of trace elements of Arsenic demonstrates the .58-caliber Minié ball (FS75), the .36-caliber St. Louis style pistol bullet (FS166), and the lead in the pinfire cartridge (FS80) are essentially the same. The same relative ratios hold true when examining the Tin trace element. The buckshot, the presumed Confederate fired projectile, has less Arsenic and Tin as well as lead in its composition. The analysis suggests there may be a pattern in the sources and production of bullets used at Moore’s Mill between the Union troops and the Confederate recruits that may be recognizable at other sites. However, this very small sample size should not be considered a pattern unless it can be independently verified by testing a larger number of projectiles from this and other sites.

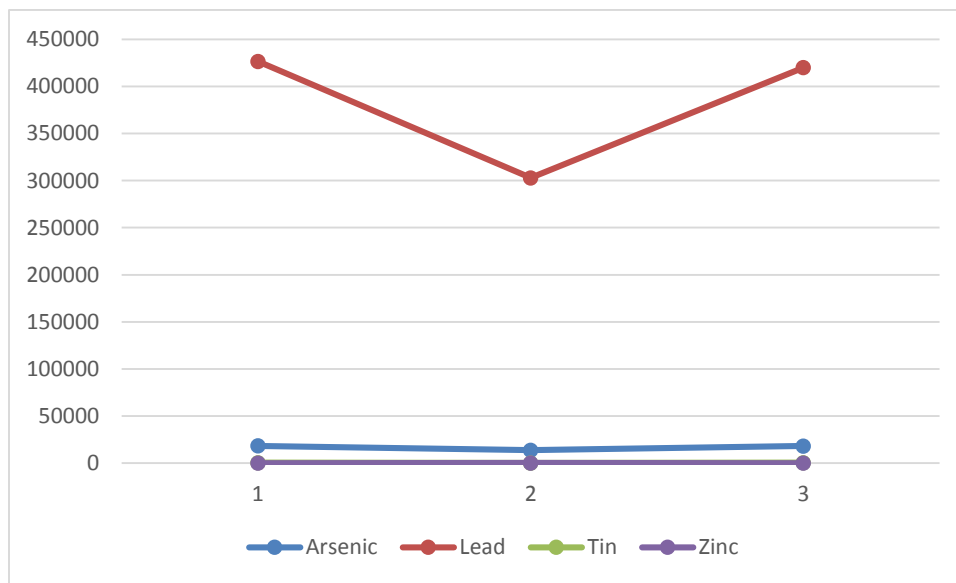


Table 6. XRF analysis of lead bullets: 1=FS75 a .58-caliber Minié ball probably US made, 2=FS157 a possible Confederate 00 buckshot, and 3=FS166 a .36-caliber St. Louis Arsenal style pistol bullet.

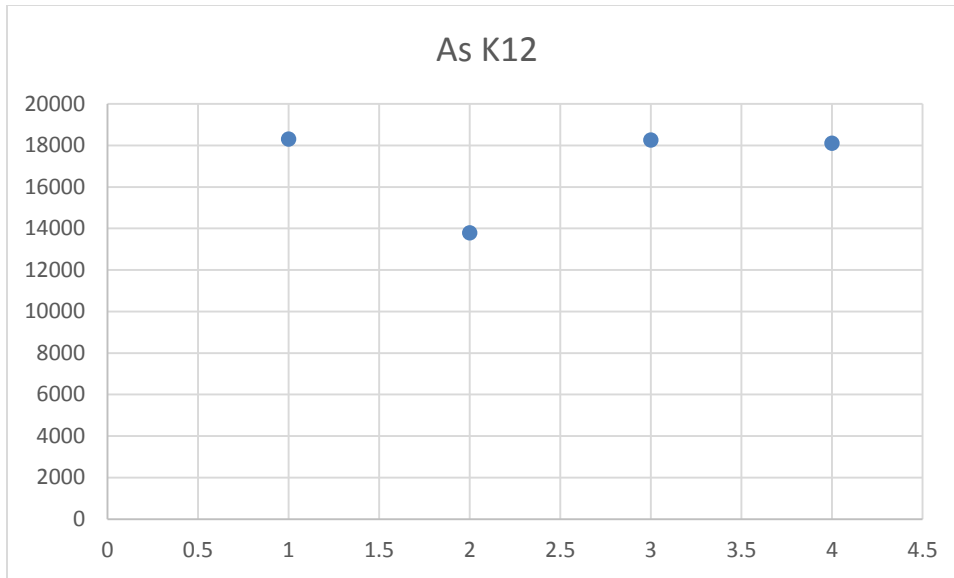


Table 7. XRF analysis of arsenic trace elements in four artifacts. 1=FS75 a .58-caliber Minié ball probably US made, 2=FS157 a possible Confederate 00 buckshot, 3=FS166 a .36-caliber St. Louis Arsenal style pistol bullet and, 4=FS80 a lead bullet in a Pinfire cartridge.

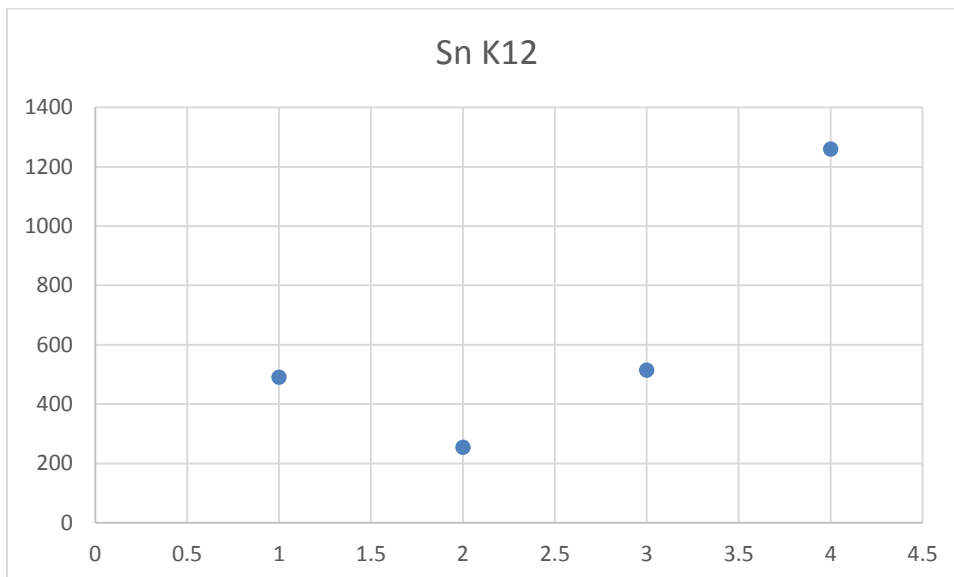


Table 8. XRF analysis of tin trace elements in four artifacts. 1=FS75 a .58-caliber Minié ball probably US made, 2=FS157 a possible Confederate 00 buckshot, 3=FS166 a .36-caliber St. Louis Arsenal style pistol bullet, and 4=FS80 a lead bullet in a Pinfire cartridge.

Firearms Types Moore's Mill - The Historical Accounts

The historical records and accounts of the Moore's Mill rarely reference the type of cannon and small arms used in the battle. There are several references to the use of muskets, shotguns, rifled muskets, and country rifles, but frustratingly little on specific types or models in the hands of the soldiers. Most references to small arms use are non-specific and anecdotal in nature (see Appendix 33).

Union Arms

Other than the anecdotal evidence there is a primary source on the weapons used by the Union troops engaged at Moore's Mill. That source is largely under-utilized by historians and other researchers. The source is the Summary Statements of Quarterly Returns of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores on Hand in Regular and Volunteer Army Organizations, 1862-1867, 1870-1876 in the National Archives. The returns are reproduced as microfilm and referenced as microfilm publication M1281. The ordnance records are incomplete and sporadic. Most records were not received by the War Department in Washington, D.C. until 1864, so many early war, 1861 and 1862 reports are limited in the information they contain or are non-existent. The ordnance summary is a ledger with many columns indicating types of guns, gun carriages, gun implements, small arms, accoutrements, harness and the like issued by company to individual units. The ledger is preprinted with categories such as gun type, but also often contains additions and deviations from the pre-printed types by handwritten notations. The ordnance summaries provide a starting point for determining the weapons and equipment carried by the Union troops at Moore's Mill.

Microfilm 1281, Roll 1 contains information on various artillery regiments' arms. There are no quarterly returns for the Third Indiana Battery for the third or fourth quarters of 1862, the dates of summaries closest in time to the battle. However, there is a first quarter summary dated March 31, 1863 (M1281, Roll 1). The March 31, 1863 dated summary for the Third Indiana Battery of artillery indicates they had two 6-pounder bronze Model 1840-1841 3.67 inch bore smoothbore guns, two 12-pounder bronze Model 1857 4.67 inch bore guns also known as the Napoleon 12-pounder, and two bronze 6-pounder rifled 3.67 inch bore guns. These were mounted on standard field carriages and the battery had a traveling forge, caissons and the usual implements normally issued to artillery units. The unit also accounted for 28 Army style .44-caliber revolvers and 28 sabers (probably the standard Model 1840 Artillery saber) along with holsters, cap pouches, saber belts and other usual personal equipment. The summary also shows the unit had on hand as of March 31, 1863 362 James cartridges (powder filled bags unattached to a projectile), 241 rounds of fixed 6-pounder shot (spherical solid shot attached to cartridge bags), 120 James shot in 3.8 inch caliber and 176 James shells in 3.8 inch caliber. In addition the unit had 541 friction primers and seven portfires (ignition devices) and 5,863 .44-caliber Colt revolver cartridges. The fact that the unit had 3.8 inch caliber James shells and shot suggests that the two bronze rifles were not 3.67 inch as reported but that type of gun that had been bored and rifled with the Type I 3.8 inch James rifling system (Figure 23).

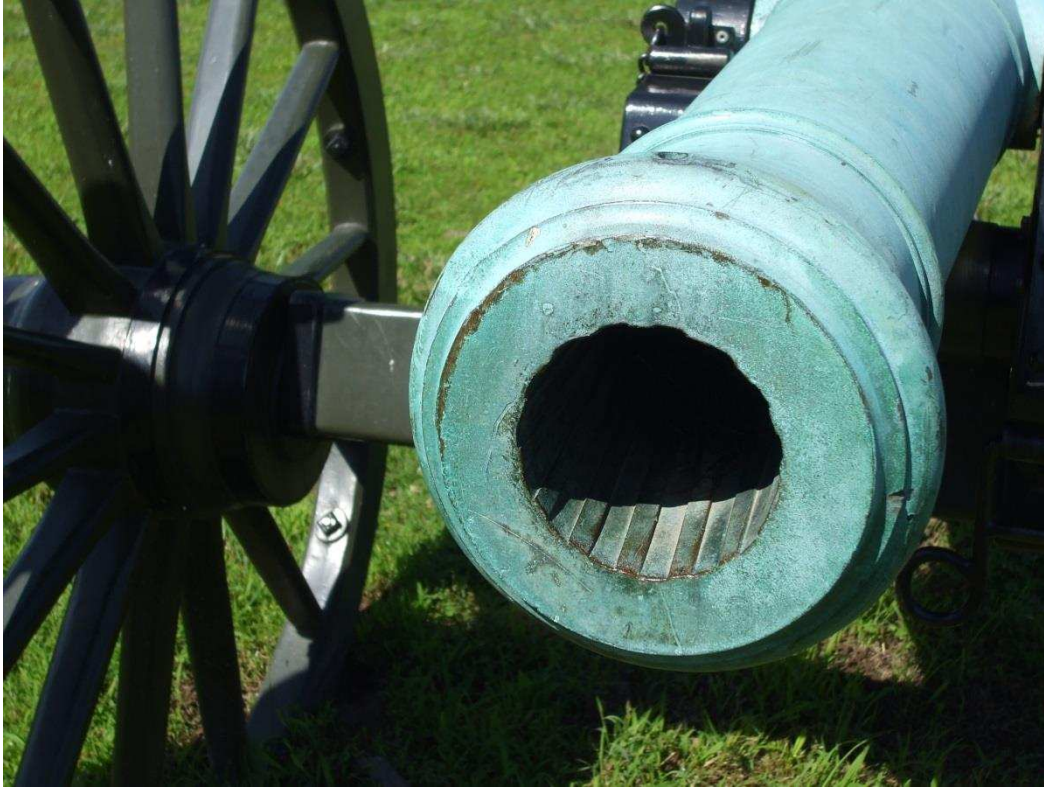


Figure 23. Type I James rifling seen on Model 1841 bronze 3.8 gun.

The ordnance summaries for cavalry are found on Microfilm Roll 2 of M1281. The Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry does have an ordnance summary for December 1862. The list of armaments is incomplete but, fortunately, Company E is listed in the summary. The unit had the usual assortment of waist belts, cartridge boxes, cap boxes, and horse tack. At the time Company E was stationed at Lebanon, Missouri and reported 70 Model 1855 .58-caliber rifled muskets with no bayonets, eight .577-caliber Light French rifles and 74 .36-caliber Remington Navy style revolvers. There is no report for Company F which was with Shaffer's column as were Companies G and H. Company G had Austrian and French .577-caliber rifled muskets and .36-caliber Colt Navy revolvers. Company H reported being armed only with .36-caliber Colt Navy revolvers.

There are no reports for the Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry on the summaries dated December 31, 1862. The next earliest ordnance summary for Merrill's Horse is dated June 30, 1863. The companies present at Moore's Mill reported the following armament: Company A – 85 Hall carbines and 78 Colt Army revolvers; Company C – 49 Hall carbines but no listing of revolvers, however they had .44-caliber conical revolver ammunition in the inventory; Company E – 50 Sharps carbines and 70 Colt Army revolvers; Company F – 50 Sharps carbines and 76 Colt Army revolvers; Company G – 39 Hall carbines and 79 Colt revolvers; Company H – 43 Hall carbines and 77 Colt revolvers; Company I – 49 Hall carbines and 79 Colt revolvers; and Company K – 50 Sharps carbines and 76 Colt Army revolvers.

The Ninth Missouri State Militia Cavalry reported their ordnance on-hand on December 31, 1862. The ordnance reports indicate the companies participating in Moore's Mill may have been armed as follows: Company E – no report; Company F – 75 U.S. rifles (likely meaning .58-caliber rifled muskets) and 71 pinfire revolvers; Company G – 74 U.S. rifles and 74 pinfire revolvers; and Company H 71 U.S. rifles and 75 pinfire revolvers. Companies A and B arrived at Moore's Mill after the fighting ended, but they were armed with 62 U.S. .58-caliber rifles and 65 pinfire revolvers of the Lefauchaux pattern and 59 U.S. .58-caliber rifles and 67 pinfire revolvers respectively (Figure 24).



Figure 24. French Lefauchaux pinfire revolver of the type used by the Ninth Missouri State Militia Cavalry at Moore's Mill. (photo courtesy of Larry Johnson).

The Tenth Missouri State Militia Cavalry also has an ordnance summary dated December 31, 1862. The listing of arms for the companies fighting at Moore's Mill is: Company B – 57 Austrian rifles and 9 Savage revolvers (caliber not stated) and Company D – 77 Austrian rifles and 7 Savage revolvers (caliber not stated).

There is no report on the independent company of Red Rovers. However, Captain Rice referred to a new type of carbine during a conversation with wounded Confederate soldier Hance. Mudd's (1992:192 note 1, 214) comment that he still had one of the carbines is important. His description identifies the weapon as a Model 1852 Sharps carbine that employed the Maynard tape primer system.

In summary Union arms should be relatively distinctive as an archeological signature:

3 rd IND Btty	2 nd MO Vol. Cav.	3 rd IA Vol. Cav.	9 th MSM Cav.	10 th MSM Cav.
Artillery	Sharps	1855 RM	U.S RM	Austrian RM
Colt Army rev.	Halls	Austrian/French RM	Pinfire rev.	Savage rev.
	Colt Army rev.	Colt Navy rev.		

Rice's Red Rover company appears to have been armed with the Sharps carbine as well (Mudd 1992:192 note 1, 214).

Confederate Small Arms

Information pertaining to the types of arms in Confederate hands is even less specific and less abundant than that of the Union troops. Mentions of arms in recollections recall that the recruits were armed, if at all, with shotguns, squirrel rifles also known as common rifles, and a few old military style muskets (see Appendix 33 for a summary of recollections of Confederate arms). It is likely that the arms carried by Porter's men were more diverse than those of the Union troops.

Firearm Types at Moore's Mill Derived from the Archeological Record

Analysis of the recovered archeological firearms-related artifacts provides a wealth of evidence regarding the weapons actually used during the battle. Using firearms identification techniques and the precise recording of individual artifact locations, as described elsewhere, weapon calibers and types can be identified and placed on the battlefield. Firearms identification procedures provide a powerful tool to enable us to state what type of weapons were used during the fierce fighting on the field. More important is knowing where the firearms related components were found on the battlefield, because knowing what was used where allows, in combination with analysis of the documentary evidence of the battle, the development of greater precision in placing units accurately on the landscape.

Small Arms: Pistols, Muskets, Rifled Muskets, Rifles, and Shotguns

Small arms are those firearms carried by individual soldiers. As a class they constitute the largest number of recovered artifacts, reflected primarily by lead bullets (Figures 25, 26, 27). The archeological record of hand guns includes three and possibly four types of pistols. The bullets indicate that the Savage Navy revolver was present as was the M1860 Colt Army revolver, and the .54-caliber balls suggest the possibility of obsolete single shot pistols known as horse pistols. However, these .54-caliber balls more likely represent a rifle or carbine round. The other pistol present was the French 12mm pinfire Lefauchaux.

The pinfire cartridges were found on the higher ground or ridgetop at the northern end of the Liddle property east of the road, although one was found in the wooded area at the south side of

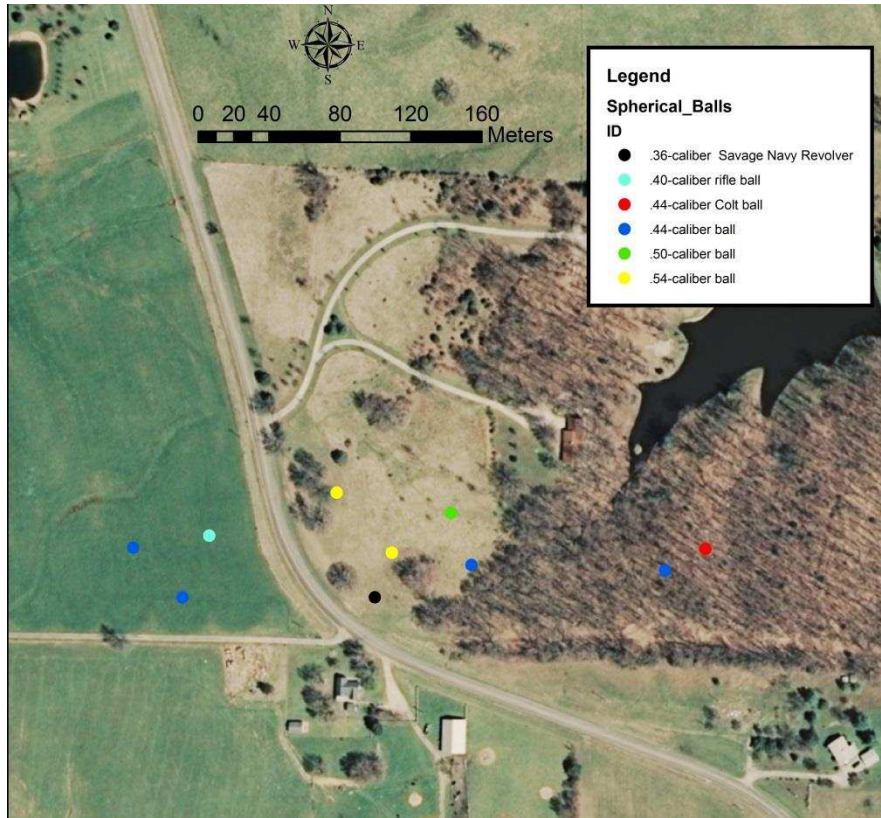


Figure 25. Distribution of spherical balls.

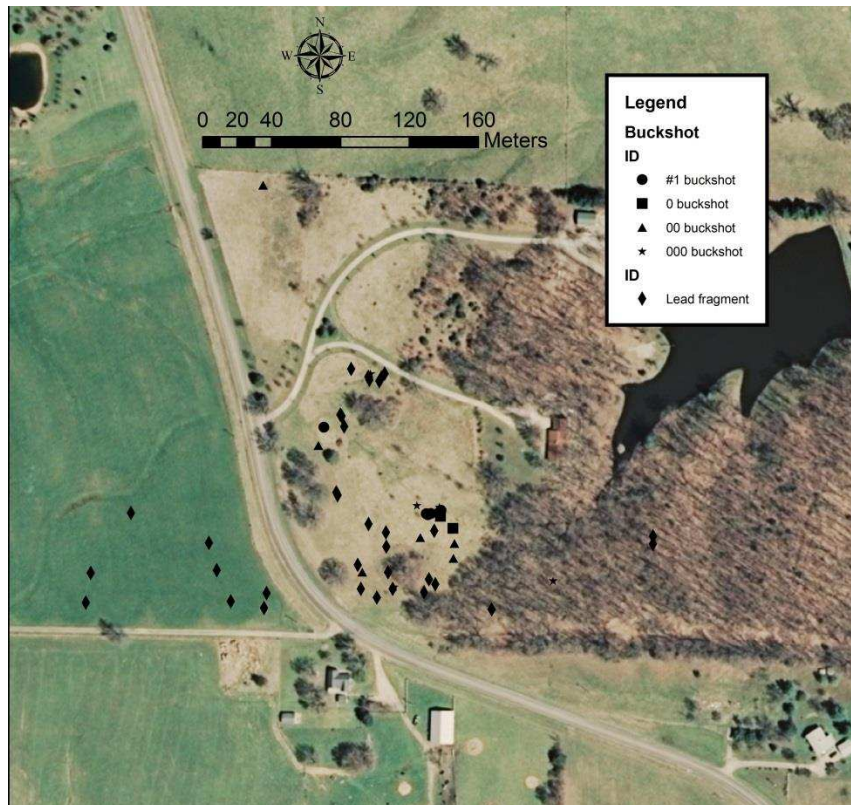


Figure 26. Distribution of lead buckshot and lead fragments

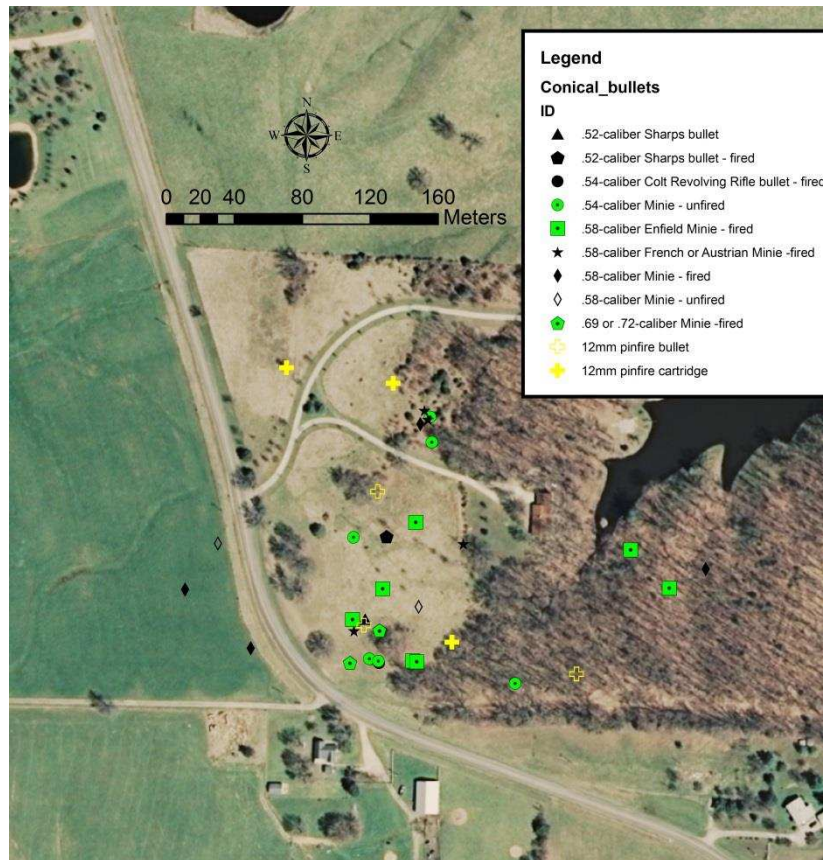


Figure 27. Distribution of conical bullets.

the property. Fired pinfire bullets were recovered in the dissected drainage area and slopes to the south of the higher ground on the east side of the road. The Savage Navy bullet was found in the same area as the fired pinfire bullets. The .54-caliber balls were also recovered in this same area. The Colt Army bullet was found in the wooded area south of the reservoir area. Other .44-caliber balls that cannot be attributed to a specific gun type were also found in the wooded area, but somewhat more to the west.

There were at least eleven long arms or shoulder fired gun types represented among the bullet types. Two non-military caliber rifles are represented by a .40-caliber ball and a .50-caliber ball. Shotguns are amply represented by the various sizes of buckshot. Military caliber long arms include the Sharps carbine, Colt Revolving rifle, British Enfield rifled muskets, French or Austrian rifled muskets, .69 or .72-caliber rifled muskets, and possibly Hall carbines. Two other military caliber gun types are inferred from unfired and fired Minié balls recovered in various places. One is the U.S. Model 1855 rifled musket and the other is a .54-caliber rifled musket.

The Sharps carbine is represented by an unfired bullet found in the wooded area on the north side of the Liddle property east of the highway and a fired bullet found at the north edge of the woods on the southern part of the same property. The Colt Revolving Rifle bullet was found north of the wooded area on the south side of the Liddle property in the midst the unfired .54-caliber Minié balls. British Enfield bullets were found in the southern woods as were the French/Austrian

bullets. The .58-caliber Minié balls that do not have distinct enough land and groove impressions for specific gun identification were found on both properties largely on the southern side of the Liddle property. The impact deformed .69-.72-caliber Minié balls were found on the southern side of the Liddle property north of the wooded area. Shotgun buckshot was found in the low area between the northern high ground and the wooded area on the south of the Liddle property and on the Simcoe property. The various sizes of buckshot and the light weight lead fragments that may be impacted buckshot were found in the same area and have a roughly linear distribution from the Simcoe property running east into the woods on the Liddle property. The .54-caliber balls which may have been fired in Hall carbines were all found in the wooded area and immediately north of it at the south side of the Liddle property.

The historic record makes it very clear that Porter's command prepared an ambush near the road running south from what is now Calwood. Likewise the record is clear that the Federal troops were moving south and were indeed ambushed by Confederate troops concealed in dense brush and woods located on the east side of the road. The gun types represented in the archeological record and the distribution of those artifacts support the historic record and participant accounts that the Confederates were largely armed with shotguns and some common rifles during the battle. The distribution of unfired .54-caliber Minié balls suggests they were dropped or lost by the Confederates. If a few of the Confederate troops were armed with .54-caliber French or Austrian rifled muskets as is suggested in the historic accounts then these bullets may represent those arms.

The archeological evidence also supports the historic accounts of the documented armament of the Union troops. The data also suggest that someone among the Union troops had a Colt Revolving Rifle. The presence of .69 or .72-caliber Minié balls indicated that a few of those caliber rifled muskets were employed on the field of battle, but which side had them is open to interpretation. The fired and impacted bullets were found in a cluster about halfway between the likely Union troop positions and the concealed Confederate positions. They could have been fired by either side, but considering the clustered nature of the bullet impacts a reasonable conclusion is that only one or two individuals may have fired those rounds. This limited presence of this large caliber lends itself to interpreting the impact pattern as one or more Confederate soldiers firing at advancing Union troops.

Artillery at Moore's Mill – The Archeological Evidence

Cannon played a significant role at Moore's Mill as discussed in the battle history section. Noel Crowson (n.d.) speculated that there were three cannon deployed from the Third Indiana Battery at Moore's Mill. He believed these were likely Model 1841 guns. Information derived from the historic accounts indicates only two guns, one section of the Third Indiana Battery, was deployed. One gun was placed on the road not far from the Confederate ambush line. That gun reportedly fired shell and canister at the hidden Confederates. The second gun dropped trail and went into action north of the first gun an unknown distance, but likely north of the Union troop deployment. This second gun was ordered to shell the Confederate positions, but no specific mention of ammunition type is noted.

