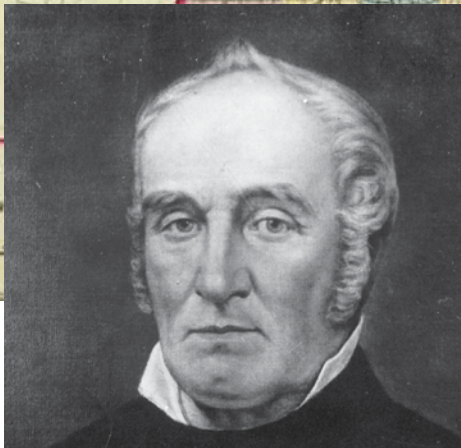


BOONE'S LICK HERITAGE QUARTERLY



The Marmadukes: A Boonslick First Family

A Family Divided by War

The Marmaduke Children Coming of Age

VOL. 17 No. 4 — WINTER 2018

BOONSLICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY PERIODICAL

The Politics of Place and Family

“The ‘Boonslick Country’ of central Missouri was in the early nineteenth century the most fertile and populous area of the state. From 1821 to 1861, this region dominated Missouri’s agricultural production, economy and its politics. The Marmadukes and their Sappington and Jackson relatives of Saline County near Arrow Rock constituted a powerful family political dynasty. The patriarch of this family dynasty was Dr. John Sappington.”

The lead paragraph, a quotation from this issue’s feature article (page 4) by historian Michael Dickey, aptly sums up the importance of central Missouri – the Boonslick – and its patrician families who played dominant roles in the state’s economy and politics in the early to mid-nineteenth century until torn apart by the polarization of the Civil War. The Marmadukes were one of the most influential families of central Missouri in the years leading to the Civil War.

Meredith Miles Marmaduke and Claiborne Fox Jackson, brothers-in-law through their marriages to daughters of Dr. John Sappington (three daughters, in Jackson’s case) were also part of what was known generally as the Central Clique, a group of central Missouri Democratic politicians that had its headquarters in Fayette. “Some of the men had mercantile

connections, but they were predominantly Southerners and slaveholders, who stood apart from the urban-commercial interests of the state. This central Missouri structure supported [Thomas H.] Benton and his program until the growing controversy over the slavery question split the party’s ranks.” notes historian Perry

McCandless, in his *A History of Missouri, Volume II: 1820-1860*.

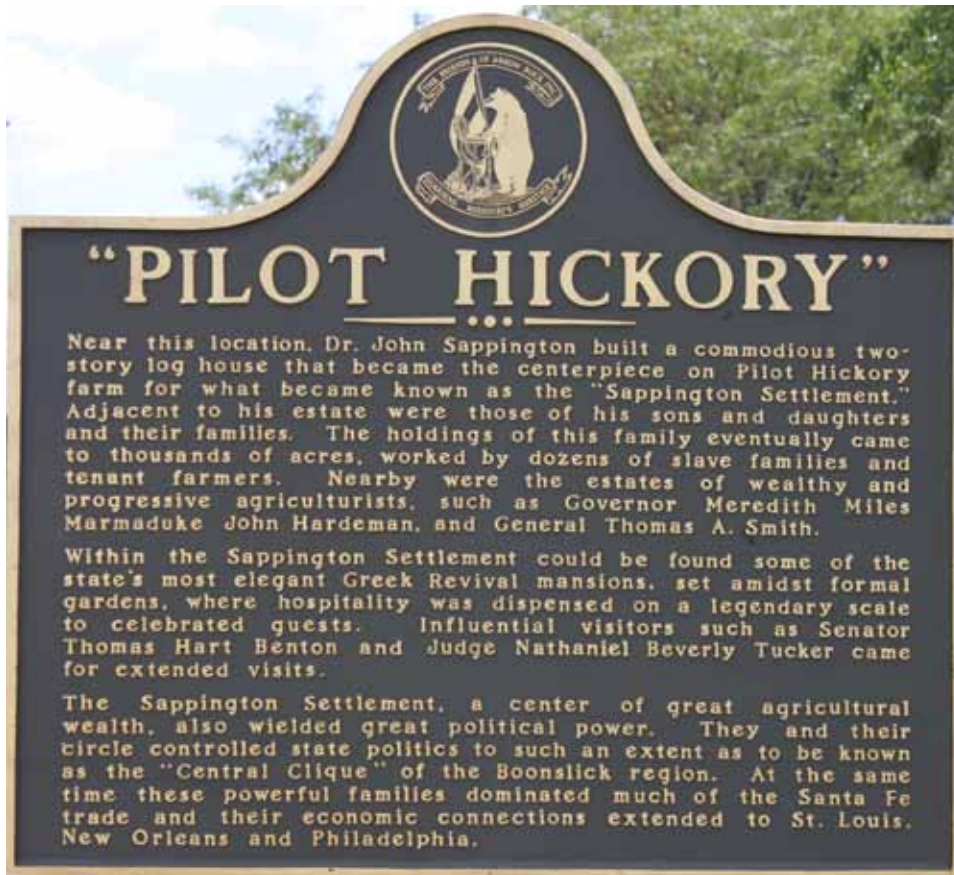
“To understand their attitudes and roles in the war it is beneficial to examine their background,” Dickey writes.

Complimenting this is the following article, an excerpt from a forthcoming biography of Meredith Miles Marmaduke (page 12) by author Lee M. Cullimore. He presents an inti-

mate portrait of the children born to Meredith and wife Lavinia (Sappington) Marmaduke – three daughters and seven sons, one of whom died in infancy – as they go from their adolescent years to adulthood during the years leading up to the Civil War.

“They were the beneficiaries of their father’s determination to become wealthy, and they had every expectation that they would continue to prosper in the future,” Cullimore notes in the conclusion of the excerpt, as the war loomed, and adds “Within a year they all would find their lives turned upside-down as the nation sundered in the early days of the Civil War.

—Don B. Cullimore



Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly is published four times a year by the Boonslick Historical Society, P.O. Box 426, Boonville, MO 65233.

