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"Indignities, Wrongs, and Outrages": The Home Front in Kentucky During the Civil War

Scott Lucas
Western Kentucky University

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"INDIGNITIES, WRONGS, AND OUTRAGES":  
THE HOME FRONT IN KENTUCKY DURING THE CIVIL WAR

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of History
Western Kentucky University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Scott J. Lucas

May 1997
"INDIGNITIES, WRONGS, AND OUTRAGES":

THE HOME FRONT IN KENTUCKY DURING THE CIVIL WAR

Date Recommended 4/9/97

Carol Ann Carraco
Director of Thesis

Charles J. Buzzard

Dean, Graduate Studies and Research
In the early years of the twentieth century, historians such as James Harvey Robinson and Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., reacting to the emphasis of traditional histories on politics and great men, introduced a new approach to the study of the past that became known as the "New Social History." The "new social history" was an attempt to emphasize society, rather than politics, kings, and wars. Robinson and Schlesinger claimed that history should be about the common people and should be written for common people. History should be, they believed, more applicable to everyday life than "history for history's sake."¹

For the most part, historians of the Civil War Era never adopted the "new" historical approach. Traditionally,


In recent years, historians, mining the thoroughly-studied field of the American Civil War, have been asking new, different, questions about the conflict. From these questions a new approach to the study of the Civil War is slowly emerging, an approach commonly called the "new" social history. Currently, "new social historians" of the Civil War Era are retreating from the study of "front line" battles to the often neglected "homefront" of non-combatants.\(^2\) There they are looking at the hardships and sufferings all classes of people endured, as well as the social changes which resulted. Drawing "upon the personal experiences of those at the center of the drama,"\(^3\)


\(^3\)James West Davidson and Mark Hamilton Lytle, *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 172; Michael Perman, ed., *Major Problems in*
historians are producing such works as Phillip S. Paludan’s, "A People’s Contest": The Union and Civil War, 1861-1865 (New York: Harper and Row, 1988) and Catherine Clinton’s The Other Civil War: American Women in the 19th Century (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984).

My thesis attempts to apply the ideas of the “New Social History” by investigating the everyday lives and activities of Kentuckians on the “homefront” during the Civil War.

Finally, I want to express my appreciation to Dr. Carol Crowe-Carraco, my thesis director, for support and patience during the slow progress of this manuscript. Her suggestions significantly improved my original concept for this manuscript, helping me to focus my ideas and to expand my research. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Charles J. Bussey and Dr. Carlton L. Jackson. Each carefully evaluated my manuscript, offering numerous suggestions that helped make it a better thesis. I, of course, am responsible for any errors of fact or interpretation.

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In the 1920s historians such as James Harvey Robinson and Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., attempted to examine historical topics using new methodology. Writing "New Social History," they endeavored to emphasize society, culture, and the common people rather than great men and strictly political events. Since the 1980s historians have exhibited new interest in the importance of social history. "Indignities, Wrongs, and Outrages: The Homefront In Kentucky During The Civil War" attempts to apply the methods of the "new social historians" to the era of the American Civil War, centering on the homefront by examining in detail its impact on the everyday lives of Kentuckians.

The Civil War in Kentucky was a microcosm of the American Civil War. Although Kentuckians generally favored the Union, allegiances remained mixed throughout the state,
even within families. Divided loyalties in this “brother’s war,” complicated by periodic occupation of the Commonwealth by both Union and Confederate troops, provoked embittered feelings among friends, neighbors, and relatives, sometimes resulting in challenges to loyalty and even loss of life.

Civilians on the homefront endured every aspect of the war: harassment, hunger, homelessness, military occupation, and death. The Bluegrass state was a path for armies marching to and from the “front,” resulting in economic devastation for many. Because Kentucky was a supplier of food, livestock, soldiers, and war materiel for Federal and Confederate troops alike, the price of food soared, and fuel shortages wracked the populace. Armies from both sides confiscated produce and livestock, and raids by guerrilla forces often made farming impossible. Financial losses, physical destruction, and soldiers threatening violence resulted in further reduction in the quality of life for Bluegrass civilians.

Nevertheless, the homefront story was one of triumph over adversity. In addition to facing armed occupiers and rogue soldiers, women and their servants struggled successfully with everyday problems such as rearing the
children, coping with illnesses, and managing businesses and farms. For African Americans the war offered hope for a new beginning. Some found prosperity in their new freedom, but many who ran away to enter Union lines suffered and died in refugee camps scattered throughout the state.

The "new social history," to a great extent, is history of the "common people." Drawn largely from letters, journals, and diaries, this thesis attempts to discover how Kentuckians on the homefront lived, worked, and survived during the Civil War. It is a story worth telling.
Before Kentucky’s involvement in the Civil War, Union and Confederate agents had already begun recruiting troops, first from camps located on the state’s borders, later from camps within the Commonwealth. By August 1861, after neutrality had been declared and Union strength appeared overwhelming, southern leaders realized that a Confederate Kentucky could be won only through battle. On September 4, 1861, Confederate Major General Leonidas Polk ordered Brigadier General Gideon J. Pillow to occupy Columbus on the Mississippi River, the first violation of Kentucky’s neutrality. Union Brigadier General U.S. Grant responded on September 6 by occupying Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee River, and Smithland, where the Cumberland River joins the Ohio. Thereafter, Union and Confederate troops poured into the state. The Civil War had come to Kentucky.¹

¹The best written, most balanced account of the Civil War in Kentucky is Lowell H. Harrison’s, *The Civil War in Kentucky* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1975). E. Merton Coulter’s, *The Civil War and Readjustment*
During the fall of 1861 the line between the sections in Kentucky slowly formed. After a brief period in charge of state volunteers, Brigadier General Robert Anderson relinquished command to Major General William T. Sherman. Brigadier General George H. Thomas took command of Federal recruiting at Camp Dick Robinson in Garrard County, and Brigadier General William Nelson opened Camp Kenton in Mason County. The Union line, totaling about 114,000 men, ran from Paducah in the West to Munfordville, where Major General Don Carlos Buell commanded, into eastern Kentucky.

On September 10, 1861, General Albert Sidney Johnston, a Kentuckian, took command of Confederate forces in Kentucky, advancing to Bowling Green on the Barren River. From Bowling Green Johnston commanded southern strategy in the West. Soon the Confederates, about 48,000 strong, occupied a line of fortresses along the Tennessee-Kentucky border from Columbus, to Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, to Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, to Bowling Green

and into eastern Kentucky at Cumberland Gap.

The first important encounter between northern and southern forces occurred in eastern Kentucky when Brigadier General George H. Thomas routed Confederate forces at Mill Springs on January 19, 1862, driving the Rebel army into Tennessee. The next Union attack occurred farther west in February 1862 when Grant moved against Fort Henry, which Confederates abandoned without a fight, and then attacked Fort Donelson, a vital point in the southern defensive line. Donelson fell to Grant on February 16 after a two-day battle, breaking the Confederate line, making Johnston’s retreat from Bowling Green to Nashville, Tennessee, inevitable. With all his strong points from the Mississippi River to Cumberland outflanked, Johnston withdrew southward from Nashville all the way to Corinth, Mississippi, just south of the Tennessee border. Grant’s and Buell’s rapid advances into the Deep South was blunted at the battle of Shiloh in April 1862.

The Confederate withdrawal from Kentucky left the state largely to Federal forces. Brigadier General Jeremiah T. Boyle, a native Kentuckian and commander of the District of Kentucky, decided the time was ripe for clearing Kentucky of pro-southern guerrillas. Boyle’s rather severe policies
alienated many pro-Union citizens and encouraged Confederate
Colonel John Hunt Morgan to make a foray into Kentucky.
Morgan, who had been successfully raiding behind Union lines
in Tennessee, made his first incursion into Kentucky in May
1862 with a small force of about fifty men, disrupting
communications in the vicinity of Glasgow and Cave City.
Heartened, in July 1862 Morgan made his first major raid,
and a successful one, into Kentucky. Crossing the
Cumberland River, Morgan took Tompkinsville on July 9 before
moving on to Glasgow and Horse Cave, occupying Lebanon on
July 12. When Lexington proved to be too strongly defended
to capture, Morgan’s force moved on to Cynthiana and Paris
before moving southward through Richmond and Somerset,
returning to Tennessee on July 28.

After Shiloh a thin Union line developed across
southern Tennessee, turning northward in central Tennessee
toward Knoxville. Confederate strategists, perhaps
encouraged by Morgan’s reports that Kentuckians were eager
to give support, saw an opportunity to concentrate their
forces and march northward, piercing the vulnerable Union
line. What followed was the August-October 1862 invasion of
Kentucky by two Confederate forces. General Braxton Bragg
moved northward from Chattanooga into central Tennessee,
toward Louisville, and Major General Edmund Kirby Smith drove northward from Knoxville through the Cumberland toward Lexington.

As Union troops retreated before him, Smith took Barbourville August 13, fought the successful battle of Richmond August 30, and occupied Lexington on September 1, 1862. Within days, Smith claimed the entire Bluegrass, his forces ranging as far north as Maysville. Bragg, meanwhile, had pushed through central Tennessee into southern Kentucky, taking Glasgow September 14 and Munfordville on September 17. North of Buell's Union forces and seemingly having a clear path to Louisville, Bragg suddenly veered eastward toward Frankfort, allowing Buell to enter the Falls City.

When Buell's resupplied army moved out of Louisville on October 1, 1862, toward Frankfort and Perryville, Bragg's forces were dispersed over a wide area and Kirby Smith was still operating independently. Belatedly, the confused Bragg attempted to concentrate his forces in the vicinity of Perryville. At Perryville on October 8, 1862, Bragg lost the most decisive Civil War battle fought on Kentucky soil. The next day the southern army began a long retreat southward. By October 20 the Confederates had withdrawn across the Cumberland plateau into Tennessee, taking only
4,000 Kentucky volunteers with them.

The fall of 1862 was the peak of the Confederate effort in Kentucky. Thereafter, cavalry raids gave the Confederacy its most important successes in Kentucky. Indeed, as Confederate troops retreated toward the Cumberland gap, Morgan turned northward, traveling on back roads, into the Bluegrass. He routed a small Union force garrisoned in Lexington on October 18, 1862, before moving on to Frankfort, Lawrenceburg, and Bloomfield. On October 19, Morgan captured a wagon-train of Union supplies at Bardstown and entered Elizabethtown on October 20 where he destroyed L&N Railroad tracks. Morgan’s troopers camped at Leitchfield on October 21, moved on to Morgantown, and camped overnight on October 24 at Greenville, before moving west to Hopkinsville. The raiders spent five days in Hopkinsville, mostly resting, but Morgan also sent troopers through the surrounding countryside on several occasions. The Confederate raiders returned to Tennessee on November 1, 1862.

Promoted to Brigadier General and having increased his force to brigade strength, Morgan’s cavalry returned to Kentucky during Christmas 1862 with specific instruction to disrupt traffic on the L&N Railroad. The brigade entered
Kentucky on Christmas Eve and immediately captured enough supplies to make their journey easy. The raiders moved through Tompkinsville and reached Glasgow on Christmas Day 1862, before moving on to Munfordville where they burned the nearby Bacon Creek L&N trestle and destroyed several miles of track. On December 28 Morgan’s raiders burned the massive L&N Railroad trestles about five miles north of Elizabethtown, interrupting traffic on the L&N for several months. Morgan then fled eastward to Bardstown which he left on December 30, before turning south through Springfield. Hotly pursued, his troopers passed through Campbellsville on New Year’s Day, and through Columbia and Burksville, into Confederate lines in Tennessee on January 3, 1863.

During the first six months of 1863, Confederate forces made a number of minor incursions into Kentucky. In mid-February Colonel Roy S. Cluke led his Eighth Kentucky Cavalry of 750 men on a raid into the Bluegrass region which lasted for several weeks. Though unable to take Lexington, Cluke captured Mt. Sterling three times. In March 1863 Brigadier General John Pegram began the first of two raids into Kentucky. Pegram led a brigade-strength force which entered Danville on March 24, and in May took Monticello.
Also in March 1863 Brigadier General Humphrey Marshall raided eastern Kentucky before being checked at Louisa. Small Confederate forces raided Tompkinsville and Monticello in April, fought Union forces on May 11 in Wayne County, and engaged in a skirmish at Woodburn on May 13. More small raids near Boston and Elizabethtown in June 1863 destroyed L&N track, and a force of 300 Confederates attacked Maysville on June 14. Another group of raiders also operated in Bath and Rowan counties during mid-June 1863.

In July 1863 Morgan began his famous Ohio Raid, entering Kentucky at Burksville on July 2. Morgan’s raiders reached Columbia the next night and then moved on July 4 to Tebb’s Bend on the Green River where they found the bridge well-defended. The next day Morgan took the block house at Lebanon but fled before Union reinforcements, taking Bardstown on the morning of July 6. Facing an ever-increasing number of Union troops, Morgan turned northwest, heading for Brandenburg where on July 8 his troopers crossed the Ohio River into Indiana. The ill-fated raid ended near Lisbon, Ohio, where Morgan surrendered.

On March 25, 1864, Major General Nathan B. Forrest attacked Paducah, driving Union forces inside their defenses before stripping the town of supplies and a small number of
horses. Upon withdrawing, Forrest allowed part of his force under Brigadier General Abraham Buford’s command to remain in the area. A second raid on Paducah by Buford in April proved more successful, capturing a large number of badly needed mounts.

In November 1863, Morgan and several of his officers had escaped from the Ohio State Penitentiary and successfully found their way back to the Confederacy. After some delay, Morgan put together a force of about 2,700 men, in western Virginia, more than 800 of whom were without horses. In early June 1864 Morgan began his final raid, this time into eastern Kentucky. He reached Hazel Green on June 7 and entered Mt. Sterling on June 8, moving on to Winchester before nightfall. Morgan’s raiders rode into Lexington almost unopposed on June 10 where they found enough badly needed horses to mount the entire force. At the approach of Federal troops, Morgan’s force hastily moved toward Georgetown, and on June 11 invaded Cynthiana where, after initial success, Morgan’s men were scattered and fled eastward. By June 20 his entire command had been driven from the Commonwealth.

Morgan had hardly left the state when Confederate Brigadier General Hylan B. Lyon began a month-long cavalry
raid into western Kentucky. From November 29 to December 27, 1864, Lyon destroyed property and burned courthouses.

During 1864 the increase in guerrilla warfare in Kentucky led Major General Stephen Burbridge, commander of the Military District of Kentucky, to retaliate in July 1864 with Order No. 59: four Confederate prisoners would be executed for each Union soldier killed by guerrillas. In October 1864 Burbridge issued an order to take no guerrilla prisoners. Such measures increased retaliation on both sides, and in the end Burbridge’s draconian methods played a major role in the declining respect of many Kentuckians for the Union cause. In general, many citizens concluded that Kentucky was being conquered as if it had been a part of the Confederacy.

No Confederate army invaded Kentucky after the summer of 1864, but guerrilla fighters continued to operate until the end of the war. The most notorious were Captain Jerome Clarke, alias Sue Mundy, who terrorized central Kentucky from October 1864 until March 1865, and William Clarke Quantrill, who raided the same general area for the first five months of 1865.

During four years of invasion, marching and counter marching, and guerrilla warfare, the lives of most
Kentuckians were touched by the conflict. When the Civil War ended, approximately 65,000 white and 24,000 black Kentuckians had fought for the Union; another 35,000 white Kentuckians had served in the Confederate army. Estimates of the number of Kentuckians who died from wounds or disease range as high as 40,000, stark testimony to the divided loyalties of Kentuckians.
Chapter I

KENTUCKY: A STATE OF DIVIDED LOYALTIES

Kentucky's curse was to be a state of divided loyalties, while persons living in states to the north and south of Kentucky tended unanimously to support one side of the conflict. Kentucky's geographical location played a major role in creating these divided loyalties. The northern border of Kentucky lay on the Ohio River. For more than 700 miles the Ohio formed a natural boundary with the Union states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, making Kentucky vital to the Union but valuable to the South. Kentuckians such as Senator Henry Clay, the most forthright nationalist spokesman for a mixed economy of industry and agriculture, pointed Kentucky's economic interests northward throughout the antebellum period, and in 1860 the state depended on the North for its imports. In fact, at that time, at least twelve northern towns and cities on the Ohio River possessed railroad connections northward while Kentucky's goods
traveled south on only two railroads, a testimony to Clay's success.\(^1\)

The Commonwealth's ties to the South were equally strong. Merchants and farmers who engaged in the Mississippi River trade to world markets through New Orleans, or southward via the overland Cumberland Ford route with Kentucky livestock, hemp, and tobacco, believed they must maintain their markets.\(^2\) Kentucky's interest in slavery also played a major role in the state's ties with the South, and some believed that connection must be maintained to protect their southern trade in surplus slaves. Furthermore, Kentuckians, as most Americans, favored the idea of state sovereignty and were sympathetic to the complaints of Deep South states on issues such as abolitionist attacks on slavery and the activities of the Underground Railroad.\(^3\)

\(^1\)James A. Rawley, *Turning Points of the Civil War* (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 14-16; Coulter, *Civil War and Readjustment*, 11.

\(^2\)Coulter, *Civil War and Readjustment*, 9.