The archeological evidence indicates that only conical shell and case shot, as well as canister of the James Type I 3.8 inch type was fired at the Confederates (Figure 28). The shell and case shot are both exploding rounds meant to distribute shrapnel over the enemy. No solid shot, non-exploding, rounds were recovered during the archeological investigations, and none were observed in the private collections. The recovered fuse system elements associated with the James shells indicates the standard James percussion fuse system was employed in these rounds. The number of fuse fragments recovered indicates a minimum of five shell or case shot were fired by the gunners of the Third Indiana battery.



Figure 28. Distribution of artillery-related artifacts.

The James system used lead around the exterior of the shell as a sabot, meant to grip the lands and grooves of the rifled guns to give the shells greater spin stability and accuracy in their flight. These lead driving bands or sabots generally separated from the iron shell during flight, and in these earlier type designs they separated so early as to endanger friendly troops as the shell passed overhead. The sabots generally separated and fell to earth roughly between 100 and 200 meters from the gun position (Fitts 1998:28). Thus the find location of lead sabot fragments from the James projectiles as well as the shell fragments themselves provides one means to approximate the rifled gun positions.

The archeologically recovered sabot fragments were found scattered among the iron shell fragments but tend to concentrate to the west northwest of the shell fragments. An 1876 plat map (Edwards Brothers 1876) of the Calwood area shows a road that runs south from Calwood that roughly parallels the modern highway alignment (Figure 29). The 1876 map shows the road varies from being on the current right-of-way up to about 100 meters to the west. The two alignments converge about the location of the modern gravel drive to the landowners' homes. If the northern gun fired most of the shell and case shot given the distribution of the sabot fragments the gun may have been located near the road but between 50 and 150 meters north or northwest (depending on the actual road alignment in 1862) of the intersection of the gravel drive and the modern highway.

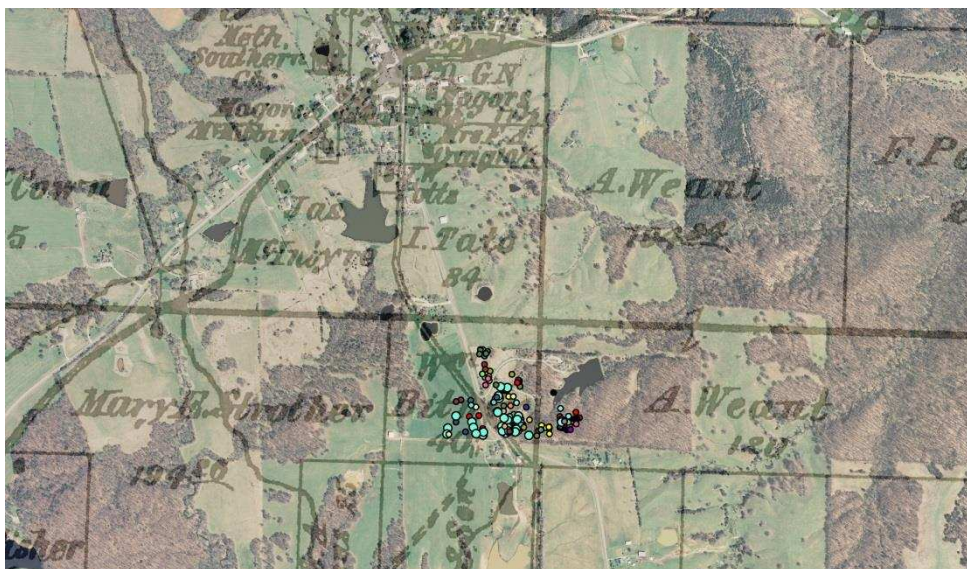


Figure 29. The 1876 map overlaid on the modern aerial image. Note that Calwood and the roads are roughly aligned, but the road to the south only partially aligns with the modern Highway JJ. The 1876 and modern roads realign at the battle site. Also note the artifact distributions displayed.

Canister rounds are lead or iron balls placed in a tin container that were fired from cannon at a short range (less than 500 yards for field guns) as an antipersonnel device. Canister rounds performed as a large shotgun blast, sending large numbers of balls toward an on-coming enemy that could be devastating to an infantry charge. Like a shotgun blast the range of canister is limited. Canister fired from 6-pounder guns was not intended for use beyond 400 to 500 yards, and never beyond 600 yards according to nineteenth century artillery manuals (Scott 1864; Benton 1867).

The first artillery piece deployed was placed on or near the road forward of the Union line. It is reported to have fired shell and canister at the Confederates concealed in the dense brush to the south and southeast of the Union troops. The archeological canister found were all iron balls of the size consistent with being fired in a 3.8 inch gun. Using the distribution of canister balls (Figures 28) and creating a dispersal cone based on the recovered canister balls a rough approximation of the first gun's position can be posited. Canister rounds disperse like a shotgun blast in a large roughly shaped cone, narrow near the cannon mouth and opening up wider the

further away from the gun position. Canister balls continue in flight until an object stops them or they reach terminal velocity usually about 1000 meters from the gun. Most canister balls strike an object or drop within 800 yards of a 6-pounder gun. Some go further and some fall well short of their intended target, as little as 25 to 50 meters in front of the gun. This information is based on live fire experiments conducted with a 6-pounder gun at Yuma Proving Grounds in 2003 (Douglas Scott, personal observation). Subsequent live fire experiments with a 12-pounder gun provided similar results (Baehr 2012).

Employing the live fire models and the archeological canister ball distribution a cone of canister dispersion was reverse engineered to posit an approximate location of the forward artillery piece. The widest part of the cone is the canister ball impact zone observed in the archeological record. Reverse engineering that back to an approximate point of origin places the gun roughly on the current Highway JJ alignment and a short distance north of the gravel drive into the landowners' property on the east side of the highway. The gun was likely placed in or very near what is now the Highway JJ right-of-way and its location was likely significantly affected by later construction activities.

The analytical method to postulate cannon position is viewshed analysis. It is a technique that employs the power of Geographic Information System computer-based programs. In military parlance this is known as terrain analysis or weapons fan analysis. Cumulative viewshed analysis is simply a means to identify those parts of a landscape that are visible from a given set of points (Wheatley and Gillings 2002). The term "viewshed" means those areas that can be seen by a person from a given point on defined landscape.

Viewshed analyses, when calculated on the computer are facilitated by files known as digital elevation models (DEMs). A standard DEM is essentially the same as a digital image, a matrix of cells containing a given color value, with the important exception that a DEM, instead of storing color information, stores elevation data. The elevation data may then be used by the computer to calculate viewsheds from any point or set of points on the landscape.

When calculating a viewshed from a given point, the computer simply tests each cell in the raster to see if a straight line can be interpolated from the cell to the designated point without being obscured by another cell. If a cell representing a higher elevation value lies between the point and the cell being tested, then that cell being tested is considered invisible from the selected point. However, if no such intervening value is present, then the cell being tested is within the viewshed of the selected point. Each of the viewsheds calculated for this exercise used the available DEMs. These data do not project undergrowth, trees, or other vegetation that may have been present. The calculations simply show what can be seen from a certain spot at a certain point above the ground for a certain distance without taking into account vegetation patterns. However, they do provide another means of independently cross-checking the physical evidence find locations and interpretations. These then can be correlated with the historic record as an additional validation tool.

The weapons fan analysis for the artillery (Figure 30) suggests the guns would have been deployed along the ridgetop to have maximum target visibility. Cannon in 1862 were required to

have a line of sight for aiming. The weapons fan or viewshed analysis supports the ridgetop locations as the best line of sight for the artillery placement.

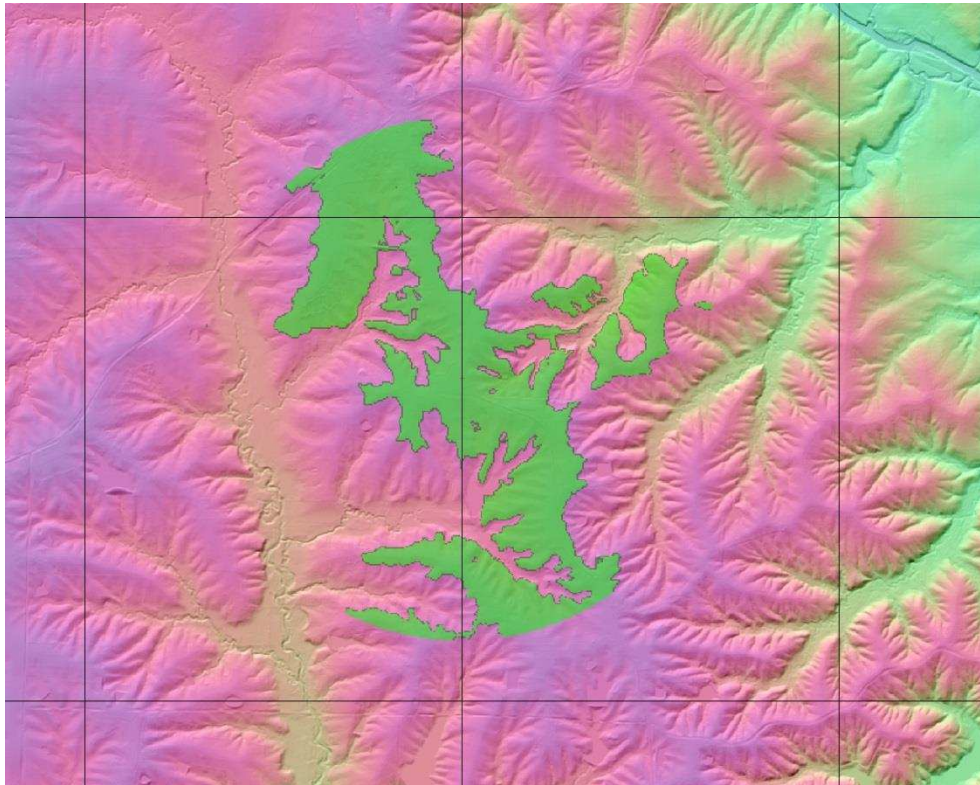


Figure 30. Artillery weapons fan depicting the area the Union artillerymen could see from their posited positions. The vertical black lines are 1000 meters long. The green areas represent what the artillerymen could see from the presumed positions on the road. The lavender areas and very light green areas are zones that could not be seen by the artillerymen, largely the low lying ground beyond one-quarter mile from the road. The cannons had a good line of sight to the area concealing the Confederate troops.

KOCSA Evaluation

Following the practice of military tactics analysts, a system of evaluating physical characteristics of battlefields as they relate to battle movements and actions has come to be employed for the study of historic battlefields. The system is termed KOCSA after the physical characteristics that are evaluated (definitions and examples below are taken from Stephen Fonzo's analysis of the Buckland Mills battlefield in Virginia [2008:Table 1]):

Key terrain: A portion of the battlefield, possession of which gives an advantage to the possessor; examples: road junctions, bridges, high ground.

Observation and fields of fire: Any point on the landscape that allows observation of the movements, deployments, and activity of the enemy that is not necessarily key terrain, offers opportunity to see over an area and acquire targets, and allows flat-trajectory weapons to be

brought to bear on the enemy; examples: high ground, sloping approaches to entrenched positions.

Cover and concealment: Landforms or landscape elements that provide protection from fire and hide troop positions from observation; examples: walls, structures, forests, ravines, riverbanks, entrenchments, ditches.

Obstacles: Landscape elements that hinder movement and affect the ultimate course of the battle; examples: rivers, walls, dense vegetation, fortifications, ravines, ditches.

Avenues of approach and retreat: Corridors used to transfer troops between the core battle areas and outer logistical areas; examples: roads, paths, creek beds, railroads.

The first step in KOCO analysis is typically to develop a list of defining features of the battlefield under study. Such features are identified through careful study of primary sources and related to existing conditions. Such features can help to define areas for archeological investigation. Table 6 presents a list of defining features of the Moore's Mill battlefield, derived from historical accounts of the battle and relevant maps. Listed features are divided into those relating to the "core" area of the battle, i.e., in the immediate vicinity of the actual fighting, and "remote" locations, where troop and individual movements took place before and after the fighting.

The Moore's Mill Battle Core Area Landscape

Defining features of the core area of the Moore's Mill battlefield are not numerous or complex in nature. Troop movements for the most part took place along established roadways and the surrounding terrain was mostly gently rolling hills amidst agricultural fields and timbered tracts. There is no high ground from which observation of the battle action could take place, especially because of the presence of thick timber and underbrush which afforded concealment for the Confederates. Auxvasse Creek lies approximately one mile to the east of the core battlefield area. The terrain becomes more broken and hilly as the topography descends toward Auxvasse Creek to the east of the battlefield.

The landscape feature that most affected the course of the fighting near Moore's Mill was the dense timber and underbrush that lined both sides of the "wagon road" (present-day State Highway JJ) on which the Union force was ambushed. The timber cover was undoubtedly a major factor in Porter's selection of the battlefield. Nearly every eyewitness who has written about the battle mentions this timber and how it affected the fighting, sometimes in multiple remarks:

...a terrific volley was poured upon it [i.e., the Union advance party] from the woods on the east side of the road...(Colonel Odon Guitar in O.R. I, 13:186; Mudd 1992: 175; Appendix 1)

Table 9 ABPP Battlefield Survey- GA 2255-12-012
Defining Features List

Battlefield: MOORE'S MILL, MISSOURI

Date(s) of Conflict: July 28, 1862

Feature No.	Defining Feature	Source	Importance in Battle	Comment	Code1	Code2
1	Fletcher/Maddox Cabin	Hance 1915:9 Mudd 1992:193	Landmark on Confederate approach route; hospital after battle	Location unknown	C	M
2	tobacco barn	Argyle 1902:69-70	Structure in view of Union cannons from battery location	Probably fictitious	C	M
3	"Wagon Road"	Johnson memoir (Appen. 4), <i>Fulton Telegraph</i> (Appen. 18, Mudd 1992:187; 192	Route of Union approach (now State Hwy JJ)	Now Highway JJ	C	R
4	"State Road"	<i>Fulton Telegraph</i> July 29, 1862	Area Guitar's column first linked with Shaffer's column	Probably the Columbia-Danville Road		
5	Mary Strother Farm	Mudd 1992:163, Edwards Bros. Atlas 1876, Geo. Ogle 1897 atlas, Bogie, Appen. 32	Home of "Buck," a young male slave, who witnessed battle		C	M
6	Frank Strother Home	Mudd 1993:238, Edwards Bros. Atlas 1876, Bogie, Appen. 32	Temporary burial site of Confederate Capt. Sylvester Penny	House location unknown, possibly Bogie's "pretentious house on north side of road	C	M
7	Jones Post Office and Store	Douglas 2001:85, Mudd 1992:187	Burial place of Union and Confederate casualties; located in Moore's Mill settlement	1864 map shows the PO close to crossing of Auxvassee, 1876 atlas shows Jones owned property in this area and a building near the road.	C	M
8	"little ravine"	Mudd 1992:162, 191; Hance 1915:7	Site of Confederate daycamp where horses were tethered	Hance state ravine was in a sheltered valley and on a little branch, probably a tributary to the Auxvassee	C	T

9	Moore's Mill	Mudd 1992:159-197; Douglas 2001:185; Bogie Appen. 32	Settlement north of battle site dominated by steam mill. Presumed to be site of today's Calwood		C	M
10	Auxvasse Creek	Guitar – O.R. I, 13:185-186, 188-189	Principal watercourse in area of the battle		C	T
11	Brown's Spring	Guitar – O.R. I, 13:184-186; Douglas 2001:179	Location of Confederate camp on July 26-27; Union camp July 27		R	T
12	Timber coverage at low bluff	Guitar - O.R. I, 13:185			R	T
13	"low bluff"	Guitar - O.R. I, 13:185	Feature on south side of Auxvasse at Brown's Spring		R	T
14	Thomas Pratt Farm	Mudd 1992:261; Guitar - O.R. I, 13:186	Campsite of Porter's troops on night before battle (July 27)		R	M
15	Williamsburg Rd. a/k/a St. Charles Rd a/k/a Columbia Rd.	Guitar - O.R. I, 13:186; Douglas 2001:179	Central branch of Boone's Lick road network; route of approach of 2 nd Mo and 3 rd Iowa cavalries		R	R
16	Boone's Lick Rd. a/k/a Huntsville Rd.	Douglas 2001:179, 180, 185	Northern-most and oldest branch of Boone's Lick road network; access from Mt. Zion Church		R	R
17	Fulton Rd. a/k/a Fulton-Danville Rd.	Douglas 2001: 179, 186, 189	Southern-most branch of Boone's Lick road network; services Moore's Mill		R	R

18	Fulton – Mexico Rd.	Guitar – O.R. I, 13:185; Douglas 2001:179, 184, 189	Principal north-south road in area; Porter’s route of approach from north; Guitar’s from south		R	R
19	“Sheltered Valley”	Mudd 1992:162, 191; Hance 1915:7	Location of Confederate day-camp on July 28 prior to onset of battle		R	T
20	Mt. Zion Church	Johnson memoir (Appen. 4)	In Boone County; point of joinder of 2 nd MO and 3 rd IA cavalries on July 27		R	M
21	Old Auxvasse Presbyterian Church	<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i> , August 8, 2012; Williams 1913; McCue 1912:34	Landmark two miles north of battle site on St. Charles Rd. Founded May 31, 1828	The church is near where Guitar initially met Shaffer’s column, and where Porter started for Moore’s Mill.	R	M
22	Elston Farm	Mudd 1992:157; <i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i> , July 25, 2012	In Audrain County; day-camp of Confederate force on July 25	Porter’s column camped at the farm on July 23-24, 1862.	R	M
23	Concord	Guitar – O.R. I, 13:189; Hance in Mudd 193:193; Hance 1915:9	Community at junction of Boone’s Lick and Fulton-Mexico roads		R	M
24	Judy Farm	Receipts for provisions (Appen. 17); Douglas 2001:184; <i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i> (Missouri), August 8, 2012	Home of David Judy, near Concord; visited by Confederates before Brown’s Spring		R	M
25	Moses McCue Home	Hance in Mudd 992:193; Hance 1915:10; Anon. 1884a:871	Private Hance carried here from Fletletcher/Maddox cabin; vicinity of Old Auxvasse Church		R	M
26	Community of Fulton	Guitar – O.R. I, 13:184-185; Anon. 1884a:185-216	Principal populated place in vicinity of battle; 7 miles southwest of site		R	M

27	Woods left and right of wagon road	Guitar – O.R. I, 13:186; Mudd 1992:175, 176, 178, 17, 188, 191; Argyle 1902:66; <i>Columbia Daily Herald</i> , April 9, 1897; Hance 1915:8; Rowell in Mudd 1992:195-196; Johnson memoir (Appen. 4); <i>Daily Missouri Democrat</i> , July 31, 1862.	Route of entry of Guitar’s advance, leading to clash at the little ravine		C	T
28	Dense undergrowth and brush	Mudd 1992:161; Hance 1915:7; Johnson Memoir (Append 4)	Location of Confederate ambush in densely vegetated ravine	Brush choked ravines are typical of the Ozark topography	C	T
29	Ridge top and open prairie	Guitar – O.R. I, 13:186-188	Location of roads and fields used by both combatants to move troops	Ridge tops and flatter ground are typical road and field locations for human use in the Ozarks		

Codes: Code1: C=core area; R=remote site; M=appears on map Code2: T=topographic feature; M=man-made feature; R: Road

...a terrific fire was poured into our lines from the brush...the brush was too thick for a cavalry charge or to permit the handling of artillery with animals. (Argyle 1902:66; Appendix 3)

By this time the men [i.e., the Federals] seemed to have got into the merits of the thing, and the brush, which they dreaded so much at first, they now sought eagerly as their surest protection. (Colonel Odon Guitar in O.R. I, 13:187; Mudd 1992:176; Appendix 1)

...the battle-field [was] in a dense, unbroken forest, and the undergrowth [was] so thick as to render it impossible in many places to see a man the distance of 30 feet. (Colonel Odon Guitar in O.R. I, 13:188; Mudd 1992:178; Appendix 1)

They [i.e., the Confederates] were posted behind logs and trees, under cover of brush, so perfectly concealed and protected that you were compelled to approach within a few steps of them before they could be seen. (Colonel Odon Guitar in O.R. I, 13:188; Mudd 1992:178; Appendix 1)

On they [i.e., the Confederates] came, tearing through the brush. (Colonel Odon Guitar in O.R. I, 13:187; Appendix 1)

...we [i.e., the Confederates] left the road, went into the brush some distance and then marched back parallel with the road to where the fight took place, dismounted, hitched our horses and marched up within thirty feet of the road. (C.C. Turner, *Columbia Missouri Herald*, April 9, 1897; Mudd 1992:188; Appendix 27)

We [i.e., the Confederates] charged and drove them two or three hundred yards and into the thick timber. (C.H. Hance in Mudd 1992:191; Hance 1915:8; Appendices 13 and 14)

...we [i.e., the Confederates] made a wild rush through the timber to meet the advancing foe. (C.H. Hance 1915:7; Appendix 14)

Moore's Mill fight occurred in a densely wooded country... it seemed to us that the woods was full of you [i.e., the Confederates], except to the north, which would have been in our rear. The Merrill Horse came into the fight on a road leading to the dense woods from the north. (George H. Rowell in Mudd 1992:195-196; Appendix 9)

He [i.e., Porter] had chosen a position near "Moore's Mills" in a belt of timber interspersed with dense growth of underbrush...They [i.e., the Confederates] form in a thick brush on the east side of the road and await our advance. (William A. Johnson memoir; Appendix 4)

...Company E, of the Third Iowa cavalry, discovered the enemy in a very dense thicket...when they dismounted to fight on foot. (*Fulton Telegraph*, July 29, 1862, in the *Daily Missouri Democrat*, July 31, 1862; Appendix 18)

The timber was so thick, in fact, that the Union troopers were ordered to dismount and fight in prone or crawling positions:

...I ordered them to dismount and deploy their men in the woods upon the right and left of the road, instructing them to conceal themselves as best they could and not to fire until they saw an object. (Colonel Odon Guitar, in O.R. I, 13:187; Appendix 1)

I distinctly remember that the order to each company

commander was to have his men lie down and only to fire when they saw a man in front...The only order I gave was for the men to crawl on their bellies and when they saw a head shoot at it. (George H. Rowell in Mudd 1992:196; Appendix 9)

We [i.e., the Second Missouri cavalrymen] hastily dismount and prepare to fight on foot...after moving a short distance Col. Shafer [sic] shouts to the men, "Lie down", which order was obeyed with alacrity...Shafer gives [the] command, "Forward on your hands and knees, fire as you go"... (William A. Johnson memoir; Appendix 4)

Near the end of the fighting the Federal soldiers rushed the Confederates, who then withdrew:

Tired of crawling through the brush, and catching the enthusiasm as they moved, the whole line, raising a wild shout of triumph, rushed upon the enemy... (Colonel Odon Guitar in O.R. I, 13:188; Appendix 1)

The earliest map that depicts detailed information about Callaway County is believed to have been prepared by the U.S. army in 1864 (Douglas 2001:177-202) (Figure 31). It is comprised of individual maps of townships showing section lines and numbers. Watercourses and roads are superimposed on the sections, and some landowners' names and other features, such as towns and mills, have been labeled. Though the map is crudely rendered and sometimes linear features that cross township lines do not match well (or at all), a number of the depicted features are useful for understanding the course of events that led to the fight near Moore's Mill on July 28, 1862. These include Moore's Mill and the nearby bridge across the Auxvasse; the "Mexico Road" connecting the towns of Fulton and Mexico (two roads are so labeled); "Browns Spring"; the Columbia Road; and the name "D. Judy".

Moore's Mill, shown at the junction of two roads on the 1864 map (Douglas 2001:185), is believed to have been a very small community that existed at the junction of today's state highways Z and JJ, at the present-day community of Calwood. These roads are believed to be virtually in their historic alignments, with little change over the years, and JJ is likely the route along which Guitar proceeded and Porter set his ambush of Guitar's column. On the historic map, the State Highway Z alignment east of Moore's Mill and Auxvasse Creek is labeled "Williamsburg R.", while the JJ alignment south of Moore's Mill is labeled "Galbreath Mill R."

The historic community of Moore's Mill was described by a Civil War-era resident of neighboring Williamsburg as:

This little place, which could scarcely be distinguished as a village, consisted of a store, postoffice, mill, blacksmith shop and one pretentious looking house above that of any other dwelling in the

place, owned and inhabited by the Strother family, perched high on the hillside on the north side of the road... (article by Mrs. D.V. Bogie in an issue of the *Richmond [Missouri] Democrat* of unknown date, from the Garland Carr Broadhead Scrapbook, Collection C1000, Folder 4, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia; see Appendix 32)⁹⁰



Figure 31. The 1864 map overlaid on the modern aerial image with the Moore's Mill Battle artifact distribution shown. Note the location of Moore's Mill, the road junction, and the road alignments are inaccurate as can be seen from the underlying aerial photography. Moore's Mill, now the town of Calloway is three-quarters of a mile north of the cross-roads on the 1864 map. The north-south road is situated too far east of the original alignment. The 1864 map is not accurate or precise and should be considered as representative only.

The 1864 map depicts a "Bridge" over Auxvasse Creek northeast of Moore's Mill, near which is situated the "Jones P.O." (Douglas 2001:185). The "first" store at what was later called Calwood was built in 1860 (Anonymous 1884a:259). By 1883 or 1884, the community of Calwood was

⁹⁰ Mrs. Doratha Virginia (Maughas) Bogie, a native of Danville, Missouri, and apparently a resident of Williamsburg during the early part of the Civil War, married Thomas D. Bogie in 1863. The couple moved to Richmond, Missouri, in 1879 where Thomas acquired the *Richmond Democrat* newspaper soon after and served as its editor and publisher (Anonymous 1881:515-516).

said to have 100 residents (ibid.). An 1876 atlas of Callaway County shows a "Merchant Mill" at Calwood (Edwards Brothers 1876).

KOCSA Analysis

There was little that could be called *key terrain* in the Moore's Mill fight. The fighting was not a contest for possession of any specific ground, nor was there any significant high ground present from which a commanding fire could be poured on an opponent. The road afforded an avenue of approach for Guitar's column and, later, the arrival of Shaffer's reinforcements. It also served as the position for one of the cannon used in the battle, and the piece was the subject of several Confederate charges to gain possession of it. The road crosses a relatively flat terrain until it reaches the battle site. There the road curves easterly to skirt a series of gullies that are still wooded today. The gullies are lower than the road in elevation and the ground is broken into a series of low ridges that separate different erosional gullies that feed into an unnamed and largely dry creek bed that flows toward Auxvasse Creek.

The road on which both the Confederates and Federals rode southward was heavily timbered in the vicinity of the ambush, which would have impeded *observation*. The range of observation was so limited by the thick timber and underbrush that the Union commander could not even see the disposition of most of his own men:

I could not see our line 40 feet from the road on either side, but I knew that Caldwell, Cook, Duffield, Glaze, and Dunn were at their posts, and felt that all was well.
(Colonel Odon Guitar in O.R. I, 13:187; Appendix 1)

Clear *fields of fire* were not an issue either as the fighting was at relatively close quarters for two reasons. Many of the weapons used by Porter's men, such as shotguns, generally lacked the greater range of the military arms carried by the Federals, and the dense timber and underbrush would have required relatively close range for accurate firing. Both the historic accounts and the archeological record show the exchanges of fire were 20 to 30 meters apart for small arms and extended up to 150 to 200 meters for the artillery.

The thick timber along both sides of the north-south road down which Guitar's column advanced afforded excellent *cover and concealment* for the Confederates. Years after the war, C.C. Turner, one of Porter's men, stated that the Confederates were positioned within 30 feet of the road (*Columbia Missouri Herald*, April 9, 1897; Mudd 1992:188; Appendix 27). In his official report, the Union commander commented on the difficulty of spotting the concealed enemy even a short distance away:

...the battle-field [was] in a dense, unbroken forest, and the undergrowth [was] so thick as to render it impossible in many places to see a man the distance of 30 feet. (Colonel Odon Guitar in O.R. I, 13:188; Mudd 1992:178; Appendix 1)

They (i.e., the Confederates) were posted behind logs and trees, under cover of brush, so perfectly concealed and protected that you were compelled to approach within a few steps of them before they could be seen. (Colonel Odon Guitar in O.R. I, 13:188; Mudd 1992:178; Appendix 1)

Some cover and concealment may also have been afforded by subtle topographical differences, but relief does not appear to have played an important part in the battle. C.H. Hance (in Mudd 1992:191; 1915:8) states that after the arrival of the Union reinforcements the Confederates fell back to a "gully," possibly for cover from the increased Union fire. However, the gully does not seem to have given much protection, as four of Hance's group of six comrades were wounded there. After being wounded himself, Hance states that he "stepped back to a gully in our rear" (Hance in Mudd 1992:192; 1915:8). No details about the location of the gully are mentioned by him except that it was in the rear of the Confederates' position. This is likely the dry creek bed below the broken low ridges formed by the gullies that feed into the creek bed. Significant numbers of James shell and canister were found embedded on the northern faces of these ridgelines and provide verification of the participant statement such as that of Hance.