We encourage our members and others interested in history to contribute articles or other information of historical interest, including family histories, pertaining to the region. Please address all contributions and correspondence related to the periodical to the editor, Don B. Cullimore, 1 Lawrence Dr., Fayette, MO 65248, or email to: Don.cullimore40@gmail.com, phone: 660-888-3429. Editorial guidelines may be obtained from the editor. Publication deadlines are February 1 for the March (Spring) issue; May 1 for the June (Summer) issue; August 1 for the September (Fall) issue; and November 1 for the (Winter) December issue.

The Boonslick Historical Society was founded in 1937 and meets several times a year to enjoy programs about historical topics pertinent to the Boonslick area. Members of the Society have worked together over the years to publish historical books and brochures and to mark historic sites. They supported the founding of Boone's Lick State Historic Site, marked the sites of Cooper's Fort and Hanna Cole's Fort and have restored a George Caleb Bingham painting on loan to The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art at Central Methodist University, Fayette.

Membership dues are \$15-Individual, \$25-Family, \$50-Sponsor, \$250-Patron, \$500-Life. The dues year is January through December. Receive our publication, *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly*, and attend annual Society events highlighting the region's history. To become a member, send a check made out to the Boonslick Historical Society, P.O. Box 426, Boonville, MO 65233.

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A historian's account of a remarkable nineteenth-century Missouri family, the Marmadukes, divided by politics and the Civil War.

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An intimate portrayal of the nine Marmaduke children as they grew into adults and became swept up in the approaching Civil War.



The Sappington Cemetery, near Arrow Rock, where most of the Sappingtons and Marmadukes and extended family are buried. *Photo by Don Cullimore*

NEWS BRIEF

Cooper Co. Historical Society Trivia Night Fund Raiser

The Cooper County Historical Society's Twelfth Annual Trivia Night, a fund-raising event, will be Saturday, January 26, at the Knights of Columbus Hall, 1515 Radio Hill Road in Boonville.

"We always have a lot of great food, which is included with entry fee," say members. The evening starts at 6 p.m. and the Trivia competition starts at 7 p.m. Price is \$140 per team/table of 8. The evening also includes a silent auction. Items for sale will include special bandanas commemorating the 200th Anniversary of Cooper County (18 -), as well as some books, plat maps, and other goodies.

For information and reserving tables, contact Dawn Taylor (Taylor's Bake Shop) at 660-888-9438 or email her at mochicory@gmail.com.

COVER ART: Historian Michael Dickey's map showing the greater "Boonslick County" of the early to mid-nineteenth century includes an area today that touches on 13 Central Missouri counties. The Boonslick Country was the epicenter of Missouri politics and agricultural production during that period, and Meredith Miles and Lavinia (Sappington) Marmaduke (pictured) were an important "First Family" of the Boonslick.

The Marmadukes of Missouri: A Family Divided by War

By Michael Dickey • Images courtesy of Missouri State Parks

The following essay was adapted from Michael Dickey's presentation at the fall 2018 meeting of the Boonslick Historical Society at the historic J. Huston Tavern in Arrow Rock.—the Editor

THE MARMADUKES WERE ONE OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL FAMILIES OF CENTRAL MISSOURI in the years leading to the Civil War. To understand their attitudes and roles in the war it is beneficial to examine their background. The "Boonslick Country" of central Missouri was in the early nineteenth century the most fertile and populous area of the state. From 1821 to 1861, this region dominated Missouri's agricultural production, economy and its politics. The Marmadukes and their Sappington and Jackson relatives of Saline County near Arrow Rock constituted a powerful family political dynasty. The patriarch of this family dynasty was Dr. John Sappington.

Dr. Sappington came to Missouri from Tennessee in 1819, settling about five miles southwest of Arrow Rock. He was the first physician in Saline County and his wife, Jane Breathitt Sappington, became something of the "first lady" of the Boonslick Country. No mere country doctor, Sappington owned more than 5,000 acres of land and owned interests in multiple business enterprises. He developed and mass-marketed quinine pills to treat malarial fever in 1832. The pill enterprise, especially, led to his amassing a fortune. Dr. Sappington was a Jacksonian Democrat. Although he never held political office he wielded considerable influence in the Democrat Party. His brother-in-law, John Breathitt, was governor of Kentucky and brother-in-law, Roger Breathitt, was President Andrew Jackson's secretary. Sappington was a lifelong friend of Missouri's senior federal senator,¹ Thomas Hart Benton. Dr. Sappington's endorsement could make or break a political deal and his influence and prestige devolved to his heirs and extended family.

The doctor's two sons, Erasmus Darwin Sappington and

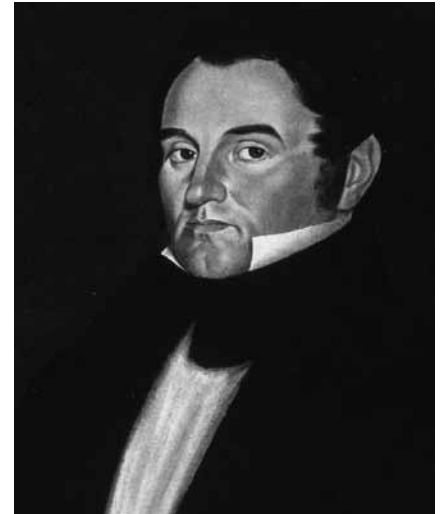


Dr. John Sappington

Michael Dickey is administrator of the Arrow Rock, Sappington Cemetery, and Boone's Lick State Historic Sites in Saline and Howard counties, a position he has held with the Missouri State Parks Division of the Department of Natural Resources since 1986. Dickey also researches and interprets cultural themes of the central Missouri region historically known as the "Boonslick Country." He holds a bachelor's degree in art history, from the University of Central Missouri.

William Breathitt Sappington, became extremely wealthy planters. Erasmus served Saline County in the Missouri legislature in 1846, after defeating artist George Caleb Bingham in a recount. The brothers built lavish mansions three miles west of Arrow Rock. The mansion of William, known as "Prairie Park," is today fully restored and is perhaps the finest antebellum mansion remaining in Missouri. The mansion of Erasmus burned down in the early twentieth century. Dr. Sappington lived in a two story log cabin two miles to the southwest that he called "Pilot Hickory." He referred to his sons' fine plantation homes as "Monuments to damn fools." The Marmaduke home a couple of miles west of Dr. Sappington's cabin was an unpretentious two-story frame house.