The political importance of the Commonwealth's position for President Abraham Lincoln, who was born in Kentucky, is apparent in a comment he wrote to his friend Orville H. Browning: "I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we cannot hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of the capital." Influential Kentuckians, reflecting on Kentucky's past, agreed. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Kentucky's relative political and economic importance within the nation was much greater than later, and concern over the prospect of a Confederate

loyalties. Kentucky's mountainous East tended to side with the North while the western portion of the state was more favorable to the southern cause. Carol Crowe-Carraco, The Big Sandy (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1979), 30, 48, attributes strong Unionist sentiment in eastern Kentucky to the relatively small role played by slavery in the region.


Johana Louisa Underwood Nazro Diary, February 5, 1861, Underwood collection, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

Harrison, Civil War in Kentucky, 2.
government on the Ohio River is reflected in a statement attributed to Lincoln, "I hope to have God on my side, but I must have Kentucky."  

Jefferson Davis, President of the newly organized Confederacy and also a native Kentuckian, looked longingly at a Confederate border on the Ohio River, realizing its strategic importance as a defensive position against invasion of the Lower South. Davis also coveted the state's wealth and manpower. Should secession result in war, Kentucky's wealth and large military-age population, greater than that of any Confederate state except Virginia, could be decisive. With his troops positioned on the Kentucky-Tennessee border by the summer of 1861, Davis was poised, should he see the necessity, to invade Kentucky, making the Commonwealth Confederate.  

In 1861 Kentucky's population faced the biggest decision in the state's history: Union or Disunion. Sectional ties meant that Kentucky's citizens were capable of being both proslavery, and pro-Union or pro-Confederate  

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7Rawley, Turning Points of the Civil War, 11.  

8McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, 284.  

9Rawley, Turning Points of the Civil War, 37-38.
at the same time. As the war approached, however, increasingly the state's inhabitants were forced to make choices. Whatever the decision, Kentuckians were destined to follow the lead of a native son, Abraham Lincoln or Jefferson Davis.

Pro-Confederate Governor, Beriah Magoffin, conniving with southern leaders but unable to lead his state into secession, proposed a third alternative: neutrality. This 1861 indecision somehow characterizes the dilemma of the state's citizens. Since Kentucky was an offspring of Virginia, most of its inhabitants were from the South. However, the Ohio River, the great water pathway to the West, had brought in thousands of settlers from Pennsylvania and New York. As events unfolded, divided Kentuckians refused to follow unquestionably Lincoln, Davis, or Magoffin.¹⁰

When Kentuckians finally decided which route to take, they refused to back Lincoln's concept of Union. Indeed, Kentucky never supported the President, casting only 1,364


Kentuckians increasingly adjusted to the “thoughts and realities” of the impending crisis. Each day people grew “graver and sadder,” awaiting news of an outbreak of
conflict, communities and families dividing. According to Johana Louisa Underwood of Bowling Green, by 1861 relations in her town between "Union and 'secesh'" became increasingly bitter.\(^\text{13}\) As divisions among friends and families slowly evolved, people she had known all her life, especially the young men, began to move in new and different circles,\(^\text{14}\) sometimes exhibiting "smiling countenances but hatred at the heart."\(^\text{15}\) Underwood noticed that two of her closest male friends, John Ward, who was pro-Union, and Hugh Gwyn, who favored the South, no longer associated with each other.\(^\text{16}\)

Men with strong feelings for one side or the other who did not immediately make their position known had to be concerned with declaring their support and thereby jeopardizing their freedom. Others, some of the strongest Union men such as Senator John J. Crittenden, and Louisvillian Joseph Holt, who later served as Judge Advocate

\(^\text{13}\) Nazro Diary, March 25, August 29, 1861, Underwood Collection.

\(^\text{14}\) Ibid., February 10, 1861.

\(^\text{15}\) Joseph I. Younglove to James Younglove, April 25, 1862, Younglove Collection, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

\(^\text{16}\) Nazro Diary, February 10, 1861, Underwood Collection.
General in Lincoln’s administration, were confounded by the pro-Confederate actions of their “wild reckless unthinking inexperienced sons.” The case of George D. Prentice, editor of Louisville’s *Daily Journal*, is illustrative—he was a Unionist and his wife and sons were secessionists. For Kentuckians, the emotional obligation to do the “right” thing with respect to their region of the state often superseded the ideals one might today consider “supreme.” For instance, men and boys from the same family fought against one another, as friendly relationships prior to the war turned antagonistic. John Jeffery, who visited Lexington in early 1862, found the city fairly equally divided “to opposite sides,” noticing specifically that “the state of affairs in regard to the union and secesh” had created an especially “wide breach” among families. It was a time of suspicion, anger, and hate.

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18 John Jeffery to William, March 6, 1862, Jeffery Family Papers, Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky; Maria I. Knott to Children, August 1861, Knott Collection Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.
A great tragedy for Kentucky was that the Civil War became a brothers' war. Divisions existed between brothers, fathers, friends, and neighbors in almost every county in the Commonwealth. Kentucky troops fought skirmishes and battles against each other from Shiloh to Atlanta. Four of Henry Clay's grandsons fought for the South; three for the North. John J. Crittenden, whose famous Compromise proposal failed to save the Union in 1861, had two sons who attained the rank of general. One, George B. Crittenden, was a Major General in the Confederate army and the other, Thomas L. Crittenden, rose to Major General in the Union army. John C. Breckinridge, who served as a general in the Confederate army, had two cousins who campaigned for the Union. Breckinridge's uncle, Robert J. Breckinridge, one of Kentucky's strongest Unionist, had two sons who joined the Confederate army and two sons who served with Federal forces. The family of former state senator Benjamin Bristow divided when one brother sided with the Union and the other with the South, and in eastern Kentucky, sons of Kentucky

19Sally Yandell Henderson, "A Girl's Experiences in the Confederacy," typescript memoir, Nancy Disher Baird Collection, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.
Militia General, Daniel Hager, also fought on opposite sides.\(^{20}\) Even the President’s wife, Mary Todd Lincoln, had seven relatives who served under the Confederate flag, four of them brothers who fell in battle.\(^{21}\) The tragedy that befell Samuel M. Starling’s Hopkinsville family was all too typical. Starling had the misfortune of losing two sons in battle during the Civil War, one who fought for the Confederate cause, the other fighting for the Union.\(^{22}\)

Because Kentuckians were so divided, both armies instituted orders designed to deal with citizens considered

\(^{20}\)John Bristow to Emily E. Bristow, n.d., Mrs. James M. and Miss Mary Gill Collection of the Bristow Papers, Margaret I. King Library, Manuscript Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky; A. and V. Davis to W.H. and M. Shugart, February 6, 1864, Shelly Family Papers, Manuscript Division, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky; Crowe-Carraco, The Big Sandy, 30. Kentucky historians (Crowe-Carraco, ibid., 48 and Harrison, Civil War in Kentucky, 102) point out that the violence and murder begun by Civil War guerrillas in eastern Kentucky were partially responsible for some of the infamous post-war feuds.


\(^{22}\)R.L. Barlow to Mary Payne, January 31, 1863, Lewis-Starling Collection, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky; Harrison, Civil War in Kentucky, 1.
disloyal, one of the most persistent and perplexing problems in the Commonwealth during the Civil War. Kentuckians who happened to be on the wrong side of either occupying army were constantly subjected to harassment regarding their loyalty, first by one army and then by the other. The options of those charged with disloyalty were few. They could swear allegiance to the occupying army and go free, flee the area, or accept imprisonment. In most cases, whether troops were northern or southern, they felt reasonable justification for whatever havoc they caused or arrests they made when persecuting citizens over allegiances.

Harassment of those branded disloyal in occupied areas took a variety of forms, but usually acceptance of an oath of allegiance, whether forced or voluntary, was the major goal. Frances Dallam Peter of Lexington, the daughter of Unionist Robert Peter, a physician at the United States military hospital in Lexington, kept a detailed journal describing events in Kentucky during the Civil War. Peter noted the case of five women sympathetic to the southern cause who were arrested by the Provost Marshall while traveling to Nicholasville for expressing “treasonable sentiments.” Union authorities taunted the truculent women
telling them that they would either be sent south "to their dear rebel friends" or to jail. When the women protested being banished to "Dixie" they were marched off to jail where "after a while [they] became quite tractable and took the oath of allegiance."\footnote{23}

Throughout the war Union generals believed that the Lexington area was a hotbed of disloyalty because a number of prominent citizens, such as John Hunt Morgan and John C. Breckinridge, had early thrown their support to the Confederacy and marched off southward,\footnote{24} and authorities were determined to expel anyone in the area thought to be disloyal. For some this made swearing loyalty an almost daily requirement.\footnote{25} Prominent Lexingtonian Margaret

\footnote{23}Frances Dallam Peter Diary, April 19, 1863, Catherine and Howard Evans Papers (hereinafter cited Evans papers), Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington.


Preston was the wife of Confederate Major General William Preston, and therefore, a prime target. After considerable harassment, Preston was bluntly presented her options: she could go to prison or simply be "sent off" to the South. Concluding that expulsion to the Confederacy was her least attractive option, Preston chose to flee to Canada. The same pressure in Fayette County that forced Preston to leave led Virginia Halley's brother, Rufe, who heard that a warrant had been issued for his arrest, to flee Fayette County to seek refuge in Canada.

The Reverend George R. Browder, a Confederate sympathizer from Logan County, barely escaped the Union net in Fayette County. While visiting a friend near Lexington in 1862, his slave Henry warned of approaching Union soldiers. Browder, fearing that he might be captured and forced either to take "Lincoln's oath" or be imprisoned at Camp Chase in Columbus, Ohio, quickly fled to a nearby field.

26Mary O. Preston to William Preston, August 17, 1864, Wickliffe-Preston Papers, Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

27Ibid., July 16, 1864.

28Virginia Halley to Henry, August 2, 1864, Halley Family Papers, Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.
where he lay hiding for several hours until the Federal troops withdrew. When Browder finally ventured from his hiding place, he learned that the soldiers had sharply questioned people in the area regarding his whereabouts without success but “swore they intended to have” him.29

Questions of loyalty also invaded the academic community. Fear that teachers would influence children to favor the South30 led the general assembly in August 1862 to adopt a loyalty oath. All teachers in public schools were required, in addition to the oath, to refrain from giving aid or comfort to the Confederacy. Teachers refusing to comply were subject to fines of up to $200 dollars, and violators of the oath were “deemed guilty of false swearing” and therefore “subject to all the penalties imposed by law

29Richard L. Troutman, ed., The Heavens Are Weeping: The Diaries of George Richard Browder, 1852-1886 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Press, 1987), 118. The Unionist Kentucky legislature, as a result of laws passed in late 1861 and early 1862, required that public officials, as well as teachers, ministers, and jurors, take an oath of loyalty to the United States. By 1863 the oath had been extended to voting. Harrison, Civil War in Kentucky, 80, 84.

for that crime." Unionists in Kentucky realized early the importance of preventing pro-secessionists from carrying weapons, although the possession of knives and guns was common, even necessary from a practical point of view, in antebellum Kentucky. In August of 1862, as the Lexington Home Guards were arming themselves, those who had "avowed themselves cesesh" were prevented from bearing arms unless they enlisted in the Union army, took an "Oath of Allegiance," or provided a cash bond of up to $5,000 to guarantee their "good behavior." Henderson citizens suspected of sympathy for the southern cause were also forced to post bonds to assure their loyalty, and in Millersburg, the local Union commander, B.F. Dorsey, went even further. Dorsey issued a standing

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33 Francis Gunn to John T. and Thomas M. Gunn, August 16, 1862, Gunn Family Papers, Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

34 Collins, History of Kentucky, I:103.
order to arrest and imprison "any person not belonging to the army of the United States to be seen bearing a gun or pistols or buckknife." \(^{35}\)

Harassment over the question of loyalty intensified each time an area of Kentucky changed hands between foes. The experience of one central Kentucky family poignantly illustrated the trials and tribulations residents of occupied areas often endured. Confederate soldiers marching northward toward Lexington and Cincinnati arrived at the home of Robert Patterson, a native of Pennsylvania and a professor at Centre College, to arrest him for being sympathetic to the Union cause. The soldiers took Patterson to a Danville hotel which served as Confederate headquarters. There, to Patterson’s surprise, he was denounced by his brother who called him "the very worst man in Danville." Professor Patterson was "corrupting the minds of the young men, and using his influence over them to make them Unionists," his brother charged. \(^{36}\)

\(^{35}\)"Order To Arrest Confederate Sympathizers," August 7, 1865, List, Confederate Sympathizers, Millersburg, Kentucky, Manuscripts, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky.

\(^{36}\)Christian Ashby Cheek, ed. "Memoirs of Mrs. E.B. Patterson: A Perspective on Danville During the Civil War," Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 92 (Autumn
Patterson denied the accusations, but it soon became apparent that his arrest was merely part of a plot by his interrogator, Colonel John Hunt Morgan, to secure the release of a Danville resident then being held prisoner at Camp Chase. Morgan proposed to free Patterson who would then campaign for the release of the Camp Chase prisoner; an idea Patterson rejected as impossible. The Confederates, who apparently did not want to be burdened with prisoners, huddled together and then demanded that Patterson swear allegiance to the southern government, which Patterson refused. Later, while being transported to Lexington, Patterson received a second offer, this time to take an oath not to fight against the Confederacy in return for his freedom. Concluding that the oath would be meaningless after the Confederates retreated from the area, Patterson agreed and was released.  

In Clark County, where Rebel units seemed to operate freely during 1861-1862 and issues of loyalty may have been used to settle longstanding personal or political differences, the Confederate invasion gave pro-southerners heart. Hoping to rid the county of those loyal to the Union

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and targeting specifically the Home Guards, Rebel operatives placed the names of several members “on the list for capture.” Polk Cass was one of those harassed. Upon hearing the “clatter of hoofbeats” approaching his grandmother’s house one evening, Cass hid in the attic until the raiders left. Clark Countian John C. Creed was less fortunate. Although never captured Creed spent months during the Confederate invasion playing “hide and seek,” running from a small Confederate band determined to apprehend him. On one occasion, while hiding under a wagon, Creed’s pursuers got so close while probing around his house that he heard them discussing plans for future raids on pro-Unionists. Several times rebel troops descended upon the house of Home Guards member Wilson Owen. Never able to find Owen, the rebels left, but not before they “pilfered” his grocery store.38

After Confederate troops evacuated northern Kentucky in 1862, questions of loyalty reversed. Federal troops scoured the northern Kentucky countryside, arresting pro-Rebels, perceived to be “notorious and dangerous,” and charged with having given aid and comfort to the enemy. In the tier of

38Kathryn Owen, comp., Civil War Days in Clark County (Winchester, Ky.: Reed Printing Co., 1963), 23-24.
counties surrounding Lexington, the Home Guards and occupying Federal troops engaged in random acts of cruelty while rooting out those with southern sympathies.\textsuperscript{39} In Grant and Pendleton counties, for instance, twenty-seven of the "wealthiest and most influential" pro-Rebel citizens were arrested in one sweep through the region.\textsuperscript{40}

Further south in Harrison County John Aker Lafferty reported that members of the Home Guards visited the farm of his seventy-six-year-old grandfather, claiming to have orders to confiscate all guns that could be found in the county. When he refused to reveal the location of his "squirrel rifle," the soldiers arrested the old man and forced him to mount a newly broken, spirited horse. The Home Guards troops then took the old man to Lafferty's farm where they "kept prodding the young horse with a bayonet, making it difficult for [his] grandfather to keep his seat." Eventually, Union officials took the elder Lafferty to Camp Chase where they ordered him to take the oath of allegiance. When the commanding officer arrived to administer the oath, Lafferty's grandfather rose "from his stool, [and] said: 'Do

\textsuperscript{39}Collins, \textit{History of Kentucky}, I:103.

\textsuperscript{40}Ibid., 104.
you mean to insult me? I fought all over this territory in the War of 1812 to drive out the British and Indians, I proved my allegiance, and I will sit here and rot before I will take such an oath.’” Apparently shamed by his statement, Union authorities released the old man.41

The most notorious episode of harassment of Kentuckians deemed disloyal occurred in West Kentucky during the summer of 1864, sparking an investigation by Federal Major General Stephen G. Burbridge, Commander of the Military District of Kentucky. In an area where Confederate sympathies ran deeply, Brigadier General Eleazer A. Paine, backed by the “Radical” Union League of America,42 concluded that only draconian measures would put a stop to residents’ trade with the Confederacy. Assuming command of the Western District of Kentucky with his headquarters in Paducah on July 19, 1864, Paine went on a fifty-one day binge of “violent, profane, and abusive tyranny,” unparalleled in the Commonwealth during the Civil War. To preclude trade with the Confederacy, Paine levied a tax on the commerce of


42Harrison, Civil War in Kentucky, 100.
anyone tainted by the charge of disloyalty, the net effect of which was to paralyze trade in the region for about two months.\textsuperscript{43}

Paine’s range of “indignities, wrongs, and outrages,” labeled by Federal investigators as too “endless to enumerate,” revealed both imagination and malevolence, and all but unconditional Unionists suffered. Because Paine typically used abusive and profane language in his dealings with virtually everyone, the investigating commission could find no one in the region who admitted to having been treated with “common civility.” One citizens testified that he had been arrested and held without charge for the duration of Paine’s command.\textsuperscript{44} Another claimed that he had been arrested and ordered to be executed for a crime for which he had previously been exonerated, escaping the gallows only at the last minute. In Columbus citizens testified that Paine banished a significant but unknown number of people, plundering their property after their removal, and then renting their buildings for his own


\textsuperscript{44}Ibid.
financial gain.\textsuperscript{45}

In McCracken County, Paine assessed "disloyal" citizens $95,000 to reimburse Union men for losses attributed to Confederate raiders, a sum the investigating commission believed would have "bankrupted the community." On a more petty level, Paine exacted sizeable fees for bank and postal transactions, and in Graves County the Union commander was denounced for impressing citizens, including "cripples, sick and infirm old men," to build defensive works at Mayfield, exempting only those who paid exorbitant fines.\textsuperscript{46}

Murder was the gravest charge leveled against Paine. That West Kentuckians were executed during Paine's rampage is not in dispute; however, the causes for executions and numbers of victims proved elusive for federal investigators. The military commission believed that "between five and forty-three" people had been executed but confessed they had "no means of judging" the "guilt or innocence" of those put to death.\textsuperscript{47} Vehement protests of Paine's excesses in West Kentucky had led General Burbridge to send Brigadier General

\textsuperscript{45}Ibid., 29.