The Confederate day camp, where they halted before the ambush and hitched their horses, has been described as being at "a little branch" (C.H. Hance in Mudd 1992:191) and "a small stream" (Hance 1915:7), probably a tributary of the Auxvasse to the east. Mudd (1992:161, 162) describes the camp being at "a sheltered valley" and "a little ravine, on either side of which the horses were hitched." Possibly this relief feature afforded concealment for the more than 200 horses that must have been left there, but the camp does not seem to have been discovered by the Federals until after the fighting ceased (O.R. I, 13:188). The camp was said to be "about five hundred yards to the side of the road," "some distance" from the road, and "near a mile" from the ambush site (Mudd 1992:161; Turner in Mudd 1992:188; Hance in Mudd 1992:191; 1915:7).

The chief *obstacle* to movement on the Moore's Mill battlefield was the dense timber and underbrush that would have impeded mounted cavalry and horse transport of the Union artillery. Consequently, the battle was fought by dismounted cavalymen and at least one of the artillery pieces was positioned on the road where it could be moved by hand (O.R. I, 13:187-188). George H. Rowell (in Mudd 1992:196) states that after arriving at the battle scene, the Merrill's Horse cavalymen piled their sabers before engaging the enemy on foot. William A. Johnson, a former member of Company K of Merrill's Horse, recalled that his company drew sabers and charged the Confederates who were threatening to capture one of the cannon (Appendix 4), but this is doubtful and not supported by other testimony.

The principal *avenue of approach and retreat* for the Moore's Mill fight would have been the "wagon road" that trended north-south from the Moore's Mill community and through the wooded thicket where Porter's ambush took place, now present-day State Highway JJ (*Fulton Telegraph*, July 29, 1862, in the *Daily Missouri Democrat*, July 31, 1862; see Appendix 18). During the morning before the ambush, Porter's column traveled southward on this road before they detoured through an oat field to obtain forage for their horses (Mudd 1992:161). Presumably they continued an off-road route to the location where they hitched their horses before setting the ambush. The Confederate avenue of retreat after the battle is not well

documented. The morning after the fight, when he attempted to resume his pursuit of Porter, Guitar discovered the Confederates' trail "some 4 miles" down the Auxvasse, but soon found that it redoubled back to the north (O.R. I, 13:189). During the morning two companies of his regiment (A and B, which were not present during the fighting) rejoined him and informed him that the rebels had split into two bodies, one led by Porter going northeast toward Wellsville and the other, led by "Cobb, Frost, and Purcell", to the northwest through the town of Concord (ibid.)

The Union force also used the "wagon road" in its approach to the battlefield. Having dispatched Lieutenant Colonel Shaffer to the east across the Auxvasse Creek to scout for Porter's men along the east (or left) bank of the creek, Guitar proceeded south on the "wagon road" until his advance party encountered Porter's ambush along the road. The main body of Guitar's column then quickly advanced on the road to engage the enemy, and unlimbered and positioned one cannon directly on the road (O.R. I, 13:186-187). Shaffer's column had crossed over the Auxvasse on a road which Private Johnson later recalled as "running nearly to the southeast" (Appendix 4). Johnson (Appendix 4) states:

One [i.e., Our] regiment had reached nearly three miles to the left, halted and dismounted, when the sound of artillery and volley firing greeted our ears. Mount, counter-march, by the right flank, trot, gallop, we are off on our way back to the point where we had left the main road. Now we turn south, two miles more, and one [i.e., our] column covered with dust and foam after a five mile ride under an August midday sun came thundering into the woods.

The 1864 map (Douglas 2001:185) shows two possibilities for the "southeast" trending road taken across the Auxvasse by Shaffer's column, both in Township 48, Range 8. The "Williamsburg R." that crossed the Auxvasse by means of a bridge east of Moore's Mill is one, although the road is shown predominantly trending eastward. The other, and perhaps more likely given Johnson's distance estimates, possibility is the "Columbia R." that is shown crossing the Auxvasse at Brickley's Ford near the Auxvasse post office, about three and a half miles north of the battlefield. East of the Auxvasse the road is depicted trending generally southeast.

Conclusions

It might be said the historical record is accurate in recording the events, but perhaps not precise in its description or detail of where actions occurred on the ground. Regardless of the depositional disturbances that have occurred due to farming, road construction and maintenance, and relic collecting on the Moore's Mill battlefield, the archeological data recovered there is patterned and is the physical evidence of those events on July 28, 1862. The archeological data and its distribution record the fight in clear detail and provide a new and independent means of assessing and evaluating the disparate historical record of the event. It certainly does not alter

the outcome, but it does provide a physical link, and an interpretable body of data, to an episode in the history of the American Civil War.

During the battle several rounds of James artillery shell, case shot, and canister were fired. The systematic archeological investigations were constrained by a variety of later land alteration activities and episodes of relic collection. However, analysis of the shell fragments, fuse artifacts, sabot fragments, and canister distribution identify the Union artillery as 3.8 inch James Type I rifled cannon. Analysis of the shell, fuse, and canister distribution patterns suggests one gun, likely firing canister and probably shell, was on or near the current JJ Highway on the higher ground overlooking the densely wooded gullies and erosional ridges used to conceal the Confederates. This forward gun fired to the east southeast and south. The second gun was likely located further north, perhaps 100 to 200 meters north of the canister firing gun and likely on or near the road. It fired James Type I shell and possibly case shot. The rounds were fired to the east southeast toward the erosional ridges in the gully system.

The small arms bullets recovered allowed us to identify, using firearms identification procedures, at least eleven types of shoulder arms and minimally three types of pistols used by both sides during the battle. The archeological evidence confirms the presence of shotguns and country or common rifles in the hands of the southern forces. The Confederates may have had a few .54-caliber rifled muskets and perhaps a small number of .69 or .72 rifled muskets in the command. Porter's "shotgun men" appear to have been largely concealed below the military crest, on the south side of the erosional ridges in the gully system which appears to have been covered by very dense trees and brush in 1862. The areas of concealment would likely have ranged from 30 to 100 meters from the road depending on the actual historic road alignment (Figure 32). The men with .54-caliber rifled muskets were likely posted in the midst of the shotgunners but within 50 meters of the road. The large caliber rifled muskets were likely posted among the shotgunners. The few common or squirrel rifles present cannot be accurately placed in the Confederate line due to the small number of bullets recovered. Tactically the intermixture of small arms; likely men deployed with shotguns, intermixed with muskets was sound as it provided a maximum amount of fire for the short-range shotguns to begin the ambush. As the element of surprise passed the intermingled longer-range rifled muskets provided fire support for the shotgunners as they reloaded.

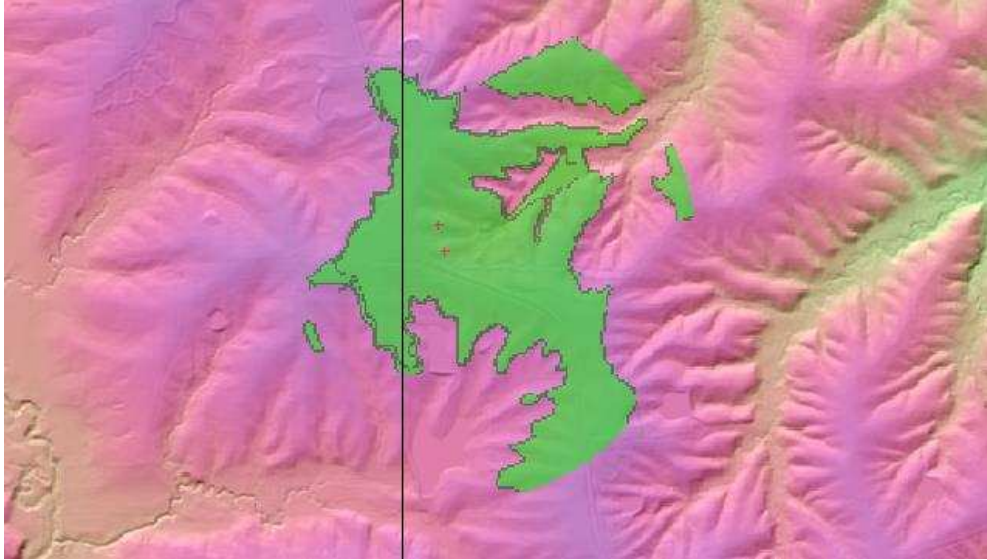


Figure 32. Weapons fan analysis of Confederate weapons. The red crosses indicate the concealed Confederate positions. The green areas depict what the Confederates could see from those positions, and the lavender colored areas are what could not be seen by the concealed troops. Depending on the density of the vegetation the Confederates were in an ideal position to see the approaching Union forces and determine when the time was best for unleashing their fire power on them.

Union ordnance reports of troop armament are consistent with the archeological evidence. The Ninth MSM cavalry is clearly seen in the distribution of the pinfire cartridges. Given that modern road construction destroyed some evidence of the fight the Ninth MSM can still be placed along the east side of the road and just north of the gully area. Based on the distribution of dropped or lost bullet finds that are associated with weapons issued to the Tenth MSM they were likely positioned to the right or west of the Ninth MSM. The bullets that may be from the Tenth MSM appear to have been fired from the west to the east southeast into the gully area. The Third Iowa Volunteer Cavalry had one company placed in the line to support the Ninth MSM.

After Shaffer's column arrived there is some question as to which units and companies did or did not fight. The distribution of French .58-caliber Minié balls suggests that the Third Iowa companies with Shaffer's column may have been deployed to support the line's center right, likely to fill gaps in the Ninth MSM line created by the Confederate ambush shotgun blasts. The Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry and perhaps the other companies of the Third Iowa and Tenth MSM are reported to have been deployed west and east of the Union line. It is likely the statement of being deployed to the west may refer to the two companies of the Tenth MSM with Shaffer.

The distinctive bullets representing the arms of eight companies of Merrill's Horse and possibly Rice's Red Rovers including the Sharps and Hall carbines are clearly present archeologically. They are on the far eastern edge of the Union line. This area is on gently sloping land between the gravel driveways leading to the two houses currently on the property. The landform slopes gently toward the south and southeast gully area. This slightly higher ground affords an excellent field of fire to the south and east southeast. The gully ridges that concealed the Confederates are about 100 to 150 meters distant from the higher ground. These are the ranges at which the Sharps

and Hall carbines were sighted for combat purposes. Whether the independent company of Rice's Red Rovers actually participated in the battle or were held in reserve is an open question. However, the Hance (1915:8; Mudd 1992:192, 214) accounts of Rice asking to have captured weapons returned does suggest that somehow two or three of the Sharps carbines were lost during the engagement.

Analysis of the archeological collection and artifact distribution through computerized modeling of the landscape and terrain provides us with relatively specific locations where troops and artillery batteries were positioned on the field. That evidence occurs in the form of impacted bullets and artillery shells, as well as lost equipment items and unfired bullets dropped or lost in the heat of battle. The archeological evidence provides the tangible link with the historic accounts of where actions occurred.

Regardless of the accuracy of the maps, or lack thereof, the road network that existed at the time of the battle is nearly the same as the modern road alignment. What is abundantly obvious from the reconstruction of artillery positions based on the archeological artillery artifact distribution is the clear correlation of the road network and the location of artillery pieces. Guns could not be easily moved through wooded or brushy areas without a trace or a road. They could maneuver on open ground, if it was not muddy, but roads were the key to moving these heavy pieces of ordnance, and they were key to where the guns went into action as well. Placing the cannon on the landscape based on the archeological evidence puts them on or immediately adjacent to roads or traces shown on the various maps (Figure 33).

The KOCOA analysis, archeological artifact distributions, and the GIS-based viewshed analysis demonstrate the fields of fire for both sides were constrained by the landscape geography of the area. The battle's core area is limited to the dissected gully areas for the concealed Confederate force and the ridgetops for the Union forces. The battle area is relatively small. Viewshed or weapons fan analysis based on the limits of shotgun ranges and the ranges of human visibility on this terrain confirm the artifact distribution data and aid in limiting the battle space boundaries. That area is largely confined to the properties investigated.

The results of the historical and archeological investigations clearly demonstrate that the Moore's Mill battlefield has good integrity. The landscape is largely intact and retains a feeling and look not dissimilar to the 1862 era. While the landscape has been modified to some degree by modern road and home construction the archeological integrity is still very good. Historical research and the archeological investigations have, we believe, identified the battle's core area (Figure 34). Certainly the ambush site is well defined archeologically as are the eastern and western boundaries of the fight. Access restrictions to lands north and south of the core area limit our ability to confirm the full extent of the field of battle. Regardless there is more than adequate historical and archeological information to warrant development of a nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (Figure 34) under several criteria as set forth in *National Register Bulletin 40, Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating and Registering America's Historic Battlefields*.

The core battlefield area is privately owned and used for either residential, non-agricultural purposes, or for grazing. These uses are compatible with continued preservation of the

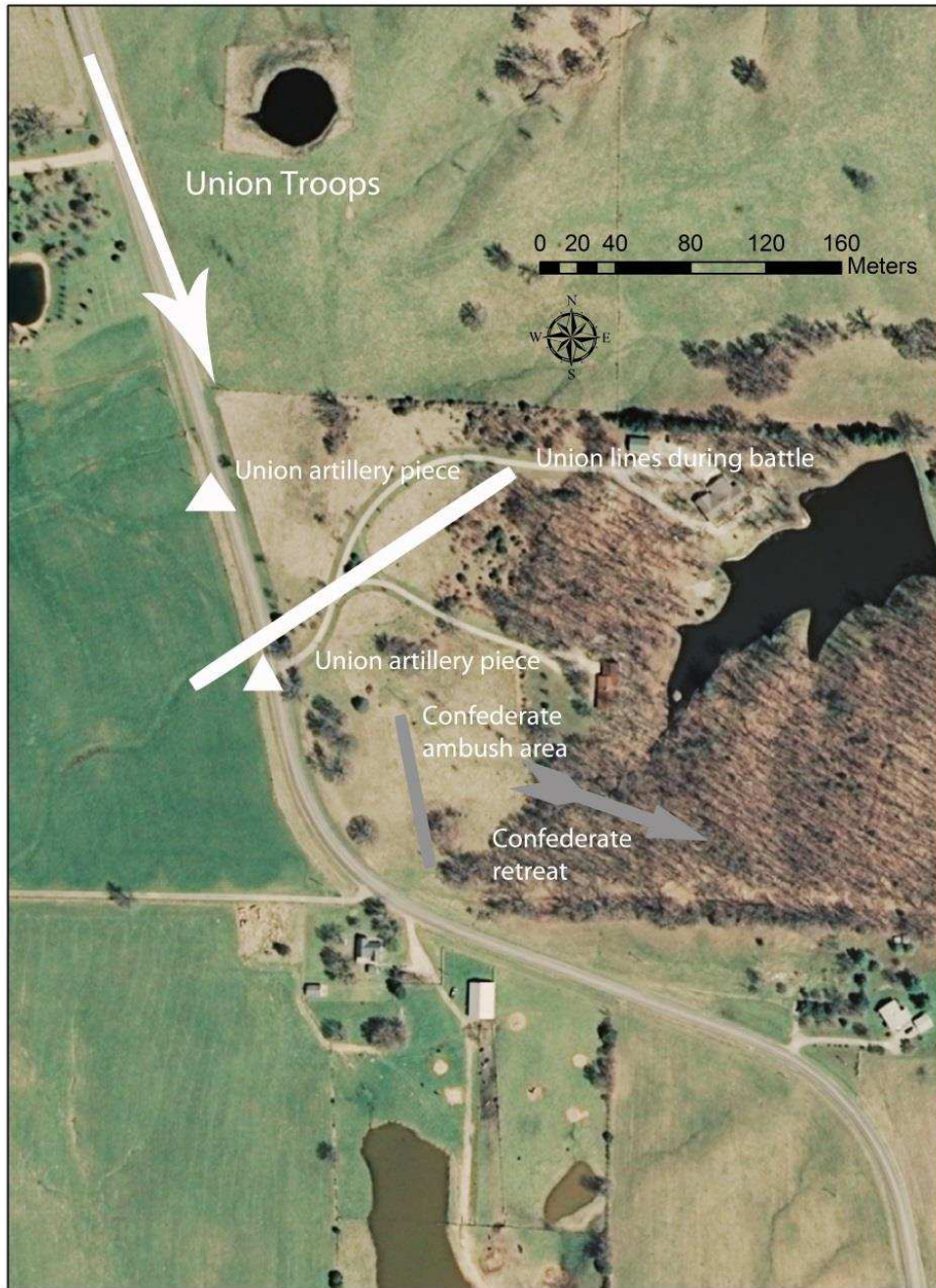


Figure 33. Interpretation of the lines of battle and the artillery positions, in the early stages of the fight, based on artifact distributions and terrain analysis.

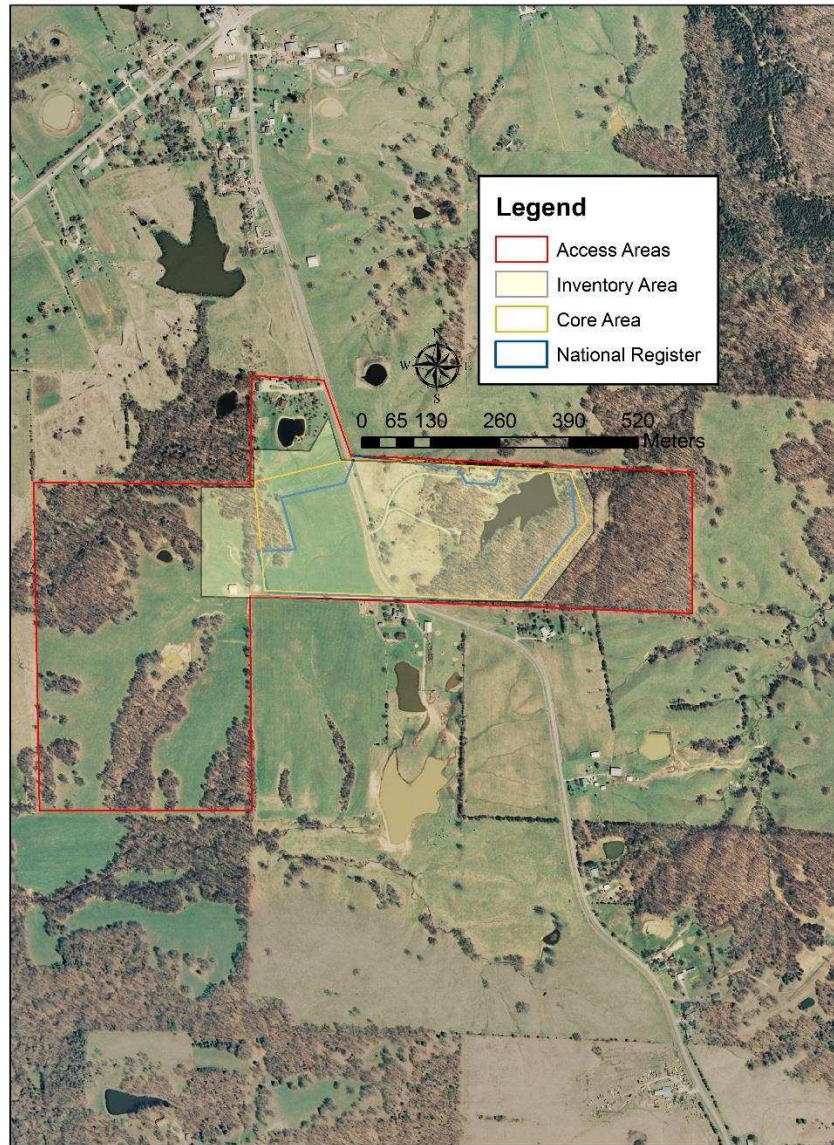


Figure 34. Best estimate of the surviving core battlefield area and recommended National Register nomination boundary.

battlefield and are largely non-intrusive and non-destructive. Should opportunities to conduct archeological investigations on properties to the north and south of the core battle area present themselves it is likely such efforts will clearly define the battlefield boundary. We recommend such investigations be pursued if landowners' permission for access can be obtained.

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Appendix 1

Report of Col. Odon Guitar, Ninth Missouri State Militia Cavalry, regarding the battle at Moore's Mill, Callaway County, Missouri, July 28, 1862. From *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Volume 13 (1885), pp. 184-189. Also republished in *With Porter in North Missouri: A Chapter in the History of the War Between the States*, by Joseph A. Mudd, pp. 170-181 (Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, Iowa, 1992; originally published 1909 by the National Publishing Company, Washington, D.C.), and in the *Columbia Missouri Herald* newspaper, March 19, 1897, p. 7.

[P. 184]

Headquarters,
Columbia, Mo., October -, 1862.

Sir: I improve this, the earliest opportunity, to report operations of troops under my command at Brown's Spring, July 27, and Moore's Mill, July 28, 1862:

On July 27 I received at Jefferson City, of which post I was then in command, a dispatch from General Schofield, ordering me to send without delay two companies of my regiment to join Lieutenant-Colonel Shaffer, Merrill's Horse, at Columbia, advising me that Porter was in the north part of Boone County with a large rebel force. In pursuance of this order I at once started Companies A and B of my regiment to the point indicated. Upon the same day, and close upon the heels of this dispatch, I received a message from Captain Duffield, Third Iowa Cavalry, commanding post at Fulton, advising me that Porter, Cobb, and others were at Brown's Spring, 11 miles north of that post, with a force variously estimated at from 600 to 900 men; that they were threatening an attack upon the post, and that the strong probability was it would be made before the following morning. Notwithstanding the absence of General Totten, then commanding the Central District, and the very small number of available troops at the post (then not exceeding 500 men of all arms), I felt that the emergency demanded prompt action and justified the assumption of whatever responsibility might be necessary to secure it. With 100 picked men from my own regiment, consisting of 25 each from Companies E, F, G, and H, respectively, under the commands of Lieut. J. Pinhard, Capt. H.N. Cook, Lieut. J.V. Dunn, and Capt. H.S. Glaze, and one section of the Third Indiana Battery, 32 men, under Lieut. A.G. Armington, I crossed the river at Jefferson City, reaching the opposite shore about 10 p.m. [p. 185] Without halting, I continued the march over a broken and rough timbered country, arriving at Fulton about daylight in the morning, the distance being about 27 miles. I found the post had not been attacked, and that the rebel force was still posted at Brown's Spring and receiving accessions hourly. The force at Fulton consisted of about 80 men, under Capt. George Duffield, Company E, Third Iowa Cavalry. Prominent Union men of Fulton advised that my force was too small to proceed farther, and insisted that I should wait at Fulton for re-enforcements. Knowing of no available force in reach, and that delay would encourage the rebel element and greatly increase their force, I determined to advance with the troops at my disposal. After feeding and refreshing men and horses I started for their camp, having augmented my force by the addition of 50 men of Company E, Third Iowa Cavalry, under Captain Duffield, making my aggregate force 186 men.

Our route lay through a comparatively open country until we reached the vicinity of the camp, which we did about 1 p.m. Here I learned, from rebel citizens brought in, that Porter was

still encamped at the Spring with his whole force, numbering from 600 to 900, and that he would certainly give us battle. I found the Spring situated on the south bank of the Auxvasse, in a narrow horseshoe bottom, completely hemmed in by a low bluff, covered with heavy timber and dense undergrowth, being about 1 mile east of the crossing of the Mexico and Fulton road.

Advancing cautiously, when I had reached a point about 1 mile south of the camp I ordered Captain Duffield to move with his company along the Mexico road until he reached the north bank of the Auxvasse, to dismount, to hitch his horses back, and post his men in a brush along a by-path leading from the Spring to the Mexico road; when there, to await the retreat of the enemy or to come up in his rear in case he made a stand at the Spring. With the rest of my force, after waiting for Captain Duffield to reach the position assigned him, I moved rapidly in a northeasterly direction, through fields and farms, taking position in a small arm of open prairie, about 400 yards southeast of the camp and about 150 yards from the brush skirting the creek. Here I dismounted my whole force, hitching the horses to the fences in our rear, and, forming upon the right and left of the section, which was brought to bear upon the rebel camp, I now ordered Captain Glaze, with 50 men, composed of detachments from the different companies, to move directly upon the camp, advancing cautiously through the brush and along the bluff until he reached the camp or met the enemy, and, in either event, to engage him, falling back promptly upon our line. While this order was being executed I received intelligence that a small party of the enemy was seen in the brush about half a mile to our right. I immediately sent Captain Cook, with 20 men, to reconnoiter the ground and ascertain what force was there. On reaching the edge of the timber he discovered a party of 10 or 15 rebels just emerging from the brush. The captain promptly fired upon them, unhorsing 3 of the party and scattering the rest in confusion. It was afterward ascertained that one of the party was mortally, and another seriously, wounded. After waiting some forty minutes I received a message from Captain Glaze that he had reached the camp and that the enemy had fled. I immediately went forward to the camp, found it had been abandoned in hot haste, the enemy leaving behind them one wagon, a quantity of bacon, meal, several sheep, and their dinner, which was just ready, unserved. I discovered, on examining the trail going off, they had dispersed in squads, going down the creek in a northeasterly direction. I at once [p. 186] called in Captain Duffield and ordered the woods scoured in the vicinity of the camp, which was done, but no enemy found. It being near night, I pitched my camp upon the ground where we first formed, intending, after resting and feeding, to pursue and make a night attack upon them.

About 8 p.m. I received information that Lieutenant-Colonel Shaffer was west of me some 10 miles, with 500 men. This information, together with the exhausted condition of my men, having been without sleep forty hours, induced me to defer any further movement until morning. I at once dispatched a messenger to Lieutenant-Colonel Shaffer, advising him of my whereabouts, and asking him to join me as early as practicable next morning. Thus ended our operations at Brown's Spring, notable not for what the men did, but for what they dared.

At daylight I ordered Lieutenant Pinhard, Company E, Ninth Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, with 25 men, to cross the creek below the rebel camp, moving down the north side. I at the same time ordered Lieutenant Spencer, Company E, Third Iowa Cavalry, with 25 men, to move down the south bank, directing them to proceed cautiously, pursuing the rebel trail as soon as they found it, and advising me promptly of their presence or movements.

After dispatching these parties I ascertained that Porter had encamped during the night on the Auxvasse about 4 miles southeast of me, and that his intention was to move down the creek. With the rest of my force I at once moved for his place of encampment. On approaching the old

Saint Charles road I discovered a body of troops moving east, and, pressing forward, we soon overtook them. They proved to be the advance of Lieutenant-Colonel Shaffer's column, 80 men, under Captain Higdon, the column itself being but a short distance behind. I continued moving along the Saint Charles road until I reached a point about 1 mile east of the Auxvasse. Here I halted until the column of Lieutenant-Colonel Shaffer came up. It consisted of detachments from Companies, A, C, E, F, G, H, I, and K, Merrill's Horse, 306 men; detachments from Companies F, G, and H, Third Iowa Cavalry, under Major Caldwell, 83 men; Companies B and D, Tenth Regiment Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, 120 men, and an independent company of cavalry, Captain Rice, 38 men.

I at once ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Shaffer, with the detachments of Merrill's Horse; Companies B and D, Tenth Regiment of Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, and Captain Rice's company, Red Rovers, 38 men, to cross the Auxvasse, moving down the east side of the creek, as near to it as practicable, and engage the enemy if he should come up with him, relying on my cooperation as soon as I should hear the report of his guns. My object was to prevent the escape of the enemy and bring him to an engagement at once. With my original column, augmented by the addition of a detachment of Third Iowa Cavalry, 83 men, I moved down the west side of the creek. I had already been advised that my advance was on the rebel trail and that his pickets had been seen moving forward to reach the head of my column. I found it detached. Through some misapprehension of orders, and in their eagerness to follow, my original column shot ahead, leaving the re-enforcements more than a mile in the rear. Galloping forward to halt the advance and to order out flankers, I had arrived within about 40 yards of it, when a terrible volley was poured upon it from the woods on the east side of the road. The advance instantly wheeled into line and returned the fire from their horses. I ordered them to dismount, which they did with as much coolness and composure as if going to walk into a country church; that, too, upon the very spot where they [p. 187] received the first fire. This advance was composed of 25 men of Company E, Third Iowa Cavalry, under Lieutenant Spencer.