Kentucky immigrant Claiborne Fox Jackson had political aspirations when he arrived in Missouri but he needed a benefactor. He gained this through marriages to three daughters of Dr. Sappington. Mary Jane (the first wife) died within a few months of marriage to Jackson in 1832. He then married Jane's younger sister, Louisa Catherine, who died as a result of a carriage accident in 1838. Finally, he married Eliza Sappington Pearson, the eldest daughter shortly after Louisa's death. When Jackson asked for Eliza's hand in marriage the Doctor allegedly replied, "You can have her, Claib, just don't come back for my old lady." Eliza had just suffered the scandal of learning that her husband Alonzo Pearson was guilty of bigamy. Dr. Sappington had the marriage declared "null and void from the beginning" by



Meredith Miles Marmaduke

¹ There are conflicting accounts of the 1820 election of the first two men to serve Missouri in the United States Senate when Missouri became a state on August 10, 1821. According the Missouri historian Perry McCandless, *emeritus* professor of history at Central Missouri State College (now University of Central Missouri), "The General Assembly met in joint session on October 2, 1860, to elect the state's two United States senators. On the first ballot, with each legislator voting for two candidates, David Barton received 34 votes, Thomas H. Benton 27, John B. C. Lucas, 16, Henry Elliott, 11, Nathaniel Cook, 8, and John Rice Jones, 8. Barton and Benton – each with the required majority [out of 52 legislative votes] – were duly elected." Source: *A History of Missouri, Volume II: 1820-1860* (Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1972), 16.

the Missouri legislature in 1838. William Becknell “The Father of the Santa Fe Trail” introduced the legislation in the Missouri House at the request of the doctor. It seems likely that the doctor engineered Claiborne’s marriage to Eliza. He knew Jackson wanted to stay connected to the politically powerful family; so this was a way he could cover Eliza’s shame and provide her children with a father.

Meredith Miles Marmaduke was a Virginia transplant to Missouri who became involved in the Santa Fe trade in 1822. Tradition says the 1824 wagon caravan he headed up passed by the Sappington homestead and it was then he met the doctor’s second oldest daughter Lavinia. They married in 1826, and by 1830 Marmaduke quit the Santa Fe trade and settled down to domestic duties. He became a county judge and surveyed and platted the towns of Arrow Rock and the Saline County seat of Marshall. He aspired to state politics and in 1840 was elected lieutenant governor. He served as Missouri’s eighth governor for nine months in 1844 following the suicide of Governor Thomas Reynolds. Marmaduke was rather progressive: he advocated for the establishment of a state asylum for the mentally ill instead of housing them in jails as was the common practice. Marmaduke was in multiple business partnerships with his Sappington and Jackson in-laws. Together their estates produced large quantities of hemp and tobacco, Missouri’s two leading cash crops.

Hemp and tobacco agriculture was labor intensive, requiring slave labor to be profitable. Being of southern origin, the Sappingtons, Jacksons and Marmadukes all owned slaves. The other produce of their plantations – mules, corn, wheat, pork and beef – was shipped from Arrow Rock south to support the army of slaves working the cotton fields in the delta region. The hemp was used to manufacture cordage and bags for baling and packing the cotton. Thus by culture and economics, the interests of the family, as well as the entire Boonslick region, were tied directly to the interests of the Southern states. It was a symbiotic relationship of slave-based economies supporting each other.

The debate between slavery and abolition polarized the nation in the 1850s, leading to the bloody border war between Kansas and Missouri. As a result of abolitionist John Brown’s raid on Harper’s Ferry in October 1859, meetings were held at

Arrow Rock in which resolutions were adopted condemning the raiders and “their sympathizers, aiders and abettors.” William B. Sappington was appointed to a citizens committee to deliver a memorial to the state legislature, denying basic protections under the law to African Americans and “pledging the State of Missouri to other southern states” and “that in the event of the election of a black-republican president in 1860, that a convention of the southern states be called to take such measures as will conduce to the great interests of the south.” This proclamation was perhaps a not-so-subtle hint at secession from the Union. The “black-republican” was a deliberate reference to Abraham Lincoln. The Democrats used the term to imply that the Republicans were putting blacks ahead of the rights of white voters.

Claiborne Fox Jackson was elected as Missouri’s fifteenth governor in November 1860, but he had little time to savor the fulfillment of his political ambitions. During the campaign Jackson maintained neutrality on the question of secession but when he was sworn in to office in January 1861, he openly advocated for it. Meredith Miles Marmaduke broke with his brother-in-law



Meredith Miles and Lavinia Sappington Marmaduke built a second home in the 1840s in Saline County west of Arrow Rock and lived there the rest of their lives. Image courtesy of Jim Denny

over the issue. Like most Missourians who owned slaves, Marmaduke did not favor secession and hoped that Missouri could remain within the Union as a slave state. The old governor made speeches to the people of Saline County almost prophetically describing the woes that would befall them “should men allow their passions rather than their reason to govern their action and suffer the country to be plunged into civil war.” The bombardment of Fort Sumter

on April 12, 1861, removed any question of possible neutrality for the state. A proud veteran of the War of 1812, Marmaduke declared himself a staunch Union man “...unflexible and unalterable in his devotion to the old Union under whose flag he had served.”

Meredith and Lavinia Marmaduke had ten children: Jane, Sarah, Lavinia, Layton who died in infancy, Vincent, John Sappington, Meredith Miles Jr., Darwin William, Henry Hungerford, and Leslie. So far as is known, the Marmaduke women played no noticeably active role in the Civil War, which in many circumstances is not unusual for the time period. Consequently, we will focus on the Marmaduke men. John Sappington Marmaduke is the most well-known of all the Marmaduke siblings. He gradu-

ated from West Point in 1857 and was a second lieutenant in the U.S. 2nd Cavalry under Gen. Albert Sydney Johnston. When the war began, John returned home to consult with his father about choosing to follow the Southern cause. The elder Marmaduke told him, "John, there can be but one result. You will sacrifice your profession. Secession will fail. Slavery will be abolished. But you must decide for yourself."