\textsuperscript{46}Ibid., 28-30.

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid., 30.
Speed S. Fry in September 1864 to investigate the charges. When Fry reached Paducah, he found that Paine, who obviously had something to hide, had left the city, taking all records, and clerks who might have been interviewed, with him, thereby partially thwarting the investigation. Fry’s report, which largely contained the charges of Paine’s enemies, became the basis of an early 1865 inquiry into the charges against Paine by the Secretary of War. Later, Joseph Holt, the Judge Advocate General and a Kentuckian, reviewed the entire matter. In the end, Paine’s punishment was only a reprimand, a verdict which outraged West Kentuckians.

Issues of loyalty and disloyalty more typically inspired petty, less severe actions from the opposing sides during the conflict. Diarist Peter recorded in early October 1862, when Confederate forces controlled Lexington, that soldiers arrested a man for disloyalty simply because he possessed a Union flag in his home. Peter believed, however, that the flag incident was merely a pretext used by

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48 Ibid., 23-24.


50 Harrison, Civil War in Kentucky, 100.
the Rebels to search his property for suspected contraband materiel. Indeed, rumors abounded that everything in Lexington was to be searched, including kitchens and servants' quarters. In a similar incident, a man was arrested because his daughter waved a Union flag at passing troops. Peter claimed the young woman's arrest was merely one of a great many similar arrests made in the city.  

A similarly ignoble act occurred in early 1862 when two men, a Dr. Stete and Will Dudley, Jr., were arrested as spies at the home of a well-known Lexington pro-secessionist, Dr. J.R. Desha. Stete and Dudley were charged with having provided medical treatment to Rebels while in Bowling Green. And in Scott County, Union authorities went so far as to arrest John Gilbert, a man whose unsavory reputation had already brought him under suspicion, for carrying "Southern mail," a rather common occurrence.

Questions of loyalty among students also resulted in harassment. Student recitations sometimes turned into hostile debates over issues of secession and war and tempers

51 Peter Diary, October 1, 3, 1862, Evans Papers.

52 Ibid., January 21, 1862.

53 Ibid., March 22, 1862.
flared to the point of physical violence between opposing sides. At Georgetown College, for instance, a riot nearly erupted when Unionist students confronted secessionist students who were attempting to plant a Confederate flag on top of a campus building. Because of the clash, Unionist sympathizer and college president, Duncan Campbell, canceled classes for several months. Campbell told students to go home, complaining that they "had become so excited by passing events as to be entirely disqualified for study and good order." They would be, he told them, better off "under the influence of their parents."

During this tense period in Kentucky history, even boyish pranks and small gestures were sometimes taken seriously and occasionally punished harshly. In Lexington, Union soldiers searched a local residence for several boys who had gone to the roof of a local college, under pretext of looking for a ball, and raised a Rebel flag, and a Mr. Hargrove was imprisoned for "two days and nights" in a filthy jail because his daughter had waved a Confederate flag at passing Union ambulances. In both these

54Louisville Courier Journal, November 20, 1860.
55Ibid., April 25, 1861.
56Peter Diary, February 9, October 1, 1862, Evans
instances, the young people were subject to a fine of between $50 and $100.\textsuperscript{57} After Brigadier General Jeremiah T. Boyle’s famous order of July 1, 1862, ordering the arrest of “disloyal females,” Lizzie Harden and her mother were seized by Federal authorities for merely waving handkerchiefs at John Hunt Morgan’s passing troops.\textsuperscript{58}

In summary, Kentuckians were a divided people in 1861. The state had political and economic ties to both the North and the South and, ironically, to Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, both of whom were born in the Commonwealth. Though the Commonwealth’s governor was pro-secessionist, the legislature remained solidly pro-Union, and in the end the state declared neutrality, an untenable legal position but one which satisfied both sides.

As Kentuckians made up their minds, members of the same family, and old friends, often bitterly opposed each other. Such divisions magnified hatreds and as a result each side felt justified in demanding loyalty from the other, even

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Papers.

\textsuperscript{57}Harrison, \textit{Civil War in Kentucky}, 80.

after termination of the Civil War. Each side attempted to
exact an oath of allegiance as they gained control of a
region. Those deemed disloyal could only take the required
oath, flee, or go to prison, but the appearance and
disappearance of armies and guerrillas meant that no one
would escape harassment. Only in one instance did the
harassment and violence reach disastrous proportions. In
West Kentucky, Union General Eleazer A. Paine engaged in a
reign of terror lasting about two months, during which
instances of murder may have occurred.

No expression of support for the "enemy," however, was
too petty to punish. As a result, the constant harassment
and intimidation wreaked havoc on Kentuckians, not only in
their private lives but in their economic endeavors as well.
Surviving economically proved to be a daily struggle for
large numbers of Kentuckians.
Chapter II

THE GREAT PLUNDER:

THE CIVIL WAR’S EFFECT ON ECONOMICS AND AGRICULTURE

Kentucky’s economy, as in the case of most southern states, suffered significantly during the Civil War.\(^1\) The Commonwealth, however, was arguably not the site of many major battles, though northern and southern military forces continually passed through the state and confronted each other in minor skirmishes. As a result, Kentucky became a passageway, a shifting "front line," through which supplies of food and war materiel passed to the troops of both sides. Thus, economic circumstances for average Kentuckians fluctuated wildly during the Civil War years, with conditions in some regions worse than others.

In Central Kentucky, "high prices and scarcity of

goods were a constant problem for everyone. In Louisville and Lexington, two of Kentucky's largest cities, newspapers claimed that consumer goods had increased in price at least 50 percent and possibly as much as 100 percent since the outbreak of war. Conditions reached their nadir immediately after Confederate General Edmund Kirby Smith's army occupied the region in 1862. Coal oil, dry goods, and food stuffs became ruinously expensive, and citizens could barely find firewood and coal. A resident of Versailles estimated that coffee had doubled in price and salt had more than tripled between the summer and fall of 1862. In early 1863, Bourbon Countian Edwin Green Bedford deplored ever-rising prices in his diary. While shopping in Paris he noted that goods for "family use . . . were going up daily." He could see no end to the rise in prices of sugar, coffee, and other grocery items.

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2R.R. Alexander, "Central Kentucky During the Civil War, 1861-1865" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1976), 247.


4Edwin Green Bedford Diary, February 2, 1863, Edwin Green Bedford Papers, Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky; John F. Jefferson Journal, January 27, 1862, John F. Jefferson papers, Manuscript Division, Filson Club,
Kentucky's creditors and debtors alike suffered from the economic chaos of war. Many creditors cried foul when "southern zealots" who owed them money headed south to join the Confederacy. Life, however, could be even worse for debtors. Kentuckians who left the state to join the Confederacy with their bills unpaid feared "that their property would be attached or confiscated." Likewise, farmers who relied upon southern markets for the sale of their produce and livestock suddenly found their routes blocked, and laborers who worked in the southern trade on steamboats or railroads were idled. The result was that businesses and merchants, large and small, could not satisfy creditors, and at the same time feed and shelter their families. Times were such that the urgings of farmers, laborers, and businessmen "for understanding and patience were often met with a reminder from creditors that they too had pressing financial obligations."

Louisville, Kentucky. Jefferson lists the price of whiskey, coffee, tea, and sugar in Virginia in early 1862 which provides a good comparison.

5Alexander, "Central Kentucky During the Civil War," 242.

6Ibid.

7Ibid., 244; Crocker, "A War Divides Green River Country," 296, 299.
Economic disruptions also made it difficult to obtain credit from private businesses. A hardware merchant in Lexington announced in a newspaper advertisement that "owing to the unsettled and distracted condition of the country" he had instituted at his store a "cash system" policy for the sale of all stock, and a miller in Paris, made a similar notification that in the future he would require cash for his services because those with whom he did business demanded cash from him. In 1861 a Paducah store owner posted a notice in the local newspaper: "Owing to the present political and financial difficulties, I have determined to sell NO GOODS ON TIME after the 1st day of July next. . . . This course, I believe, will be better for all concerned. . . ." In addition, Kentucky industry was hampered further during the war by "irksome" and "obnoxious restrictions," by "worthless vouchers" for services, and by "petty seizures" by Federal and Confederate authorities.

These economic disruptions also resulted in business

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8Paris Western Citizen, January 3, 1862.

9Clipping, Paducah Herald, circa 1861, Clay Family Papers, Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

10Harrison, Civil War in Kentucky, 99; Coulter, The Civil War and Readjustment, 250.
closures and frequent interruption in transportation. As an agricultural state, Kentucky's economy depended on freely moving river, rail, and drove traffic to get certain perishable farm products to market. Because of huge government demand and the disruptions of war, staples such as beef became scarce in some areas as early as 1864, forcing some Kentuckians to eat more fish and pork. In Owensboro, leading merchants were "doing no business at all," while in Paducah, many businesses closed, leaving an almost desolate town for the Union army to control. Before 1864 the state auditor reported that the war had disabled every "social, industrial, and pecuniary interest of this Commonwealth." For some, conditions were so depressed that they could not envision recovery in the near future.

The timing of war-related events and the extent of suffering varied widely from one community to another. At

11 Alexander, "Central Kentucky During the Civil War," 247-49.

12 Coulter, Civil War and Readjustment, 240.

the outset of the conflict, economic conditions in Kentucky's largest city, Louisville, which had a population of 68,000, remained good and jobs plentiful for most of 1860.\textsuperscript{14} Laborers and Mechanics earned $1.50 to $2.00 per day, and clerks commanded $5.00 a week. Wholesale grocers, dry goods operations, and drug wholesalers also prospered.\textsuperscript{15} By 1861, however, tension generated by the sectional conflict began to have repercussions on the city. Following Lincoln's election, Louisville's businesses began to experience a slowdown.\textsuperscript{16} A newspaper editorialized:

A year ago Louisville was in the full tide of prosperity, her markets were thronged with purchasers and her manufactories were in successful operation. . . . A year ago rents were very high, and stores and dwellings could scarcely be obtained on any rental. How is it now? Our markets are well nigh deserted. . . . Mechanics and laborers are in want and live from hand to mouth each day.\textsuperscript{17}

The abysmal economic downturn in Louisville drove some businessmen to desperation. When one discouraged


\textsuperscript{15}Robert Emmett McDowell, City of Conflict: Louisville in the Civil War, 1861-1865 (Louisville, Ky.: Louisville Civil War Round Table, 1962), 13.

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., 16.

\textsuperscript{17}Louisville \textit{Daily Democrat}, March 23, 1861.
businessman asked an associate for advice on which economic
decisions he should make, his exasperated friend replied
that he could not offer advice

. . . for fear that some change may possibly take
place that may cause you to regret . . . [taking
my advice]--these are times when men must judge
and act exclusively for themselves, for one
opinion is just as good as [another]--the scene is
changing & shifting so rapidly that no man can
tell what tomorrow will bring forth. . . .

Transportation was an early victim of the Civil War, in
Kentucky as well as the Deep South. Louisville and
Lexington were hard hit almost from the start of the
conflict because of the destruction of strategic railroad
bridges in towns like Bowling Green, but both cities
rebounded more quickly than the region of south-central
Kentucky. River traffic, "the lifeline of Louisville," came
to a standstill in 1861 because many of the commercial boats
were pressed into Federal military service. Thus, trade in
the city's outlying towns also slowed to a trickle. In
December news came from areas south and west of the city
that people were existing on diets limited to meat--that
groceries, dry goods, and even money could not be had. One

\[18\] A. Adams to R. Herndon, January 19, 1864, Herndon
Family Papers, Margaret I. King Library, Special
Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.
observer succinctly described the situation: "the medium of exchange had disappeared."\textsuperscript{19}

Decreased agricultural production and the diminution of Kentucky’s livestock also greatly affected the everyday lives of Bluegrass citizens. Kentucky Unionist and United States Senator, Garrett Davis, believed that by 1863 better than 50 percent of the state had suffered "military occupancy, first by one army then by the other," and that "the entire agricultural substance of one half the country has been consumed by this alternate march of hostile and friendly armies" leaving the inhabitants "in a state of great destitution."\textsuperscript{20} In the worst cases, the uncertainty of war repeatedly interrupted the planting and cultivating seasons, preventing any crop at all. Everywhere, occupying troops pulled up fence posts and confiscated rail fences for

\textsuperscript{19}Sallie Knott Diary, July 2, 1861, Knott Collection; Coulter, \textit{Civil War and Readjustment}, 239; Harrison, \textit{Civil War in Kentucky}, 97-99.

firewood, leaving staple crops and gardens already in the ground unprotected from foraging troops and animals. In other instances wagon wheels, horses' hooves, and marching feet trampled crops.\textsuperscript{21} The thousands of campfire-sites left as troops marched off cluttered fields, multiplying the tasks of overburdened farmers.\textsuperscript{22} The result was a significant decline in agricultural production throughout the state.

The absence of adequate labor, whether free or slave, created by far the state's greatest problems regarding agricultural production. A Lexington newspaper predicted that the removal of thousands of "Negroes" from the fields by the Federal army had been extremely detrimental to the state's production of crops. Kentuckians who relied on slave labor for domestic duty, plant cultivation, and harvesting understood better than anyone the loss of slave laborers to military service.\textsuperscript{23} Largely because of labor

\textsuperscript{21}Joseph I. Younglove to David Underwood, April 25, 1862, Younglove Collection.


\textsuperscript{23}Betty Halley to Henry, July 26, 1864, Halley Family Papers; John David Smith, "Recruitment of Negro Soldiers in Kentucky 1863-1865," \textit{The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society} 72 (October 1974): 387; George R. Browder Diary,
shortages, the amount of land under cultivation in Kentucky decreased steadily, declining by more than four million acres by the war's end. During the first year of the war alone, the value of land decreased by more than fifty million dollars. Undoubtedly, such radical economic shifts greatly affected the day-to-day livelihood of Kentuckians. In a letter to her husband in 1864, Mary O. Preston, a Lexingtonian described a neighbor's difficulty maintaining his labor force of slaves and hired hands:

Mr. Graty has lost 16 men, and the farmers are losing their crops for want of labour. . . . The wages of a ploughman are $25 a month. Mr Gaty lost all but three [slaves], whom he has since freed, and now hires. Maria has lost 7 or 8 [slaves] and will doubtless lose worse. Carriage drivers were in great demand, as well as cooks, so people were taking it afoot and driving as well.

In addition to reduced crops, farmers statewide also suffered an overall decrease in livestock. The number of horses in Kentucky dropped by 100,000--fully 41 percent--

June 15, 1863, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

24Harrison, Civil War In Kentucky, 101; Coulter, Civil War and Readjustment, 245.

25Coulter, Civil War and Readjustment, 246.

26Mary O. Preston to William Preston, June 5, 1864. Wickliffe-Preston Papers.
between 1861 and 1865; the stock of mules declined by 33,000
during that same period; beef cattle and milk cows decreased
by 172,000. A natural effect of the overall drop in
livestock numbers was to raise demand and, therefore,
escalate livestock prices.\textsuperscript{27} Many farmers could not
cultivate their crops because they possessed no horses for
plowing.\textsuperscript{28}

The result of such losses was rampant inflation. By
1863 farmers procured much higher prices for crops and
livestock than in prewar years. Before the outbreak of
hostilities, wheat sold for as little as 65 cents per
bushel, but by 1863, it cost at least $1.15 per bushel. And
by 1864 the price of wheat had risen another 15 to 35
cents.\textsuperscript{29} Three other staple crops--corn, barley, and oats--
also increased in value after 1861. To be sure, price
increases were a boon for those fortunate enough to possess
the goods or the cash to buy them, but everyone else

\textsuperscript{27}Harrison, \textit{Civil War in Kentucky}, 102; Paul W. Gates, \textit{Agriculture and the Civil War} (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 186.

\textsuperscript{28}Coulter, \textit{Civil War and Readjustment}, 239.