The advance of my column coming up, composed of the remainder of Company E, Third Iowa Cavalry, Captain Duffield, and detachment of Ninth Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, under Captains Cook and Glaze and Lieutenant Dunn, 125 men in all, I ordered them to dismount and deploy their men in the woods upon the right and left of the road, instructing them to conceal themselves as best they could and not to fire until they saw an object. During this time the rebels kept up a continual fire, chiefly upon the center of our line. Our fire was by volleys and mostly at random. Major Caldwell coming up, I ordered him to form his men upon the right of our line, the object of the enemy seeming to be to flank us in that direction. To do this he was compelled to advance his line into the woods 70 or 80 yards east of the road. Here he was met by a strong force of the enemy, who greeted him with a shower of shot and ball. Our little column wavered for a moment under the galling fire, but soon recovered itself and went steadily to work. By this time the men seemed to have got into the merits of the thing, and the brush, which they dreaded so much at first, they now sought eagerly as their surest protection. Our fire, which was at first by volleys, was now a succession of shots, swaying back and forth from one end of the line to the other. As soon as I saw our line steady I ordered forward one gun of the section to our center, which rested upon the road, here so narrow that the piece had to be unlimbered and brought forward by hand. I ordered Lieutenant Armington to open with shell and canister upon the left of the road, which was done in fine style, silencing the rebel fire completely for a time. I now discovered a large body of rebels crossing to the west side of the road, evidently with the view of flanking us on the left. Seeing this, I ordered the other gun of the section to take position

in our rear and on the west side of the road and to shell the woods upon our left, at the same time ordering the advance of our left wing. The prompt execution of these orders soon drove the enemy back to the east side of the road. This accomplished, there was a lull in the storm ominous and deep.

Our whole line was now steadily advancing. Captains Duffield and Cook were upon the right. Major Caldwell was upon the extreme left. Captain Glaze and Lieutenant Dunn were immediately upon the left of the center. Just at this moment a heavy fire was opened upon our left, followed by the wildest yells, and in quick succession came a storm of leaden hail upon our center and a rush of the enemy for our gun. On they came, tearing through the brush. Their fire had proved most destructive, killing and wounding 4 of the cannoneers and quite a number of others in the immediate vicinity of the gun; among the rest my chief bugler, who was near me and immediately in rear of the gun, and who received nine buck-shots and balls. Now was the crisis; the buck-shot rattled upon the leaves like the pattering of hail. I could not see our line 40 feet from the road on either side, but I knew that Caldwell, Cook, Duffield, Glaze, and Dunn were at their posts, and felt that all was well. On they came, until they had gotten within 40 feet of the gun. Our men, who had reserved their fire until now, springing to their feet, poured a well directed volley into their ranks, and the remaining cannoneer delivered them a charge of canister which had been left in his gun since the fall of his comrades. The rebels recoiled and fell back in disorder. They, however, rallied and made two other attempts to gain possession of the gun, but with like [p. 188] success each time. At this juncture Lieutenant-Colonel Shaffer arrived upon the field with his command. I ordered him to dismount his men; to hold one company in reserve; and to send one company forward to our extreme right, and to take position with the rest of his force on our extreme left. Company G, Merrill's Horse, under Lieutenant Peckham, was sent forward to the right. I am not advised of the order in which the other companies were formed on the left. I know, however, that all the companies moved promptly and eagerly to their positions. I here called upon Major Clopper, Merrill's Horse, to act as aide (not having had so much as an orderly after the fall of my chief bugler), which he did during the rest of the engagement, rendering me efficient and valuable assistance.

During the time occupied in making these dispositions the battle continued with unabated vigor. Some of the companies, in their eagerness to get into position on the left, exposed themselves greatly. Among them Company K, Merrill's Horse, and in consequence suffered seriously. Lieutenant Myers fell at this point covered with wounds, from which he has since died. He bore himself nobly and fell in front of his company. The companies however, without faltering, reached their positions. Just at this time a circumstance occurred which for a moment occasioned some confusion. The cry was raised on the left of the center that they were being fired upon by our own men upon the extreme left. It was kept up so persistently that I ordered the companies upon the left to cease firing. It soon proved, however, to be a mistake, and we went on again with the work. I now ordered an advance along our whole line, which was promptly responded to, and with steady step the enemy were driven back. Tired of crawling through the brush, and catching the enthusiasm as they moved, the whole line, raising a wild shout of triumph, rushed upon the enemy, completely routing and driving him from the field.

I immediately ordered two companies mounted and sent in pursuit. They soon found the enemy's camp, but he had fled, leaving his only wagon and a few horses. It was now 4 p.m., the action having begun at 12 [p.]m., the men not having had food or water since morning. The day was one of the very hottest of the season; the battle-field in a dense, unbroken forest, and the undergrowth so thick as to render it impossible in many places to see a man the distance of 30

feet. Many of the men were almost famished with thirst and exhausted from fatigue and the extreme heat. These circumstances induced me (much against my will) to deter farther [sic] pursuit until morning.

Thus terminated the battle of Moore's Mill, brought on and sustained for more than an hour by a force of less than one-third that of the enemy, terminating in his utter defeat and rout by a force largely inferior in numbers; that, too, upon a field of his own choosing, as strong and as well selected as nature could afford. The enemy's force numbered over 900. They were posted behind logs and trees, under cover of brush, so perfectly concealed and protected that you were compelled to approach within a few steps of them before they could be seen. The battle occurred about 1 mile west of the Auxvasse, and about the same distance south of Moore's Mill, from which it takes its name.

Of the conduct of officers and men I cannot speak in terms of too high commendation. Where every man discharged his whole duty it should seem invidious to discriminate. It is enough to say that with such officers and men I should never feel doubtful of the result upon an equal field.

The following is a summary of our loss: Third Iowa Cavalry, killed 2, [p. 189] wounded 24; Ninth Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, killed 2, wounded 10; Merrill's Horse, killed 6, wounded 11; Third Indiana Battery, killed 1, wounded 3; Red Rovers, Captain Rice, killed 2, wounded 7. Total, 13 killed and 55 wounded. We lost 22 horses killed, belonging almost entirely to the Third Iowa Cavalry.

The loss of the enemy, as ascertained, was 52 killed and from 125 to 150 wounded. His wounded were scattered for miles around the battle-field. Many of them were carried on horses back to Boone, Randolph, and other counties. On our march next day we found from one to a dozen at almost every house we passed, and many who were badly wounded continued with the enemy on his retreat. We captured 1 prisoner and a number of guns. There were among the killed and wounded a number of my neighbors and county men. A captain and a private of my regiment had each a brother on the rebel side and a lieutenant had a brother-in-law killed.

Porter had studiously impressed upon the minds of his men that if taken alive they would be killed. One rebel was found crawling from the field badly wounded and stripped, except his drawers. When approached he said he was a Federal soldier, but finally admitted that he was not, and stated that his object in denuding himself was to conceal his identity, and thus avoid being shot as we passed over the field. Others, who had been taken into houses along the route of their retreat, hearing of our approach, would drag themselves out into the fields and woods to avoid us, thus showing the deep deception which has been practiced upon them.

I encamped for the night near the battle-field, and resumed the pursuit at daylight next morning. Moving down the Auxvasse some 4 miles I struck the rebel trail, which I followed over a brushy, rugged, and broken country until noon. In many places the trail led over ravines and hollows, which they no doubt supposed were impracticable for the passage of vehicles. I at length reached a point where the trail ran out, and, upon examination, discovered that the enemy had doubled upon his track. The result was that, after marching until 2 p.m., we found ourselves within 2 miles of the point where we had come upon the trail in the morning. In the mean time [sic] I had been joined by Companies A and B of my own regiment, and, from information obtained from them, with other circumstances, I became satisfied that Porter had divided his force, which afterward proved true. A portion, perhaps numbering 300, under Cobb, Frost, and Purcell, had gone northwest through Concord. The remainder, led by himself, had gone northeast in the direction of Wellsville. I therefore determined to move directly to Mexico and

endeavor to intercept the main body in the vicinity of Paris, being advised that there was a body of some 400 rebels near that place organized and ready to join Porter. I reached Mexico at 8 a.m. the following morning and on the same day received a message from Colonel McNeil, advising me that he was at Paris with 350 men, and that Porter was in the immediate vicinity with a large force, and asking co-operation. I at once telegraphed to Lieutenant-Colonel Morsey at Warrenton to move up with his command, numbering about 150 men, and on the following day the column moved for Paris, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Shaffer.

Prostrated by sudden illness, I was here compelled to abandon the expedition, well begun, and afterward so handsomely consummated.

Respectfully submitted,

O. GUITAR,

Colonel, Ninth Cavalry, Missouri State Militia.

Col. Lewis Merrill.

Appendix 2

Handwritten report of Major H.C. Caldwell, 3rd Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, to N.B. Baker, Adjutant General of Iowa, October 28, 1862 (State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines, RG 101, Box 59, 1861-1865, unique number 039500, N51/08/06). Published versions of this report, with minor editorial differences, were published in 1910 in Volume 4 of *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* (Adjutant General of Iowa 1910:420-421) and in Part III, Volume 2, Serial No. 94 of the *Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Hewett 1999:128-130).

Camp Near Lebanon Missouri

Oct 28 1862

To

N.B. Baker

Adj. Gen State of Iowa

General

I herewith transmit to You a memorandum of the service of of [sic] the 2nd Battalion 3d Iowa Cavalry. This Battalion Composed of Co "E" Capt George Duffield Co "F" Capt B.F. Crail since resignation of Captain A M Robinson Co "G" Captain E Mayne, Co "H" Captain Jesse Hughes Under my Command was ordered into the field from Benton Barracks Decr 12 1861 and proceeded to Jefferson City and from thence to Boonville, Glasgow and into the Country Adjacent in the Course of this Expedition One Hundred and Seventy three (173) kegs of powder were Captured from the enemy On Decr 25th. were Stationed at Fulton Callaway County Mo. and were engaged Constantly during the winter and ensuing spring in scouting Capturing and dispersing rebels And rebel gangs, and securing quantities of ammuniton from the enemy which had been secreted for future use. in the spring detachments of my Command were stationed in the Counties of Callaway Audrain And Monroe in the fore part of the summer these Counties were Constituted a sub district under my Command

On the 31st day of May 1862 I proceeded with detachments of Cos. "G." & F. under Command of Lts McCrary & Hartman respectively to attack a Rebel Camp on Salt River. At the first intimation of Our approach the Rebels fled precipitately. We wounded Several Captured all their horses, Camp equipage and part of their arms. Our Casualties were two men of Co G wounded.

On the 22nd day of July 1862 detachments of Cos "F" & "G" under Command of Lts Stidger And Hartman with Sixty Men encountered the Rebel Porter Three hundred strong at Florida in Monroe County Notwithstanding the great disparity in numbers, this detachment fought the Rebels galantly [sic] for one hour when they were forced to fall back upon the post of Paris- three rebels were killed And many wounded Our Casualties were twenty two men wounded And two taken prisoners

On the 24th day of July 1862 with One hundred men Encountered the Rebel Porter with his force about Four hundred men strongly posted in the dense brush on the "Botts" [Boles?] farm in Monroe County- killed One rebel wounded many others our Casualties were one man killed. Capt B F Crail of Co "F" and Nine Men wounded Porter fled South into Callaway whither we pursued

On the 27th day of July ~~Porter~~ 1862 One hundred men of the 9th Missouri S.M. And Fifty men of Co "E" under Command of Capt Duffield of Company "E" drove the Rebel Porter with his

force which had been Augmented to near Eight hundred men from Brown's Springs in Callaway County he retreated in the direction of Moors Mills
July 28 detachments of Missouri S.M. Merills horse, And of this Battalion with a section of the 3d Indiana Battery all under Command of Col Guitar Encountered Porter in a strong Position in a dense thicket near Moors Mills in Callaway County After a desparate [sic] fight of four hours the Rebels were utterly routed with a loss of Thirty Killed and near One hundred wounded. A great many guns and horses fell into our hands. The Casualties of this Battalion were Four Men Killed- Twenty wounded- Co "E" of this Battalion had Twenty seven horses killed- the Rebels fled northward the Battalion with other forces Continued in pursuit and on the 6th day of August found the Rebels two thousand Strong posted in the town of Kirksville in Adair County A severe engagement ensued resulting in a Complete rout of the Rebels Rebel loss One Hundred and twenty Eight killed- Two hundred wounded forty taken prisoners. we captured two hundred stand of Arms and about two hundred horses. casualties in this Battalion killed Captain E. Mayne Co "G" ~~3d Iowa~~ Wounded Capt Jesse Hughs Co "H" Lt M.J. Birch Co H and ten men Battalion Continued in pursuit of Rebels And Rebel bands until they were utterly Routed and dispersed when we were ordered to this post where we are now stationed

Very Respectfully

Your Obt Sevt

H C Caldwell

Maj 2nd Bat 3d Iowa Cav

Appendix 3

Excerpt from *As I Saw It*, by Harvey Argyle. Home Publishing Company, San Francisco, California, 1902, pp. 66-70.

[P. 66] On the afternoon of July 28, 1862, we fell in with Lieut.-Colonel Odon Guitar, near Moore's Mill, in command of 120 men, 10th Regiment Missouri Militia Cavalry, and 306 men, Merrill's Horse, and some of the 9th Missouri Cavalry and 133 men of the 3d Iowa Cavalry, under Major Cadwell [sic]; also a detachment of 38 men from an Independent Company of Red Rovers under Captain Rice, and one section of the 3d Indiana Battery with two six-pound guns and 32 men, commanded by Lieutenant A.G. Armington.

We were informed by Lieut.-Colonel Odon Guitar that there would be something doing very soon, and to fall in line. We had scarcely gotten into position when a terrific fire was poured into our lines from the brush. Our men immediately dismounted and returned the fire. The fierce firing from the Rebel ranks swayed our lines, men falling dead and wounded on all sides, and one could see from the expression on the faces of the officers and men that they had the gravest fears of the final result. Our guns were quickly brought forward and unlimbered, as the brush was too thick for a cavalry charge or to permit the handling of artillery with animals. Our guns belched forth canister into the Rebel lines, checking their [p. 67] fire for an instant. Then we plainly heard orders given by the Rebel commander to charge our guns and take them or die. Onward they came, pouring volley after volley into our ranks, at the same time sending forth a Rebel yell that under ordinary circumstances would make the stoutest heart quail. One of my comrades at my side asked me at the time how many Rebels I thought there were. I replied, "A million," and I spoke as I felt.

To this charge, however, we shouted defiance and returned volley after volley from our rifles, our two guns decimating the ranks of the enemy with grape and canister. Onward they came with maddened frenzy. We drove them back, killing fifty or sixty and wounding one hundred and fifty, but not, however, until they had killed and wounded a number of our gunners and many of the men aiding them. At this juncture one of the gunners fell, mortally wounded. A comrade stooped to raise him in his arms, when he shouted, "Stand by your gun my brave boy! Save it or die, for here they come again. Give them a double charge, my boys!" No quicker said than his order was promptly obeyed. The old man, raising himself to his knees, snatched [p. 68] one of our flags from the ground that had been trampled and torn in the former charge, and waving it in the air, cheered the boys at the guns. Men sprang forward from the ranks to fill the places of those killed and wounded and to help pull the guns through the woods.

The enemy was right upon us by this time and the wounded gunner's action caused a cheer around the guns which went down the line like a high wind wafting fire through a dry grain field. Then the old gunner begged to be carried to his gun, and Lieutenant A.G. Armington, who was in charge of the battery and who had noticed his daring and the work he had done, gave an order and he was raised by four stalwart men on an improvised blanket litter and carried forward. "Give them a double charge!" the old gunner again called, as they raised him up. A simultaneous shout went up from the officers and men to charge, and the whole line dashed forward like a shot from a gun and bore down on the enemy in maddened fury. The gun that the wounded man had charge of was pulled through the woods by hand at such a rapid pace that the other piece was distanced in the dash. The dying gunner was carried forward on his litter, his life-blood [p. 69] oozing through the blanket on which he was carried. At every step he urged his comrades

forward; he made them fighting demons. They were stripped to the waist and bareheaded and bent to their duty with the strength of giants, and a cheer went up that rent the air above the cannon's roar for this gallant little Indiana Battery. The contagious cheer went down the line like an electric current and we drove the enemy, thrice our number, back like chaff before the wind. The officers were even more daring than the men and would have led their troops through Hell.

On reaching the brow of the hill we discovered that a portion of the enemy had made a stand in an old tobacco barn. "Give them a solid shot," the old gunner again cried out; but the shot fell short. It was then the old hero breathed his last, and while a few brave men stood with bowed heads over the lifeless form of the brave old gunner, Pat Connolly (I do not remember the company to which he belonged, but I think it was the Red Rover), who had had some practice with artillery, sprang forward and elevating the muzzle of the six-pounder, sent a solid ball through the top of the building, tearing away portions of the [p. 70] partly decayed roof timbers and shakes of the barn and throwing them down on the heads of the enemy, putting them to flight. As he saw the effect of his shot he yelled, "Hurrah for old Ireland!" This was another signal for a cheer and a dash; the officers ordered another charge and the boys rushed down the valley after them in hot pursuit, firing charge upon charge after the fleeing enemy.

When the sun kissed the sky above us goodday and settled down in the western horizon, and night came on and began to shed her tears on the beautiful foliage of the forest, our bugle called us back to care for our dead and wounded.

The next morning, while the sun was drying up the tears night had shed on the dimpled cheeks of the wild rosebud, the fallen heroes, both the blue and the gray, were laid to rest near the spot where they made their last gallant charge. Then we fell into line and turned our faces toward our post quarters with a heavy heart, carrying our wounded with us.

We took part in other skirmishes and battles but none that presents the pathos of those I have described; therefore I will pass to the close of the historic struggle...

Appendix 4

Memoir of William A. Johnson, formerly a private in Company K, 2nd Missouri Volunteer Cavalry. From the *Civil War Times Illustrated* Collection, U.S. Army Military History Institute, U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center, U.S. Army War College, Carlyle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Call number ARCH COLL Bay 4, Row 145, Face H, Shelf 3. Legal size typescript. Page citations are to manuscript pages.

The story of the war! Who can tell it? The history of a regiment! Who can write it? Historians have given us but faint outlines of the struggle which took place, when North met South in deadly fight for country, flag, and liberty. Even the carefully prepared memoirs of our late Commander who has pitched his silent tent on the banks of the beautiful Hudson, is but a shadow, a mere skeleton of events.

Under the blue blouse of a private soldier, is carried the true story of the war, and with the comrades rests the true history of a regiment. I can but note events which occurred under my own observation.

The ninth of July, 1862, found our regiment scattered along the Mississippi not far from Island No. 10. Constant vigilance was required in the protection of Union property and person from the hordes of guerillas who swarmed about us. On the 12th of July we were notified of a large band of guerillas, near Huntsville, Missouri, under the command of Col. Joe Porter and Col. Dunn, who were burning and destroying Union property, murdering union citizens, and conscripting soldiers for the rebel army in the northern part of the state. Our detachment was under the command of Col. John Y. Clopper, and consisted of companies G., A., C., E., and I., numbering in all about 240 men for duty. Six days were spent in scouring the country in search of the rebel band, traversing woods, swamp and brake, two days of the march being under a burning July sun, the balance in drenching July showers. On the afternoon of the 17th, [p. 2] we were made happy by capturing prisoners from both Porter's and Dunn's commands, and by information from our scouts as we went into camp that night, that we were twelve miles from the Iowa line and rebel pickets were on the road four miles north of us. A heavy guard was thrown out, disposition made of the men in case of a night attack, and the detachment rested. It was on the eve of battle, we knew it, felt it, breathed it in the very air. Groups of men held whispered consultation. Officers hurried back and forth in the darkness in search of brother officer. The camp wore an air of expectancy. Even the horses seemed to be uneasy at the faintest sound. At 1 o'clock two pistol shots rang out, instantly men clutched revolvers and carbines and are ready. The cause is soon ascertained. The leader of a band of guerillas captured the afternoon before had killed one of the guards in trying to escape and was shot dead. At 2 o'clock the clouds which seemed to hang so low over us broke away, the pale moon came out, quiet is restored. Tired soldiers, drenched to the skin, stretch themselves upon the damp ground in their wet blankets, ready to spring to place at pistol shot, or bugle call. Two hours they slept, then the reveille. The camp is astir. Horses are groomed and fed. Blankets are rolled and strapped to saddle. Hard tack and coffee are bolted down in haste, Pickets [sic] are called in. To horse and off again, in column on the road, Co. H. in advance with Sergeant Kelsey and six men in the extreme advance, Corporal Gregory and four men following at supporting distance, two of whom Kelsey puts forward as advance skirmishers soon after leaving camp. After marching about three miles Lieut. Gregory with a part of Co. H. was sent to the left to reconnoitre, and soon found where the enemy had camped the night previous, the camp fires still burning. He captured [p. 3] some

horses and coming back to the column reported his discovery to Col. Clopper and at the same time suggested the importance of an inspection of arms, which was most fortunate for us, as it disclosed the fact that having been exposed to the storm for many days fully three fifths of the guns would miss fire. The column halted, wet cartridges were drawn from rusty carbine barrels [sic], chambers wiped dry and loaded fresh; then we move on. At 9 o'clock we strike their trail and turn west, then south through heavy timber, still on their trail, every eye on the advance guard strained to catch a glimpse of man or horse in front. Ten o'clock! The advance guard come out of the woods into an opening of four or five acres. The support in their eagerness have closed up. We see a mounted vidette in the thick growth of timber on the other side of the clearing. A gun barrel [sic] flashes in the sunlight, a puff of smoke, a bullet whistles through our ranks. The ball is opened. Quickly the advance guard form and advance across the opening into a thick growth of underbrush. Now over an oak ridge to a deep cut on the left and rail fence on the right, both of which we follow to the road and come upon the rebel rear guard of twenty or more men, engaged in tearing up a bridge which crosses a small stream, a few rods in front of us. Adj. Traver, who has just dashed up, yells "Charge!" and at them we go. We give and take a volley at the same instant. Traver loses his horse. The guerillas break and spring into their saddles. We dash across the bridge and a running fright is kept up across a small marsh. We gain on them and are almost among them. Now with saber and revolver they keep the road uphill. Bushes fly past upon our right, house and garden patch upon our left, thick underbrush ahead [p. 4] into which we dash. Too late! A crashing volley, a rebel yell, and of the advance of twelve but two are left, and they unharmed. We had dashed into a force of fully six hundred men, formed three lines deep, who crouching on their knees had waited us unseen. Kelsey had received preemptory orders that morning from Col. Clopper to engage any forces he might find and hold them until the detachment comes up. We had come upon the enemy and discovered they didn't need any holding. Only one company to fight six hundred, and as angry wave is dashed against and beaten back by rocky coast, so our boys, by platoons, in column of fours, and by squads are crowded up the road and into timber, only to be hurled back torn and bleeding. Scores of men are unsaddled and dragging themselves out of the way of the charging column. Stillson is wounded, and his horse, shot dead, falls upon him. The rebels crowd forward and take him prisoner. Corp. Sutherland of Co. A. rides to the rear shot in the hip and arm. Capt. Hacker of Co. E. is struck in the breast. Lieut. Gregory reels in the saddle and is assisted back and away from the rebel fire. Every one is engaged now, it is the fifth charge we are making and we spur our horses up to their line, and fire our revolvers in their faces. Lewis of Co. H. and Haynes of Co. I. went clear through their lines. Haynes falls mortally wounded on his return. A rebel kills one of our men with his musket. Lieut. Robinson of Co. I. is shot and sitting on the ground shouts to Clopper:- "Why don't you dismount those men and stop murdering them?" Lieut. Potter is shot in two places and falls forward on his horse's neck. Rowell is with us yet, firing his revolver at every opportunity, and as he brings it to his face, it is struck by a bullet which is aimed at his head, and knocked out of his grasp. Still with numb hand he draws his saber and tries to encourage his men. Our officers are [p. 5] with us, not behind us, and in this baptism of fire display a courage equal to that of any member of the old regiment. But of what avail is courage here? We on horseback, in thick bush, the enemy on foot and out numbering us three to one, we rally and form in the open space north of a log house for the sixth and last charge. Maj. Roger's battalion which had come up, dismounts and advances up the road in column of twos, Co. G. following mounted, immediately behind them. We reached the brush and facing to the

right again became engaged. Again a sheet of flame along the line. Again the woods are blue with smoke, and ten more names are added to the list of killed.

But our charge decides the day, their lines are broken, they have made the discovery that it is not militia they are fighting, but the blue caps, as we are called. They are demoralized and scattered like a flock of sheep. We have lost in the killed and wounded more than two to their one, but the suspicion that we had been beaten had never dawned upon us. Seven of our men were taken prisoners and shot, a placard placed on the breast of each, saying such would be the fate of every one of the regiment taken prisoner. The fight is over,--the cheek that was so flushed with victory now pales; the eyes that flashed along the carbine barrel are dimmed with tears as we gather up the dead, and tenderly care for the wounded. Brave, noble-hearted Mason sobs like a child, as he pillows with bloody sleeve the head of an I. or H. Co. boy, as they are placed in the ambulance, which carries them back about a mile to a large brick house situated on the north side of the road, while the remnant of the command go into camp in the meadow nearly opposite. The roll is called and 240 members who went into the fight were killed or wounded, and one, the rider of old sleepy David, missing.

[p. 6] The following note, written hastily on the field by Col. Clopper, was taken from the Mo. Democrat:-

"I cannot find terms adequate to express my admiration of the heroic manner in which my comrades stood the galling and destructive fire poured upon them by their concealed assassins. The enemy are badly whipped and I follow at once. The enemy were well concealed in thick brush and timber, and I must do them the justice to say that they fought desperately. They will not meet me upon open ground."