John resigned his commission and followed the lead of his



John Sappington Marmaduke

uncle, Governor Jackson. John helped raised a regiment for service in the Missouri State Guard, the Saline Jackson Guards in May of 1861. Governor Marmaduke was invited to address the enlistees. He told the men that "Secession could not succeed; that they had enlisted in a cause that was bound to fail." The speech was not well received. However, respect for the elderly Marmaduke was such that he was not molested by either side during the war and suffered very little property damage, in contrast to many of his Saline and Cooper County neighbors.

At Boonville on June 17, 1861, John advised his uncle Claiborne that the poorly trained and equipped State Guard should not confront the approaching federal force under General Nathaniel Lyon. The governor decided to stand his ground and the resulting rout of the State Guard became known as the "Missouri Lyon Hunt" and more derisively as the "Boonville Races" because the pursuing federals could not keep up with the fleeing State Guard. John resigned from the State Guard and rode to Richmond to enlist in the Confederate Army. His role in the Confederacy is well-documented and written about so we will only give it a cursory look in this presentation. As a colonel, he was wounded at the Battle of Shiloh. As a brigadier general he led several significant campaigns and raids in Missouri and Arkansas. He was second in command to Sterling Price during the assault on Fort Davidson. John was captured at the Battle of Mine Creek, Kansas, on October 25, 1864, and incarcerated during which time he was promoted to major general. He was released in August 1865.

Some sources indicate that Meredith Jr., nicknamed "Wendell," served in the Confederacy, but others claim he fought for

neither side. I have been unable to find documentation confirming Meredith Jr. in any military service. Leslie Marmaduke, the youngest, also did not serve. In all likelihood they remained home to help manage the farm and business affairs of their aging father. The remaining brothers fought in the war, although none attained the fame and notoriety of their brother John. Some secondary sources claim that Governor Marmaduke lost two sons in the war but that is incorrect. There were Marmaduke cousins in Virginia, some with the same first names as the Missouri Marmadukes, who did serve in the Confederacy. So it is possible the names of these individuals have been confused in some sources.

Henry Hungerford Marmaduke received an appointment to the U.S. Naval Academy in 1858. At the outbreak of the war he enlisted in the Confederate Navy at New Orleans. Henry was assigned to the ironclad *CSS Virginia* (Merri-mac) and was wounded during the battle with the *USS Cumberland* on March 8, 1862 off shore of Hampton Roads, Virginia. The following day the *Virginia* engaged the *USS Monitor* in the first ever naval battle between ironclad warships.



Henry Hungerford Marmaduke

Henry and several others were commended for "rendering valuable service. Their conduct would have been creditable to older hands. Midshipman Marmaduke, though receiving several painful wounds early in the action, manually fought his gun until the close [of action]."

Henry was transferred to the *CSS Chattahoochee* patrolling the Florida-Georgia coast. The boat suffered a boiler explosion May 27, 1863, killing 16 crew and severely injuring another seven. The boat was towed to Columbus Georgia for refit. She was finally scuttled in April 1865 during the Battle of Columbus. Today a section the boat is on display at the National Civil War Naval Museum in Columbus, Georgia. In February 1864, now First Lieutenant Marmaduke ran the naval blockade and went to Europe on an unsuccessful mission to secure contracts for ironclad warships. However he did return in late 1864 on the British merchant ship *Sea King* which was re-christened *CSS Shenandoah*. Outfitted as a sea raider, the *Shenandoah* became, in November 1865, the last Confederate unit to surrender. Henry in the meantime served on the *CSS Sampson*, the *CSS Columbia* and *CSS Chicora*. In early 1865, he was in Tucker's Naval Brigade, where he assumed command of the James River naval artillery batteries protecting the approaches to Richmond by river. Henry was captured at the Battle of Sailor's Creek on April 6 and interred as a POW until July, 1865.

Darwin William Marmaduke poses a bit of a conundrum. “D. W. Marmaduke” joined the Saline Jackson Guards in Marshall in May 1861 and was at the Battles of Carthage, Wilson’s Creek, and Lexington and went south with General Sterling Price to Pineville, Arkansas. Most of the Saline Jackson men mustered out of service after six months and returned home. Others stayed on as partisan guerillas or enlisted in the regular Confederate army. However, “D. W. Marmaduke” enlisted in the 71st Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia (EMM) on November 15, 1862. The EMM was a Union force acting as a type of “home guard.” The 71st was mustered in at Marshall under the command of Capt. George Caleb Bingham the cousin of the artist with the same name. D. W. was discharged from service on April 20, 1863 by payment of a “commutation tax.” Did Darwin follow his brother John and uncle Claiborne into the State Guard? Did he muster out after his six months enlistment, return home and then enroll in the EMM, perhaps at the urging of his father to prove his loyalty and thus avoid arrest? Was there another “D. W. Marmaduke” in the area who was a nephew or cousin? Saline County census records for 1850 and 1860 turn up only one Marmaduke that has the initials “D. W.” and that’s our Darwin. It appears likely that Darwin changed sides at the opportune moment for self-preservation, an occurrence not uncommon in divided Missouri.

Vincent’s story is perhaps the most fascinating of all the brothers. Colonel Thomas H. Keefe, chief of detectives of the Secret Service, Northwest Division of the War Department, wrote in 1866 of an incident during the Civil War that would be worthy of a modern spy novel.

One day in the summer of 1864, while visiting Camp Douglas, Chicago, Colonel Sweet, who commanded there, handed me a very interesting letter, which had been transmitted to him by Secretary of War Stanton. The letter, which was written from Canada, stated that at Toronto there were about fifteen Confederate officers and Southern sympathizers, engaged in perfecting a daring plot to surprise Chicago, release and arm the thousands of Confederate prisoners in Camp Douglas, sack the city, plunder and burn other cities, and finally swoop southward and stop Sherman's march to the sea.

This ambitious and daring plot is known as the Great Chicago Conspiracy or the Camp Douglas Conspiracy. Vincent Marmaduke was charged as a key figure in this conspiracy.

The plan was indicative of the desperate straits the Confederacy found itself in in 1864. The capture of Vicksburg in July 1863 had split the Confederacy in two. Grant’s stubborn refusal to withdraw after the Battle of the Wilderness in May of 1864 directly menaced Richmond; and Sherman's drive into Georgia that summer was splitting the South further still into fragments. The plot echoed other desperate Confederate plans hatched that year; General Sterling Price’s ill-equipped invasion of Missouri and failed attempts by Confederate agents to burn down New York City to disrupt the national election.