\textsuperscript{29}Alexander, "Central Kentucky During the Civil War," 252.
suffered.\textsuperscript{30}

Despite the poor economic environment, the central Kentucky livestock market was good after 1863. Federal contracts paying top dollar for horses, hogs, and cattle also had a dramatic effect on prices. Once again, for those farmers who had large stocks and who intended to sell them, huge profits were there for the taking, and some farmers reaped windfall profits. William Kinkead, of Boone County, sold ninety head of cattle at more than twice what he had paid for them in 1863, and prices for cattle remained high throughout the conflict.\textsuperscript{31} In the early 1860s horses had sold for around $110, but during 1863-1864 they brought about $170 each; by 1865 prices rose another 10 percent.\textsuperscript{32}

The mule industry, almost defunct prior to the war, rebounded vigorously during the conflict.\textsuperscript{33} Sustained by the military's insatiable demand for draught animals, Kentucky farmers with a surplus of mules made quick

\textsuperscript{30}Louisville \textbf{Daily Journal}, August 26, 1861.

\textsuperscript{31}Fragment letter, 1863, Dicken-Troutman-Balke Family Papers, Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky;

\textsuperscript{32}Gates, \textit{Agriculture and the Civil War}, 185.

\textsuperscript{33}Alexander, "Central Kentucky During the Civil War," 255.
fortunes. In 1863 a Jessamine County farmer earned a 100 percent profit on his recent investment in several mule colts. Indeed, profits in mules proved so enticing that shortly after one highly profitable mule sale a farmer admitted that making money had gone to his head and that his "whole mind is now on mules." 34

The major problem Kentuckians faced in the Civil War was that one's prosperity usually depended upon being in the right region of the Commonwealth at the appropriate time, obviously something not everyone could do. As a result, opportunities for profit for the vast majority declined, forcing most simply to contend with circumstances and, hopefully, survive. Kentucky's governor, Beria Magoffin, summed-up the dilemma of the state's inhabitants:

In regions over which the contending armies have passed, large amounts of property have been taken or destroyed, the country has been made desolate, and large numbers of people who were contented, comfortable, and independent, are suffering for the necessities of life; their fences have been destroyed, and their stock and provisions taken, so that many cannot make crop this year; add to this, that many persons have been frightened or dragged from their homes and suffering families. The laws are silent, or cannot be executed. Universal gloom and distress pervade these regions. Families are divided and broken up; and

34 Frank Troutman to Anna Troutman, November 10, 1863, Dicken-Troutman-Balke Family Papers.
each has its wrongs or its woes to relate. Starvation stares many in the face.\textsuperscript{35}

The effect of war and military occupation on agriculture is difficult to assess, but the damage appears to have been significant. A serious reduction in the labor force caused by the induction into the army of large numbers of slaves--valued at $107,000,000 in 1860 and at zero in 1865--and the fleeing of their families reduced the number of acres in cultivation by about 4,000,000. Simultaneously, land values declined until the last year of the war, when prices rebounded somewhat, though still down $27,000,000 since 1861. When combined with losses in horses, mules, cattle, and poultry, the ruin of many Kentucky farmers appears to have been complete.\textsuperscript{36} Furthermore, in light of these shortages, Kentuckians were faced with ever greater demands by the Union and Confederate troops that passed through the state. In spite of their economic and agricultural predicament, Kentuckians were routinely called


upon to provide for Northern and Southern troops.

Kentuckians were forced to house, feed, and care for passing armies as well as for themselves throughout the war, and for the most part they were not given a fair rate of exchange for their goods and services. These experiences created a strained living environment, where citizens were supplying the troops but left with little or nothing on which to live.

The saga of the South Union Shaker community illustrates the difficulties of living in Kentucky during this period. The ravages of war had depleted their stock, including cattle, horses, and hogs. So many of their cattle had been slaughtered to provide food for troops, for instance, that their livestock dangerously approached becoming inbred. By 1863, desperate to find "a cross," the South Union Shakers sent brothers Solomon Rankin and James Richardson on a dangerous trip to the Pleasant Hill Shaker community in Mercer County where they purchased breeding cattle from their "gospel kindred." 37

Unfortunately, when livestock and other goods were

37 Diary of Eldress Nancy Moore, February 13, September 1, 1863, South Union Shaker Records, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.
confiscated from South Union inhabitants, as well as the other citizens living in the region, money rarely exchanged hands. On occasion when soldiers, Union and Confederate commandeered property, they handed citizens vouchers as payment which the holders later learned, to their sorrow, were virtually worthless.\textsuperscript{38} In Brandenburg, Lizzie Schrieber described in her journal how Union troops arrived at her farm over a two week period during November 1864. The first time the soldiers "pressed" horses and food. The next visit, Schrieber wrote, the soldiers turned out to be little more than "robbers," stealing clothes and blankets. In no instance did they pay for goods taken.\textsuperscript{39} When a Boone County man returned to his farm after being away for more than a year, he was not surprised to find all of his horses gone, and he possessed "no money" to replenish them.\textsuperscript{40}

Sometimes swindlers, claiming government authority, boldly took property, leaving Kentuckians no recourse in seeking restitution. Early in 1863, a timber firm, Mayall

\textsuperscript{38}Ibid., February 2, 1863.

\textsuperscript{39}Lizzie Schrieber Journal, November 14, 23, 1864, Stith-Moreman Family Papers, Manuscript Division, Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky.

\textsuperscript{40}Lafferty, John Aker Lafferty and Francis Henry Lafferty, 1.
and Company, approached South Union Shaker Elder John Rankin about purchasing a tract of land along Drakes Creek; the company intended to use the timber for Federal railroad construction. Although the Shakers did not want to sell the acreage, they were aware that if they refused the company would simply confiscate it. After looking over the tract, however, the company declined to purchase the entire acreage, preferring instead to buy only a portion of the timber, saying they would pay in "a few days," but no money was forthcoming.\footnote{Diary of Eldress Nancy, February 2, 1863, South Union Shaker Records.}

South Union Shakers were not fooled by the events that transpired in the timber deal. Federal authorities, Eldress Nancy had learned in previous deals, had "quite a nack [sic] at drawing up their receipts in a way to get round making an honest payment." Such "bargains to accommodate the army are very uncertain indeed," she confided to her diary. The truth was, the Shaker eldress went on to conclude, those claiming Federal authority, including soldiers, were much less likely to pay for goods than local civilians. On a previous occasion Federal officers had swindled the South Union Shakers out of all their sugar after which, Eldress
Nancy lamented, we "could have sold every pound of it at the depot and to our neighbors and got the money. . . ."  

Inhabitants of Berea in Madison County fared no better in their dealings with Union and Confederate troops. From the beginning of the war, soldiers passed through the county, first in one direction and then in another. Their numbers ranged from small squads of thirty or so to army corps reaching 10,000 men. Troops of both armies simply entered stores by force and pilfered "thousands of dollars" of stock from the shelves, with no compensation at all for owners. In some instances military authorities boldly instructed shopkeepers not to sell any goods until the soldiers had first taken what they wanted. During frequent Confederate raids into Kentucky, including the invasion of 1862, Rebel soldiers sometimes paid for goods they took in Confederate money which had steadily declined in value, reaching perhaps 50 cents on the dollar in U.S. money by 1862, and of course, was eventually worth nothing.

42 Ibid., February 3, 26, 1863.

43 Peter Diary, October 3, 1862, Evans Papers; Owen, comp., Civil War Days In Clark County, 34; Francis L.Dugan, ed., "Journal of Mattie Wheeler," 125, 132.
after the Confederate army's withdrawal.\textsuperscript{44}

The experiences of a Danville family illustrate the pressures placed on local citizens during a typical occupation: soldiers appeared, expected to be fed, and essentially turned the family's home into a hospital for the sick and wounded. One morning the Patterson family was awakened at an early hour by a "very mysterious noise" outside their house. Investigating, Robert Patterson found his premises swarming with perhaps three hundred horsemen of the 9th Pennsylvania cavalry, retreating northward after a skirmish with Morgan's troopers. Their horses had been tethered to the fences around the Patterson home, and the horsemen lay on the grass under the trees.\textsuperscript{45}

The Federal troopers expected to be fed, and inhabitants of the region responded, each family doing its share. According to Margaret Patterson, her family's "quota was sixteen for breakfast" but "only eight for dinner." As the troops rode off toward Nicholasville, having spent less than a day in the area, the Pattersons thought their ordeal might be over, but they were wrong. The retreating unit

\textsuperscript{44}Cheek, ed., "Memoirs of E.B. Patterson," 369.

\textsuperscript{45}Ibid., 362-63.
left "ten sick soldiers" with the Pattersons. The "one wounded" soldier among those left behind had been involved, they heard, in a controversy with a fellow soldier who shot him on "the street." 

Taking care of these sick and wounded troops weighed heavily on the Patterson family, especially Margaret Patterson. She was shortly "appalled by this unexpected conversion of our quiet home into a hospital" for Union troops, and as a result she "broke completely down for awhile." Fortunately, a neighbor and close friend "took in the whole situation" and came to Patterson's rescue by finding Union families in the area willing to take in and care for several of the wounded soldiers. The Pattersons were left with six soldiers and eight government horses to tend; in the course of another week only two men and one horse remained in their care. Eventually, an officer suggested that the Pattersons prepare a bill for their services, saying that the government would pay "40 cents a day for a man and 75 cents a day for a man and horse." The Pattersons, in better spirits, declined, concluding that they had been sufficiently rewarded by being able to provide

\[46\] Ibid., 363.
their services to their poor "Boys in Blue."$^{47}$

Dr. J.J. Polk, a resident of Perryville, experienced a similar ordeal. Following Kentucky's major Civil War battle at Perryville, Polk worked as a surgeon at a hastily constructed hospital for about forty wounded troops, and his home served as a ward for another ten. Driving himself "day and night," Polk's health declined quickly, forcing him to his own sickbed. Following his recovery, Polk recounted the events as some of the most "pleasing" though "painful" experiences of his life.$^{48}$

During the Confederate occupation of Bowling Green, citizens experienced much the same invasion of privacy and loss of property, largely because soldiers wanted to fill their stomachs. Johana Underwood lamented in her diary that "soldiers as often march right through the hall if the doors are open--as going around the house. Our cows are milked--our hen-house robbed--the eggs laid in the barn are of course taken."$^{49}$ In another instance, when Underwood's

$^{47}$Ibid.


$^{49}$Nazro Diary, September 30, 1861, Underwood
slave Liz attempted to milk her cows, Rebel "soldiers gathered around, making what they thought, [to be] witty remarks on her efforts." She soon realized the meaning of their behavior; "the poor cows had no more milk to give as they had already been drained dry by [the] soldiers."\(^{50}\) Joseph I. Younglove told much the same story except this time Federal troops were the offenders. After the recapture of Bowling Green Union soldiers simply appropriated his cow for their own use, leaving the Younglove family without milk for ten days.\(^{51}\) In Berea Matilda Fee endured similar frustration as Confederate troops repeatedly raided her "dwindling potato patch." Nevertheless, when approached by famished soldiers, she always shared with them whatever food she possessed.\(^{52}\) A Louisville man described in his journal in 1862 the same lack of privacy and respect for property:

> In Sept., when the grapes were ripening we were surrounded by soldiery & pickets. . . . My courtyard was naturally a great attraction to the soldiers & I calculate that more than 250 to 300

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\(^{50}\)Ibid.

\(^{51}\)Joseph I. Younglove to James Younglove, April 25, 1862, Younglove Collection.

gallons of wine were given away to them or stolen by them in grapes.\textsuperscript{53}

As the war progressed, Kentucky’s citizens found that they had no recourse but to feed hungry soldiers who appeared at their door. The quantity and quality of food served to soldiers varied from one region of the state to the next. In early 1863 thirty-six Federal soldiers arrived at the South Union Shaker community, expecting to be fed and housed for the night, blatantly stating that they would not pay. The Shakers fed them their typical fare:

For supper they had biscuit and loaf fried ribs sausage and midling of pork; sweetened and well creamed sassafras tea, as much milk as they would eat and drink; we opened a three gallon jar of green peaches which they consumed and the very best of the sweet potatoes what they could eat and onions.

For breakfast the next morning the soldiers ate left-over stewed apples, butter, and cornbread without complaint.\textsuperscript{54}

Most Kentuckians relied on resources indigenous to the area for food for their families, and of course, for hungry soldiers who demanded to be fed. One family claimed that daily they ate "duck, squirrel, fish, . . . potatoes, . . ."


\textsuperscript{54}Diary of Eldress Nancy, January 22, 1863, Shaker Records.
onions, bread, butter, coffee, water, cake, oysters, crackers & cheese," most of which could be caught, cultivated, or made from local resources. In contrast to the apparent richness of this diet, poorer inhabitants sometimes admitted surviving long periods of the war solely on hard bread. Perhaps an explanation for variations in diet in a region of the United States so high in natural resources was that hunting and growing food were labor intensive, and as a result of the conflict, Kentucky had a dwindling labor pool.

Kentuckians did not willingly give their hard-earned stores to feed soldiers of either army without compensation. They gave up their food for the very practical reason that they generally feared resisting demands from armed soldiers. When occupying armies paid for supplies civilians simply counted themselves lucky. When soldiers


56 Williamson Dixon Ward Civil War Journal, October 7, 1862, Williamson Dixon Ward Collection, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

57 Diary of Eldress Nancy, January 22, 1863, Shaker Records.

58 Peter Diary, September 27, 1862, Evans Papers.
left without paying but also without inflicting damage, people counted themselves slightly less lucky. Costs to citizens may appear in some instances to have been small, but the repeated seizure of property amounted to significant sums for many individuals. Miles Kelly, who resided in the Bristow community near Bowling Green, claimed that during the four years of conflict he provided Federal soldiers with corn, oats, hay, and other services amounting to almost $18,000, for which he received no compensation. Another Warren Countian, George Lehman, illustrates the delays claimants encountered. Lehman charged that the Federal troops confiscated property valued at more that $3,000. His original claim presented in 1872 was not considered until 1883 when it was disallowed. An appeal for a rehearing led to a final rejection five years later in 1888.

Humanitarian demands sometimes forced those who had very little to eat to share, even with enemy soldiers.

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59Printed Claim, covering July 15-22, 1862, October 1863, December 1864, Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

60George Lehman Legal Brief, August 18, 1871-June 30, 1888, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.
During September of 1862 one Danville family fed a complement of wounded Confederate soldiers in a hospital at Centre college. The Union family remembered that the soldiers "did not molest or make us afraid," and partook of the simple fare offered them, understanding that "our larder was almost empty." The menu consisted of "rye-coffee, corn-bread and bacon, the sight of which would shock and disgust the epicures" who were used to finer food. The goodwill of local citizens helped ease the occupation, resulting in a certain light-heartedness among the southern soldiers:

At night the college campus would be lighted up by cheerful camp-fires around which the soldiers at the hospital would gather, sitting upon logs of firewood and singing rebellious songs, such as "Dixie," "Maryland, my Maryland," and "Bonnie Blue Flag."  

A few weeks later these Confederate wounded were Union prisoners.  

Kentucky's economy suffered significantly as the Civil War began. Prices rose dramatically, making necessities such as food and fuel luxuries for common people. Military campaigning disrupted river and rail transportation,

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62Ibid., 371n.
shutting-off markets to the south, and commercial and personal credit dried up. As a result, bankruptcy threatened individuals as well as businessmen, large and small.

In the late fall of 1862, the Commonwealth’s economy began to improve, especially in the larger towns and cities. Consumers returned to the marketplace, and for many, Christmas of 1862 was the most prosperous since the war began. With the return to better economic times, however, came ill will. In communities statewide, citizens once friendly took opposite sides in the Civil War and glared hostilely toward each other. Wartime bitterness hardened into long-term hatred, leaving a legacy of distrust.

Largely a farming state, Kentucky’s agriculture suffered most from the conflict. Armies marching back and forth, especially during the 1862 Confederate invasion of the Commonwealth, created havoc for both producers and consumers. Soldiers trampled crops, destroyed fences, burned bridges, and appropriated livestock. The state’s biggest economic loss, however, occurred with the freeing of its slave labor force. Federal recruiting of slaves and the fleeing of their families into Union lines caused a labor crisis and with it a drastic decline in agricultural
production. When combined with the loss of draft animals, the absence of an adequate work-force meant financial ruin for significant numbers of Kentucky's farmers.

Unfortunately, farmers who possessed labor and who continued to produce farm crops did not fare well. They found themselves besieged by Confederate and Federal soldiers who demanded food and water and confiscated whatever livestock they needed, treating Kentuckians as if they were the "enemy." Intruders seldom paid for what they appropriated, and when they did, it was frequently in worthless Confederate currency, and frightened citizens seldom complained.

Kentuckians living along the line of march or in proximity to large battle sites such as Perryville suffered the greatest losses. Their houses were frequently occupied as military hospitals or headquarters, and no realistic redress of grievances existed.