We bury our dead, wrapped in their blankets, and at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 19th after bidding "good bye" to our wounded, with whom a detail was left, who afterwards carried them to Memphis, Tenn. and Keokuk, Iowa for treatment, we broke camp and again started in pursuit of Porter's command, which, we learned had fallen back to a strong position near Florida, a small town in the southern part of Knox Co. But they had been too completely "knocked out" to care for another round, and again turned their backs, retreating southward, at a pace which insured their safety for the time being at least. We followed, and unlike "one of the twelve" not afar off, reaching the old camp at Sturgeon on the 22d, where we halted a few days, and finding our numbers so much less from our loss, we found it necessary to wait for reinforcement. Their numbers were rapidly increasing by recruiting. Upon the arrival of Cos. B. and K. with Lieut-Col. Shafer, who assumed the command, we were at once supplied with ammunition, and the night of the 27th found us again in the saddle, at a little town called Centralia, where Porter's command now numbering nearly eight thousand men, had passed a few days before going southward into Calway [sic] Co. The "reveille" rang out clear and distinct on the morning of the 26th [sic; 28th], and by 7 o'clock the column was on the road, Co. K. in [p. 7] advance. Again the prospect of a fight ahead filled the men with enthusiasm, although we knew that Porter's force outnumbered us three to one. At 10 o'clock when near Mt. Zion's church, Col. Guitar with 150 of the 9th Missouri State Militia, and a section of the 3rd Ind. battery, came up and at once took the lead. Our regiment following, in which order the march was continued until within three miles of "Moore's Mills", when the command was divided, our regiment being ordered to take the road to the left, running nearly to the southeast, Col. Guitar with the militia and battery keeping the main road southward toward "Moore's Mills", at or near which place we were advised the enemy had made a halt. The folly of dividing our forces in the face of an enemy known to be vastly superior to us in numbers can be accounted for only on the theory that

having been whipped so badly by our regiment a few days before they would of course break and scatter at the first fire, and we having gained their flank and rear would capture in detail. In theory the plan was beautiful, in result somewhat disastrous. Porter's forces did not break so easy. He had chosen a position near "Moore's Mills" in a belt of timber interspersed with a dense growth of underbrush, and had formed his line of battle, the right resting on the wagon road on which Guitar was advancing, and flank thrown out on either side describing nearly a half circle, into which V shaped line the militia deliberately marched in columns of fours and were allowed to advance until the head of the column had reached nearly the centre [sic] of the rebel line, before fire was opened upon them. The battery unlimbered and took a position on the right of the road, and Guitar made a desperate attempt to form his line. The head of the line had been thrown into confusion by the raking fire of the rebel center, and now his hastily formed line farther back is [p. 8] receiving an infilading fire from his enemy's right and left wings. Men are not born who can long stand such onslaught. The battle was short, but decisive and disastrous. Where was "Merrills Horse?" One [i.e., Our] regiment had reached nearly three miles to the left, halted and dismounted, when the sound of artillery and volley firing greeted our ears. Mount, counter-march, by the right flank, trot, gallop, we are off on our way back to the point where we had left the main road. Now we turn south, two miles more, and one [i.e., our] column covered with dust and foam after a five mile ride under an August midday sun came thundering into the woods. "Merrills Horse" to the rescue, and we are not a moment too soon. The firing has nearly ceased. A citizen loaded down with revolvers and bowie knives (one of Guitar's scouts) and who but two short hours before had been sighing for blood, now flashes past us to the rear, with his desire satisfied. Now we reach the stragglers, now the wounded and the dying, then the battery round which the rebels are swarming. Co. K. without waiting to close up, drew sabre [sic] and charged with a yell. A deafening volley and the smoke rolls over them. The rebels are driven back, the guns saved, but glorious old K. Co. have lost Lieut. Meyrs [sic] and nearly half their men. For forty five minutes the rebels have had it all their own way, but now they are checked and victory [is] about to be snatched from them. Their officers are having trouble to form a new line, now that the men discover that "Merrills Horse" have come up. They form in a thick brush on the east side of the road and await our advance. We hastily dismount and prepare to fight on foot. The few remaining gunners, assisted by some of our men, push forward the guns. A part of Co. H. came up on "double quick" and form on the right, as support. The balance of the regiment take position on the left, facing southeast. The line moves forward and soon find the [p. 9] enemy have got our horses between us and them, thinking we would not kill our own horses. But, Col. Shafer told us to load the guns to the muzzle with canister and let them have it, which we did, entirely destroying our horses and fairly piling the rebels in heaps. "Merrills Horse" charging and finishing the work of destruction. All at once hearing heavy firing in our rear, Col. Shafer gives the command, "Right about face, forward, march!" and after moving a short distance Col. Shafer shouts to the men, "Lie down", which order was obeyed with alacrity, as we received a heavy volley from the rebel reinforcements. Shafer gives command, "Forward on your hands and knees, fire as you go", and the sharp crack of the Spencer carbine tells its own story. Fears for the safety of the battery causes Col. Shafer to withdraw the balance of "Merrills Horse" from the left, they immediately form and lie down quickly in front of the guns, and soon discover a heavy column of guerillas crossing the road and forming directly in front of us for a charge. One of their number stops an instant in the road and brings his rifle to his face, but "Roy" who has been watching close, has the drop on him and the rebel goes down with a Spencer bullet through his lungs. Rowell can hardly restrain Co. H. from rising to their feet and

firing into the advancing line, the gunners shout "lie down", and the guns, which have been double shotted with grape and canister, belch forth a sheet of flame over our heads, a volley from the support and the charge is repulsed, a faint cheer is heard on the extreme left, which is caught up and borne along the line. We spring to our feet and dart forward. The enemy are now in full retreat, we follow them closely, capturing a few prisoners and a part of their wagon train, containing arms and ammunition, also two barrels of very poor whiskey. Now we [p. 10] turn back and again the sad task is ours of burying our dead and caring for the wounded. The militia lost heavily. Our loss was not so great as we expected, with the exception of Co. K. through whose bravery the battery was saved. Our forces numbered in this fight about 1600, the guerillas over 7000. We go into camp in an open field in the west side of the road, near the scene of the day's fight gathering up such mules and horses, as we could, that had been captured, to mount our regiment. The whiskey is turned over to the commissary, and for the first time in our history as a regiment, is passed down the line and issued to the command, one half cup to each man; and right here occurs a beautiful illustration of what self-reliance, when backed up by conscientious scruples, can do for a man. Two members of the Mich. battalion, although removed "by many a mile" from the restraining influence of home society and suffering from the effects of a hard day's march and fight, utterly refusing to take even a drop, but very generously disposed of their allowance to their less scrupulous comrades, at ten cents a swallow, or three for twenty-five cents.

On the morning of the 29th, we are again in the saddle and on the trail of the guerillas, who, after their defeat of the day before turn east, then north, again crossing the railroad at a point near Mexico, in Adrian [sic; Audrain] Co., thence through the counties of Munroe [sic; Monroe], Shelby, Knox and Scotland, where their trail passes within a mile of the Memphis battle field [sic], thence southwest across the corner of Schuyler [sic] Co., thence south to the village of Kirksville, the County seat of Adair Co., where, having received reinforcements sufficient to give them a force of about 7600 men they again throw down the gauntlet. We are following close in the rear, and having been joined by Gen. McNeil [sic] with a detachment of state militia, and a company of Iowa [p. 11] men [interlineation: called the Red Rovers, gave us nearly ___ men], and two pieces of artillery that of the 3rd Ind. battery. Gen. McNeil being fresh urges us along as fast as the jaded condition of our horses and mules will permit. Some skirmishing occurs on the 4th of August while following Porter through Knox Co. On the next day however, a constant skirmishing is kept up between our advance and the rebel rear guard, many being wounded on both sides, and some killed. We are slowly but surely gaining upon them, and are constantly taking prisoners. The sharp crack of the carbine and rifle becomes more frequent and the men, weary with the long march, are aroused to a new life with the prospect of a fight, for fight the Johnnies must or surrender. We camp that night so close to Porter's lines that many recruits on their way to join him are brought in by our pickets.

The morning of the 6th skirmishing commences immediately after we leave camp. Men are urged forward and skirmishing increases. McNeil is bound to force them to fight. Our advance guard is increased and a heavy line of skirmishers are thrown out. We come out from the timber upon the prairie and came in sight of the village of Kirksville about noon. Porter's rear guard suddenly became stubborn and refused to yield ground, although earnestly requested to do so by our skirmishers through the speaking medium of their Enfield rifles and Spencer carbines, which is proof sufficient that they proposed again to face us. The artillery is hurried to the front and take position about half or three fourths of a mile from the outskirts of the village, on a slight eminence, and with Co. G. dismounted as a support to them on the extreme right. The

balance of our regiment dismount, and form on our left, the Red Rovers and State militia forming on the extreme left. Lieut. Cowdry with a few volunteers from Cos. A. G. and K. make a reconnaissance riding into the village [p. 12] and around a block of buildings when fire is opened upon him. He wheels to the left and comes back, without losing a man but with many wounded and clinging to their horses necks.

Our gunners wait impatiently for orders, which are given immediately upon Cowdry's return, and now a rain of solid shot and shell, followed by grape and canister is poured upon the luckless guerillas, who, soon finding the building[s] unsuitable for permanent occupancy move out. Our lines move forward and the firing becomes general. The rebels form and advance for a charge. A volley from our entire line threw them into confusion, and they fell back. Our boys, with a cheer, go forward at a double quick, the battery following. A new line is found [i.e., formed] at the edge of the village, and our guns again belch forth a rain of shot and shell. We are now at closer range and men are falling on all sides. McNeil is dazed for a few moments, by a shell passing close to his head. The enemy are losing heavily and cannot be kept in line. Our shells are passing through them and working disaster to the rebel line beyond, and they are seized with a desire to immigrate. McNeil orders a charge and we go up to the street with a rush, the only trouble now is to head us off and stop us inside the county. Porter's army of guerillas with which he was to redeem northern Mo. by the entire destruction of the union people and their possessions, and give it back to the southern confederacy, now became a frightened mob, completely routed, horse and foot. They threw away guns, clothing and everything which will in any way retard their locomotion and run. Companies G. and I. were then ordered to follow after the remaining few. We pushed on as fast as we could, seeing nothing of any one, until we came to a small town, about eleven miles from Kirksville, when we met a colored man coming down the road as fast as he could run. He [p. 13] came up to us and cried out "They are hanging one of `you ones' all in the Fair ground." Just through the gate, which we could see from where we were, James H. Keating who was in command, ordered forward, galop [sic], march and in less than five minutes we were going through the gate, and where, hanging to the flag staff on the grand stand, was Capt. Stilson, who was captured in the first of the campaign. One of their men rushed to cut him down while the rest summoned the guerillas, who numbered 36. They were all captured, clearing up the whole gang, and causing northeast Mo. to be in peace which lasted eight months.

Capt. Stilson was revived in a few minutes, but was not able to ride on horseback, so a man was detailed to get a wagon and take him to camp. After taking the prisoners to camp, it was found they had kept the Captain in hopes of securing a reward. His father lived near Kansas City and was reported wealthy. They wanted five thousand dollars for him.

Knowing they must disband until "Merrills Horse" left the State, they decided to hang him.

They were marched up to headquarters for a "court martial" and every one was found with a parole in his pocket, and had never been exchanged. They were all shot at sunrise the next morning.

We start for Cairo, then down the Mississippi and the guerilla campaign is ended.

Appendix 5

Letters dated August 3 and 10, 1862, from Corporal Daniel G. Harrington, Company H, 2nd Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, to his parents. Transcribed by Douglas D. Scott.

Newark Mo. Aug 3 1862

Dear Parents

As we are to move on as soon as we feed, I know I should not get a chance to write you if I did not do it now. I should have written you at Mexico, but had not time & my mind has been so confused ever since I have been on this march I did not know but you thought I was crazy.

You might have heard of the Moores Mill fight a short time since. I was in the hottest of it & have got me a Secesh saddle which I mean to send to Joseph if Maj, Clopper will give it to me. I come off all right only I was very tired as we had right hard work, but I came off alive thank God. We lost 9 men killed & 20 wounded. Porter lost over 60 killed & 50 wounded & are still on track.

This morning we had the hardest storm I ever saw, wind wrenching of hickory trees 30 inches in diameter & rained almost enough to drown us out. This march has been one almost equaling Hannibals crossing the Alps. I've no more time to write as we are going to move as soon as we get our dinner. So good bye I will write again as soon as possible

Give my love to all
In great haste
Your on
Galusha

P.S. We found our men in here that we left all right though Porter had a fight here yesterday with the state troops killing 5 & wounded 4 more & took 50 prisoners & let them go after taking the oath. His (Porters) loss is 72 killed & 10 wounded.
Gay

Laporte Macon Co Mo Aug 10

Dear Parents

Again as I have time to take my place at the desk behind the counter of a store in Laporte. I wrote to you when I came through here before, since that time I have been in 3 distinct fights with Porter & Cobb & I guess I will give you the numbers engaged & the loss on both sides as near as I can.

Friday July 18th 350 Rebels & 250 Merrills Horse & state troops had a fight near Memphis our loss was 15 killed & 50 wounded, theirs 25 killed & 30 wounded. (I suppose you have heard the

particulars of this fight by the boys that came home) Co H's had 10 wounded & 1 taken prisoner.) They fled towards the Missouri River where we overtook them again in Callaway Co near Moores Mill & attacked them at 2 P.M. & fought till nearly dark. They numbered 800 men, our number was 400, theirs loss was 130 killed & 80 or more wounded, ours was 8 killed & 50 wounded (here I took a Secesh saddle which I shall send to Joe if Maj-will let me have it). They ran in every direction & we camped for the night, but pursued them in the morning & we overtook them again at Kirksville Mo where they had taken possession of all the houses in town & the Courthouse. We came in on them in good style. They were 3000 strong, our forces were 800 with 2 pieces of artillery & we give them Jessi

Co H guarded the cannons Oh! it was awful to see men fall as they did, lossed 300 men in killed & wounded, our loss was 5 killed & 10 wounded. Lieut Rowell got a spent ball in his breast making him feel faint but he never left. We took 35 prisoners, Col McCulloch among the rest & shot 20 of them dead.

Gave Col Mc- 5 minutes to speak. He said he hoped we all would get the same treatment, folded his hands & said he died for his principles. 3 bullets went through his head. We burnt some of the houses, they were completely riddled by canister.

Oh! Father I went to a house & got my dinner & while I was eating someone robbed it of \$10,000 in checks on the bank & 60 in gold, 1 gold watch, \$200 worth of jewelry. So to free myself I reported it to Col Shafer. He is doing his best to find out the perpetrators.

Col or rather Gen Merrill came out to Bloomington to see his boys, he is proud of them & we of him. The Secesh are afraid of as they call us blue cap regulars.

The artillery, since they won't go into a fight unless Merrills Horse will support them. But I must close, we are still on the march after Porter, so good bye in great haste, give my love to all. let Raymonds folks know I am well.

Your son Galusha

I have written 4 time on this trip & wish I could get [nothing written on the last page]

Appendix 6

Account of Daniel G. Harrington, formerly a corporal in Company H, 2nd Missouri Volunteer Cavalry. From *With Porter in North Missouri: A Chapter in the History of the War Between the States*, by Joseph A. Mudd (Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, Iowa, 1992, p. 197).

This engagement was about the last of July, 1862, the 28th I think. The enemy's force was about one thousand and fifty and ours somewhere near nine hundred. Our loss was about nineteen killed and forty-six wounded; from the prisoners taken their loss was estimated at about sixty killed and ninety-one wounded. The fight was hot while it lasted and the enemy made a hasty retreat.

Appendix 7

Letter of Solomon V. Munger, Co. I, 2nd Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, to his wife, Mexico, Missouri, July 30, 1862. From the Munger Family Civil War Letters, Ms. 03.23, Box 1, Folder 20, Butler Center for Arkansas Studies, Central Arkansas Library System, Little Rock, Arkansas.

No 19

Mexico July 30, 62

Amanda it is with plasuer that i hav the privalage of riting to you again for thair is sum of my friends that has gon whair no traviler returns wee hav had a nother batle with the rebels on the 28 of this month that ouer loss was about fifteen kild and wounded and Tip was one of the number he was Shot with five balls in the head and two in the left brest so he never maid a strugal he was all the one that was hirt in oure company wee haid about six hundred in [p. 2] the fite and the rebels is estimatid at one thousen wee kild and wounded from seventy five to one hundred of them that wee hav found the rebel ledr [h]is name is Porter he gits in to the thickest bushes that he can find and has all the advantage of ous but we routed him and am in persuit of him yet tell Eviline that i will rite to hur all about his deth and i will see that his things is sent to hur if i ever git back to camp a gain this makes 15 dayes that wee hav folowed him the story is now that he has disbanded if that [p. 3] is sow wee shal gow to camp purty sunn for wee are giting worne oute i sent you twenty dolars by expres when i was to sturgen probaly you will git it before you git thes you must keep up good corage for i think that i shal com out all rite yet i will rite the holl perticals of the batles when i git whair i can for i may be orderd to march in tenn minets and wee may stay here all nite i am kooking now sow i hav to gow with the wagen sow i aint in much danger as i shold be if i was in the colum children you must be stidy for i aint thare to see to any thing thair [p. 4] Amanda i must bring my leter to a close by saing that i am in a secesh contry but i think that it will bee all rite yet So good by at presen[t] rite as often as you can and send tham the saim ass ever and i shall git them when i git thair

S.V. Munger

A.M. Munger

Appendix 8

Transcriptions of a letter and a note from the Cross Family Papers in the *Civil War Times Illustrated* Collection at the U.S. Army Military History Institute, U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center, U.S. Army War College, Carlyle Barracks, Pennsylvania, concerning the grave of Teamster James M. Cross, Company E, 3rd Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, who was killed in action at the battle near Moore's Mill on July 28, 1862.⁹¹ The writer and the recipient (presumed to be the father of the deceased) appear to have been members of the Masonic order.

Mexico Mo

Sept 12th AD 1862

Mr J.A. Cross Dear Brother, after some delay I take my pen in hand to address you a few lines informing you that I am in very good health I write with a desire that this letter may find you & yours in good health. Our Battalion is now under marching orders; two companies are gone ahead & [?] our supposed place of destination is Rolla The Rebels are still very troublesome here in fact more so than they have been for some time; we have a vast amount of scouting to do now but the rebels are so well informed of our movements that they always keep out of our way; we labor under a great many disadvantages in scouting first we have to take our provisions along with us which greatly retards our progress while our enemy is not burdened with provision waggons but procure their food from the Citizens ____ secondly the rebel sympathizers are all ways watching our movements & keep the enemy posted with regard to our where abouts & unless more stringent measures are taken it will be some time before this country is rid of rebels Bro Cross you want to [?] know what the gentleman's politics are whose farm James is ____ burried on; well I was so anxious to know that I asked him he told me that he was an Englishman & claimed English protection. Bro Cross I do not think you need entertain any concern [?] with regard to James grave being molested for owing to the lay of the land I do not think it will ever be tilled for it will pay better for pasture than any thing else. Bro Cross we received two months wages a few days since I dont know what arrangement was made in refference to James money but I have confidence in the Capt to deliver that he will do right You want [to know] if James was in debt to any of the Co well I do not know of but one man who James owes & that is John S__th [?] he has a note on James for four Dollars

Well I believe I have written all that is worthy of note so will close Give my best wishes to your family & believe [me] to be as ever your friend & Brother

O.W. Magee

[Separate handwritten note:]

Killed & Wounded in Co. E. 3rd Iowa Cavalry in the Battle near Fulton Mo July 28-1862

Killed James Cross

Wounded Caunnack [?] Gregory B.F. Holland & J.J. Morgan, Very Severely.

⁹¹ Adjutant General of Iowa 1863, 2:472. The letter writer, Oliver W. McGee, was the Commissary Sergeant of Company E of the 3rd Iowa Volunteer Cavalry (Adjutant General of Iowa 1863, 2:471).

M J Clark, M J Worley, J.M. Worley Theodore Johnson, thigh! George Cheatham breast & R J Harbour W L Craven, (arm & leg) & Harvey Morris, Severely.

Appendix 9

Account of George H. Rowell, formerly a first lieutenant in Company H, 2nd Missouri Volunteer Cavalry. From *With Porter in North Missouri: A Chapter in the History of the War Between the States*, by Joseph A. Mudd (Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, Iowa, 1992, pp. 195-197).

[P. 195] Moore's Mill fight occurred in a densely wooded country and, while you will remember the position and the stand taken by Porter's forces there, I must admit we were very much in the dark as to his movements and when the Merrill Horse came into the fight, which Guitar had commenced, because he first encountered you, the Merrill Horse being on another road, we were at a loss to know just where you were located; not but there were noise and gun firing enough, but it seemed to us that the woods was full of you, except to [p. 196] the north, which would have been in our rear. The Merrill Horse came into the fight on a road leading to the dense woods from the north. When we came in and stripped for action, our sabres detached and placed in a pile where each company went in, I distinctly remember that the order to each company commander was to have his men lie down and only to fire when they saw a man in front. I remember that Company I, of the Michigan battalion, took position on the right of the road, supporting our battery of six mountain howitzers, while I took position on the left of the road facing east. You seemed to be all about us only in our rear, and while the firing was incessant for a while, we saw but few of the enemy. The only order I gave was for the men to crawl on their bellies and when they saw a head shoot at it. The alignment was well preserved and my men behaved splendidly. Only two were wounded; Company I had one man killed. Captain Higdon's company, from Cincinnati, had over a dozen killed. It was the first time this company had been engaged and they exposed themselves rashly. Now as to what I know about the bushwhacker Cobb in that fight. He, with his company was on the right of the road and in front of our battery, which had not commenced firing, and I don't think that Cobb knew at first that we had a battery, but as the battery [sic] grew hotter, he was heard (not by me) to give orders to charge, and they came on, when our full battery of six pieces let go, reloaded and fired again. Don't know whether all were Cobb's men who were killed and wounded on that part of the field or not, but it was reported after the fight that thirteen or fourteen were killed and wounded in front of our battery. I don't know how we knew that Cobb was in front of our battery, but I think it must have been from some of the wounded found there. The commanding officer of Company I said he distinctly heard the order given to charge the battery. Cobb had been a terror [p. 197] through the counties of Boone, Callaway and Howard and was more dreaded by the citizens than by us. The impression was prevalent with those who never saw him that he was crippled, either by the loss of an arm or leg. I never saw him, nor ever heard of him after the Moore's Mill fight; I think he must have disbanded. That evening we buried our dead, took the wounded over to Fulton and the next morning pushed on after the enemy.

Appendix 10

Account of James E. Mason,⁹² formerly captain of Company I, 2nd Missouri Volunteer Cavalry. From *With Porter in North Missouri: A Chapter in the History of the War Between the States*, by Joseph A. Mudd (Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, Iowa, 1992, p. 197).

Your forces made a stand on the 28th at Moore's Mill and had nearly captured the artillery from the militia when our command, after a run of about five miles, charged in and saved the guns. If you were in this fight, do you remember some of your men fired a volley at four men who were carrying a wounded officer off the field? None of us four was hit, but the officer we were carrying off was hit the second time. In this engagement, if I remember right, it was reported that we had less than half as many men as you had, but we had two pieces of artillery which we came very near losing, as Merrill Horse were about five miles off when the fight began.

⁹² The Missouri Secretary of State Soldiers' Records database shows James B. Mason as the captain of Company I, and James E. Mason as a private in Company H of the same regiment.

Appendix 11

Account of Elijah Hopper, October 7, 1908. Hopper was formerly a corporal in Company F, 9th Missouri State Militia Cavalry. From *With Porter in North Missouri: A Chapter in the History of the War Between the States*, by Joseph A. Mudd (Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, Iowa, 1992, p. 187).

Guitar had about three hundred of his own regiment. Porter's men were formed near the road running north and south, and as we came on they attacked us. We fought about four hours. We had three pieces of the Third Indiana battery and the rebels charged it and tried to capture it. We fought about an hour and a half, when we were reinforced by Colonel Shaffer. We fought about four hours when the rebels retreated. Our command had thirteen killed and fifty-five wounded. We collected the dead - both sides - after the fight and buried them near a store on the 29th. There was a Confederate captain killed there on the east of the road not far from where the battery was formed.

Appendix 12

Account of Joseph A. Mudd, formerly with Porter's "regiment." From *With Porter in North Missouri: A Chapter in the History of the War Between the States*, by Joseph A. Mudd (Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, Iowa, 1992, pp. 159-201).

[p. 159] BATTLE OF MOORE'S MILL

The command left the camp in the woods near Salt River in Audrain County sometime after dark Friday, July 25th, and marched rather leisurely, west of south, toward the line between Boone and Callaway Counties. It was probably in the former county that we pitched our camp near daybreak. Saturday was a busy day for Colonel Porter. Several scouting parties were sent out and the services of an unusual number of local guides and couriers were directed. It was plain to some of us, at least, that there was business ahead. That night we marched some fifteen or twenty miles eastward to Brown's Spring, where early the next forenoon we were reinforced by the company of Captain L.M. Frost, under command of Lieutenant John Bowles, a few days before organized and recruited in Boone County, except seven members from Randolph, and an hour or two later by that of Captain Alvin Cobb, the most dreaded bushwhacker, with the possible exception of Bill Anderson, in North Missouri. The military--or perhaps it is more correct to say political--exigencies of the time required the district commanders, and the rabid press to denounce Colonel Porter, Poindexter and others as bushwhackers, but there was a great difference in the methods of the authorized Confederate officer, whose duty and main purpose were to gather and forward recruits to the army in Arkansas and whose incidental purpose was to fight whenever necessary, and the unauthorized bodies in the class of Cobb and others, whose main purpose was to fight Federals. Cobb had seventy-five men and the Blackfoot Rangers under Lieu[p. 160]tenant Bowles numbered about sixty-five, making our total about two hundred and sixty. I am sure our number was not less than two hundred and fifty-five nor more than two hundred and sixty-five, with the lesser number as the more probable. Comrade C.C. Turner, presiding justice of the Boone County Court, who was a member of the Blackfoot Rangers, thinks our forces numbered two hundred and eighty, of which about two hundred went into battle; but my opportunity for knowing our exact strength at every stage was equal to that of any man under Colonel Porter, and it seemed to me that my memory is very clear on this point. Every man went into battle except a small camp guard and a very few on special duty, not over twenty men in all.

We expected an attack that afternoon and remained in line an hour or more, ready and willing, but the enemy came not. We were in a very good position, but there was a better one a few miles down the Auxvasse, and if Colonel Guitar was opposed to Sabbath breaking we would occupy it on the morrow, and wait for him. We had gone but a short distance when a halt was called and Colonel Porter gave us a twenty minutes' talk. He never made a more earnest and impressive address. Comrade Charles H. Hance, the treasurer of the city of Los Angeles, California, who had just joined us as a member of Captain Frost's company, in his description of the two days he was with us, says of this incident: "In a beautiful grove of white oak trees we were addressed by Colonel Porter in a most patriotic and touching manner. I could see that many eyes were dimmed by tears. I really believe there was not one in hearing of his eloquent words but would have cheerfully faced death for our glorious cause." The silence with which this fervent appeal was listened to was itself most impressive. Not a sound or a movement, so eager

were his listeners to take in every idea, every word, and this still-[p. 161]ness continued for some minutes after the speech was ended. No one was more attentive than Tom Moore, whose horse almost touched noses with the colonel's. Presently Tom's face lost its serious look and he said loud enough to be heard by a dozen around him:

"Colonel, you've told us of the glorious record of Missourians and of the grand and beautiful State of Missouri. I agree with you. Now just let me keep on being a Missourian for fifty years at least."

We did not return to camp, which we had left rather hurriedly, in the midst of preparation for dinner, to meet the advancing enemy. That was a little hard on us who had no breakfast and no opportunity, as Judge Turner says the Blackfoot Rangers had to forage off the farm houses for supper. We rode three or four miles, encamped on the farm of Thomas Pratt, where some of the horses were fed and we had a much needed night's rest.

The next Monday, July 28, we were in the saddle by sunrise. The morning was hot and the smell of battle was in the air. We took care that our tracks could be readily followed. After three or four miles we left the road and went through a long, narrow field of oats which had been cut and shocked. Ranks were broken and every man lifted three or four bundles across his saddle and fed the tops to his horse while marching on. The castaway straw plainly marked our path. Presently the rendezvous was reached. We hitched our horses in a sheltered valley, placed before them the remaining sheaves of oats, made ready as to guns and ammunition, and cooked a rather slim ration of four, but before it was ready the order was passed around to form in line of battle. We marched about five hundred yards to the side of the road, and lying on the ground in the thick brush, awaited the enemy. In about an hour, and at noon or a little before, they came.

Our first volley was a surprise; that and our second were [p. 162] rather demoralizing. Judge Turner, in a communication in *Guitar's home paper*⁹³ during the general's life-time, says, "the general swore a little in those days and after indulging a little bit, got his men formed." This may have been so, I did not hear any swearing by the general--colonel he was then; but he was much excited and he roared out, "Bring on them cannon."

The line of attack had not yet developed and it occurred to Colonel Porter to inquire about the safety of the horses. He accordingly picked out a man here and there and directed Lieutenant Bowles to take the squad and make the circuit of the camp. At the nearest point reached and just across the little ravine, on either side of which the horses were hitched, were a farm wagon and team, a negro boy about grown, all under the charge of one of our men. A load of shucked corn had just been emptied in a pile on the ground. The boy was standing near the head of the horses and on their left, the soldier on the same side and near the rear end of the wagon as we came up. "Them cannon" had evidently been brought up and placed in position. Lieutenant Bowles and the soldier in charge had been talking scarcely a minute when the discharge was heard and a ball struck ten feet to our right, tearing up the earth and flint stones in a lively manner. The negro gave a startled look and stealthily moved off. He had gotten twenty feet away before his guard noticed him. The latter called out in a tone that compelled obedience:

"Come back here, you black rascal!"

The boy came back slowly and haltingly, but it was with a powerful effort. The ashy face and wild eye marked his mental agony. Before he reached his first position another cannon ball plowed up the earth. The negro started to run.

⁹³ In a footnote on page 162, Mudd identifies the newspaper as the *Columbia Herald*, presumably published in Columbia, Missouri.

"You damned scoundrel, come back here, or I'll blow your [p. 163] head off," shouted the guard in a sterner voice than before. The negro turned and saw a revolver in the hand of his tormentor. His aspect was pitiable and yet intensely ludicrous. The tormentor kept a straight face, but we could not entirely control our laughter.

"Fore God, sir, I can't come back. 'Deed, sir, I can't stay here."

"Yes you can and you will, too."

"Massa, massa," the tears streaming down his face, "'deed I can't stay here when them things is goin' on."

"Well, take your choice; stay here with us and risk your head taken off by a cannon ball or get ten feet away and I'll kill you sure."

That settled it; the negro preferred the risk of the cannon ball to that of the unerring revolver. During the dialogue four other cannon balls came, all six striking in a space ten feet square, each scattering earth and gravel and adding fresh torture to the terrified negro. The strut and mimic realism of the stage are weak and colorless beside this little scene of living drama. The tormentor turned his back on the tormented to hide his subdued exhibition of enjoyment. In leaving, the lieutenant sought to quiet the fellow by saying:

"Boy, you must not take it so hard; you are just as safe here as we are."

"Yassir, I know I is, sir; but I wants to be a heap safer dan you is."

I have lately learned that the boy's name was Buck, that he still lives in the vicinity and that he belonged to a Mrs. Mary Strother. I suppose that after we left, the tormentor relented and allowed the boy to drive home and that the camp guards fed the corn to our hungry horses.