Vincent Marmaduke spent four years at Yale College where he graduated in 1852. He obtained a license to practice law but returned to Arrow Rock to pursue agriculture and mining. On



Capt. George Caleb Bingham

February 28, 1861, the Missouri Legislature called a constitutional convention to consider Governor Jackson’s proposal of secession from the Union. Vincent attended as a delegate from Saline County. The vast majority of the delegates were southern born and owned slaves. However, to the great surprise of Jackson; the convention voted 98 to one against secession. Most Missourians were Conditional Unionists, wanting to remain in the Union if the federal government would not interfere with “states’ rights” (i.e., their right to own slaves). Vincent fell into this camp as

did his father. The convention re-convened over the next two years, trying to resolve Missouri’s status as a divided state.

In 1862, Vincent was trying to carry on life as normal. In June, he agreed to pay the town of Arrow Rock \$6 per month to use the river landing to ship coal mined on his farm down the Missouri River. That same month the Saline County Court appointed Vincent and Darwin and their cousin William B. Sappington Jr and six other men to act as the “slave patrol” of Arrow Rock Township. Slave patrols checked the passes of African Americans found off their farms [in order] to prevent runaways and to keep groups of blacks from gathering for fear of a slave insurrection.

June of 1863 was a watershed month in Vincent’s life. As the constitutional convention met in Jefferson City, he became a key subject of debate on the floor, although he was not present for this session. Vincent was arrested for disloyalty in St. Louis by Gen. Benjamin Franklin Loan. Beginning in 1863, public officials in Missouri were required to take an oath of loyalty to the Union. Vincent refused, believing his vote against secession was adequate to prove his loyalty. He was placed on parole; his travel being limited to northern states and in Missouri, to St. Louis only.

Vincent applied for an extension of his parole to Jefferson City in order to attend the constitutional convention. Major General John Schofield, in charge of the Department of Missouri, wrote to the Convention “that there was no military reason to prevent him from attending the convention” as long as the convention members had no objection to his presence.

Some representatives were incensed that Schofield put the responsibility of Vincent’s parole on the Convention, instead of

handling it himself.

Representative Hall of Randolph County said that there was “no allegation against Mr. M which would disqualify him as a member of this body.” Others said that charges alone should not be construed as guilt, noting that several other delegates had been charged with disloyalty but were later exonerated. Others believed that since Vincent was arrested, the military must have had viable reasons for doing so. Representative Stewart of St. Louis said, “Marmaduke is known to every of this body as a secessionist from his expressions on this floor.” Referring to a speech that, “every abolitionist and every minion of Lincoln ought to be run out the state” Stewart declared, “Marmaduke in the presence of all us, made a speech almost as rebellious as that...he shall not have my vote.” Stewart may have been referring to a remark



Col. Vincent Marmaduke

Vincent made that Missouri should not be occupied by federal troops since she had not seceded from the Union. On June 16 a vote to allow Vincent to attend the convention went down in defeat, 31 yeas to 33 nays. Instead, a committee was appointed to investigate the charges against him.

On June 19, General Schofield prepared to turn over

to the convention all papers pertaining to Vincent’s arrest. However on June 25th, Vincent again refused to take the loyalty oath, only this time in he did so in General Schofield’s presence! Exile was the policy pursued in Missouri against people who refused to take the oath but had no other charges preferred against them. Vincent was immediately “sent south, and was put through the lines at Vicksburg.” His transformation to the Confederate cause was now completed.

Vincent’s obituary published by Yale University in 1904 states that he enlisted in the Confederate army and served with distinction in an artillery battery at the Battle of Corinth, Mississippi. However there is a serious discrepancy as this battle occurred in October of 1862, while he was clearly still in Missouri. Other sources indicate that he served in the Army of Tennessee under generals Braxton Bragg and Thomas Hindman.

President Jefferson Davis commissioned Vincent in the Confederate Consular Service to travel to Europe to buy munitions, a task he completed with “skill and tact.” It is speculated he may have been given a letter of introduction to Davis by Major General John Bell Hood in September or October of 1863. This is

about the time Vincent disappears from the record until November 8, 1864 when the headlines of the *Chicago Tribune* scream:

“THE NEW CHICAGO CONSPIRACY; Copperheads and Rebels in Counsel. Infamous Plot to Burn the City and Liberate the Rebel Prisoners. HOW THEIR PLANS WERE FRUSTRATED Arrest of Many of the Leading Conspirators. A Brother of Gen. Marmaduke and John Morgan's Adjutant General in Custody. Large Quantities of Concealed Arms and Ammunition Discovered. MEASURES TAKEN TO PRESERVE THE PEACE.”

In the summer of 1864, Vincent had returned from Europe enlisted in the Confederate Secret Service and then crossed the Union lines. Jacob Thompson, a Mississippian and former Secretary of the Interior under President James Buchanan went to Canada in June of 1864 under the alias of “Capt. Carson” to organize and finance uprisings in northern states. In Toronto, Thompson met with two men, Capt. Thomas Henry Hines and Col. George St. Leger formerly of Morgan’s Raiders, notorious for their June 11–July 26, 1863 raid across Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio. Hines was now one of the Confederacy’s leading spies. Grenfell was an English “soldier of fortune” and Col. John Morgan’s former adjutant. Grenfell had also served in the Army of Tennessee where he possibly had met Vincent Marmaduke. Ostensibly, Grenville resigned from the Confederacy and moved north. After an interview with Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, he was given a pass that allowed him to move freely around the country. Since he was a British citizen no one suspected him of actively supporting the Confederacy.

The conspirators were to act in concert with the “Sons of Liberty” to foment uprisings in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. The Sons of Liberty also known as the Order of American Knights were Northerners whose members had a mix of positions, so the organization was not exactly unified. Some sympathized with the Southern cause, others were just anti-war and still others simply believed that the Union would be better off without the South. Similar groups included the Knights of the Golden Circle. To loyal Northerners these groups were known as “Copperheads” a



Chicago Newspaper art depicting the Copperheads, who were suspected of disloyalty and their leaders were sometimes arrested and held for months in military prisons without trial.

deliberate reference to the stealthy, venomous snake of the same name. Political cartoons of the period depict them as snakes often with caricatured heads of recognizable individuals who are treacherous and threatening the Union.