The Civil War years resulted in a drastically changed living environment for many in the Bluegrass state. Deciding whom to trust was difficult, and one could not rely on the color of a man's uniform to determine his veracity. For many Kentuckians daily intrusions by the military were the rule, not the exception.
Civil War accounts of life in the Bluegrass state are littered with stories of Federal and Confederate intrusions on the daily activities of "common citizens." These incidents vary in innumerable ways with regard to the measure of physical, psychological, and spiritual damage done. But with respect to the daily lives of typical citizens, the war intruded into even the smallest, most personal moments creating situations that were both profound and frightening. For example, it was not at all uncommon for Civil War era Kentuckians to observe thousands of soldiers with wagons full of war materiel passing through their towns.¹ Nor was it unusual for a civilian to pass with trepidation through Union or Confederate pickets while traveling or to hear cannon fire while engaged in routine

work around the house. Frequently, "rebel marauders" interrupted railroad transportation between Louisville and Nashville, breaking an important civilian, as well as military, supply line, thereby making it impossible for civilians to travel. On other occasions, civilians found themselves being pushed off trains because military travel took precedence.3

Confederate and Federal troops, as well as the bands of guerrillas which swept back and forth across the state, were responsible for the terror that Kentucky's black and white inhabitants experienced.4 For example, twenty-one-year-old Frances Lafferty of Cynthiana was left to oversee a farm and a family of five during much of the war. In her journal she


4Cincinnati Daily Commercial, August 18, 1862; Fee, Autobiography of John G. Fee, 161.

James B. Martin, "Black Flag Over the Bluegrass: Guerrilla Warfare in Kentucky, 1863-1865," The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 86 (Autumn 1988): 366, maintains that the personal political differences as well as the geography of Kentucky conducive to guerrilla warfare.
noted both the hardships of the war and the demands placed on her by Federal troops. Because her father was a Confederate sympathizer, Federal squads frequently visited their farm, ostensibly "to hunt for father, but in reality to search the house and outbuildings and help themselves to any property they chose to carry off." Lafferty noted that during the spring of 1864 soldiers of the Home Guards, whom she characterized as "low-class men who had never seen real war service," roamed her neighborhood in an effort to root-out pro-Confederates. These squads of soldiers developed a habit of dropping in when they were hungry, taking their meals with the family as if it were their home. At the mercy of soldiers, Frances cooked as they demanded. Their thievery at the Lafferty farm was blatant and persistent: "During that year they took away all but two of our meat hogs and our chickens, milked our cows when they chose, and took all the horses we had."⁵

While many Kentuckians endured negative and frightening experiences, examples of positive encounters between citizens and soldiers exist. A Danville woman claimed that from the time Federal troops marched into town, local Union

⁵Lafferty, John Aker Lafferty and Francis Henry Lafferty, 7.
families scarcely passed a day without inviting soldiers to share meals with them. Danville citizens, she remembered, also took care of the sick and wounded as they "literally fulfilled the command of Christ" to assist those in need. In addition, when Margaret Patterson's husband Robert was arrested by Confederate officers and sent south, Margaret Patterson received a "constant stream of kindly visitors" wishing "to express their sympathy" and to encourage her during the dark days of Robert's absence.

The psychological damage the experiences of war caused Kentuckians is difficult to quantify precisely, but one can assume that all wars cause mental suffering and that the Civil War was no exception. John Rogers, a Berea Unionist who had recently returned from Ohio, described the "reign of terror" that drove him from his house during the early fall of 1862. Rogers was forced on occasion to flee for hours at a time to temporary safety in the "woods," and he eventually spent a week hiding in the "mountains" of Jackson County, running from Rebels who were scouring the countryside to locate him. On several occasions during this period, Rogers

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7Ibid, 368.
confided to his diary that he "was brought to view death as at hand." Once during his ordeal he came upon a man in the road whom he assumed Rebels had shot, and he resigned himself to the possibility that his own life might be the next taken.  

The occupation of a town by the enemy proved to be a traumatic experience for many of its inhabitants. Such was the case when in August 1862 John Hunt Morgan occupied Richmond, just thirty miles south of Lexington. Although born in Alabama, Morgan had lived in Lexington since 1831. On the eve of the Civil War, he formed the Lexington Rifles militia group and supported Kentucky's neutrality. When Kentucky declared for the Union, Morgan led his men to Bowling Green to enter Confederate service. Audacious from the outset, Morgan quickly established his reputation as a tireless, if somewhat controversial, Confederate raider in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama.  

Thoroughly familiar with the Richmond area, Morgan’s raiders moved in quietly and systematically carried out their orders. After assigning pickets to strategic points

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8John Rogers Diary, October 8, 1862, Founders and Founding.

9Ramage, Rebel Raider, 12, 13, 35-36, 44, 46, 64-67.
throughout town, Confederate officers ordered townspeople to prepare meals for the troops and to provide feed for their horses. Morgan's men then fanned out in the town, systematically searching for supplies, rooting out Union sympathizers in the process, and sequestering "Lincoln guns" found in the possession of Union men they captured. With the assistance of local "secesh spies," Morgan's cavalry rounded up almost "every good horse" belonging to Unionists. Fortunately, many Unionists had hidden their horses or run them away from town.10

To ease travel conditions for his sick and wounded soldiers, Morgan's cavalry appropriated a few buggies and "rockaways." An attempt to rob the local bank and a jewelry store proved futile as owners had removed all money and valuables; however, the contents of drygoods and hardware stores were thoroughly looted. Throughout the occupation of Richmond, Morgan's men targeted Unionist merchants and went after their possessions. When the Confederate troopers rode out of town, they carried with them for the most part property previously owned by Unionists.11

10Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Aug 5, 1862; Harrison, Civil War in Kentucky, 72-73.

11Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Aug 5, 1862.
The remainder of Confederate activities in Richmond seemed to fall in the category of horseplay. A squad of troops went to the Madison County Courthouse where they demanded and received, on threat of burning the building, recent grand jury indictments, bench warrants, and several order books. They mutilated the order books and carried off the other documents which they apparently destroyed. Another group of soldiers found a flag belonging to the Home Guards which they dragged through the streets.\textsuperscript{12}

Some citizens believed that Morgan's men were the worst offenders to occupy their town. But another inhabitant believed that "other Confederate troops that kept passing in and out, first in one direction then in another, were far worse." They entered stores indiscriminately taking thousands of dollars worth of stock from the shelves, offering no compensation at all. And when they did pay, one citizen complained, they paid in worthless Confederate money. Such was the case in December 27, 1862, during Morgan's occupation of Elizabethtown when he "purchased" $1,200 worth of silk. Union farmers in the line of march

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid. Morgan and his men on several occasions destroyed court records, apparently in an attempt to prevent prosecution of pro-Confederates. See Ramage, Rebel Raider, 121.
suffered the same fate and could only watch as their horses
disappeared and their corn and wheat vanished into the
knapsacks, saddle bags, and wagons of raiding
Confederates.\(^\text{13}\)

Still other citizens escaped occupation, suffering virtually no losses. Confederate soldiers, one woman said, "never entered private houses or committed any depredations on private property" in Danville. Her family escaped with no greater "annoyance" than having to provide food for a great many "half-starved" soldiers, "all of whom behaved themselves like gentlemen. . . ." Most soldiers, she claimed, "insisted" on paying for food they ate, maintaining that they had orders to pay for all they demanded of private citizens. Unfortunately, they usually paid in rapidly inflating Confederate currency.\(^\text{14}\)

As the war dragged on, both sides became increasingly concerned with finding additional soldiers for their armies.

\(^{13}\)Cheek, ed., "Memoirs of E.B. Patterson," 392; Ramage, Rebel Raider, 140, 143. Ramage argues that paying for goods with Confederate money was "tantamount to looting."

Commanders, northern and southern, passing through the
Kentucky countryside, began implementing government policy
of conscripting new recruits. Slowly, however, as each side
sought volunteers who failed to respond to their call,
volunteerism and conscription became synonymous. General
Braxton Bragg's invasion of Kentucky illustrates the point.
In late September 1862 General Bragg posted a proclamation
in the streets of Danville urging Kentuckians to "volunteer
at once," but "threatening immediate conscription should
they fail to come voluntarily." Danville's citizens
promptly responded by fleeing the scene as quickly as they
found transportation rather than by joining Bragg's army.¹⁵

Doors and locks were no obstacles to Civil War
soldiers, regardless of the side for which they fought, and
hunger or thirst was the only requirement for trespassing.
Hen houses and barns were broken into and robbed repeatedly
by soldiers seeking food, and store owners were expected to
hand over their goods without hesitation. In addition, local

¹⁵Cheek, ed., "Memoirs of E.B. Patterson," 369; John
Hunt Morgan had assured General Bragg that 25,000 to 35,000
Kentuckians would join the Confederate army. Official
Records, Ser. I, Vol. 16, Pt. 2, 733-34; James Lee
McDonough, War in Kentucky: From Shiloh to Perryville
(Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1994),
79. Attempts to implement the Confederate draft in Kentucky
fell flat. Harrison, Civil War in Kentucky, 91-92.
businesses were repeatedly robbed of their contents. During the Confederate evacuation and Federal capture of Bowling Green in February 1862, troops broke into every store on the square, "stealing everything they could lay their hands on." Joseph I. Younglove estimated that goods valued as $1,000 were taken from his store. In addition, Federal troops who billeted in the rooms above Younglove's Bowling Green store repeatedly entered the premises, confiscating tobacco, starch, and other items.

According to Lizzie Schrieber, two companies of Confederates entered Brandenburg in early 1865, and while their captain was out of sight three of the troops proceeded to break into a local saloon, get drunk, break up chairs, and throw them into the street. Two of the intoxicated soldiers then went outside, mounted their horses, and rode through the saloon. When their captain returned and learned what his men had done, he essentially punished the saloon

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16 Diary of Eldress Nancy, February 13, 1863, South Union Shaker Records; John F. Jefferson Journal, November 23, 1862, John F. Jefferson Papers; Elizabeth Gaines Remembrances, n.d., Elizabeth Gaines Collection, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

17 Joseph I. Younglove to David Underwood, April 25, 1862, Younglove Collection.
owner; the captain "poured all the whiskey out and let it run in the street."

In most cases these episodes were nothing more than disturbances; however, when the body of a dead soldier turned up or an innocent civilian was threatened at gun-point, the traumas became all the more real.

In addition to having their property appropriated for personal use, Kentuckians on the home front experienced the seizure of their homes and buildings for use as hospitals or offices, sometimes relegating a family to a room or two for extended periods. For most Kentuckians relocating to another region of the country for the duration of the war was not an option, and for those who might have been able to move, the fear of finding their property destroyed upon their return was a deterrent to moving. Lexington’s well-known Preston family considered relocation but promptly

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19 Lafferty, John Aker Lafferty and Francis Henry Lafferty, 9.

20 Hattie Means to mother, January 14, 1863, Means Family Papers, Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky; Elizabeth Gaines Remembrances, n.d., Elizabeth Gaines Collection.
abandoned the idea. They weighed the dangers that might threaten them should their region be invaded but concluded that they would rather ride out the storm at home. "We are living the quiet easy life," Mary Preston wrote, and she dreaded "a change." And "besides," she concluded, "everyone says the house would be seized by soldiers either for a hospital or hdqs." if we moved.\textsuperscript{21}

Public property was also confiscated and sometimes destroyed. In Bowling Green Federal forces used the Episcopal church first as a hospital for "eruptive diseases." Later they converted the church into a stable for livestock. And eventually, during the winter of 1864, soldiers suffering from bitter cold and in need of building material razed the church and used the bricks to build chimneys for their tents.\textsuperscript{22} Transylvania University, which

\textsuperscript{21}Mary O. Preston to William Preston, undated, 1864, Wickliffe-Preston Papers. The Gaines family in Bowling Green, forced to leave their home in February 1862 during the Union bombardment, they found it occupied by Federal soldiers upon their return one day later. See Elizabeth Gaines Remembrances, n.d., Elizabeth Gaines Collection.

\textsuperscript{22}Elizabeth Coombs, One Hundred Years Of Christ Episcopal Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, 1844-1944 (Bowling Green, Ky.: New Publishing Co., 1944), 19; Paul G. Ashdown, "Samuel Ringgold: An Episcopal Clergyman in Kentucky and Tennessee During the Civil War," The Filson Club History Quarterly 53 (July 1979): 235.
declined precipitously as students left to enlist in the opposing armies,\textsuperscript{23} also suffered extensively. Federal authorities confiscated several buildings for use as military hospitals. The school somehow continued to operate, but the resulting destruction of university property left "libraries, museums, [and] apparatus of instruction, scattered and impaired."\textsuperscript{24}

Usually, when armies sequestered buildings, inhabitants lost everything, but the Bayless family of Louisville was more fortunate. A general confiscated Dr. Bayless' house for his headquarters, giving Bayless and his family one day's notice to evacuate the residence. Bayless was told that he could remove most of his furniture, but he was instructed to leave enough for the general to be comfortable. In an unusual act of defiance, Bayless loaded all his furniture on a wagon and departed, leaving nothing for the general.\textsuperscript{25}


\textsuperscript{25}Cora Owens Hume Journal, July 16, 1864, Manuscript
Some Kentuckians feared for more than their property; they feared for their lives. Maria I. Knott described in a series of letters to her children problems she endured in the Lebanon area during the September of 1862 Confederate invasion of Kentucky. On the third day of the month she wrote that she dreaded "to close her eyes to sleep lest I be startled from my bed by the booming of cannon, and sharp cracking of muskets, of men in deadly flight." 26 On the fourth, the "noise and excitement" began, and she feared it would never diminish. She informed her children that her clothes were packed and that she was ready to evacuate at a moment's notice, for she believed that Lebanon would be "pounced upon" by Rebel troops and promptly "burnt down." 27 A few days later she wrote that "the federal troops are all gone and now we are to be murdered and burnt by the Rebels who are approaching very near us. Heaven only knows what is to be our fate. . . ." 28

In the area around Pleasant Hill Shaker community, a

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26 Maria I. Knott to children, September 3, 1862, Knott Collection.

27 Ibid., September 4, 1862.

28 Ibid., September 7, 1862.
company of Morgan’s troopers, though really interested in horses, also raised mortal fear among citizens. Warned by fleeing federal troops, many people in the region hid their livestock. Nevertheless, some people, such as the West family, could not protect their horses, and they were promptly stolen. The absence of draft animals at the Shaker community prompted an unsuccessful search of their stables and pastures. Infuriated, a trooper leveled a pistol at Shaker brother A.R. Bryant and threatened to shoot him if he did not produce the community’s horses. An evasive answer from Bryant led to additional threats, but to his relief the soldiers merely demanded and received food before departing. The continued passing of troops, however, resulted in "a restless night" for the Shakers. 29

Further north, Louisvillian Carl Theodore Schwartz, described in his journal the "unusual anxiety" that gripped the city in late September 1862 during the Rebel army’s drive toward the Ohio River. Rumors that the Confederate

29Pleasant Hill Shaker Journal, September 1862, Shaker Papers, Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. Citizens living in central Kentucky were convinced that Morgan raided their region periodically because the Bluegrass pastured "the very cream of the best blooded horses" to outfit his cavalry. See Frankfort Commonwealth cited in the Louisville Daily Express, July 19, 1862.
army drew closer, spreading death and destruction in its wake, "frightened the population of Louisville almost out of their senses." Mounting fear created "days of care, sorrow & anxiety, never to be forgotten" by inhabitants. For two days "the city . . . was entirely cut off." Fearful of leaving his home, Schwartz expected "to hear the boom of cannons," which he believed preceded major battles, in his "immediate neighborhood." Those "hours and days weighed heavily like lead upon" the inhabitants of Louisville.30

One of the significant threats facing Kentuckians during the Civil War consisted of frequent military and guerrilla intrusions into the state, so commonplace in border state warfare.31 Rebel raiders such as John Hunt Morgan and his infamous cavalry moved ghostlike throughout the Commonwealth, "marauding and burning" with seemingly token opposition from Union troops. In July 1862 he was in


31Cheek, ed., "Memoirs of E.B. Patterson," 390; Richard G. Stone, Jr., Brittle Sword: The Kentucky Militia, 1776-1912 (Lexington, Ky.: The University Press of Kentucky, 1977), 69. Martin, "Black Flag Over the Bluegrass," 259, maintains that "irregular warfare in Kentucky was not an accident . . . but part of the war effort of the South" and that its "impact on the populace" was greater than that of any battle.
In August, newspapers placed Morgan and about 15,000 of his men near Knoxville, Tennessee. In September, Morgan was reported to be poised to carry out his "long cherished scheme" of invading Kentucky.

As news of the 1862 Confederate invasion of the Commonwealth spread in the direction of the Ohio River, Union people in central Kentucky became "restive" and began fleeing northward toward Louisville, Lexington, and Cincinnati. Terror-stricken citizens poured into Richmond by "every conceivable mode of conveyance," convinced that destruction and death could not be far behind. Every report that Union troops were falling back toward Lexington prompted a new "stampede" northward.

Pressure from the invading Confederate army and its need for more soldiers raised, for some Kentuckians, the fear of conscription by the invading army. In late September 1862 General Braxton Bragg announced that he had

32Cincinnati Daily Commercial, July 17, 1862; Ramage, Rebel Raider, 93-94.

33Cincinnati Daily Commercial, August 8, 1862.

34Ibid.; Harrison, Civil War in Kentucky, 36.

35Cincinnati Daily Commercial, September 1, 1862.