The battle was now on in earnest and for more than three hours it raged furiously. According to Colonel Guitar's official report he had four hundred and twenty-seven men besides the artillery engaged before reinforced by the three hundred [p. 164] and six men under Lieutenant Colonel Shaffer. It was hard work for our two hundred and forty men, but we went at it as if success was inevitable. This was the first time we met an enemy who employed our methods of bush fighting. No advantage could be gained by us except through superior marksmanship and esprit de corps. Time passes so rapidly in battle that it is difficult to determine the space between any two events. It seemed only a few minutes of intense effort on both sides before we made a charge; it was probably a half hour and possibly three quarters. I have often wondered why Colonel Porter said it, but he knew his business and he knew his men. Loud enough to be heard by nearly all our men but not loud enough to be heard by the enemy, he said in his quick, decided way:

"Boys, we can't stand this; we shall have to charge them."

And then in a clear, silvery tone that penetrated the entire field and quickened the life blood in every heart:

"Forward! Charge!"

I don't know how it came about, who started it--if any one person did--or exactly why it was done, but our line had scarcely gotten on its feet to obey the colonel's order before a great, spontaneous yell was raised. I had never before heard a yell in battle and none who swelled its volume now had ever heard it. It was the same rebel yell with which afterwards I became so familiar. To me it always seemed a mingled note of encouragement to comrades and defiance to the enemy. Colonel Porter's statement was not needed for us to recognize the seriousness of the situation. It was before us, in full view. We well knew, too, the desperate chance we were taking in charging an enemy who, after the first surprises, had not flinched before a raking fire. Something must be done to even up the chances. In less than sixty seconds one side or the other

must give away. Our impetuosity must make the enemy believe our retreat impossible, and the yell was an inspiration. We went like the [p. 165] hurricane. The enemy fled. Colonel Guitar did all that mortal could do to rally his force, but if ours had been equal in numbers we could have driven him into the Missouri River. As it was, we captured his artillery and took our position a hundred yards in its rear. The efficacy of the rebel yell was appreciated by Federal soldiers on every battlefield, but it was something they could not imitate.

Colonel Guitar was a lawyer and the reference to this incident in his official report shows his talent for special pleading. "Just at this moment a heavy fire was opened upon our left followed by the wildest yells, and in quick succession came a storm of leaden hail upon our center and a rush for our guns. On they came tearing through the brush. Their fire had proved most destructive, killing and wounding four of the cannoneers and quite a number in the immediate vicinity of the gun; among the rest my chief bugler, who was near me and immediately in the rear of the gun, and who received nine buckshots and balls. Now was the crisis; the buckshot rattled upon the leaves like the pattering of hail. I could not see our line forty feet from the road on either side, but I knew that Caldwell, Duffield, Glaze, Cook and Dunn were at their posts and felt that all was well. On they came until they had gotten within forty feet of the gun. Our men, who had reserved their fire until now, springing to their feet, poured a well directed volley into their ranks and the remaining cannoneer delivered them a charge of cannister [sic] which had been left in his gun since the fall of his comrades. The rebels recoiled and fell back in disorder. They, however, rallied and made two other attempts to gain possession of the gun, but with like success each time. At this juncture Lieutenant Colonel Shaffer arrived upon the field with his command."

As Colonel Guitar practically admits, we had silenced his artillery before our charge. We did this by picking off its men and horses. The only reason for this was that the [p. 166] artillery was more exposed. The other forces were, like us, taking advantage of the thick brush and the configuration of the ground for protection and concealment. We had no dread of artillery, as Colonel Merrill supposed when he wrote Major Clopper that it would make us scatter. I had sufficient experience on this point the year before and our men who had never faced artillery had here an opportunity to learn how harmless it was. The "bringing of them" was a mistake. The artillery was the indirect cause of most of the loss in our company and that of Captain Porter at the very close of the action. It accomplished nothing more and this was more than offset by its own casualties. Comrade E.B. McGee, of Monroe County, says of this part of the engagement...[see McGee's remarks, MM13]...The comrade is mistaken about the guns being spiked. I don't think we had anything to spike them with. I know that one gun was not put out of service and that it was used at intervals until the close of the engagement, and I am satisfied that the reason why only one gun was used from then on was that the cannoneers, not the cannons, were put out of service. We could have carried off the guns, but they would have been more useless to us than would a fifth wheel to a wagon.

About one o'clock the battalion of Lieutenant-Colonel Shaffer arrived. It came on the field in good shape. We had known for twenty-four hours that Colonel Guitar was after us. A number of our boys recognized him on the field. There was some discussion as to the identity of the [p. 167] reinforcements. "Well," said Jim Lovelace, "call 'em the Dutch from Warrenton and you'll be as apt as not to strike it, and if I am any judge of numbers there are about four hundred of 'em."

"Jim," asked Tom Moore, "can the Dutch fight?"

"Don't know. Never tried 'em."

These "Dutch" could fight and did. As soon as Colonel Porter knew of this reinforcement he withdrew our line to one almost parallel with, and ranging from twenty to fifty yards in advance of its original position, because it was a better one, but mainly because it could protect the camp should the enemy, with much superior numbers, discover its location and capture or stampede our horses. This change in the line was made in perfect order--that is, in as perfect order as could be exhibited by undrilled men--and at no time was there a lack of entire confidence in our commander and in ourselves.

From now until four o'clock the struggle was maintained with dogged obstinacy. Major Clopper realized his mistake at Vassar Hill. If he did not his men did, and they knew the mettle of the men before them. Half of the battalion were from Michigan and they were splendid fighters. The whole battalion came down to business with but little delay after its arrival. The men "hugged the ground," as we did. The two lines crawled toward each other until the whites of the eyes could be seen and each man was a target. Of course, under the circumstances, much of the firing was ineffective. We had never before wasted so much ammunition, but it had to be kept up. Many of our boys noticed that some of the enemy's bullets were planted in the little triangle described by the gun and the crooked right arm. Colonel Porter walked up and down the line, carefully noting every feature of the engagement and giving here and there a word of encouragement and praise. Captain Cobb stood like a giant oak that would not bend before the storm. [p. 168] His countenance told of vindictive satisfaction in pouring an endless stream of lead in the hated foe. I knew not how it was with Cobb's men and the Blackfoot Rangers, but about three o'clock our part of the line--that is, Captain Penny's and Captain Porter's companies--began to realize that we had been a little too extravagant with our ammunition and doubtless the other companies were in the same predicament. We husbanded our little stock during the last hour of the battle, but the incessant rattle of the enemy's musketry and the occasional roar of the one gun prevented us knowing whether or not the remainder of our force were following our example. What would be the outcome? Considering our diminishing cartridges, the undiminished obstinacy of the enemy, this was becoming a burning question. The fatigue from the fifteen terrible days, the hunger, the cruel thirst, the blazing sun were nothing if we could only maintain ourselves after the work of today. In the midst of these doubts and fears we were surprised to see our entire line, except the two companies, walk off the field. What it meant we did not know. Did it mean a surrender of the field or was the colonel going to strike the enemy's flank or rear? If the latter, why were we not ordered to hold the ground at all hazard? One thing we did know: That Colonel Porter intended that nothing should ever be done without his order, and we were loyal. Come what might we would await orders. Presently a courier came on the run and, in an excited manner, demanded why we had not obeyed orders.

"We got none," simultaneously answered Captains Penny and Porter.

"Colonel Porter has ordered a retreat and he sent Lieutenant Wills to you with the order fifteen minutes ago."

"He didn't come."

"Get to camp as quickly as you can."

We needed no repetition of the order, but we would go off the field as slowly as did the other men. We adhered [p. 169] to our determination in spirit but not exactly in the letter. When we got to our feet the enemy closed in on us and some of our men had to scramble to get out of the closing circle. Right here our company suffered. If we had a man touched before now I did not know it, but in less than two minutes Captain Penny was killed, Tom Moore and Mart Robey, as we thought, mortally wounded; Joe Haley seriously, and a few others slightly wounded.

When Tom was struck, Captain Penny, Ben Vansel and Sam Minor picked him up and tried to get him off the field. After a few steps he said:

"Boys, I can't make it. I think I'm done for. Put me down and save yourselves."

A second after Captain Penny loosed his hold of Tom he, himself, was struck in the breast with a cannister [sic] shot, and fell apparently dead. Ben Vansel and Mose Beck gently and reverently straightened his form and with heavy hearts we left him almost in the hands of the advancing enemy. It can be said that Captain Penny lost his life trying to save Tom Moore. We heard afterwards that he lived an hour or so. It was singular that about one hour before the battle began a little squad of us, Mose Beck, Frank McAtee, Sam Minor and one or two more whose identity I have forgotten, were wondering whether the enemy would really come or not, and the talk drifted into a discussion of individual chances in battle. Captain Penny remarked that he had no idea he would ever be hit by a bullet.

"Why," he continued, "if I thought there was any danger of my being killed in battle, I'd quit the army and go home at once."

"You don't mean to say," I asked, "that you'd go home if you believed in the probability of your being killed?"

"No, I don't mean to say I'd go home in any event until after the war. I used that expression to show how confident I am that I shall survive this war."

[p. 170] Captain Penny was not a very talkative man and the conversation turned into a lighter channel. I never knew what he meant, but I always thought his words a modest effort to make his men as indifferent to danger as he was.

We were sure that Tom Moore had only a short time to live and the survivors of Captain Penny's company always thought he died on the field. Comrade A.J. Austin, of Goss, Missouri, then a member of Captain Wills' company, writes me, April 10, this year: "Thomas Moore was not killed at Moore's Mill. He was shot through the breast, the ball coming out at the back, but he got well. I knew him while I was in prison in Alton, Illinois, in the winter of 1862-3. He was a stout, heavy set man, and his sleeping bunk was next under mine. He told me of the circumstances of his being wounded. He was the first person who took the smallpox and, after several days, was sent to the hospital. I never saw him again, but I think he got well." It is more than probable that he did not recover from this illness. I am reasonably sure he did not survive the war, or I should have known it, as his home was only fifteen miles from mine.

The official report of Colonel Guitar is a very fair statement except his omission of our capture of his artillery, his over-estimate of our numbers and our losses and his assertion that "Porter had studiously impressed upon the minds of his men that if taken alive they would be killed." Our men had good reason to believe that, but they got the impression from the rabid press and the orders of the Federal commanders and not from Colonel Porter. Considering the environment these little departures from fairness were entirely excusable. Omitting the extract already given, the report is:...

[See Appendix 1 for Guitar's report.]

[p. 181] The *History of Shelby County*, page 716, says: "Monday, July 28, Porter and Cobb were attacked by Colonel Guitar with portions of his own regiment, the Ninth Missouri State Militia, Shaffer's battalion of Merrill Horse, Duffield's Company of the Third Iowa Cavalry, a company of Pike County militia, and two pieces of Robb's Third Iowa battery. The fight came off at Moore's Mill, seven miles east of Fulton, and, as might have been expected

where two such chieftains as Porter and Guitar were engaged, was desperate and bloody. The Federal loss was sixteen killed and forty-three wounded. The Confederates reported a loss of eleven killed and twenty-one severely wounded, but the Federals declared this was a large underestimate." The *History of Boone County*, page 422, says: "The total Federal loss at Moore's Mill was about sixteen killed and fifty wounded. The Confederate loss was about the same. Boone County men participated in this fight on both sides. Among the Confederates killed were D.P. Brown and Harry Pigg, both of this county; wounded, Wm. T. Tolston, John McKenzie, John Bergen and John Jeffries."

The *Fulton Telegraph*, Extra, July 29 [see Appendix 18], says Guitar left Fulton with two hundred men Sunday, and next morning before he arrived at the State road from Columbia to Dan-[p. 182]ville "he discovered there were troops on it, which proved to be parts of Merrill Horse and the Third Iowa Cavalry and a part of Colonel Glover's regiment--in all, five hundred and fifty men...

Taking everything into consideration, it was one of the hardest fought battles that we have had in North Missouri. Our men all fought like veterans and compelled the enemy to leave the ground. Our forces would have followed them up but for the sultry, hot weather, the men being nearly famished for water....

"Colonel Guitar says he is going to follow them, according to his instructions, to the jumping-off place, and then spoil the jumping-off place." The same paper, dated August 1, says:

[See Appendix 23 for the article in the *Fulton Telegraph* of August 1, 1862.]

[p. 185] The "wounded rebel" interviewed by the reporter was either mistaken himself or was deceiving "the enemy," most probably the latter. It was our policy to do that whenever possible. I had the opportunity to know that Colonel Porter had pretty correct information as to the strength of the various detachments on our trail and a fairly accurate idea as to their position. Under the circumstances the giving of battle was the proper thing. The new men were eager [p. 186] for battle; the others--the old guard--preferred a fight to a forced run. Our horses were the best in the State, but we had put them almost to the limit of their endurance--over four hundred miles in ten days and on short rations. Battle, to them, meant a rest of at least six hours; refusal of battle meant a furious run of a hundred miles. More important than all it meant discouragement to enlistments. I know that Colonel Porter would have stopped and given the enemy a few rounds, at least, had they been twice as strong in numbers. This newspaper account is somewhat extravagant in its praise of the behavior of Guitar's men--inferentially of his own regiment. They did fight well after they had become steady under the influence of Colonel Guitar's orders and example, but they were not in the same class with the battalions of Major Caldwell and Lieutenant-Colonel Shaffer. These men, notably the latter force, came on the field meaning business and they stuck to it with dogged determination to the end.

The *Missouri Democrat* of July 30 says:

[See Appendix 19 for the *Daily Missouri Democrat* of July 30, 1862.]

[p. 187] Elijah Hopper, Columbia, Missouri, a member of Company F, Colonel Guitar's regiment, says, October 7, 1908:

[See Appendix 11.]

Colonel Guitar's official report was printed in the *Columbia Herald*, March 19, 1897, and on April 9, Comrade C.C. Turner, of Brown's Station, presiding justice of Boone County Court, had an interview in the same paper.

[See Appendix 27 for the Turner interview.]

[p. 189] Comrade Hance was with us thirty hours but they, covering his solitary battle, were eventful ones to him. He writes:

[See Appendix 13 for Hance's account published in 1909.]

[p. 194] I knew Captain Hiram A. Rice. His was a very lovable character. Governor Campbell, of Missouri, writes me: [p. 195] "Captain Rice died in Montana of softening of the brain, some years after the war. He went to Montana to live with a stepdaughter or an adopted daughter. His remains were shipped back and I think he was buried at Louisiana. He was elected assessor of Pike County after the war and served two or three terms."

Comrade J.R. Wine was in the little detachment that did not receive the first order to retreat. He says...

[See Appendix 15 for Wine's statement.]

Captain George H. Rowell, then first lieutenant, commanding Company H, Merrill Horse, writes:

[See Appendix 9 for Rowell's statement.]

[p. 197] Captain J.E. Mason, of Merrill Horse, says:

[See Appendix 10 for Mason's statement.]

Mr. D.G. Harrington, of Merrill Horse, writes:

[See Appendix 6 for Harrington's statement.]

[p. 198] WE LEAVE THE REGIMENT

When we reached the camp the head of the column was riding off to the north in a moderate trot. The men yet unmounted were busy in preparation for the resumption of the march--as we preferred to call it, and which it was, rather than a retreat--deliberate in attention to details, but not wasting a moment of time. The wounded men able to travel were helped into their saddles and there was no hitch, or sign of any demoralization. Our little company was the last to reach the camp and the last to leave it. Like the others we made no unnecessary delay. Joe Haley insisted that while he was unable to mount he was able to ride. Jim Lovelace took

charge of Tom Moore's horse, Green Rector of Mart Robey's and I took the Captain's. The latter was the largest in the regiment, full eighteen hands high, light sorrel in color and tough as a pine knot. Ready under the saddle he doggedly kept a snail's pace when led. Tiring of this I changed mounts. It was an effort to get my foot in the stirrup and more of an effort to reach the saddle, the stirrup leathers being three inches too long for me. There was no convenient stump in sight and my judgment was that I didn't have time to shorten the leathers. I had not noticed that the girth was very loose; the saddle turned before I could seat myself. The horse's body was very deep and very narrow, and all efforts to readjust the saddle were futile. Our last man had disappeared in the woods, and fortunately n Federals appeared in sight. My glances rearward were frequent and I quickly determined my action in case the enemy appeared. I should [p. 199] surrender without hesitation the Captain's horse, saddle and bridle. It seemed an hour before the stiff, rusty buckle of the girth yielded to my strength and parted, letting the fifty pound saddle and heavy under blanket fall to the ground. Too much time had already been wasted to attempt at shortening the stirrups. I climbed into the saddle, gave another look Federalward--it was my last sight of the stately oaks, silent witnesses of our first defeat--fiercely drove the spur and was soon in sight of the regiment. Instead of closing up I drew rein a hundred yards in the rear and kept the same distance behind the column for nearly a mile. Too tired to walk, dispirited over the result of the day, I preferred not to mingle with the men yet awhile.

I wonderd why Colonel Guitar had not followed up his advantage and thrown his whole force upon us while retreating to our horses. With is much greater numbers this would have been his proper course. Without doubt Colonel Porter would have drawn us out of the trap with his usual skill, but it would have been a very inopportune maneuver for us in our position, short of ammunition and the lay of the ground against us. Most likely our loss would have been greater than in the previous four hours of hard fighting. I had wondered, too, why, when our little company and that of Captain Porter had been left on the field, the enemy by a more vigorous movement, had not captured the whole detachment. It could easily have been done. The truth is, we had given them enough for one day.

Our first defeat--my first defeat, and I had served longer than any man in the regiment. Too bad that our luck had changed! For some time the gloomy thought bore heavily; but it could not last. We had done something. In fifteen days we had narched five hundred miles, captured a town, paroled a hundred of the enemy; fought four battles, two of them against much superior numbers, stub-[p. 200]bornly contested and bloody; chosen the time and place for battle in each instance but one; sent out many scouting parties; supervised and directed extensive recruiting efforts; kept more than ten times our number of Federals on the qui vive and puzzled, running here and there on fools' errands, killing to horses and men; inflicted casualties many times greater than received, and gathered as trophies one hundred and five muskets and rifles, thirty sabres, twelve revolvers and eight fine cavalry horses and their accoutrements. All this with a force four-fifths of which were boys in their teens, fresh from their homes, without any advantage of drill, without experience, wthout cohesive impulse save patriotism and unquestioning faith in the leader; without baggage or commissary supplies, with ammunition so scant that it had to be carefully husbanded at every turn; against well drilled men, equipped to embarrassment, led by capable and energetic commanders...[p. 201] We wnt on till nearly sunset and camped about three miles from the battle-field. I rode to the farther edge of the camp where our company had dismounted...

Appendix 13

Account of Charles H. Hance (Mudd 1992:189-194).

Early in July, 1862, I was living and doing business in Renick, Missouri, where we were daily harassed by the militia and to such an extent that I found it imperative (although having a widowed mother to protect and provide for) to arrange affairs to join some Confederate command in order to reach the army in Arkansas under Shelby or Marmaduke. In a few days I had with me Tuck Powell, Uriah Williams, William Furnish, ---- Robinson, George Freeman, E.C. Hance (my brother), all--except this brother, who was too young and not strong--as hardy and brave a bunch as ever entered the service. It was reported that Colonel Porter would attack the Federal forces at Mexico, and we much desired to take part in the engagement. With that purpose in view we started at once for Matt Frost's encampment in the Blackfoot country in Boone. We reached the camp shortly after dark and just in time to take up the march. The next morning we stopped on the prairie near Mount Zion and I could see there was what we would call a full company and under command of Frost's lieutenant, Bowles, Frost being left behind for some reason. Late in the afternoon the march was resumed, the object being, as I learned afterwards, to join Colonel Porter at Brown's Springs. If you were in Porter's camp you must surely remember it, for we largely increased his force.

Here I did my first picket duty and I remember my anxiety, for reports were continually coming indicating the near approach of the enemy. When I was relieved it was only a short time before we were ordered to mount and march, which we did in a brisk trot, notwithstanding we were following a path through heavy timber. Soon we dismounted and formed in line, waiting an hour or two and the enemy not coming, we continued our march. We had not gone very far before we were drawn up to listen to a speech from Colonel Porter, and I never heard a more inspiring one. Then we marched, I think in twos, briskly, until some time in the night. Daybreak saw us again in the saddle. I remember we rode through a field where oats had been cut and shocked. I reached down and lifted as many binds as I could for my very hungry horse, a big, fine roan, just built for cavalry service and which I had carefully selected before leaving home. Not far from this field we went into camp and we had issued to us for our breakfast flour only, as I can best remember. I had just taken some of the flour and was mixing it in water obtained from the little branch upon which we had pitched our camp when our pickets came rushing in reporting the enemy near. Eating nothing and almost starved we were immediately double-quickened near a mile before we were formed in line to receive the enemy. My boys were with me, fighting bravely after the action begun. It seems to me that our company was directly in front of the artillery and I have always thought it was our fire that disabled the battery and killed nearly all the horses. It was just before our charge that poor Perry Brown fell, on my immediate left, with part of his skull torn away by a grape shot. The firing by the enemy was, I think, the heaviest in the battle. We charged and drove them two or three hundred yards and into the thick timber. I never understood why our men did not take and use the artillery when it was abandoned by the enemy. I suppose Colonel Porter lacked artillerymen and did not have the force to spare. When the enemy's reinforcements arrived we fell back to a gully. The enemy's fire was continuous and very heavy, the minie balls flying in our faces everywhere and the smoke of their guns seemed to be within twenty or thirty yards. Here out of our six George Freeman, William Furnish, Uriah Williams and myself were wounded. My right arm was fearfully shattered almost from the shoulder to the elbow. Another bullet, which I still carry,

buried itself in my thigh and a third grazed the skin under my left arm, tearing a hole in my clothing and haversack through which you could pass your hand. I stepped back to the gully in our rear and the next thing I remember was a Dutchman peeping around a tree at me with a shout of glee to see the damned secesh hors de combat. Several of the Merrill Horse and Rice's Red Rovers presently came up. One of Merrill's orderlies poured water and brandy down my throat and asked me if I wished to be taken up the road where they had placed their dead and wounded. I asked if there was an officer near would they please call him. They called Captain Rice; when he came I took my pocket book from under the root of a tree where I had hid it and I said "Captain, I have a request to make. Will you kindly send this book and money to my mother", giving him her address? He promised to send it immediately and said "now I have a request to make of you"--when I think of it now I can but laugh at the ridiculousness of it--"and it is that if you ever get back to your command you will recover and return one or two of my company guns captured by your men as they are of a new kind and limited to my company and I cannot get others like them."⁹⁴ I was then taken to the roadside and placed among the Federal dead and wounded. I had a spell of unconsciousness [sic] and when I came to myself I was all alone and the sun was getting low. I thought it time for me, if able, to seek shelter and relief. I remembered that while on the march that morning we passed a little log cabin before turning into the timber for encampment and I thought it could not be far. Though weak and nearly blind from loss of blood and suffering an agony from my wounds I made a supreme effort to reach it. Fortunately the rail fence had been pulled down to the ground. The door was open. I walked in and went down on a couch near the door. The floor was covered with the wounded and dying. Near the couch was my poor comrade Perry Brown, with his brain oozing out. I think he died that night. The scene now comes back to me as a terrible nightmare. This cabin was occupied by a lone woman whose name I think was Maddox. All night long, with a solitary tallow dip, suggestive of spectral shadows, did she pass and repass, giving water to the feverish and rendering what aid she could. God knows how I felt for her. The next day two young girls came to assist the poor woman. They washed the blood and battle stains from my face and hands and gave me some delicious chicken broth which was my first food for several days. They told me they were Union, but I think such kindness and gentleness could only come from sympathizers and that their statement was made through prudence.

As near as I can remember Drs. Scott and Howard of Fulton, and Russell of Concord, carried me out of the cabin and placed me on a carpenter's bench for the purpose of amputating my arm, but they laid it over my breast and carried me back to either gain more strength for the operation or to die. Thank God, a dear old Virginia gentleman, Colonel Moses McCue,⁹⁵ came with a spring wagon in which was a feather bed, and took me to his home two miles away. The jar of the wagon when backed against the door caused me to faint. Mrs. McCue caught me in her arms and threw cold water in my face. God bless her! A few days later the same surgeons came and amputated my right arm. The ninth day after I walked across the room and experienced the saddest moment of my life when I looked in the mirror on the dresser.

⁹⁴ In a footnote, Mudd (1992:214) refers to this weapon as a breechloading Sharps "rifle", but his description of it (Mudd 1992:192, note 1) confirms that it was a carbine, as would be appropriate for cavalry use.

⁹⁵ The Moses H. McCue family settled near the Old Auxvasse Church in Callaway County about 1857 (McCue 1912:34; Anonymous 1884a:871).

Accompanied by my mother and Miss Ada McCue I went to the home of Sam Hudnall, whose wife was my cousin. Ten days later I went to Montgomery City and took the train for Renick...

Appendix 14

Excerpt from *Reminiscences of One Who Suffered in the Lost Cause*, by C.H. Hance (privately printed, Los Angeles, 1915, pp. 4-10).

[p. 4] Early in June, 1862, I fully realized, after submitting to many indignities at the hands of the militia and the regular Federal troops, being pointed out by them as a Southern sympathizer, that I must leave my business in the hands of [p. 5] friends and don the garb of a soldier. My first endeavor in behalf of the cause in which my whole soul was enlisted was to raise a company; which I proceeded to do, after first having an understanding with Ben Ashcum that he would join me when his school term expired. William Furnish, Uriah Williams, Tuck Powell, George Freeman, Edmund Hance and ---- Robinson had joined me. When we heard that in a day or two Col. Joseph C. Porter would attack the Federal forces at Mexico, Missouri, nothing would do these young recruits but that we must join Col. Porter and participate in the battle. This we decided to do; our objective point was to reach Capt. Matt Frost's camp in the Black Foot Hills of Boone County. This we did after an all day's ride, from our rendezvous in Randolph, our home county. To Frost's new recruits of about seventy-five I added my squad. After resting until about ten o'clock at night, we mounted and rode briskly until we reached Mount Zion, Boone County, on the morning of the 26th day of July, 1862. Here we remained until some time in the afternoon when we left, riding briskly in a southerly direction, until we reached Brown's Springs, where we joined Col. Porter's mounted battalion numbering perhaps two hundred, and who were the very flower of young manhood of the state. They were all superbly mounted, but poorly equipped in other essentials. Porter greeted Frost with a most hearty welcome for we added materially to Porter's strength. We went into camp and witnessed a busy time among the soldiers; some were drilling, some making cartridges, some cooking, while others were washing out and drying their dirty garments. I was selected for my first duty, that of picket, and after serving several hours I was relieved, and immediately on reaching camp our pickets came rushing in to report the approach of the enemy. All was excitement and bustle and I could hear, not far in the distance, an occasional report of a gun, which I suppose was fired at an imaginary foe. Col. Porter's order to mount and fall in was speedily obeyed, each company filing out in two's and in a brisk trot. We were mov-[p. 6]ing to a point of more advantage to receive the enemy's attack. Upon reaching this point we dismounted and marched in double quick time quite a distance through heavy timber and underbrush, and speaking for myself, awaited breathlessly the threatened attack.

Evidently the enemy was fearful of an ambush, for we waited and waited but no attack was made. We were then ordered to return to our mounts. After mounting and forming in company alignment, a hollow square was formed into which Col. Porter rode. This was my first look at the man and soldier whom we were to follow unto death, if need be. He so much more than filled my expectations of him that I cannot express my sense of admiration, for he was certainly a knight, a cavalier, and a soldier. I have always regretted very much my brief association with him, for he was certainly justly called the "Stonewall Jackson of North Missouri." Every eye was fixed on him when he spoke and said, "My fellow Missourians! We have awaited the attack of the enemy; for some reason they have thought best not to do so; I need not say to you that in an event of meeting with them, I shall depend upon you as loyal Missourians and Southerners to perform your whole duty..." After these long years have passed, my memory fails me and I cannot repeat his words which were so expressive of the wrongs we

had suffered, and were still suffering, for they stirred the heart and soul, until many eyes were suffused in tears.