Hines planned to arm the Sons of Liberty and use a military draft being held in Chicago as a pretext for an uprising on July 20 but he received no support for the scheme. He reset the date of the uprising to August 29, during the National Democratic Convention. This effort also collapsed as the Sons of Liberty, who were mostly Northern Democrats, feared long-term damage to the party's reputation by tying the convention to a violent uprising. The frustrated conspirators reconvened in Toronto, November 1, to come up with a different plan.

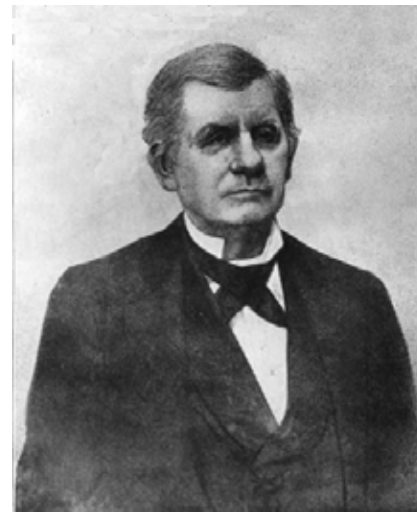
There were approximately 9,000 prisoners of war at Camp Douglas in Chicago guarded by about 800 second-rate troops. The new ambitious plan called for overpowering the camp guards at night, then releasing and arming the prisoners. Along with an estimated 4,000 Copperheads this makeshift army would destroy Chicago and then march to Rock Island and Springfield freeing and arming other Confederate prisoners and creating havoc behind Union lines. This makeshift army would then turn south and join up with regular Confederate forces, forcing Sherman to withdraw from Georgia to protect his rear.

The date for the Camp Douglas raid was set for November 8, the day of the presidential election. However, the Sons of Liberty had been infiltrated by the Secret Service. Maurice Langhorne, one of Morgan's Raiders, came to Chicago with Hines in August. Unbeknownst to the conspirators, Langhorne had secretly taken the loyalty oath. Colonel John T. Shanks, a prisoner in Camp Douglas, had been turned and agreed to become an informant for Colonel Keefe in return for a pardon. Shanks was secretly released from the camp and "while acting as an escaped prisoner" reported that he received aid from Buckner S. Morris, Judge of the Illinois Circuit Court and former Chicago mayor. Shanks also gathered intelligence for Keefe on the Chicago Copperheads.

Colonel Benjamin F. Sweet, commandment of Camp Douglas, ordered the arrest of the Sons of Liberty. On November 6, about 150 men were arrested, some of them armed. Judge Morris and Charles Walsh, the doorkeeper of the Illinois House of Representatives were both arrested as leaders of the Sons of Liberty. Hines evaded capture, but Vincent Marmaduke was arrested while trying to hide in the house of Dr. E.W. Edwards. The Chicago Tribune reported that "two hundred stands of arms, two cart loads of revolvers, and a large quantity of ammunition, were found in Walsh's house." Colonel Sweet's report gives a more sobering assessment. "On the 13th of November 47 double-barreled shotguns, 30 Allen's patent breech-loading carbines, and 1 Enfield rifle were seized at Walsh's barn, in the city of Chicago." This was not enough firepower to overpower even second-rate camp guards. When combined with the fact that the plot only had one week of planning, it seems clear that the planned raid was really more of a pipe dream, with no real chance of success. There was yet another flaw to the plan.

Camp Douglas was as vile and notorious a POW camp as Andersonville in Georgia. Described as "80 acres of hell" most of the prisoners in Camp Douglas were so malnourished, ill and

weak from abuse that they could not have formed a disciplined fighting force even if they had been adequately armed. In fact, Chicago historian George Levy believes that the Camp Douglas Conspiracy was more of a hoax in which Colonel Sweet played up the conspirator's aspirations in order to aggrandize himself in the eyes of his superiors. In other words the Chicago Conspiracy was simply a molehill being made into a mountain.



Judge Buckner S. Morris

Regardless of the severity of an actual threat, Colonel Sweet advocated that the conspirators and the Sons of Liberty be tried by military tribunal. The court convened at General Joseph Hooker's headquarters in Cincinnati Ohio. Of the 150 men arrested, only

eight were actually placed on trial. They were George St. Leger Grenfell, George E. Cantrell, Charles Travis Daniels, Benjamin F. Anderson, Judge Buckner Morris, Charles Walsh, Chicago lawyer Richard T. Semmes, and, of course, Vincent Marmaduke. The trials got underway in January of 1865 and lasted nearly four months. At the opening of Vincent's trial on January 18, 1865, the court proceedings record:

Vincent Marmaduke one of the prisoners charged, on his oath says, that he has had no consultation, agreement, or understanding with the other persons charged, or any one of them, in reference to the matters alleged against them; that he is innocent and ignorant of any combination or conspiracy to do the acts charged against the said parties; that he is a citizen of Missouri, and when on his way home from a trip to Europe was taken sick, and while undergoing medical treatment was arrested under charges of which he avers that he is entirely innocent; fears that he may be prejudiced by the introduction of testimony against others with whose acts he was in nowise connected, and, therefore, asks a separate trial of his case.

Dr. E. W. Edwards testified that Vincent had been staying at his house under the alias of "Burling" and that he had a letter of introduction from Judge Morris. Dr. Edwards testified that when he asked why Marmaduke was using an alias; he replied that he wanted his presence in Chicago "kept quiet." Testimony presented by the other conspirators indicated that Vincent was designated to lead a reserve force of 50 armed men when the camp was assaulted.

Lieutenant Colonel James Overton Brodhead, who was provost marshal in Missouri from June 1, 1863 to January 1, 1864, acted as legal counsel and a witness for Vincent. He had served with Vincent in four sessions of the Missouri constitu-



Lt. Col. James Overton Brodhead

tional convention. He vouched for Vincent saying that being a Confederate intriguer did not square with his moral character. Brodhead also produced an eyewitness who had seen Vincent in Europe lending veracity to Vincent's claim that he was merely returning home from a trip abroad. Clearly, Brodhead and the eyewitness did not know what Vincent had actually been doing

while in Europe.