36Ibid., September 6, 1862.
come to liberate Kentucky from the yoke of Union oppression and asked for volunteers. Alarmed Unionists, fearful of being swept up in the Confederate net, chose to flee the state, leaving behind those who were not candidates for conscription.\textsuperscript{37}

Squads of rogue Union or Confederate troops descending upon an isolated community could be more threatening to civilians than the passing of a formidable invading army. A constant stream of what appeared to be guerrilla soldiers made repeated demands upon the Shaker community at South Union near Bowling Green. From the outbreak of hostilities, Eldress Nancy Moore documented in her diary the "comings and goings" of guerrillas. From her account, it is surprising that the community remained solvent as a result of continual demands for food, shelter, and fodder for livestock made throughout the war by both Confederate and Union soldiers.\textsuperscript{38}

Little wonder exists that the Shakers became "skittish" at the appearance of such rogue troops.\textsuperscript{39} Strangers, claiming to be soldiers, would approach the village in the


\textsuperscript{38}Diary of Eldress Nancy, January 29, 1863, South Union Shaker Records.

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid.
middle of the night demanding food, a place to sleep, and feed for their horses.\textsuperscript{40} Typically, they gave no indication of who they were or on which side they served.\textsuperscript{41} Whether Federals or Confederates, their "mission" was almost always the same. They were in search of guerrillas who had been sighted in the area. These night visitors frequently acted suspiciously, refusing to identify their units or give their names, brushing off questions, and suggesting that they were in a hurry and still had great distances to travel. In any case the Shakers found it was difficult, if not impossible, to perceive real differences in the conduct of the soldiers of either army. According to Eldress Nancy, "now a days wolves can dress in sheeps clothing and deceive people."\textsuperscript{42} The South Union Shakers were so defenseless that when a forage master returned for a second time demanding supplies

\textsuperscript{40}Ibid., September 22, March 15, 1863.

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., March 15, 1863; William Cooper, Jr., and John David Smith, eds., \textit{Windows on the War: Frances Dallam Peter's Lexington Civil War Diary} (Lexington, Ky.: Lexington-Fayette Co. Historic Commission, 1976), 17; Harrison, \textit{Civil War in Kentucky}, 95. In eastern Kentucky, a pro-Union mountainous region, inhabitants believed that treatment of civilians by Federal troops was superior to that of Confederate soldiers. See Crowe-Carraco, \textit{The Big Sandy}, 47.
and making yet another promise to pay for them, they simply
loaded his wagons, and unsurprised, watched him drive off
without paying.\textsuperscript{43}

On at least one occasion, however, the South Union
Shaker community appreciated the arrival of an army they
could identify. In March 1862 a band of marauding
"Secession troops" enveloped their premises. The "plunders
and robbers thronged their streets," taking anything they
desired. They stripped the barns of hay and fodder, emptied
the corn cribs, and picked the gardens clean. Brooking no
opposition, the guerrillas threatened "to lay the beautiful
village in ashes" when members objected to their "havoc and
destruction." When the situation seemed darkest, South
Union Shakers were overjoyed by their sudden "deliverance by
the federal army" which drove the guerrillas from their
midst.\textsuperscript{44}

In Ashland, twice during September 1863 groups of
Rebels entered town and robbed the local bank. In one
instance thirteen Rebel troops, "all armed to the teeth with

\textsuperscript{43}Diary of Eldress Nancy, March 3, 1863, South Union
Shaker Records.

\textsuperscript{44}Pleasant Hill Shaker Journal, March 1862, Pleasant
Hill Shaker Collection.
pistols and carbines" arrived at one inhabitant's home at 3:30 a.m. and demanded that he take them to the hospital. When the man refused, the Rebels went to the home of "Mr. Music and tied him with a rope & made him show them where Mr. Martin the cashier lived." Threatened that they would "blow his brains out," Music apparently pointed out the cashier's home. Forcing the cashier at gunpoint to open the bank, the gang robbed it of $800. Next they stole $600 in gold from a local woman and robbed a store of $250, before stealing fresh horses, and riding out of town.\textsuperscript{45}

A similar 1863 incident of open theft, which historian Lowell H. Harrison called "the main blemish on Morgan's record," occurred when the Confederate raider led his troopers from western Virginia into eastern Kentucky. Arriving in the town of Mount Sterling hungry and weary, Morgan suffered a serious breakdown in discipline. An unknown number of his troopers began a wholesale looting of the town, engaging in a number of outrages which culminated in robbing the bank of about $80,000 in gold, silver, U.S. and state bank notes, much of which belonged to private

\textsuperscript{45}Hattie Means to mother, September 1863, Means family Papers.
citizens.  

Mary O. Preston, a pro-Confederate Lexington woman, complained of the outlandish treatment both Union and Confederate sympathizers endured at the hands of Rebel raiders. After interrupting train service for weeks, she reported, the Confederate raiders entered town where they stole horses, forced open "stores, taking not only those things which they needed such as boots, hats, clothing etc., but jewelry, ladies shoes, & in fact everything they could lay their hands upon." After they "robbed the bank" and ransacked businesses, the Rebel raiders walked up and down the streets, taking wallets and watches, in addition to "committing every kind of outrage." Mary Preston was proud that she and her family had endured these traumas of invasion with the "utmost composure," that no one in her household had been forced "to seek shelter elsewhere." Her only sorrow was that the Rebels had not acted the way Confederate men "usually" do, and as a result, they had been

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47Mary O. Preston to William Preston, June 1864, Wickliffe-Preston papers.
responsible for a great deal of damage to the "Southern" cause in Kentucky.48

In a similar account, Lexingtonian Maria L. Lyle told of repeated harassment in her home during the fall of 1862. In late September a soldier entered her home and stole a saddle at gunpoint. Two weeks later soldiers appeared unexpectedly, searching for weapons and for her brother's son, seeking to force him to "volunteer." The troops failed to find the young man that day, but on October 7, she reported, "they got him" and the "volunteer" was taken off.49 Late in the war, when companies of "rogue" soldiers suddenly descended upon a town and did nothing more than "press" horses, Kentuckians considered themselves fortunate.50

Occasionally, circumstances which at first appeared to be threatening turned out to be benign if not enlightening. A Danville woman, Mrs. E.B. Patterson, described a late-night visit from a drunken soldier fleeing the battlefield

48Ibid., June 26, 1864.

49Maria L. Lyle to Joel K. Lyle, October 27, 1862, Lyle Family Papers, Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

50Lizzie Schrieber Journal, November 14, 1864, Stith-Moreman Family Papers.
at Perryville. About 9:00 p.m. one night a "thundering rap" on the door jolted the Patterson family awake. Though initially stunned and immobilized by indecisiveness, Patterson recovered quickly and concluded that her options--alerting the servants or seeking help from their closest neighbor, an elderly, Union sympathizer--created "unpleasant complications." More pounding led her to the door where she confronted a cold, wet, and hungry Rebel soldier who had obviously been drinking "volatile fluid," though not to the extent she first suspected. The soldier, who said he had not eaten all day, demanded whatever food she had and to dry his clothes.51

Fed, warmed, dry, and considerably more genial, the soldier inquired if Patterson was a Unionist and why. A discussion of John Brown's raid, state's rights, and the role of the Federal government followed, whereupon the soldier astounded Patterson by saying "he agreed with me perfectly." He had, the soldier explained, only joined the Confederate army out of loyalty to his state. When the conversation ended the Rebel soldier politely thanked his

Assessing the affects of guerrilla warfare on Kentucky’s civilian population is difficult. In actual fact, guerrillas were likely to accost almost anyone and at any time in Kentucky. Constant fear led many otherwise law-abiding citizens to conclude, as W.F. Wickersham did: "If you catch one of them I want you to kill the infernal scamps. . . . They are not fit for no place but hell. . . ." Many random examples of guerrilla violence exist. Guerrillas hiding in the vicinity of Auburn in early 1863 twice raided the town. In March a company of guerrillas dressed in Federal uniforms brazenly approached an Auburn citizen on the street and demanded his horse. During the confrontation, the gang recognized their victim as a local physician and relented, allowing the doctor to keep his horse. One night a few weeks later, possibly the same gang, about twenty guerrillas in all, returned to

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52 Ibid., 376-78.

53 W.F. Wickersham to family, July 7, 1862, Wickersham Family Papers, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

54 Diary of Eldress Nancy, March 9, 1863, Shaker Records.
Auburn. This time they robbed a store of goods valued at $1,000.\textsuperscript{55}

In Hardin County, two brothers living in different parts of the county were victims of guerrilla attacks about a month apart. One brother, John D. Tabor who lived a few miles south of Big Spring, fought off his assailants by firing his rifle at them from an upstairs window of his house. One guerrilla died in the incident. In Western Hardin County, the other brother, Sam Tabor, with the assistance of his fifteen-year-old nephew, repelled a band of guerrillas, killing three in the fight.\textsuperscript{56} The South Union Shaker community on numerous occasions spotted "suspicious" characters "prowling around" their premises whom they believed to be guerrillas.\textsuperscript{57}

Random attacks such as these created undertones of tension in virtually all Kentucky communities during the Civil War. Violence, theft, and uncertainty almost became a way of life as constant rumors of guerrillas and their

\textsuperscript{55}Ibid., April 25, 1863.

\textsuperscript{56}Mary Josephine Jones, The Civil War in Hardin County (Vine Grove, Ky.: Ancestral Trails Historical Society, 1995), 52.

\textsuperscript{57}Diary of Eldress Nancy, May 2, 1863, South Union Shaker Records.
crimes circulated throughout the state.\textsuperscript{58} Without a doubt, John Hunt Morgan's cavalry was the most famous and certainly one of the most dangerous of the groups of guerrillas that haunted the Bluegrass. In innumerable instances, he and his men were assigned responsibility for the capture and destruction of trains, the abduction of Federal officers, the burning of bridges, and the rustling of horses.\textsuperscript{59} Whether Morgan was actually responsible is problematical, but he often received credit.

Unfortunately, separating fact from legend when assessing guerrilla activities is difficult. Two other legendary guerrillas were Marcellus Jerome Clarke, alias Sue Mundy, and William Clarke Quantrill, more famous for his Missouri raids. Originally a member of Morgan's command, Clarke rose to the rank of Captain before striking out as a

\textsuperscript{58}Mary O. Preston to William Preston, June 1864, Wickliffe-Preston Papers; Cheek, ed., "Memoirs of E. B. Patterson," 351. A Tennessee family found it impossible to visit their relatives in Kentucky because of the infestation of bushwackers along the Kentucky-Tennessee border. See A. and V. Davis to W.H. and M. Stugart, February 6, 1863, Shelly Family Papers; Harrison, \textit{Civil War in Kentucky}, 66.

\textsuperscript{59}Troutman, \textit{Heavens are Weeping}, 137; Matilda Lucretia Whitaker Diary, January 11, 1863, Matilda Lucretia Whitaker Papers, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky; Harrison, \textit{Civil War in Kentucky}, 36, 43, 60, 62, 57; Collins, \textit{History of Kentucky}, I:102.
guerrilla in Kentucky in October 1864 after John Hunt Morgan was killed. Over the next six months, Clarke engaged in a spree of robbery, pillage, and murder in an arc around Louisville stretching from Brandenburg to Harrodsburg to Midway. Though clearly a villain, assessment of Clarke's guerrilla role is complicated by legendary accounts of him as the ubiquitous "female" marauder, "Sue Mundy." Moreover, the entrance of Quantrill into Kentucky further confused the exploits of Clarke.\textsuperscript{60}

Quantrill's record as a "notorious guerrilla chieftain" on the Missouri-Kansas border was well-known before he arrived in Kentucky and temporarily joined forces with Clarke during the last stages of the Civil War. Quantrill clashed with Union cavalry two days after entering Kentucky and proceeded to steal horses in Houstonville, and loot Danville and Hartford, quickly raising the ire of Federal authorities. In spite of his ability to elude Union forces in Missouri, Quantrill and his men suffered immediate and humiliating setbacks at the hands of Federal troops in Kentucky. Quantrill was captured in a skirmish near

\textsuperscript{60}L.L. Valentine, "Sue Mundy of Kentucky," \textit{The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society} 62 (July 1964): 176, 192-93, 195-96.
Bloomfield and died of a gunshot wound in early June 1865, only six months after arriving.⁶¹

E.B. Patterson graphically detailed the fear that gripped communities in Kentucky threatened by guerrillas bands. In July 1862, during the Confederate invasion of Kentucky, rumors spread that a 1,200-man force from Morgan's cavalry was bearing down on Danville, raising the worst fears of pro-Union citizens. A significant portion of inhabitants immediately assumed that once in the city, Morgan and his men, aided by a hitherto secret group of secessionist allies, would descend with force upon "the houses of the Unionists," venting their wrath. The more level-headed citizens, meanwhile, assumed that Morgan's appearance before Danville, like previous guerrilla raids, was primarily for the purpose of collecting supplies and perhaps Federal war materiel stored there. These citizens spent the available time hiding their valuables, boarding up their windows, and reinforcing doors.⁶²

The town council, however, concluded that the


organization of Home Guards to move directly against the guerrillas was the best defense for Danville. When discussing the appropriate course for the Home Guards to follow, confusion reigned but eventually three defense plans predominated. One called for taking to the woods near the main road to "bush-wack" the enemy. The second proposed barricading the streets and holding the enemy at bay from second-story windows of buildings. The third plan, and the one settled upon as most likely to be successful, called for fortifying positions at a bridge northeast of town, blocking Morgan's progress toward Lexington. At the local courthouse, speeches by town leaders encouraging citizens to make a brave stand against the hated enemy preceded appeals for all Unionists to meet at a designated time and place, prepared for at least a day's fight.63

When Danville's men marched off to block Morgan's route northward, they left behind an undefended town of frightened wives, children, and servants, few of whom expected to be spared the horrors of the guerrilla invasion. In one home bedlam prevailed as "servants" in a state of "terror" rushed in from time to time with the latest rumors. The first

\[63\text{Ibid.}, 353-54.\]
servant yelled that the Rebels had arrived; the second screamed that gun-fire had broken out; the next claimed that the enemy was burning Danville; still another that the Home Guards had been routed and Union people were being murdered. At each bit of information, the children broke into "pitiful wails and screams, thinking their father must certainly be killed."  

While the Home Guards awaited the arrival of Morgan's troops at the bridge, those citizens remaining in Danville began having second thoughts about the defenseless condition of the city. When news reached Danville, from a presumed reliable source, that Morgan would enter the town before night, self-appointed leaders called an impromptu citizens' meeting resolving to send a peace delegation to meet Morgan on the outskirts of town. Accordingly, a delegation drew up a "paper" of surrender and appointed a committee to take the document to Morgan under a "flag of truce." The delegation left town eager to wave it "most vigorously" at anyone approaching from the direction of Lebanon. The anxiety of the delegation became apparent when one delegate, fearing that a single flag might not prove sufficient, "extemporized 

64Ibid., 354-55.
a second with a white handkerchief attached to his cane."

Throughout the day the delegation waited, but "no enemy rewarded their anxious inquiry." In instance after instance when strangers approached they were queried excitedly: Have you seen Morgan? How many men does he have? Where is he going? Each time hearing the same answer: "I don’t know!"

Two approaching "strangers" to whom the Danvillians attempted to surrender turned out to be the town’s own scouts, and a third was one of Morgan’s raiders who had been taken prisoner. The comical nature of the entire episode led one citizen to remark: "After a vain effort to find some guerrilla to whom they might surrender the town, the peace delegation returned home, but leaving, it is said, copies of the paper with various persons to be given to Morgan," should he approach.

The actual capture of Danville was anticlimactic. Morgan, with 1,500 men, finally arrived weeks later. The few Unionists who had not fled were arrested, but surprisingly, Morgan’s dreaded soldiers proved to be both friendly and agreeable. Eventually, when the Confederate

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65Ibid., 362.

66Ibid.
force moved on, they promised that no harm would come to their prisoners and exited Danville with reasonable good will.\textsuperscript{67}

During mid-October, a guerrilla force once again descended upon Danville. This time the Confederate raiders, probably part of Morgan's force, arrived suddenly, before defensive measures could be taken, and the results were far worse than the preceding raid. The "fierce marauders" rode in unopposed and committed extensive depredations. After burning U.S. commissary stores, and in some cases compelling Unionist townspeople to assist them, they forced entry into merchants' stores, confiscating whatever goods they wanted. Squads of men next fanned out through town, forcing citizens to hand over their watches and purses, threatening to kill anyone who protested too vehemently. Luckily, everyone complied, and nobody was shot during the raid. According to one citizen, many of the town's best known men who had been robbed delighted years later in retelling their adventures, seemingly unconcerned about their loss of property. When the occupation was over, citizens were thankful that no

\textsuperscript{67}Ibid., 365-66.
Civil War combat intruded into the daily lives of Kentuckians, causing enormous physical, psychological, and spiritual damage. The terror people experienced was not limited to either army. Those on the wrong side of occupying forces were sometimes hunted down, and on occasion expected that they might be killed at any moment. Guerrillas rampaged through towns, burning military stores, ransacking businesses, and threatening citizens. Whether or not soldiers abused citizens depended entirely on the mood of occupying troops, and the least one could expect was a demand for food.

Occupation usually meant the loss of fences, that trees would be chopped down for defenses or firewood, homes confiscated for hospitals or offices, gardens picked clean and barns emptied, and those caught near battlefields feared for their lives. As guerrillas moved back and forth through towns and communities, citizens were frequently unable to ascertain the military affiliation of soldiers. Rebel raiders always needed horses, which they confiscated, and sometimes seemed unconcerned whether or not their troops

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68Ibid., 392; Ramage, Rebel Raider, 125.
stole from citizens. Federal troops chasing raiders often treated Kentuckians with disrespect as well, as if they were the enemy. Pacifist communities such as the Shakers at South Union and Pleasant Hill became easy prey for such soldiers.