After his stirring appeal to our loyalty and love of the cause we had so justly espoused, we were again given the order to "Fall in". We marched in two's very rapidly, again going in a southerly direction, until some time in the night when the command was broken up to seek, in companies, forage for the horses and food for the men. I remember how very hungry I was, having then gone without food for more than twenty hours. Soon at a farmhouse with all the hungry crew I stood. A number of women were cooking in the old way before a fireplace in ovens; the hungry fellows would grab the biscuits before [p. 7] they were half done. I was standing aloof and before my time came, the order was given again to "March". About midnight we arrived somewhere down on the Aux Veaux, when we halted and were ordered to dismount. We were in a heavy forest and our poor tired and hungry horses were roped to the trees, and had only the bark to feed upon; while we, their riders, must roll up in a blanket or quilt, on an empty stomach, and dream about good things that were not in store for us. Next morning, without food for man or beast, we started from here, and soon came to an oat field where the oats had just been cut and were still in shock; each of us took a good supply for our hungry steeds. I was riding my roan, that I had carefully selected before leaving home, as he was built just right for cavalry service. (Porter, I am now sure, was seeking an advantageous spot to receive the enemy, who was still in pursuit.) Reaching a small stream, we dismounted and there was a mad rush for the commissary for flour, the only thing in stock for breakfast. I had just taken some flour and was mixing it with water that I had obtained from the little branch, where we had pitched our camp, when our pickets came rushing in, reporting the enemy near. Without a moment's notice the dough and camp were abandoned and we made a wild rush through the timber to meet the advancing foe. After marching about a mile in double quick time, we were formed in line to face the enemy, who were advancing rapidly. Dr. Joseph A. Mudd, in his history of Porter's Campaign in North Missouri, during the summer of 1862, has this to say of the battle of Moore's Mill, as related to him by myself, as the things and doings occurred under my observation. Comrade Hance says: "Our boys were with me, fighting bravely after the action begun. It seems to me that our company was directly in front of the enemy's artillery. I have always thought it was our fire that disabled the battery and killed nearly all the horses and a number of those in charge." [sic] It was just before our charge that Perry Brown fell, on my immediate left, with part of his skull torn away by a grape shot. The firing by the [p. 8] enemy was, I think, the heaviest in the battle. We charged and drove them two or three hundred yards farther back into the timber. I never understood why we did not take the artillery when it was abandoned by the enemy, unless it was because Col. Porter lacked artillery-men and did not have the force to spare.

Soon the reinforcements arrived for the enemy, and we were forced to fall back to a gully. Their fire was continuous and very heavy, the minie balls flying in our faces, and the smoke of their guns seemed to be within twenty or thirty yards. Here out of our six, George Freeman, William Furnish, Uriah Williams and myself, were wounded. My right arm was fearfully shattered almost from the shoulder to the elbow. Another bullet, which I still carry, buried itself in my thigh, and a third grazed the skin under my left arm, tearing a hole in my clothing and haversack, through which you could pass your hand. I stepped back to a gully in our rear, and the next thing I remember was a Dutchman peeping around a tree at me with a shout of glee to see the damned secesh hors de combat. Presently several of Merrill's and Rice's Red Rovers came up; one of Merrill's orderlies carried water and poured some of it and some brandy down my throat, and asked me if I wished to be taken up the road where they had taken

their dead and wounded. I said I would like to be taken there, but first I should like to speak to an officer if there were any near. He called Captain Rice. When he came I took my pocketbook from under a root of a tree where I had hidden it and said, "Captain, I have a request to make of you. Will you kindly send this book and money to my mother." I then gave him her address. He promised to send it immediately and then said, "Now I have a request to make of you." (When I think of it now I can but laugh at the ridiculousness of it.) "And it is, when you get back to your command, that you recover and return to me two or three of the guns, captured by your men from my company, as they are of a new kind and limited to my company and I cannot get others like them." [p. 9] I was then taken to the roadside and placed among the Federal dead and wounded. I lapsed into unconsciousness and when I came to myself, I was all alone, and the sun was setting. I thought, if I were able, it was time for me to seek shelter and relief, if those things were possible. I remembered that while on the march, that morning, we had passed a little log cabin just at the edge of the timber where we had turned in for encampment; and I knew it could not be very far away. Though weak and nearly blind from loss of blood and suffering awful agonies, I made a supreme effort to reach it. Finally I was successful in my attempt, and fortunately the rail fence that stood in front of it had been pulled down to the ground, and the door was open. I walked in and went down on a couch near the door. Close by it, lying on the floor, was my Comrade Perry Brown, who had received a fatal wound, and his brain was gradually oozing out; I think he died that night. The entire floor was covered with the wounded and dying. The scene now comes back to me as a terrible nightmare. The sole occupant of this cabin was a lonely woman whose name I think was Fletcher. All night long, with a solitary tallow dip, suggestive of spectral shadows, did she pass and repass, giving water to the feverish and rendering what other aid she could. God only knows how I pitied her.

The next day two young girls whose names were Maddox, came to assist this poor woman. They washed the blood and battle stains from my face and hands, and gave me some delicious chicken broth, the first food I had had for several days. They told me they were Union, but I think such kindness and gentleness could only come from sympathizers, and that their statements were made through prudence.

As near as I can remember, Doctors Scott and Howard of Fulton, and Doctor Russell of Concord, carried me out of the cabin and placed me on a carpenter's bench for the purpose of amputating my arm; but when they saw my condition they laid my arm across my breast and carried me back into the house, to either gain more strength for [p. 10] the operation or to die. But soon, thank God, a dear old Virginia gentleman, Col. Moses McCue,⁹⁶ came with a spring wagon with a feather bed in it, on which he placed me, and took me to his home that was about two miles away. The jar of the wagon when it backed up against his front door caused me to faint, but Mrs. McCue caught me in her arms and threw cold water into my face, and this revived me. God bless her! Within a short time the same surgeons who had decided a few days before, when they put me on the carpenter's bench, that I was not strong enough for the operation, came and amputated my right arm. The ninth day after this, I walked across the floor and experienced the saddest moment of my life, when I looked into the mirror on the dresser, and saw myself for the first time without my right arm, and knew I was doomed to go through life without it.

⁹⁶ The Moses H. McCue family settled near the Old Auxvasse Church in Callaway County about 1857 (McCue 1912:34; Anonymous 1884a).

Accompanied by my mother, Miss Ada McCue and her dear old father, Col. Moses McCue, we went to the home of my cousin, Mrs. Juliana Hudnall's, in an adjoining county (my native county).

Appendix 15

Account of J.R. Wine, a former member of Porter's "regiment." From *With Porter in North Missouri: A Chapter in the History of the War Between the States*, by Joseph A. Mudd (Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, Iowa, 1992, p. 195).

We were almost surrounded. One of our boys, Ike Hamline, who was shot through the body, jumped on my back, but I kept up with the others until we got out of the trap. There were five in our little squad. When we got to where we left our horses we found only two. The other four took them and I was left afoot. I struck the trail and soon picked up a gun somebody had dropped, and presently a sack of buck shot and again a sack half full. The strings holding these to the saddle rings had become loosened without being noticed. Ammunition was too precious to lose. With two guns and a heavy wad of shot I trudged on until I met Colonel Porter who was riding a stout chestnut sorrel. He took my load in front and I climbed up behind. When we reached camp I was completely exhausted. A little rest and a big drink of buttermilk from a house nearby put me all right.

Appendix 16

Excerpt from post-Civil War letter written by Mrs. Mary Wright, sister of the deceased Captain Sylvester Baesman Penny. From *With Porter in North Missouri: A Chapter in the History of the War Between the States*, by Joseph A. Mudd (Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, Iowa, 1992, pp. 238-239).

...My brother, Wes, joined Captain Archie Bankhead's company at the first call. Early in 1862 he raised a company and joined Porter. At Moore's Mill, July 28, 1862, near the close of the battle he was struck in the stomach by a cannister [sic] ball. I understand that Colonel Porter sent him word to retreat, but he did not get it for some time after the others had left and his little company was about surrounded. He lived a short time. He had eighty dollars in gold in his belt. He took this off and gave it to a Federal officer with a request that it be sent to his father. Fayette Turner says this officer was General Guitar, but I have my doubts about that. Wes was taken to a house nearby and a kind woman was about to place a pillow under his head but a Federal officer would not allow it and cursed her for treating the rebels more kindly than the Federals. Wes said to this officer, "You have killed me, but there are plenty of others to take my place." Wes was taken up and put in a coffin and buried right there in the same graveyard where they found him. It was right close to a farmhouse owned by a Mr. Strother, but he sold it not long after the war. Mr. H.C. Gibbs brought Wes's horse and all its trappings home, but the belt with the eighty dollars in gold never came to hand.

Appendix 17

Four receipts for provisions and horse feed bought for Colonel Joseph C. Porter's command on July 27, 1862. Collection 1007, Odon Guitar Collection, Folder 4, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

[Receipt 1]

July 27" 1862

Bought of R. J Brown Ten dollars
worth of Corn & Hay for the use of
Col J C Porters Redgement of C.S.
Vol. N. M.

J S Slacum
Q.M.

[Receipt 2]

July 27" 1862

Bought of David Judy Nine dollars and
Twenty Five cents worth of Corn for the
use of Col J C Porters Redgement of C.S.
Vol. N. M.

J S Slacum
Q.M.

[Receipt 3]

Callaway Co Mo July 27 1862
Bought of C.C. Firebaugh for the use
of Col. J.C Porters regiment of
Confederate States Volunteers
4 Sheep at 2.50 \$10.00
S.L. Hickerson
Commissary R

[Receipt 4]

Callaway Co July 27 1862
Bought of David J Judy for the use
of Col. J C Porters Regiment of---
Confederate States Volunteers
150 lbs bacon at 6 cts \$9.00
S.L. Hickerson
Commissary R

Appendix 18

Daily Missouri Democrat, July 31, 1862, page 2. The *Fulton Telegraph* article of July 29 is also reproduced in the *Daily Missouri Republican*, July 31, 1862; the *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, July 31, 1862; the *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, August 1, 1862; *The Macon Gazette*, August 6, 1862; the fifth volume of *Rebellion Record*, edited by Frank Moore (G.P. Putnam, New York, 1863), pp. 565-566; and partially reproduced in *With Porter in North Missouri: A Chapter in the History of the War Between the States*, by Joseph A. Mudd (Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, Iowa, 1992, p. 182).

BATTLE IN CALLAWAY COUNTY, MO.

Nine Federals Killed and Forty Wounded.

REBEL LOSS FROM 75 TO 100 KILLED AND WOUNDED.

(From the *Fulton Telegraph*, Extra, July 29.)

On Sunday, July 27th, Col. Guitar, with parts of three companies arrived in this city about 5 A.M., and after arranging matters here, started to Col. Porter's command, supposed to be at Brown's Spring, about ten miles north of this city. He left here with 200 men and two pieces of artillery, about 11 A.M., and arrived in the vicinity of the rebel camp about 2 1/2[?] P.M., and as there was a thick underbrush, Col. Guitar had the cannon put in position some 400 yards from their camp, dismounted his cavalry and deployed them, advancing in force towards the spring, where the enemy were encamped. After some half hour of cautious advancing, it was found the enemy had decamped, from all appearances, only about ten minutes before our men reached it, leaving on the ground quite a lot of provisions. Colonel Guitar encamped on the ground that he placed his cannon in position on, and left it the next morning about 8 o'clock, determined to find the enemy, which from the best information he could get was from 700 to 900 strong and had moved down Auxvasse creek.

The Colonel scattered his command with instructions that whenever the enemy's position was discovered, to send him word immediately, while he would move out to the State road, leading from Columbia to Danville.

Before the Colonel arrived at the road, he discovered that there were troops in it, which proved to be parts of Merrill's Horse and the 3d Iowa cavalry, and a part of Colonel Glover's regiment--in all about 500 men.

Col. Guitar gave them the same instructions that he had given the others in the morning, and sent about 200 of them across the creek, to follow down parallel with it, and as close to it as possible. The Colonel, when he got to the timber, on the south side of the creek, left the State road and proceeded down the creek, until he reached the intersection of the road leading from Fulton to Danville, where he was joined by Lieut. A.H. Spencer, of the 3d Iowa Cavalry, commanding a detachment that was sent out early in the morning, who was following, at double quick, on the trail of the enemy.

The whole command, except the 200 that were sent across the creek last, followed on; and after proceeding about three quarters of a mile, Company E, of the 3d Iowa Cavalry,

discovered the enemy in a very dense thicket, and fired upon him, and according to instructions, fell back to the main column, which was near at hand, when they dismounted to fight on foot.

The column followed suit, and the cannon was ready for action in short order; but whilst this was being done, the secesh were pouring into our ranks rifle balls and buckshot at such a rate that none other than those who could stand it like veterans did stand it.

A dozen rounds or so from our artillery rather put a stop to their deadly work, and gave our column more time to form on foot, systematically.

The action commenced about one o'clock P.M., and raged almost incessantly for two hours.

Twice during the time, they attempted to storm our batteries, but were successfully repulsed each time. At one time they came up within thirty feet of them, they being loaded with canister, but, by some mishap, caps were not at hand; and while caps were being procured, they succeeded in getting so close, each of the artillery men drew his revolver, and went to work in earnest, when the man who went after caps returned with them, just in time to give them a charge, which made them retire in confusion, but not till one of our artillery men was killed and two wounded.

Taking everything into consideration, it was one of the hardest fought battles that we have had in North Missouri. Our men all fought like vetrans [sic] and compelled the enemy to leave the ground. Our forces would have followed them up, but for the sultry weather, the men being nearly famished for water. After getting a drink of water, and cooling off, as well as they could, our men went to scouring the battle field and found by the trails of blood that the enemy had been removing their *hors de combat* men.

At 6 o'clock Monday evening there were nine of our men dead and 40 wounded.

From the best information we could get from the yeomanry of the neighborhood, who came into our lines in the evening after the battle to get permission to scour the battle ground and vicinity for dead and wounded rebels, there were from 75 to 100 of them killed and wounded.

Col. Guitar says he is going to follow them, according to his instructions, "to the jumping off place, and then spoil the jumping off place."

Company E, of the 3d Iowa Cavalry, commanded by Capt. Duffied [sic], suffered more than any other company in the column.

One of the company was killed dead on the ground, three mortally wounded, and eight severely.

Appendix 19

Daily Missouri Democrat, St. Louis, July 30, 1862, page 1.

GALLANT FIGHT WITH THE GUERRILLAS IN CALLAWAY COUNTY.

Porter and His Gang Routed with a Loss of 75 to 100 Killed and Wounded.

Our Loss 45 Killed and Wounded.

Colonel Guitar Still in Pursuit.

We have this morning the most gratifying intelligence from Callaway county. There has been more gallant fighting with the guerrillas by Merrill's Horse, the 9th Missouri cavalry, State militia, and the 3d Iowa cavalry. Porter and his gang have received a tremendous drubbing, and are in full flight with Col. Guitar after him.

We learn that Major Clopper after routing Porter near Memphis, followed him down to Florida, where the guerrillas again took flight, and were driven into Callaway county. Here they were reinforced[?] by Cobb's and Poindexter's bands. Colonel Guitar meantime had crossed from Jefferson City with part of the 9th Missouri State Militia, and here effected a junction with Lieutenant Colonel Shaffer and Major Clopper, both commanding a detachment of Merrill's Horse, and with Major Caldwell, commanding a detachment of 3d Iowa cavalry--making his force six hundred and fifty strong.

Monday at noon he was attacked by Porter, nine hundred strong, at Moore's Mill, seven miles east of Fulton, and after fighting until after four o'clock in the afternoon, the guerrillas were completely routed, with a loss of seventy-five to one hundred killed and wounded, and one taken prisoner. Colonel Guitar reports the loss of his command at forty-five killed and wounded.

He captured guns, ammunition and baggage in profusion.

Officers said men behaved splendidly.

Cobb is reported killed.

Colonel Guitar resumed the pursuit at dusk Monday evening, and will follow them *over Jordan*.

Appendix 20

Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican, St. Louis, July 30, 1862, page 2.

GUERRILLAS ROUTED.

Porter's and Cobb's Bands Defeated and Scattered.

Information of the following character was received here by Col. Marsh this morning from Jefferson City:

At noon, yesterday, the Federal forces, at Moore's Mills, seven miles east of Fulton, were attacked by the rebels, nine hundred strong. The Union troops were under the command of Col. Guitar, and consisted of his own force and some reinforcements under Lieut. Col. Schaeffer and Majors Caldwell and Clopper, in all six hundred strong. They were attacked at noon by the rebels, who evidently relied on superior numbers for victory. A desperate fight instantly commenced, and lasted until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The rebels fought well but were finally entirely routed by the Federal troops. One hundred Confederates were killed and wounded, and one taken prisoner. The Union loss was forty-five.

A considerable quantity of ammunition, baggage, etc., was captured, and a good many guns. Col. Guitar immediately resumed pursuit of the rebels, and prospects are that he will overtake them again. Cobb, one of the Confederate leaders, is reported killed.

Col. Guitar's force consisted of the Ninth Missouri State Militia and Third Iowa.

The principal officers engaged, besides Colonel Guitar, were Lieut. Col. Schaeffer and Major Clopper, of the Missouri troops, and Major Caldwell, of the Iowa force.

Appendix 21

Daily Gate City, Keokuk, Iowa, July 30, 1862, page 3.

DEFEAT OF PORTER.

Jefferson City, July 28.

Col. Guitar, of the 9th Mo. regiment, reinforced by Lieut. Col. Shaffer and Major Clopper, of Merrill's Horse, and Major Caldwell, of the 3d Iowa Cavalry, 650 strong, were attacked at Morris' Mill, seven miles east of Fulton, at noon yesterday, by Porter and Cobb, 900 strong, and after fighting till 4 o'clock p.m., the rebels were completely routed with a loss of seventy-five to a hundred killed and wounded and one taken prisoner. Col. Guitar reported a loss of 45 killed and wounded. Officers and men behaved splendidly. Cobb is reported killed. Col. Guitar resumed the pursuit last night and will follow them over the Jordan.

Appendix 22

Daily Gate City, Keokuk, Iowa, July 31, 1862, page 3. Also published in the *Daily Whig Republican*, Quincy, Illinois, July 31, 1862.

Mexico, Mo., July 30.

From an officer just in from the field, I get the following reliable account of the fight at Moore's Mills, twelve miles east of Fulton, on Monday afternoon. Our force under Col. Instar [sic] was about 700.-- The rebel force was between 800 and 900. Our loss was ten killed and thirty wounded. The rebels left 50 dead on the field and had about 100 wounded. The fight lasted three hours, when the rebels fled in great confusion. Porter went East and Cobb went West.

Appendix 23

Fulton, Missouri, *Telegraph*, August 1, 1862, as published in *History of Callaway County, Missouri*, edited anonymously (National Historical Company, St. Louis, 1884, pp. 391-393). The article was also reproduced in *With Porter in North Missouri: A Chapter in the History of the War Between the States*, by Joseph A. Mudd (Press of the Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, Iowa, 1992, pp. 182-185) and partially reproduced in *History of Boone County, Missouri*, by William F. Switzler (Western Historical Company, St. Louis, 1882, p. 422).

Since issuing our extra of the 29th ult., we have been able to obtain the following list of the loss in the battle of Moore's Mill, seven miles northeast of this city, between Colonel Porter, of the Confederate army, and detachments of Federals under Colonel Guitar, his principal officers being Lieutenant-Colonel Shaffer and Major Clopper, of the Missouri troops, and Major Caldwell, of the Third Iowa. Our readers may rely on the following as correct:--

Merrill's Horse--Killed.--were Sergeant Cameron, company K; Bugler Ludwigstize, company K; Private McBride, company K; Private Walters, company K; Private James Taylor, company I--five. Wounded--Lieutenant Myers, company K, several places, severe; Private Liechte, company K, in the knee, slight; Private Hoye, company K, in groin and breast, mortal; Private Vankamp, company K, in leg, severe; Private Kidner, company K, in leg, severe; Corporal Bower, company K, in leg and shoulder, severe; First Sergeant, G. Bradshaw, company I, in neck and shoulder, severe; Private J.J. Long, company I, in arm and shoulder, severe; Private N.H. Truder, company H, in arm, slight; Private E. Toyer, company H, in eye and head, severely--ten.

Third Iowa Cavalry--Killed.--James Cross, company E; B.F. Holland, company E; John Morgan, company E; Robert Parker, company G--four. Wounded--T. Johnson, company E, in thigh, slight; C. Gregory, company E, in breast, severe; M.J. Clark, company E, in groin, severe; W.F. Craven, company E, in arm and knee, slight; M. Worley, company E, in leg, slight; J. Worley, company E, in shoulder, slight; H. Morris, company E, in arm, slight; G. Cheatham, company E, in breast, severe; J. Harber, company E, in cheek and shoulder, severe; S. Shane, company G, in leg, severe; J. Burton, company G, in leg, slight; R. Watts, company G, in shoulder, severe; W. Vandyke, company G, in breast, severe; J.A. Dunham, company G, in arm, severe; C.W. Gleason, company H, in leg and foot; F.W. Campbell, company H, in shoulder, severe; S.H. Owens, company H, in the shoulder; A.C. Barker, company H--eighteen.

Louisiana Independent Red Rovers--Wounded.--G.W. Selvey, in breast, severe (since died); L.B. McCans, in neck, mortal, (since died); A.D. Tipple, in leg and shoulder, severe; W. Ousley, in wrist, severe; W. Cody, in thigh, severe; Oscar Gilbert, in leg, severe; W.P. McCans, in face, severe; T.R. Doge, in leg, slight; George W. Moore--nine.

Parts of companies A, B, G, and F of the Ninth Missouri, Colonel Guitar--Killed.--Richard Baker, George Shultz--two. Wounded.--Bugler Gallatly, in several places, dangerous; H. Shrader, in head, severe; P. Kintzer, in head, severe; L. Snowden, mortally; J. Tudor, in leg, severe; W.A. Mason, in hip and hand, severe; H. Shultz, in thigh, slight; --- Fleming, in arm, severe; R.H. Breese, in head, slight; M. Dalton, in elbow, slight; E.C. Musick--eleven.

The above includes the entire list of killed and wounded on the part of the Federals, except those of the Indiana battery, of which we learn one was killed and two wounded. Thus, it will be seen that the entire number of killed and wounded of the Federals foots up fifty-nine.

Several of those who were wounded have died since the day of the battle. The whole number of the Federals dead, up to this time, is fifteen.

The rebel loss in killed and wounded amounts to twenty-seven. Five of this number were killed outright, and one has since died. We have not been able to learn the names of all the dead and wounded of the rebels, many of the wounded refusing to give their names.

The following is as perfect a list as could be obtained: Captain Penny, of Marion county, killed by grape shot; Private J. Fowler, killed by a minie ball; C.H. Hance, of Randolph county, wounded in arm and thigh, very severe; D.P. Brown, of Boone county, wounded in head, mortally; William Gibson, of Scotland county, wounded in left shoulder, not dangerous; Thomas B. Moore, of Lincoln county, wounded in left breast, severe; James Tolson, of Boone county, wounded in leg, below the knee, severe, J.T. Joyner, of Shelbyville, Missouri, wounded in leg, severe; John McKnight, of Boone county, wounded in shoulder, severe; J.W. Splawn, of Ralls county, wounded in breast (since died); E.B. McGee, of Monroe county, wounded in head, dangerous; George D.J. Endine, of Marion county; --- Tole, of Marion county; --- Hamilton, of Marion county.

We did not learn the character of the wounds of the last three, but understand they are badly wounded.

The foregoing includes the names of all the rebel dead and wounded that we could obtain. We regret that we cannot give the names of all their killed and wounded; and out of their entire loss (twenty-seven) we can only give the names above. We do not suppose they took any of their wounded off with them, for they had no means of carrying them, having no wagons or ambulances. They travel without any encumbrances. Porter carries no tents, no cannon, no trains, no supplies. He and his men sleep on their blankets beneath the trees, and subsist on the supplies they get from friend and foe on their way.

We here repeat what we said in our extra of Tuesday last--that the battle of Moore's Mill was one of the hardest-fought and most hotly contested battles that has taken place since this Rebellion commenced, considering the numbers engaged and the circumstances by which the Union troops were surrounded.

Colonel Guitar, with 875 men and two pieces of cannon, came upon Porter, with 350 men concealed in the bushes, before he was aware of his whereabouts, our troops receiving a shower of balls from the rebels before they fired a gun. The heroic Union boys soon recovered from the shock, and were not slow in returning a deadly fire. The battle raged for two hours, when the rebels were put to flight. They left so precipitately, that if they had any baggage, supplies or, indeed, anything but themselves and horses, it would have fallen in the hands of the Union troops.

All the troops are loud in their praise of the heroic bravery of Colonel Guitar. Indeed, all--officers and privates--did nobly and bravely.

Porter and his men fought with desperation. The Union troops admit that the rebels showed grit and determination--that their courage and bravery were worthy of a better cause.

We learned from one of the rebel wounded that Porter was deceived in regard to the number of Union troops. He had been advised, by some means, of the number that left this place on Sunday last to attack him at Brown's Spring, but did not know that Colonel Guitar had received reinforcements. The wounded rebel said, that if Porter had known the number of Colonel Guitar's forces, he would not have stopped for a fight--that the Union troops had given them more than they had bargained for.

Colonel Guitar left in pursuit of Porter and his rebel band on Tuesday morning. We learned that the rebels divided into squads, and took different directions.

Porter had better skedaddle, for he has in his pursuit a brave, energetic officer, well fitted to lead the true, tried and heroic troops that are under him; and if Porter don't get beyond kingdom come, the boys will "take him in."

There was one prisoner--Dr. William W. McFarlane, brother of Captain McFarlane, of Colonel Guitar's regiment--taken by the Union troops on the battlefield. The rebels took no prisoners.

We hope and trust that Porter and his like will keep out of the county. The citizens, before he came, were quiet--all was quiet, and peace reigned in our midst. All classes were attending to their legitimate business. We hope, too, that we may not have to record the history of another battle in our county.

Appendix 24

Liberty Tribune, August 8, 1862, page 2. The *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, in which this article originally appeared on August 1, 1862, was not used for this appendix because the copy available at the State Historical Society of Missouri had an excerpt clipped from the text.

From the *Columbia (Boone co.) Statesman* Aug. 1.

Battle of Brown Spring, Callaway County, Missouri.

The battle of Brown's Spring, Callaway county, and ten or twelve miles north of Fulton, occurred in the afternoon of Monday last, 25th [sic] inst, and continued for near two hours.

An Extra from the Fulton Telegraph Tuesday morning, and which we re-issued in the evening of the same day, will be found elsewhere in this paper, detailing many of the incidents of the engagement. Since this time we have heard little additional information as the Union troops are in pursuit of the routed and fleeing rebels.

Hearing of the whereabouts of Porter and his gang, Col. Guitar, of the Ninth Missouri Cavalry, left Jefferson City on Sunday morning with about 200 men and two pieces of cannon for Fulton. On Saturday morning Lieut. Col. Shaffer, of "Merrill's Horse," left this place with about 100 men and, marching direct to Sturgeon, was there joined by Major Clopper, of the same regiment, with several hundred more. On Sunday morning they marched in the direction of Mt. Zion Church, where it was reported Porter and Cobb were encamped. Major Caldwell, with a detachment of the Third Iowa, did the same thing from Mexico.

Arriving at Mt. Zion, they found the rebels had skedaddled going southeast into Callaway. Pursuit was made on Monday Morning, and continued over hills and hollows and through thick timber and underbrush until about 1 o'clock in the afternoon, when Col. Guitar's cannon were heard four or five miles distant. Col. Shaffer had previously detailed a portion [of] Company K, Merrell's [sic] Horse, under Lieuts. Myres and Ware, to hasten forward and inform Col. Guitar of the approach of the joint forces of Shaffer and Caldwell. This advance was the first of Merrell's [sic] Horse that was in the fight, and plunging gallantly into the midst of it, it suffered severely as the list of killed and wounded will show.

Notified by the roar of artillery that Col. Guitar and his brave boys had found the guerrillas and engaged them in their hiding places, Col. Shaffer and Majors Caldwell and Clopper moved forward their columns at full speed and arrived at the "seat of war" in time to aid in finishing what Col. Guitar with the heroic Ninth had so gallantly commenced.

After a desperate resistance by the rebels in a very strong position, under cover of heavy timber and almost impenetrable underbrush, the cannister, grape, and minnie balls of the Union troops made their ambuscade too hot for them, and they finally broke, scattered and skedaddled in every direction, leaving many of their dead and wounded and arms upon the field.

All honor to the gallantry of Col. Guitar and his brave men, and to the heroism displayed by Col. Shaffer, Majs. Clopper and Caldwell, and the invincibles in their command!

Appendix 25

Weekly California News, August 2, 1862, page 2.

Battle in Callaway County.

On Monday last a fight came off in Callaway county, 8 or 10 miles from Fulton, between Col. Porter's rebel forces and Col. Guitar's Union troops, the result of which, as stated by the Fulton Telegraph, was a loss on Porter's side of 75 to 100 killed and wounded, and on the Union side, nine killed and forty wounded. We have not room for the details of the fight. Col. Guitar is said to be in pursuit of Porter's forces, or guerrillas.