On February 13, 1865, Judge Advocate Henry L. Burnett announced that Vincent was acquitted of all charges. Brodhead's testimony undoubtedly had its influence. However, Burnett sentenced Semmes to three years and Walsh to five years of hard prison labor. Of the men from Morgan's Raiders, Daniels escaped captivity but was convicted in absentia and sentenced to death. Anderson committed suicide before his trial began. Cantrell filed for a continuance and the war ended before he could be tried, so he was released. Grenfell was sentenced to be hanged but was instead imprisoned at Fort Jefferson on Dry Tortugas off the coast of Florida. He became close friends with Dr. Samuel Mudd, who was incarcerated there for rendering medical care to John Wilkes Booth. Grenfell escaped in a small boat during a storm in 1868 and was never heard of again. Colonel Keefe of the Secret Service believed that Grenfell made good on his escape and with the aid of friends was living a clandestine life. A more likely scenario is that Grenfell drowned at sea. President Andrew Johnson had commuted the sentences of the others who had been found guilty in the conspiracy. The accused leader of the Sons of Liberty, Judge Buckner Morris had been incarcerated for nine months before his sentence was commuted.

Colonel Keefe believed that it was Vincent who hatched the plot to foment Copperhead uprisings and release the POWs and that he presented the plan to Jefferson Davis. Stanley Waterloo, author of "The Great Chicago Conspiracy" published in 1897 also believed that Vincent had played a key role in planning and organizing the conspiracy. Steven Starr, the biographer of George St. Leger Grenfell, believes that it was Thomas Hines who was the true leader of the conspiracy, but that Vincent Marmaduke "one of the most dashing of the Southern service was involved in some way, but no evidence survives."

Indeed, at the end of the war Confederate Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin burned all the records of his and Hines' secret dealings with the Copperhead leaders. Benjamin became

a British citizen, refused all interviews and never published any memoirs about the war. Hines took his wartime secrets to the grave in 1898. Buckner Morris' heirs refused to give his diaries and papers to the Chicago Historical Society following his death in 1879. Vincent, of course, had denied all knowledge of and involvement in the affair and was exonerated of all charges. Confederate military records are incomplete and often sketchy at best and Confederate Secret Service records are even more so. Therefore, the detailed movements and actions of Vincent Marmaduke as a Confederate agent will probably always remain something of a mystery.

So what happened to the Marmaduke family? Following the war, with slavery abolished and the hemp market gone bust, the Marmaduke wealth dissipated. Gradually the vast estates of the Marmadukes, Sappingtons and Jacksons were broken up and sold off as smaller yeoman farms. Governor Marmaduke had died on March 26, 1864, and was buried at the Sappington family cemetery five west of Arrow Rock. Of course, John, Henry and Vincent were not able to attend their father's funeral.

The town of Marmaduke, Arkansas, was named in John's honor in 1882 and his war record helped him become Missouri's 25th governor in 1884. However he died after serving only three years in office. Darwin and Leslie opened a resort at Sweet Springs, Missouri, in 1876, drawing in tourists from across the state. Darwin became the warden at the state penitentiary under his brother's administration. He had the warden's residence (aka Marmaduke House) in Jefferson City built with prison labor in 1888. Leslie moved on to become a prominent businessman in St. Louis.



Judge Advocate Henry L. Burnett

Henry spent much of his post war career as a superintendent of the Consular Bureaus of the South American Republics. In 1902 he manned the Colombian warship *Bogota* with an American crew to chase rebel ships on the Colombian coast. He retired from the Navy Department in Washington, D.C., where he had collected and

cataloged Confederate naval records. He was buried in Arlington Cemetery with full military honors in 1911.



Rebel prisoners in Camp Douglas, as depicted in Chicago newspaper.

Meredith Jr's position during the war is a bit of mystery. He remained on the family farm throughout the war years but eventually moved to Florida. I recently spoke with a Marmaduke descendant who is doing family research. She said there is frustratingly little information surviving about "Wendell" at all or even what prompted him to move to Florida.

Vincent took up farming and published an agricultural newspaper with his brothers and served a term as state representative from Saline County. In contrast to his brother John, there is little mention in popular history about Vincent's service in the Confederacy. It's as if that period of his life was expunged from the collective memory of Saline County and Missouri. However, at the time a general leading an army was viewed through a romantic prism and considered a "noble" or "dashing" endeavor; witness the eulogies given to Robert E. Lee by both sides following the war. However, being a spy was "dirty work" and not considered praiseworthy. Also, it would not have served Vincent well in his later years if he confessed to being a spy after successfully denying being one at a military tribunal.

The Marmaduke story illustrates how a Missouri family of wealth, prestige and education was affected by the Civil War and, in turn, how [family members] influenced events of the war. Their story also reveals the chaos of a divided Missouri and how men could waver back and forth in their loyalties, depart from their father's staunch Unionist views, succumb to pressure from the federal government and engage in desperate and even fantastical plots to save the Confederacy.

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The Marmaduke Children Coming of Age: 1845-1860

By Lee M. Cullimore

DURING MISSOURI'S EARLY DEVELOPMENT AS A STATE, GENDER AND FAMILY PROSPERITY PLAYED significant roles in determining the future of children as they matured beyond adolescence. The children of farm and working-class families might receive some basic schooling (reading, writing, "ciphering") if money was available to pay for a teacher. But education beyond the elementary level remained elusive for many. Too, girls – no matter how well educated – were expected to marry and devote their lives to children, husband, and home. Few options existed for their employment outside the home. Boys from less-prosperous families could work on the family farm, or in a family's trade or business, perhaps apprentice themselves to a merchant or tradesman.

Meredith Miles Marmaduke's drive to become a wealthy Saline County farmer during the years leading up to the Civil War brought educational and financial advantages for his children that were unavailable to those of less fortunate families. How this played-out over the years is seen in the lives of the children as they grew from adolescence into young adulthood.