The longer the war continued, the more it descended into gangsterism. Some saw the war as a chance to settle prewar political debts, and others, such as Morgan’s raiders, saw an opportunity to steal watches, pocketbooks, and rob banks. Assessing the affects of guerrilla warfare on Kentucky’s civilian population is difficult, but one thing seems clear. For women in their homes and slaves in their cabins, a visit from a guerrilla with a gun in his hand was a devastating experience.
Chapter IV

IN THE HOME: THE PEOPLES’ TRAVAIL

In the home, the lives of women had always been demanding and difficult, and the Civil War did nothing to simplify their condition. To Kentucky women fell the responsibility of trying to bring civility and stability to a chaotic existence.

To historians the roles of men and women during wartime have been well defined: Men have gone off to war to fight battles and to plan military strategy while women remained at home to hold the family and society together. In comparing the relative importance of these roles, emphasis on military actions almost always overshadowed events on the homefront, leading many to conclude that the vast majority of burdens of the Civil War fell upon men. However, it is inaccurate to assume that women did not share in the harsh realities and burdens of war which befell almost everyone who lived in Kentucky. During the American Civil War women
and children were no less subject to fear, sickness, food shortages, inflation, and guerrilla attacks than men.\footnote{The role of women the conflict led George A. Sala, a British journalist covering the American Civil War, to conclude that it was as much a “woman’s war” as a man’s. Quoted in Massey, *Bonnet Brigades*, 25.}

The decision of John Aker Lafferty, a Boone County resident, to cast his lot with the Confederacy in late 1861 was probably typical. After wavering, unable to make up his mind for months, much like many of his fellow Kentuckians, Lafferty decided to leave his wife and three young children and head south. Once he had decided, Lafferty attempted to put his affairs in order. Concerned that his wife would need help during his absence, he asked her cousin, Nannie Humphrey, to move in as a companion and urged relatives living nearby to look in on his family regularly. Lafferty instructed his slave, Will Johnson, “to do all farm work and whatever else was necessary to keep the family comfortable.” When Lafferty returned to Boone County four years later, bearded and in a tattered butternut uniform, he found that war had taken its toll on everyone. One of Lafferty’s children did not recognize him. That night, as the family sat at the supper table and he observed his children in their shabby homespun clothes, he and his wife could only
console themselves by agreeing to start "life all over again."  

Sickness and death were the two greatest burdens with which women had to cope on the homefront, often without the presence of a male companion. Child mortality was high in the nineteenth century, and illnesses thought benign were often life threatening. As a result, many mothers were forced during the conflict to "lay in the silent tomb" a baby so recently "pillowed on her breast."  

Almost any illness could turn tragic without warning. "We have had the sad misfortune to lose little Pattie," a central Kentucky mother wrote of the loss of her child in early 1863. She was the "light of our household." She went on to narrate in her letter the rapid deterioration of her child's health. A few days before, her daughter had been "the very picture of health." Then she began to waste "away under a burning & consuming fever." The child suffered terribly for two weeks with what was commonly called brain fever before expiring.  

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2 Lafferty, John Aker Lafferty and Francis Henry Lafferty, 1-3.

3 Maria L. Lyle to her Aunt Susan, May 4, 1864, Lyle Family Papers.

4 B. Duncan to Brutus Clay, February 9, 1862, Clay Family Papers; D. Dowden to R. Herndon, January 9, 1865,
The status of medicine and health care during the Civil War was little more than what one historian called “ignorance and superstition.” Physicians were inadequately trained—they were not required to hold a diploma before the 1890s—and medicines were usually primitive. Furthermore, the importance of cleanliness and sanitation in patient care was not understood by most people. Hospitals were few and those which existed were poorly equipped. Surgical practice was primitive and frequently contributed to the patient’s death. Anesthesia such as chloroform, though generally in use by 1858, was scarce and usually reserved for the severely wounded. Bleeding, a practice which debilitated rather than strengthened patients, was still in vogue in the 1860s and practiced by every “good” physician.

The Herndon Family Papers.

5Aloma Williams Dew, “From Cramps to Consumption: Women’s Health In Owensboro, Kentucky, During the Civil War,” The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 74 (April 1976): 86.

6Ibid., 87.

7Ibid.; Unsigned letter, July 16, 1862, unprocessed Covington Family Papers, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

8Dew, “From Cramps to Consumption,” 87. Bleeding was the process of releasing blood from a person’s circulatory system to remove an infection.
Although some women had by 1861 entered the medical profession as doctors, they had made little progress, and few participated actively during the war. At the outbreak of conflict, no women received commissions as doctors from either army. Later, in 1864, Mary Walker became the only woman physician commissioned by the Union army. After serving at the front in Tennessee, where she was captured and imprisoned until exchanged, Walker returned to service in Louisville where she supervised the Female Military Prison. She was later honored for her contribution by President Andrew Johnson.\(^9\) Kentucky women also served as nurses during the Civil War, but largely in a volunteer capacity. Some were relatives who sought out wounded kinsmen and nursed them back to health. Others were members of religious organizations, such as Louisville’s Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, who provided healthcare for wounded troops arriving from the front.\(^10\)

A variety of medicines was common to almost every doctor's bag, and certain remedies were prescribed

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\(^9\)Catherine Clinton, *The Other Civil War*, 83.

regardless of the illness. Rhubarb, morphine, ipecac, calomel, and quinine were among the most commonly used. In addition Civil War doctors prescribed, ammonia, bismuth, camphor, iodine, arsenic, bromine, castor oil, vitriol, and digitalis. For colds which had settled in a patient’s lungs, a doctor might prescribe “quinine and vitriol every hour.”

The shortage of doctors, however, did not greatly affect health care on the home front, since a “home remedy” was probably as effective as a physician’s diagnosis and treatment. Almost all women utilized home remedies, and typically shared their successes with family and friends. Hattie Means, an Ashland woman, found that when any of her five children developed a cough, homemade hoarhound candy and cherry pectoral “seemed to help more than any medicine,” and many Kentuckians recommended “salts” and “tar-wine” for medicinal purposes. When Mary S. Payne of Hopkinsville asked her neighbor for advice on treating


12Hattie Means to her mother, February 17, 1863, Means Family Papers.

stomach problems, her friend claimed that "she had been almost cured of dyspepsia by taking a small tea spoon full of pure whiskey after every meal." Her neighbor's remedy apparently worked; Payne praised the prescription in a letter to her father: "I have tried" the tea spoon of whiskey, and I "am in better health in that respect than I have been in years." And furthermore, she wrote, I can now "drink coffee regularly without any ill effect."\textsuperscript{14}

Patent medicines were another remedy women on the homefront turned to for the relief of pain and suffering. When an Ashland woman failed to cure her illness with her home remedy, she summoned a doctor as a last resort. The physician diagnosed her illness as "Typhoid Pneumonia or something like it," and prescribed "some of the everlasting 'castor oil & molasses,' sometimes with Godfrey's cordial & sometimes without." Godfrey's Cordial, a well-known patent medicine advertised in national and local newspapers of the period, was one of many "miracle" cures and potions relied upon in the 1860s.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14}Mary S. Payne to Lewis M. Starling, December 8, 1862, Lewis-Starling Collection.

\textsuperscript{15}Hattie Means to her mother, February 17, 1863, Means Family Papers.
Kentucky Women had to cope with a variety of illnesses for which no cure existed during the Civil War era. Morbo Laocteo, commonly known as "milk sickness," a deadly disease which sometimes reached epidemic proportions in the Upper South, was passed to adults and children through cows' milk and was more deadly to infants because they were usually subsisting on mother's milk.\(^\text{16}\) Smallpox was still a frightening disease, but by the 1860s less of an epidemic problem.\(^\text{17}\) Cholera and diphtheria were prevalent in Kentucky during the war years and claimed the lives of many, especially children and soldiers.\(^\text{18}\) One of the most debilitating illnesses for women consisted of puerperal fever or "child bed fever." Child bed fever was often carried by doctors and midwives from one pregnant woman to another, thus causing an epidemic. The disease affected only those women who had recently given birth and was directly related to the mother's weakened condition following childbirth, and the unclean environment

\(^{16}\)Dew, "From Cramps to Consumption," 88.

\(^{17}\)Ibid., 90.

surrounding nineteenth-century childbearing. Two illnesses common to almost everyone during the period were ague and tooth infections. Ague produced a variety of symptoms ranging from lethargy, sweating, and chills to headaches and back pains.¹⁹ Trained dentists were few, but when available their treatment of tooth aches seemed to have only one solution: remove the offending teeth.²⁰

Fundamental misunderstandings of the proper perservation of food and a lack of sanitation contributed to many women's problems in the home during the Civil War era. Common knowledge at the time held that "partly decomposed or tainted meat" could be restored to edible condition by roasting the meat. Another generally accepted guideline for determining the appropriate time to cook game was to hang it by the tail. When it dropped, leaving its tail behind, the meat was said to be "fit to dress" and consume.²¹ Such practices greatly increased Kentuckians' chances for illnesses.

¹⁹Dew, "From Cramps to Consumption," 91.

²⁰Unsigned letter, July 16, 1862, Covington Family Papers, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

²¹Dew, "From Cramps to Consumption," 92.
The weight of women's chores eased in the 1860s with the invention of new machinery designed to perform what was improperly called "women's work." By 1861 sewing machines were available at a cost of about $25, and primitive clothes washing machines and dryers could be bought before the end of the war in larger cities such as Louisville and Lexington. A washer cost between $8 and $10, while a dryer could be purchased for $2 to $4. Although refrigerators were available, most women who owned an appliance continued to use the ice box; coal oil lamps were also available by 1860.22 Only the most prosperous Kentuckians, however, could afford these new products.

Civil War era women were likely to obtain whatever new information they possessed about managing a farm or household from newspapers or magazines. The war, unfortunately, occasionally interfered with publishing, preventing newspapers from being readily available.23 The Louisville Journal, for instance, was forced to close down for most of the war years, and other papers printed only


23Cooper and Smith, Window on the War, 12.
sporadically. Those papers that continued to print, however, could be helpful. The Owensboro Monitor regularly printed an article entitled "The Housewife" containing practical information and helpful hints for women.\textsuperscript{24} One category of information included child-rearing advice, information on healthcare, and the names of the recently marketed patent medicines.

A larger category of information consisted of practical advice for the home. Recipes for food, cleaning solutions, and dyes predominated, but other practical editorials included such things as how to salt butter properly, make compound glue, and prepare flour paste.\textsuperscript{25} One helpful suggestion, for instance, gave women the recipe for taking ink stains out of mahogany by mixing oil of vitriol and water, and another told readers that they could extend the life of their shoes by rubbing them with olive oil. The information detailing the process for cleaning stone stairs was probably typical of these articles. Readers were told to mix a pound of pipe clay with three pints of water, a quarter-pint of vinegar, and a bit of "stone blue." "The Housewife" told the reader to wash the steps with the

\textsuperscript{24}Owensboro Monitor, August 27, 1862.

\textsuperscript{25}Dew, "From Cramps to Consumption," 92.
mixture and then rub the stone with flannel.\textsuperscript{26}

In spite of the trials and tribulations of repeated occupation by opposing armies and the all-consuming pressure of everyday chores, life for Bluegrass natives during the Civil War could occasionally be pleasant, even hopeful. Kentuckians still had to worry about the condition of their crops as they had always done, while hoping that the enemy did not appear over the horizon to trample their corn or tobacco,\textsuperscript{27} but with the passage of time, people found ways to live fuller, more enjoyable lives.

Christmas season still came, and in areas of the state where military interference was minimal, families sometimes enjoyed a typical holiday. When ingredients could be brought together, Kentuckians still found time to celebrate Christmas with cakes and eggnog, turning an otherwise dreary season into a relatively happy time.\textsuperscript{28} Children’s gifts were often simple and frequently homemade. Items such as

\textsuperscript{26}Owensboro \textit{Monitor}, August 27, 1862.

\textsuperscript{27}Bevie Cain to James M. Davis, May 22, 1861, Bevie Cain Letters, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

\textsuperscript{28}Mary S. Payne to Lewis M. Starling, December 8, 1862, Lewis M. Starling Collection.
bows and arrows, bow drills, slingshots, stilts, or cornstalk toys began to appear under the Christmas tree again.\textsuperscript{29}

During the Christmas season of 1862 in Bewleyville, Bevie Cain and her friends enjoyed a round of parties, but the abundance of food did not make up for the fact that there were so few “young gentleman” with whom to socialize because they had all “gone to war.”\textsuperscript{30} At Falls of the Rough in Grayson County, Sue Magoffin was excited to hear of a “new gentleman” who was moving to town, pointing out that because the “beaux” are leaving to go to war, there are “only 7 to about 50 ladies” left in the area.\textsuperscript{31} Sadly, the shortage of men which began with the outbreak of the conflict, and which ended with the maiming and death of so many, left a generation of Kentucky women without male


\textsuperscript{30}Bevie Cain to James M. Davis, December 1862, Bevie Cain Letters.

\textsuperscript{31}Sue Magoffin to Lafayette Green, November 15, 1859-62, Green Collection, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.
companionship following the Civil War.\textsuperscript{32}

Excluded from participation in the war effort in so many ways, Kentucky women nevertheless found opportunities to mobilize in behalf of their cause. Some, for instance replaced men as store and office clerks, sometimes working long hours for poor pay.\textsuperscript{33} Others found more direct ways to assist Kentucky’s war effort. One of the biggest contributions of Kentucky women came through “ladies societies” organizations which assisted soldiers. Ladies Societies raised money for their cause by sponsoring fairs, concerts, and bazaars. Both the Union and Confederate governments eventually realized the importance of such activities and belatedly recognized their contributions by giving women, in some cases, official rank.\textsuperscript{34}

Lexington women were especially active in aiding soldiers. With the calmer atmosphere that pervaded in the Bluegrass city by early 1862, the “Amateur society” resumed performing occasional public concerts. Assisted during the winter and spring of 1862-63 by performances from Colonel

\textsuperscript{32}Clinton, \textit{The Other Civil War}, 87.

\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Ibid.}, 92; Helen Deiss Irvin, \textit{Women In Kentucky} (Lexington, Ky.: The University Press of Kentucky, 1979), 61.

\textsuperscript{34}Clinton, \textit{The Other Civil War}, 81.
Marcellus Mundy’s military band, the society performed regular concerts to raise funds to benefit the Lexington Soldiers Aid Society and the local military hospitals.\textsuperscript{35} Other Fayette women handed out coats, pants, socks and shoes to poorly clothed prisoners passing through the city.\textsuperscript{36} In nearby Bourbon County, young ladies of the Volunteer Aid Society chose to forgo the “festal meetings” of the 1862 Christmas season, instead devoting their time with “cheerful zeal” to making gifts for soldiers.\textsuperscript{37}

As the military situation in northcentral Kentucky stabilized in late 1862, everyone noticed an improvement in social and economic conditions. Louisville was one of the first to regain its former prosperity. Consumers returned to the marketplaces, children again played in the streets, and adult amusements resumed.\textsuperscript{38} Within a short time life in Louisville had improved so much that the Christmas parties

\textsuperscript{35}Peter Diary, January 31, April 10, November 1, 1862, Evans papers.

\textsuperscript{36}M.M. Lisle to brothers, January 22, 1864, Halley Family Papers.


seemed to many to be "fully up to the standards of olden times." As Louisville rebounded from the more tense days of the Confederate invasion, theaters, balls, and parties returned, seemingly in full swing, and one newspaper commented late in the war that the people of the city seemed to have a "greater curiosity" about the arts than ever before. With economic and cultural revival came a renewed interest in education, and Jefferson County's common school budget soon resembled prewar levels. Other communities experienced a similar return to the "pleasant" social gatherings of antebellum days. Dances, quilting parties, house raisings, and other "rustic amusements" became common.

Some, however, lamented that the war had led to a

39Ibid., 215.

40Ibid., 227; Louisville Daily Democrat, November, 30, December 2, 1864.

41Kentucky, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Kentucky, for the School Year Ending December 31st, 1863 (Frankfort, Ky.: State Printing Office, William E. Hughes, State Printer, 1864), 54, 56, 74, 94, 102, 114.

42Sue Magoffin to Lafayette Green, November 15, 1859-62, Green collection.

43Bevie Cain to James M. Davis, March 30, 1865, Bevie Cain Letters.
noticeable breakdown in society in the Commonwealth. The residual affects of the invasion, some Louisvillians claimed, were that juvenile delinquency, gambling, and theft increased following the departure of the Rebel forces. Gangs, the papers complained, ran roughshod through the streets, and villainous youths, sometimes brandishing guns and knives, roamed neighborhoods like packs of dogs, robbing school boys of their "dinners" and "toys."

Others decried growing divisions in society caused by war and misguided patriotism. In communities throughout Kentucky people once friendly became less likely to socialize with those who differed with them politically. Slowly wartime animosities developed into bad feelings, leaving a legacy of bitterness. Pro-Unionist Maria I. Knott of Lebanon concluded after witnessing the destruction of "millions" in property that she could never again socialize with "traitorous rebels." A Confederate sympathizer in Muhlenburg County decided that he could no longer live in

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45 Nazro Dairy, January 1, 4, 1861, Underwood Collection.