Appendix 26

The National Tribune, Thursday, January 10, 1895, page 3.

THEIR RECORDS.

Brief Sketches of the Services of Various Regiments.

The 3d Iowa Cav.

This regiment was organized at Keokuk, Iowa, during the Fall of 1861, to serve three years. On the expiration of its term of service, the original members, except veterans, were mustered out, and the organization, composed of veterans and recruits, retained in the service until Aug. 9, 1865, when it was mustered out. The Colonels of the regiment were: Cyrus Bussey, promoted Brigadier-General April 11, 1864; H.C. Caldwell, resigned June 25, 1864; and John W. Noble, brevetted Brigadier-General March 13, 1865. The regiment has an enviable record. At Pea Ridge it was hotly engaged and lost over 11 per cent. in killed. It participated in the battles of West Plains, Salem, Sycamore, Florida, Waddell's Farm, Bayou Cache, Hill's Plantation, Bole's Farm, Santa Fe, Brown's Springs, Moore's Mills, Kirksville, La Grange, Oakland, Hartsville, Wood Creek, Helena, Siege of Vicksburg, Clinton, Canton, Cold Water, Little Rock, Princeton, Pine Bluff, Wittsburg, Ripley, Guntown, Tupelo, Holly Springs, Little Osage, Columbus, and many other engagements. The 3d lost more men than any other Iowa cavalry regiment. Eighty-four were killed in action or died of wounds, and 20 died from disease or other causes.

Columbia Missouri Herald, April 9, 1897, page 1.

STORIES OF THE CIVIL WAR.

C.C. Turner, of Brown's Station, Tells of the Fights at Brown's Spring and Moore's Mill in 1862.

In the "Official Records of the War," which the Herald is publishing from time to time, there was printed recently Gen. Odon Guitar's account of the hot fight at Moore's Mill. This gave the story of the conflict from the Federal standpoint. C.C. Turner, of Brown's Station, was one of the Confederates in the battle. Discussing the matter he said:

"Yes, I was at Brown's Spring July 27th and Moore's Mill July 28th, 1862. I think it was on Sunday evening when Col. Porter, who was camped at Brown's Spring, had a squad of five men headed by Lieut. Boles to go out and ascertain the movements of Gen. Guitar. They soon came in sight of the general advancing on our camp. Lieut. Boles immediately sent a man to report to Porter. After finding out the position of the general's army they returned to camp without a scratch.

"On entering camp they found Col. Porter with his men mounted and ready to march. Col. Porter divided his men into several squads and had them to meet in an agreed place about one-half mile northeast of the spring. We left the camp in the order General Guitar has described it, in order to mislead him.

"When the squads met at the agreed place, Col. Porter had them dismount and hitch their horses and march back within a few hundred yards of the spring. Having a good position he had his men form and lie down in line of battle, to await the general's advance. On finding the general was not advancing on him he mounted his men and marched a few miles farther on. Had the general have come up on us we would have given him a warm reception. As night was coming on, we again divided up into squads and let the good people of that country satisfy out appetites, for which I still extend my thanks. Early next morning we mounted and took up our line of march.

"On our march we passed through an oat field where the boys gathered up oats from the shock and fed their horses while riding along, leaving a nice trail, that the general might have no trouble in following us. (In which he and his men did in grand style, little knowing what was in store for them). After coming to the point, that afterward proved to be the Moore's Mill battle ground, we left the road, went into the brush some distance and then marched back parallel with the road to where the fight took place, dismounted, hitched our horses and marched up within thirty feet of the road. Concealing ourselves until General Guitar's command got within our front, the signal was given, and we poured a volley that proved to be both demoralizing and destructive to the general's army, causing them to break ranks and scatter. The general swore a little in those days and after indulging some little bit, he finally got his men formed again and made another attack, proving about as destructive as the first; but the general being a nervy man had his men keep repeating until he was reinforced, and after desperate fighting for some time we drove the enemy from their artillery. Col. Porter seeing his ammunition running short and General Guitar being reinforced until he outnumbered us three to one, we then withdrew from the field in good order; our men being divided again to meet at agreed places.

"No! Porter did not have nine hundred men. The general having hot lead poured at him from so many directions saw nine hundred trees and supposed there was a rebel behind each tree. All told Porter had about two hundred and eighty men, of which about two hundred went into battle, the remainder being on other duty. I don't know just the number the general had. It was reported that he went into the fight with seven hundred and was finally reinforced with four hundred more. We had several men wounded but very few killed; but I don't think over one-fourth the number our enemy had.

"During the fight Porter was continually walking up and down the line urging the boys to take good aim and not expose themselves nor waste ammunition. While I can't praise Porter and his followers too much I don't wish to cast any reflection on the general and his men. They did some noble fighting and it is few men that would have made the second attack, after receiving such a slaughter. Of course I was a mere boy of eighteen but I think this is a true statement."

The National Tribune, Thursday, April 2, 1908, page 5.

Death of Gen. Guitar.

Gen. Odon Guitar died at Columbia, Mo., March 13, at the age of 82. His father was a Frenchman and his mother the daughter of a Missouri pioneer. He was educated in the Missouri State Legislature, and immediately after graduation went to the Mexican War in Doniphan's regiment. He was a Whig in politics, served in the Missouri Legislature and was elected to Congress, but cheated out of his seat. At the beginning of the war he was an ardent Union man and a leader of the Union element in his section, exposing himself to great danger from the enmity of the secession crowd. At one great meeting he was the sole person present who cast his vote against the adoption of secession resolutions. President Lincoln named him for a Brigadier-General, but it was not considered wise for him to leave the country and take the young men with him, exposing the Union people to the depredations of the Secessionists. He raised a regiment for home guard duty, which became the 9th M.S.M. Cav., and after the fight at Moore's Mills he was commissioned a Brigadier-General for gallantry. He did splendid service in North Missouri in suppressing and exterminating the guerrilla gangs which were infesting the country. He showed the greatest daring as well as enterprise and judgment in this work. After the war he returned to his profession, and became noted as a civil and criminal lawyer. No man in the country had better success than he. He married after the war Kate Leonard, daughter of a Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri, and seven children were born to them.

Appendix 29

The National Tribune, Thursday, August 11, 1910, page number illegible. This account, by one of the 3rd Iowa Volunteer Cavalry soldiers stationed at Fulton, is confused in several ways, particularly as to dates and the identity of the Confederate commander, who is taken for Brigadier General John S. Marmaduke, who was not in Missouri at the time of the Moore's Mill fight. Text that is extraneous to the battle near Moore's Mill has been omitted.

Recitals and Reminiscences

Stories Eminently Worth Telling of Experiences and Adventures in the Great National Struggle.

A MESSAGE TO GRANT.

A 3d Iowa Boy Didn't Think Grant Would Be a Success, Because He Wore Long Night Shirts.

Editor National Tribune: I enlisted in Co. E, 3d Iowa Cav., Aug. 17, 1861; was mustered out Aug. 17, 1865. Our regiment was divided, the 1st and 3d battalions going with Curtis on his Pea Ridge Campaign; the 2d battalion, under Maj. H.C. Caldwell (afterwards Colonel of the regiment), went to northern Missouri in the latter part of June, 1862. Co. E was stationed in the fair grounds at Fulton, Calaway [sic] County, under Capt. George Duffield (who was afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel).

On July 2 a rumor reached camp that Gen. Marmaduke was coming from the West with about 1,000 rebel troops. That night our picket went well out, the writer among them...

...I met Maj. Caldwell some miles out of Mexico with the rest of the battalion. He sent back to Mexico and got some of the 2d Mo. (Merrill's Horse), and when we arrived at Fulton Marmaduke pulled out from between the two bodies without a fight, went about seven miles east to Moore's Mills, where we followed and fought him.

I have never seen an account of the battle of Moore's Mill in any history. It was the hardest fight for its number I was ever in, and I was in all the fights my regiment was. It lasted three hours and we were not 100 yards apart at any time. We drove them from the field, but they went on north and fought us at Kirksville, near the Iowa line. In after years it was the good fortune of one of our regiment, James Dunley, to capture Gen. Marmaduke.

I do not recollect the Union loss at Moore's Mill. Co. E lost four killed and 17 wounded out of a total engaged of about 60. We buried 52 of the enemy. I got Schnitker's horse killed at the first fire, and many years after made affidavit to the fact, so he could get pay for him. The boys all behaved good in this their first fight, except four, who ran off the field. I never blamed them. I would have ran too, only I was more afraid of being called a coward than I was of being shot.--L.B. Reno, Co. E, 3d Iowa Cav., Chance, Mont.

Appendix 30

The National Tribune, Thursday, November 24, 1910, page 7.

PICKET SHOTS.

From Alert Comrades Along the Whole Line.

He Remembers Him.

Alfred Spence, 71 Darwin street, Santa Cruz, Cal., saw a communication in *The National Tribune* from L.B. Reno about the battle of Moore's Mills. This is the first time he has heard of Comrade Reno since they were mustered out in August, 1865. Moore's Mills was in the east part of Calloway [sic] County, and there old Porter and his gang bushwhacked Co. E, 3d Iowa; Co. B, 9th M.S.M., and two pieces of the 2d [sic] Ind. Battery. They were reinforced by three more companies of the 3d Iowa Cav. and one company of the 2d Mo. Cav. just before the rebels retreated. Co. E, 3d Iowa Cav. lost three men killed and 14 wounded. In the Fall of 1863 they were at Lebanon, Mo., when one evening Comrade Spence went into the tent where Comrade Reno was rolling his dough for bread. Comrade Spence did something to tease him, and Comrade Reno threw his rolling pin and brought him to the ground. Comrade Spence wants to hear from members of Co. E, 3d Iowa Cav.

Excerpt from the *Louisiana Press-Journal*, Louisiana, Missouri, August 4, 1931.

STIRRING DAYS OF THE CIVIL WAR ARE RECALLED

SKETCH OF LIFE OF STURDY OLD CONFEDERATE VETERAN WHO SERVED FOUR YEARS AS A SOLDIER, ENDURING MANY HARDSHIPS AND DANGERS, WILL PROVE OF INTEREST TO READERS.

When S.O. Minor of near Eolia reached his eighty-sixth birthday July 26th, he was persuaded to talk about some of his experiences, particularly those of civil war days...

...in March [1862] he and others swam their horses across the river at Arrow Rock but found themselves in the midst of federals and had to swim back to Arrow Rock.

Discouraged by his failure to get through the lines, Sam came home. Here he joined a company organized by Captain Wes Penny of the Edgewood neighborhood. About twenty young men and boys made up the company. Among them were Joseph Mudd of Millwood, Davis Whiteside, Tom Moore, Henry and Jim Lovelace of north Lincoln, Ben Vansel of Middletown, Bob South and others.

Captain Penny took this little troop to Colonel Porter's regiment in North Missouri...

The company suffered its first casualties at Moore's Mill, west of Fulton. Captain Penny and his men were concealed behind logs and trees waiting for the advance of attacking federals. Colonel Porter had in all only two hundred and fifty men, but he was accustomed to fighting and defeating forces much larger than his own. However, on this occasion he learned just as the charge was about to begin that the enemy had fifteen hundred men and cannon. Porter ordered retreat and all the companies withdrew but Captain Penny's. By some oversight the order did not reach them. Fifteen minutes later a messenger was sent to ask them why they had not withdrawn. As the men came from their hiding places to obey his belated order, they found themselves almost surrounded by union troops. Tom Moore was shot. Captain Penny and Ben Vansel and Mr. Minor picked him up but he begged them not to delay for him because he was certain to die anyhow. As they laid him down, Captain Penny was killed. Joe Haley and Mart Robey were wounded seriously and others slightly.

The remnant of Captain Penny's company decided to return home and fill the vacancies in their ranks. Traveling at night, cautiously when necessary, otherwise at a full gallop, they reached Millwood, recruited and returned to Porter on Salt river...

Appendix 32

Reminiscences of Mrs. D.V. Bogie from an issue of the *Richmond (Missouri) Democrat* of unknown date. Undated newspaper clipping in the Garland Carr Broadhead Scrapbook, Collection C1000, Folder 4, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

The Battle of Moore's Mill.

By Mrs. D.V. Bogie, in *Richmond Democrat*.

The quaint old town of Williamsburg in the "Kingdom of Callaway" sits like a jewel in the midst of Nine Mile Prairie. For many miles the eye can follow lovingly and restful the vast stretches of rich verdure gaily bedecked with the wild flowers against the low lying horizon of a summer's day. The old state road, more familiarly known as the old Booneslick Road cleaves the ancient town of Williamsburg in twain.

On the morning of July 28, '62, the children of the town, and they were many, according to their usual custom, had collected on Main street for their morning's play. When lo! adown the old road white with the dust of summer, appeared a cloud seemingly no larger than a man's hand. But those children, accustomed to the sight of soldiers of either side knew instantly what that little cloud meant, and in less time than it takes to tell the incident the alarm had been sounded and the men of the town instantly disappeared as their safety and personal liberty demanded in those perilous times. But the women and children lined the fence along the Main street of the town. Steadily these troops marched right into the heart of the village. A low plank fence in front of a large and substantial built brick house was filled with children, barefooted, sturdy country children. One little boy, with perhaps whiter hair, bluer eyes and browner cheeks than any other present dangled his little dusty feet on either side of the fence and with a curious twinkle in his clear blue eye, sang out lustily "Hurrah for Jim Lane, forever and forever." With one accord the soldiers hurrahed adown the long column. The echoes had scarcely died away when a boyish voice rang out cheerily from the ranks, "Good morning, Mrs. S." Mrs. S. looked out into the moving mass and said, "Where are you going, S.B., you confederate renegade?" "Oh, just going up here on the Auxvasse to get some rebels." "Take care," said Mrs. S. undoubtedly, "that some rebels don't get you." The soldiers laughed good naturedly, as many of them knew her, and passed on to the scene of battle, Moore's Mill, about nine miles above Williamsburg.

This little place, which could scarcely be distinguished as a village, consisted of a store, postoffice, mill, blacksmith shop and one pretentious looking house above that of any other dwelling in the place, owned and inhabited by the Strother family, perched high on the hillside on the north side of the road as you approach from the east. The federal troops engaged, outnumbered the confederates but they fought desperately. It was a hand to hand conflict with a foeman worthy of their steel. The confederates, accustomed to fighting behind trees or any other way expedient, had this advantage, as the woods on either side were dense. The struggle was awful and the contest wavered, until about 2 p.m. Guitar was reinforced by Caldwell and Sheriff's troops. Col. Switzler in his history of Missouri says "With this reinforcement Guitar achieved a victory heroically rising from one who fought with desperation to the last." The fight had been protracted and desperate. The roadsides were strewn with wounded, dead and dying. The jubilant federal soldier boy of the morning lay stiff and stark in the glare of the summer's

sunshine. Personally the writer of this story knew at that time many soldiers on both sides but now after the lapse of so many years, memory only recalls a few names; among them are Capt. Reeves Leonard, of Fayette; Capt. Reed, of Huntsville, ex-Senator James M. Proctor, of Sturgeon, who was a beardless boy at that time.

Long years ago, in the little town of Danville, the county seat of Montgomery, lived a worthy family named H. Along in the thirties, perhaps '38 or '39, was born to this H. family a son. Dr. M., at that time a resident of Danville, was the attending physician. This boy was named Charley and grew into a promising lad in the town, the playmate and daily companion of the Dr's [sic] oldest sons and daughters.

Years passed on, the H. family moved away from Danville to St. Louis county, the physicians' [sic] family to the adjoining county of Callaway, thus losing sight of each other for many years. At the outset of the war Charley H. espoused the southern cause, was with Col. Porter at the battle of Moore's Mill, was terribly wounded and his barve [sic] comrades carried him off the field of battle under a shower of federal bullets. The long, hot summer's day was drawing to a close and protracted by the lengthening shadows of evening, this apparently dying man was taken by his friends to the home of a relative living on Loutre river in Montgomery county, distant perhaps fifteen miles from the field of carnage.

Six miles south of Williamsburg in Callaway county, near the Montgomery county line, was, and is, an old country farmhouse, beautifully situated on the gentle southern slope of a hillside surrounded by gigantic forest trees whose brawny arms bade defiance to the sun god himself, in the midst of a fertile farm of many acres, whose southern boundaries touch the banks of the placid little stream of Prairie Fork, known only to history as the burial place of gallant Capt. Callaway, whose body lies buried on the hillside overlooking the confluence of the streams, Prairie Fork and Loutre river.

At midnight, after the battle of Moore's Mill, when the inhabitants of the old farmhouse were wrapt in peaceful slumbers, a stealthy footstep approached the door, a timid knock such as a child might have made, took Dr. M. to the door, a hurried conference and they were both gone out into the darkness and into the night. If the parties interested hoped this affair had passed unobserved they were mistaken; Two daughters of the house occupied a room above, one of them, always a light sleeper, heard the noise and the departure. In the morning when the breakfast bell rang, the girls descended to the dining room and lo! there sat the father in his accustomed place with an inscrutable look on his face that never deceived any of his children, but that family had been well schooled in the tactics of war times in inverse proportion to the curiosity felt did they ask questions, but quietly awaited developments. Night after night for many weeks did the Dr. make that mysterious journey after the family and darkies were abed. It seemed the more curious as for years the physician had been in delicate health and had done no night practice. The next day after the Moore's Mill fight of course the news was scattered broadcast over the country, there seemed to those girls, the doctor's daughters, some significance in the close proximity of these two events, a battle and these nightly pilgrimages. Grim war makes one so suspicious; but time wore on and as nothing further developed itself to build upon, they finally quit speculating and the matter was lost sight of and forgotten in the changing panorama of other events and phases of war times.

Long after the curel [sic] war was over when little children clustered around the homenest of one of those farmhouse birdlings, there came to the distant town where she lived a man named M. to engage in public business. Of course the name was familiar to the lady in question which led to some inquiries, in reply to which the man shook an empty sleeve and said "Dr. M.," that

lady's father saved my life. He amputated my shattered arm and carefully tended me through the long fever and delirium that followed." He recalled the event of the Moore's Mill fight of his stay with his uncle during this illness and of Dr. M.'s nightly visits. Memory never dead, but only sleeping, went swiftly back to the old home on the confines of peaceful Prairie Fork and the long forgotten curiosity felt over those nightly rides. The old home had long been broken up, the father sleeping peacefully and his secret with him, but to one at least the mystery was at last solved.

Appendix 33. Notes on the arms of Porter's force.

Several historical sources provide clues to the diversity of small arms carried by Porter's men and other Confederates in northeastern Missouri during the summer and fall of 1862:

"Porter was on a recruiting expedition, and, while he had a much larger force than his assailants [at Kirksville], many of his men were only armed with shotguns, and some of them not at all" (Anonymous 1887:522).

1909 memoir of Dr. Robert J. Christie (Quincy Medical Bulletin, Quincy, Illinois; and <http://flanaganfamily.net/genealo/memoirs.htm>. Christie was a surgeon with Franklin's CSA recruit regiment. In speaking of the prelude before the Kirksville battle:

(p. 25 of the memoir): "I remained at home during the remainder of that year [1861], in which time one of my children was born. The next spring Joe Porter came from Arkansas into our part of the state to recruit a command. He claimed there would be a demonstration in force from Price to enable him to get his recruits out of north Missouri and into Confederate lines with success. Accordingly there gathered together perhaps 300 to 500 men under Porter, Franklin, Frisbie and McCullough [sic]. They were armed, of course, with all kinds of domestic arms incapable of effective results against troops armed with guns which had an effective range of at least five times the distance theirs had. Under assurances that we would make a dash for the south, I was appointed surgeon of Franklin's regiment and accepted it."

(p. 20 of the digital version): "I remained at home during the remainder of that year [1861], in which time one of my children was born. The next spring, Joe Porter came from Arkansas, into our part of the state, to recruit a command. He claimed there would be a demonstration in force from Price, to enable him to get his recruits out of North Missouri, and into Confederate lines, with success. Accordingly, there gathered together perhaps 300 to 500 men under Porter, Franklin, and Frisbie McCullough. They were armed, of course, with all kinds of domestic arms, incapable of effective results against troops armed with guns which had an effective range of, at least, five times the distance theirs had. Under assurances that we would make a dash for the south, I was appointed surgeon of Franklin's regiment, and accepted it."

(p. 26 of the memoir): "We had got possession of a wagon load of Austrian rifles; where they came from and how we came by them I do not know. They were entirely useless encumbrance, as we had no ammunition for them, and so on our retreat [from Kirksville?] we deposited them somewhere in the woods, buried them I believe; and I have never heard of them since, nor has anybody else--certainly not the enemy."

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After the Moore's Mill fight, the wounded C.H. Hance (1915:8; Mudd 1992:192) asked Captain Hiram Rice, commander of the Red Rovers, to send his pocketbook and some money to his mother. Rice agreed, and made a request of Hance: "And it is, when you get back to your command, that you recover and return to me two or three of the guns, captured by your men from my company, as they are of a new kind and limited to my company and I cannot get others like them" (Hance 1915:8). In a footnote, Mudd (1992:192 note 1) elaborated on Rice's request: "I have one of these guns, and value it as a trophy of that memorable day. It is, I think, a Sharpe's rifle; length of barrel twenty-six inches, total length forty-two inches; weight, ten pounds. It is a breech loader, with cut-off for paper cartridge and carried a forced ball of large caliber. It has a sliding hind-sight for up t eight hundred yards, and had a percussion-tape attachment, but this rusted off before the war ended. Before the receipt of Comrade Hance's letter I never knew to which command it belonged, as all Federals then looked alike."

During the night following the Moore's Mill fight, when Mudd and his comrades left Porter's column, they encountered a man who refused to identify himself to them (Mudd 1992:208-209). Mudd comments on both his own firearms and that wielded by the stranger: "...I strapped my musket to my back for fear of losing it if carried across my saddle in front as was habitual...a man galloped out, bore down upon us and in a loud, excited tone ordered us to halt...Why I did not ring my musket to a ready is a mystery unsolved to this day. With a quick, unexpected motion the man leveled his piece, a double-barreled shotgun...`Don't you think he is a Federal scout and that he didn't wish to tackle both of us?' `No, he was not in uniform.' `Well, are all the militia uniformed?' `I think so; at least all that we struck today were. Again, this man had a double-barreled shotgun. No, he must be one of our men..."

Mudd (1992:247) estimated that of Porter's 2,000 men at Kirksville, one-fourth were "well armed," "something over another fourth fairly to poorly armed," and the rest (almost 1,000 men) were unarmed. Mudd (1992:248) quotes J.T. Wallace, who joined Franklin's regiment on July 31 after the Moore's Mill fight, as saying: "Before we left this camp [Sugar Camp, on August 3] Colonel Joe Porter joined us. We had double-barreled shotguns and squirrel rifles. In Porter's command there were, I think, three or four hundred muskets, the rest, shotguns and rifles." Wallace (Mudd 1992:249) stated that at Kirksville he `fired twenty-four shots with my deer rifle but I have no idea that I was near enough to hurt anyone."

At Kirksville on August 6, Lt. Cowdry's scouting party received "...the fire of a thousand shot-guns, rifles and revolvers..." from Porter's men who were concealed within the town. [Anon. 1884d:464] The anonymous author of the Marion County history (Anon. 1884d:465) refers to "Porter's shot-gun men" at the battle of Kirksville.

A later version of the same history, taken from the Lewis County history (Anonymous 1887:129), states the number of guns used on Lt. Cowdrey's party as "...five hundred shot guns, rifles and revolvers..." The Lewis County history also makes the same reference to "Porter's shot-gun men" (Anonymous 1887:129).

"When the enrolling order of Schofield and Gamble came out, they cast away their paroles, spat on their bonds, and caught up their shot-guns" (Anon. 1884d:468; Anon. 1887:134).

After Kirksville, one of Porter's officers, a "Captain Purcell," raided Columbia on August 9 and freed some prisoners from the jail: "This band was mounted on good horses and mostly armed with double-barreled shotguns. A few had United States muskets with some revolvers and sabres" (Mudd 1992:284).

Also on August 9, not less than 125 Union cavalymen [a gross exaggeration] are said to have fallen in an ambush at a ford on the Chariton River, "at the single volley from double-barreled shotguns and rifles" (J.T. Wallace in Mudd 1992:286).

At Palmyra (Sep 12) "...three shot-gun men rushed into his [i.e., Col. Lipscomb's] bedroom..." [Anon. 1884d:477]

In the gunshop of Fred. Milstead at Palmyra (Sep 12), Porter's men seized "A large number of rifles, muskets and shot-guns [that] had been placed there by the military officers for repairs..." [Anon. 1884d:481]

In the office of Provost Marshal Strachan at Palmyra (Sep 12), "About half a dozen muskets in good order were taken, and a dozen more unserviceable ones were broken up. Only a few days before 400 shot-guns and muskets had been sent to Hannibal and 50 placed in Kouthan's store. The failure to get these arms was a great disappointment to Col. Porter, who had been informed that they were yet in Palmyra." [Anon. 1884d:482]

At Palmyra (Sep 12) Porter's men were observed to be "...armed with all sorts of weapons, from United States repeating rifles to flint-lock shot-guns." [Anon. 1884d:484]

In writing of Porter the day after the capture of Palmyra, Mudd (1992:310) states: "He [Porter] had hoped to stay in the vicinity [of Palmyra] twenty-four hours longer to receive nych needed supplies, especially ammunition, already on their way from Edina and Canton. He had gotten a good supply of muskets, shotguns, rifles and revolvers at Palmyra, but no ammuniton, and his powder and lead were about exhausted."

After Porter's force disbanded at Bragg's schoolhouse on Sep 14: "A number of horses--on one of which was a U.S. saddle and accouterments--and twenty shot-guns and muskets were abandoned and fell into the hands of the enemy." [Anon. 1884d:486] The Lewis County history offers essentially the same statement: "A number of horses--on one of which was a United States saddle and accoutrements--and twenty shot-guns and muskets were abandoned and fell into the hands of the enemy." [Anon. 1887:141]

After returning to his home at Millwood after the Moore's Mill fight, Mudd (1992:214) comments on the arms he carried: "My brother took the two guns I had with me--the long rifle belonging to my father and the Sharpe's rifle taken from the field at Moore's Mill and hid them where the prying eyes of the militia could never find them. The former was restored to its accustomed place after the war and the latter I have now. The musket captured at Memphis, and which I used in battle, I left with our little company."

In his report of the skirmish with Porter's men who successfully crossed the Missouri on October 16, Colonel Albert Sigel of the 13th Missouri Volunteer Cavalry stated that after the skirmish, "We captured a secesh flag, two roll-books, some horses, and some shot-guns and Austrian rifles..." (Mudd 1992:440; O.R. I, 13:321).

Appendix 34
XRF Raw Data Files

Data	Al K1 2	As K 1	C a K 1	Cr K 1	Cu K1 2	Fe K1 2	K K 1	M n K 1	Ni K 1	Pb L1	P b M 1	P d K 1	P d L 1	R b K 1	R h K 1	R h L 1	Si K 1	S n K 1	S n L 1	Sr K 1	Sr L 1	Ti K 1	Y K 1	Z n K 1	Zr K 1
FS 75 Lead Bullet Moores Mill	13	18 31 1	10 2	44	33 5	13 57	4	2	1	42 66 65	36 04	11 64	16	96 9	31 60	0	1	49 1	-1	95 6	0	10 9	33 23	47	84 1
FS 157 Lead Bullet Moores Mill Poss Confd	58	13 79 2	28	54	23 4	72 0	-2	47	86	30 29 68	25 41	87 3	48	65 8	22 89	0	1	25 4	-2	58 7	1	18 2	24 34	14 6	60 4
FS 166 Lead Bullet Moores Mill	54	18 25 9	55	53	24 3	90 0	1	40	50	42 00 18	35 26	11 65	3	10 50	30 33	0	20	51 5	-1	85 1	-1	14 5	33 18	43	82 2
FS 44 Canister Ball Moores Mill	70	54	29 7	19 9	17 6	03 60	14 4	18 70	29	35 39 8	13 45	20 14	0	26 6	30 65	0	86	15 3	2	31 2	28	68 6	15 5	12 4	89 4
FS 80 Pinfire Base Moores Mill	78	10 66	26 2	1	11 04 85 6	13 20	1	4	30	11 86 17	15 3	63 9	24 7	18 1	60	0	42	22 8	8	85	30	17 9	35 7	22 04	53
FS 80 Pinfire Lead Moores Mill	1	18 09	74	1	19 81	16 17	0	78	16	41 91 79	31 18	10 67	32	10 09	30 20	0	1	12 60	50	83 0	28	15 1	31 34	61	89 3