46 Maria I. Knott to Sallie Knott, September 26, 1861, Knott Collection.
the same county with his pro-Union neighbors, and Logan County pro-southerners ostracized a Unionist minister whose offense was nothing worse than offering a prayer before the execution of a Rebel soldier.\textsuperscript{47} In Owensboro a woman exhibited similar feelings, stating she would never forgive northerners for freeing her slaves.\textsuperscript{48}

Conditions on the homefront varied throughout Kentucky, but in most cases women and slaves, left behind to contend with the monumental task of holding their families together, proved resourceful. They dealt with sickness at home, kept households functioning, and in most cases managed productive farms. After the war ended, however, the extreme pressures under which women had toiled during the war became apparent. Many men returned to find their loved ones suffering, their farms in disrepair, and their sole option to start over.

A major war contribution of women came as volunteers. Kentucky women organized ladies’ aid societies which earned money for their cause by holding public concerts, fairs, and bazaars. The money they raised helped provide meals,  


\textsuperscript{48}Aloma williams Dew, “Between the Hawk and the Buzzard”: Owensboro During the Civil War,” The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 77 (Winter 1979): 2.
clothing, and medical assistance for traveling and wounded soldiers. Women also served as nurses and, in at least one instance, as a doctor.

During the war years cultural activities in Kentucky came to a standstill as theaters closed and enlightened interests stagnated. By 1863, however, culture and social activities revived as the Civil War wound down and Kentuckians began to contemplate the effects of the past four years on slavery.
While all Kentucky civilians suffered during the Civil War, no class was less fortunate than the Commonwealth's African Americans. For blacks, being caught between the Unionists to the north and the Rebels to the south was a precarious position indeed. Blacks were disliked and blamed for the war by many southern soldiers, and usually resented as a class by northern troops as well. The situation was especially difficult for the Commonwealth's African Americans early in the war. As long as Kentucky remained neutral, blacks were almost in a state of limbo. Still bound by slavery and unsure of their relationship with the Union army, they had to fend for themselves as competing armies took turns occupying Kentucky. Thus, the war can only be said to have made daily life worse for most Kentucky blacks, but it did represent at least an opportunity for change.
The Civil War provided new opportunities in Kentucky for the harassment of both slaves and freemen by whites. Negrophobes and law enforcement officers challenged and harassed freemen on the streets, and when houses of blacks were entered and searched they had no redress. "Home guards" menaced slaves, forcing them to get off the streets under threat of a whipping, and the free movement of blacks was limited through vagrancy laws used by state and military authorities. A handful of freemen decided to move northward where they hoped to receive better treatment.¹

Some blacks, however, were able to turn the hostile conditions to their advantage. Wages for skilled laborers escalated because of wartime demands, and sometimes black mechanics managed to get better jobs, even working with whites.² A few African Americans, such as Elizabeth Thompson, the mother of five children, were able to improve their conditions considerably. Thompson found a job paying $7.50 a week during the conflict and claimed never to have

¹W.H. Gibson, Historical Sketch of the Progress of the Colored Race, in Louisville, Ky. (Louisville, Ky.: Bradley and Gilbert Co., 1897), 41-42; Marion B. Lucas, Blacks in Kentucky, 146-67.

²Lucas, Blacks in Kentucky, 146-48.
been interfered with by the police.³ Another Kentucky black man, a slave, improved his income by acquiring a job working in the river trade. With his additional income the slave purchased at considerable cost, himself, his five children, and two nephews. In addition he sent three of his children to school and eventually one nephew to Oberlin College in Ohio.⁴ Nevertheless, the feeling lingered among blacks that no matter how hard they worked or whatever progress they made, Kentucky whites refused to treat them honorably.⁵

That blacks exhibited more independence and self-reliance after the war began is well documented. Some whites commented that blacks were no longer willing to work - that they were "dissatisfied" and no longer "content."⁶ Presumably, whites meant that African Americans would not "work like a slave." Slaves appeared more willing to threaten to "leave & never return" if unreasonably demands were made on them and less reticent to respond


⁴Ibid., 389-90.


⁶Peter Diary, Jan 27, 1864, Evans Papers.
disrespectfully when questioned sharply. Some whites eventually concluded that the only way to get blacks to continue working was to employ them essentially as free persons even though technically they were still slaves.

If blacks exerted a new independence, it was not without consequences. Ministers came under increasing scrutiny in the early years of uncertainty during the conflict, and in some areas whites objected to, or even prevented, black church services. In Louisville, for instance, threats from city or military authorities occasionally forced black churches to cancel services, and in a few instances black churches were appropriated as

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7Troutman, ed., Heavens are Weeping, 131, 156, 194; Browder Diary, I, September 11, 1862, June 15, 1863; ibid., II, January 4, 1865; Anna Dicken Troutman to mother, April 3, 1863, Dicken-Troutman-Balke Family Papers.

8William Pratt Diary, III, April 1, 1865, Margaret I. King Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky; Peter Bruner, A Slave’s Adventures Toward Freedom: Not Fiction, but the True Story of a Struggle (Oxford, Oh.: n.p., 1918), 41.

9The Christian Recorder, April 5, 1862; Madison Campbell, The Autobiography of Eld. Madison Campbell Pastor of the United Colored Baptist Church, Richmond, Kentucky (Richmond, Ky.: Pantagraph Job Rooms, 1895), 47.

10Gibson, Historical Sketch, 24.
military hospitals or barracks.\textsuperscript{11}

Black educational institutions, always associated with churches, were early casualties of the Civil War. Schools in Louisville, Lexington, and Frankfort, for instance, were forced to close, but in the last year of the war, as the military front moved further south, churches reopened their schools, beginning a new era of educational progress. During the summer of 1864 at Camp Nelson, located in Jessamine County south of Nicholasville, the Reverend John G. Fee and a group of northern missionaries also opened schools for refugee women, their children, and black soldiers. A number of these soldiers later attended Berea College in Berea, Kentucky, forming the nucleus of the school's integrated student body as well as a future corps of black teachers.\textsuperscript{12} By 1865 African American leaders even looked forward eventually to acquiring a public school system of their own.\textsuperscript{13}


\textsuperscript{13}Louisville \textit{Daily Union Press}, February 7, April 15,
In 1862, when Federal troops arrived in Kentucky, the state’s slaves got their first chance to challenge the "peculiar institution." Slaves began visiting Union camps, slowly at first, but after a time large numbers flowed into the camps. Federal generals campaigning in Kentucky took months to determine exactly what to do with black refugees, and by the time they decided, blacks had already suffered greatly. Events in the fall of 1862 made the problem of black refugees more severe. Both the Union and Confederate armies began impressing large numbers of African Americans, free and slave, for military labor. In western Kentucky "hundreds of negroes" were forcibly "taken from the fields." In early 1863, the Federal army began actively recruiting blacks as soldiers, and by March of 1864 the recruiting of African Americans was at full stride. But in Kentucky the recruiting of blacks was still a special issue. Not until the middle of 1864, however, did the Federal government decide upon a policy of recruiting all available 

1865.

14Troutman, Heavens are Weeping, 131; Lucas, Blacks in Kentucky, 149.

15Coulter, Civil War and Readjustment, 247.

16Lucas, Blacks in Kentucky, 151.
African Americans in Kentucky.  

To receive black recruits and to protect them from the hostility they sometimes faced from white Kentuckians, the government established military stations at locations such as Columbus, Paducah, Louisville, Louisa, and at Camp Nelson. The effect of that decision was that once the Federal government started inducting slaves in large numbers, many of their relatives began to contemplate their future. Some blacks, like white Kentuckians at the outbreak of the conflict, were undecided what action to take. They wondered, should they follow their relatives and claim freedom now or not?

Henry, the husband of Lucinda, a slave of the Reverend William Pratt, pastor of the white First Baptist Church in Lexington, had run away to Camp Nelson to join the Federal army. At the first opportunity, Henry communicated to Lucinda that she was now free and should consider coming to Camp Nelson to join him. Lucinda talked with Pratt and agreed to remain in Lexington as a hired cook. The agreement lasted only two weeks. Lucinda’s desire to be with her husband was so strong that she decided to run away

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17Ibid., 154.
to join her husband at Camp Nelson.\textsuperscript{18} Alfred was another indecisive slave. The father of a volunteer who had gone to Camp Nelson, Alfred visited his son several times before he cast his lot with the Union army and freedom.\textsuperscript{19}

During the summer of 1864, African American families started running away from their masters in large numbers, following their husbands to induction camps. Slave women fled with their families because slave owners often did not want the financial burden of women or children once their husbands had fled to join the army, or because they were mistreated.\textsuperscript{20} Families of soldiers flocked to these camps expecting freedom and a respite from the harsh treatment of slavery. Instead, many slaves suffered from cold, hunger, and disease, and died in significant numbers.\textsuperscript{21}

Many families of recruits followed them into Louisville where they settled in the Refugee Home established by the

\textsuperscript{18}Pratt Diary, III, April 1, 1865.

\textsuperscript{19}Jonathan Truman Dorris and John Cabell Chenault, \textit{Old Cane Springs: A Story of the War between the States in Madison County, Kentucky} (Louisville, Ky.: The Standard Printing Co., 1937), 123.

\textsuperscript{20}Marion B. Lucas, “Camp Nelson, Kentucky, During the Civil War: Cradle of Liberty or Refugee Death Camp?” \textit{The Filson Club History Quarterly} 63 (October 1989): 445.

\textsuperscript{21}Lucas, \textit{History of Blacks}, 163.
government.\textsuperscript{22} Without food and proper clothes, many suffered from hunger and the weather. Whites, who possessed the economic power in the city, did nothing to assist. Many women and children became sick, and died. The death rate would have been much higher had it not been for the work of Louisville's black women's aid societies,\textsuperscript{23} black volunteer groups such as the "Daughters of Zion," and the United States Sanitary Commission.\textsuperscript{24} In Louisville, black soldiers, who frequently received less assistance than their white counterparts, obtained additional help from volunteer groups. Some of the Baptist and Methodist churches organized "Soldiers' Aid Societies" which also nursed wounded black soldiers and provided hot meals for African American troops passing through town.\textsuperscript{25}

The largest number of slaves fleeing their masters went to Camp Nelson, centrally located among a large African American population in Jessamine County on the Kentucky

\textsuperscript{22}Louisville \textit{Daily Union Press}, January 28, 1865.


\textsuperscript{24}Lucas, \textit{History of Blacks}, 169.

\textsuperscript{25}Louisville \textit{Daily Union Press}, January 17, 1865.
River. Most probably expected upon their arrival to find food, water, and shelter waiting for them; they found instead a variety of problems that dogged them throughout their stay. The organizational structure for the camp was poor, and no officer was appointed to receive refugee blacks until late in 1864. As in the case of many slave families who fled their masters, some going to Camp Nelson were pursued, and arriving fugitives wondered whether they would be protected or returned to slavery.

Runaway women and their children arriving at Camp Nelson quickly found themselves in competition with hundreds of refugees for food, clothing, shelter, and water. Soldiers hired many of the women for domestic work, but not enough jobs existed, and some resorted to begging to feed themselves and their children. Housing was also substandard, with many families of recruits having to live in tents and shanties made of scrap material.

26 Lucas, "Camp Nelson, Kentucky, During the Civil War," 441, 443.
27 Ibid., 443.
28 J.S. Newberry, The U.S. Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi, During the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1866 (Cleveland, Oh.: Fairbanks, Benedict and Co., 1871), 527.
Camp Nelson’s post commander, Brigadier General Speed S. Fry, no friend of black Kentuckians, on several occasions expelled all of the women and children found inside the fort. The worst, and most infamous, instance occurred on a very cold day near the end of November 1864 when Fry swept through the camp perimeter and drove 400 women and children from their shanties. In a moving affidavit sent to the Secretary of War, Edwin B. Stanton, one recruit, Joseph Miller, described the pain and suffering he and his family endured. The provost guard began rounding up black refugees living on the base early in the morning. Miller’s wife and children were told to get into a wagon or be shot where they stood. Holding in her arms a sick child, Mrs. Miller and her children were driven away. The weather was very cold and Miller’s wife and children did not have enough clothes to keep them warm. Unable to get permission to go with his family, Miller watched as the wagons drove off toward Nicholasville. That night Miller left camp seeking his family. He found them about six miles away in an old black church. His wife and children had been unable to get near the fire, and without food and heat, his sick son, age
seven, had died.\textsuperscript{29}

For Kentucky's black population, 1865 was a difficult year. Major General John M. Palmer, the military commander of Kentucky, had steadily moved against the legal existence of slavery in Kentucky, and in March Congress had passed a law freeing the families of black soldiers serving in the Union army. Historian Ross Webb estimates that these acts freed some 75,000 slave families, essentially bankrupting the institution of slavery in Kentucky. But most Commonwealth whites, hostile to the Emancipation Proclamation and remembering that it did not apply to Kentucky, refused to accept either of these measures and continued to interfere with the movement of blacks.\textsuperscript{30}

Reacting to harassment from whites and in an effort to ensure that Commonwealth blacks possessed freedom of movement, Palmer in May 1865 began issuing "Palmer passes" which allowed newly emancipated slaves to travel freely,


even out of the state.\textsuperscript{31} By 1890 Kentucky's black population had declined by 7 percent. Slowly, surely, opposition to emancipation dwindled. With the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment in December 1865, slavery in Kentucky, though moribund as an institution, died a legal death.\textsuperscript{32}

The war created special difficulties for African Americans. Free or slave, blacks were harassed continually by state law enforcement, the Home Guards, and by the military. Though buoyed in their hopes for freedom by the entrance of Federal troops into the state, their expectations seldom became reality. While some coped and occasionally prospered, those fleeing slavery hoping to find freedom in Union camps frequently experienced suffering and even death. Nevertheless, when given a choice African Americans embraced freedom and its uncertainty over continued slavery.

\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., 38.

\textsuperscript{32}Ibid., 40.
Kentucky’s Civil War was a microcosm of the American Civil War. Like northerners and southerners, Kentuckians’ feelings concerning the Civil War were deep-seated. Most Kentuckians sided with the North, but a significant number were pro-southern. Another contingent of Kentuckians rejected taking a definite stand, and although neutrality became official state policy, Kentuckians were not neutral. As events unfolded, those Kentuckians who had favored neutrality were driven into one camp or another, and the intensity of passions escalated as emotionally, politically, and socially the citizens of the state’s towns and communities took sides.

The effect of the war on Kentuckians soon became apparent everywhere. Along with the pain and suffering brought on by broken families and eroding social relationships, news of battle casualties made almost every household a place of sorrow. Hatreds intensified as each
faction demanded loyalty from the other. Past political and social differences, sometimes unrelated to the war, became "legitimate" reasons for denouncing former neighbors or associates. Four years of family divisions--brothers fighting against brothers--left a legacy of bitterness that poisoned relationships for decades following the war.

Citizens of the Commonwealth endured every aspect of the war: military occupation, harassment, hunger, and death from combat. Virtually all classifications of "troops" fought in Kentucky during the four years of conflict. Regular forces, Union and Confederate, invaded the Commonwealth. Pro-Confederate State Guards and pro-Union Home Guards clashed with each other and with citizens. Guerrillas thronged the state from time to time, harassing the enemy and civilian inhabitants, descending into gangsterism as the war drew to a close. Terrain judged friendly for travel could become hostile territory at a moment's notice.

These events proved to be economically devastating for many Kentuckians. Rising prices, food and fuel shortages, and confiscation of produce and livestock by both armies as well as guerrilla forces wrecked farm income and ruined working class wages. Financial losses, physical
destruction, and soldiers threatening violence resulted in psychological and spiritual damage which haunted Kentuckians for generations.

At war’s end, returning Kentucky soldiers surveyed the damage. They often found their farms in disrepair, their livestock gone or run-down, and their loved ones suffering. Yet the homefront story was one of triumph over adversity. Alone, often without protection, women and their servants had struggled successfully with a myriad of everyday problems such as rearing the children, coping with illnesses, and planting and raising crops. All the while, they contended with armed occupiers, experiencing many of the same challenges men endured at the front.

Returning men discovered that Kentucky women had also been resourceful in other ways during the conflict. In addition to running farms and businesses, they had served their military cause as volunteers. Whether white or black, they raised money for their Ladies’ Aid Societies to provide food, clothing, and medical assistance for traveling and wounded soldiers. Working separately, but in a common cause, Kentucky’s Civil War women fashioned a legacy that would serve them well in future struggles for their rights.

Kentucky’s African Americans’ expectations for freedom
soared as the human spirit seemed somehow ultimately to have triumphed. Some prospered but most found at war's end that their battle for human rights had only begun—that true freedom would be an almost daily struggle for generations to come.

Kentucky's choice to remain neutral at the outset of the Civil War did not reflect the depth of passions of the state's inhabitants toward the conflict. Bluegrass citizens, their roots in neighboring states to the north and south, were not personally neutral in spite of the state's official policy. Most Kentuckians favored the Union; nevertheless significant numbers of Confederate sympathizers resided throughout the state. The result of this predicament was that citizens of the Commonwealth faced two fronts. They fought against the armies occupying the state during the war, and they bitterly feuded with their friends, neighbors, and relatives, making everyday life in Kentucky especially complex and demanding.
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