The Daughters

The Marmaduke children began to leave home during the late years of their second decade of life. Sent away for advanced schooling, the boys prepared for a professional career while the girls, after receiving what today would be considered a high school education, readied themselves for society and marriage. The eldest daughter, Jane, at age nineteen, in 1846 married Levin B. Harwood, a distant Kentucky cousin. Jane and Levin Harwood operated a farm near Miami in Saline County in their early years of marriage. By 1852 Jane had given birth to three children (losing a son in 1848). Knowing her mother's years of seemingly endless child-bearing and raising, Jane was determined to not let additions to her family restrict her life, telling her mother that she was resolved to "run about, at least, but I reason in this way, that I enjoy it now while young more than when old, and never expect to have less to keep me at home. On the contrary, every eighteen months will add another to the list, and between having and nursing them I don't see much pleasure. Let me take all I can get, and take it I intend, at every nook & corner."¹

Meredith and Lavinia's second child, Sarah, was born in 1830. She became ill when thirteen years old, open sores

developing on her head, and the glands in her neck swelling and becoming tender to the touch. Worried when she failed to improve, Meredith wrote to Doctor James Curtis Welborn, an "ardent Democrat" of Pike County, Missouri, describing Sarah's symptoms and asking for his help in curing her affliction.² Citing the difficulty a doctor faces when "making up his opinion without Seeing and examining the patient," Welborn, with Meredith's description of his daughter's symptoms in hand, said he believed she suffered from "Scrofula Fugax, it often arises from the absorption of matter from sores upon the head." His diagnosis was no doubt influenced by a recent edition of Hooper's New Medical Dictionary, first published in 1817, which described Scrofula Fugax as ". . . of the simplest kind; it is seated about the neck, and for the most part is caused by absorption from sores on the head." To effect a cure Doctor Welborn recommended that Meredith apply "local applications" of a "weak solution of carbonate of potash thrown into the discharging tumor from a small silver syringe . . . together with dietitic [sic] regulations & proper exercise."³ Whatever the treatment that Meredith decided upon, it worked! In November 1845 Sarah, attending a boarding school in Lexington, Missouri, wrote her father telling him that she was "very well, and have been so since you left. I can discover no symptoms of the disease returning and am very careful not to take cold and particular about taking my medicine."⁴ Cured of scrofula, Sarah eventually married Thomas J. Yerby, a farmer in Lafayette County.

A handful of letters tell something about the life of Meredith and Lavinia's third daughter, Lavinia, affectionately named "Bena" by the family. Born twelve days before Christmas Day, 1838, Bena became the family's stay-at-home daughter, looking after her aging parents and not marrying until she was nearly thirty years old. As a teenager she attended school in Lexington, living with her sister, Sarah Yerby, and her husband, Thomas. After a spell of illness in the winter of 1852-53, fifteen-year-old Bena was "beginning to recover her natural colour [sic] and is now pretty much out of danger, & with the exception of some restraint upon her appetite needs no particular attention."⁵ She was in Lexington again during the fall of 1855, staying with the Yerby family for three months before going down-river to Miami to spend a few days with her sister, Jane Harwood. Bena was probably in Lexington to finish her schooling. At home by the third week of January 1856, her return was noted by her grandmother, Jane Sappington, who said she "had not had sight of her since the first of Oct."⁶

In of August 1859 Lavinia (Bena) went to Philadelphia with her sister, Jane Harwood, who was fleeing St. Louis in hopes of recovering from frequent periods of malarial fever. Accompanied east by Jane's husband, the sisters found lodging in Mrs. Franklin's boarding house on Sixth Street, from where they could see "a very pleasant line of street rail coaches" that the adventurous Jane intended to ride every day. After helping his wife and sister-in-law settle at Mrs. Franklin's house, L.B. Harwood left them in

Editor's note: The manuscript presented here is an excerpt from a chapter in a forthcoming biography on Meredith Miles Marmaduke that is being researched and written by Lee Cullimore. Two others chapters were published in the Winter 2013 and Spring 2015 issues of the *Quarterly*. Cullimore, a Lake Ozark-based writer, is also the author of the recently published *The Boys of Company K: Ohio Cavalry Soldiers in the West during the Civil War*. The Wyoming State Historical Society awarded the book First Place in the Publications Non-Fiction category.

the care of “Mr. Price [who] comes around every day & yesterday he was here three times. He seems to take as much interest in us as if we were near relatives instead of strangers.”⁷⁷ Under the care of a Dr. Wilson, Jane wrote her mother that she was confined to her bed for much of the time, while “Bena is sewing as hard as if she was working for wages. She goes out walking every day, and then to her work. . . . You may expect to see her looking very fine and fashionable.”⁷⁸

The usually decorous Bena had a brush with romance while in Philadelphia. Aboard a steamboat on a day-trip on the Delaware River, she met someone to whom she was attracted and her reaction was noticed by her companions. Later, at home that winter, Jane wrote her father to tell him that “Mr. Price asked to be remembered to you & family. He wants to know of Bena, what it was in the state-room of the steamer that caused so much blushing & heart-throbbing? Says he left to escape the contagion, & that she must recollect it is Leap Year.”⁷⁹ A lasting romantic engagement failed to materialize for Bena while she was in Philadelphia, placing her on the threshold of spinsterhood at age twenty-two. With no prospective husband in sight, in 1860 she was living with her parents on the home farm near Arrow Rock. Marriage would not come her way for another eight years.

The Sons

After giving birth to two daughters, Lavinia quickly produced two sons. Vincent, born in April 1831, was named after his paternal grandfather Vincent Marmaduke (also the name of Meredith’s older brother); and John, born in March 1833, was named for his maternal grandfather, Dr. John Sappington. Being so close in age, and as the eldest of Meredith and Lavinia’s seven sons, the two boys undoubtedly shared many experiences growing up in Saline County. Meredith assured that they followed similar educational paths, however as they matured Vincent and John differed significantly in their interests. As a young boy Vincent reacted to his father’s absences from home (while serving as lieutenant governor and governor in the early 1840’s) by assuming the role of man-of-the-farm. Writing to Meredith in Jefferson City, Vincent related news about the animals and crops, and shared information about the slaves, showing an early interest in agriculture that remained as he matured. John, on the other hand, found little of interest in the farm. The greater world of military and political events was more to his liking. In a letter to Meredith, written in 1855 from West Point Military Academy, John mentioned a

“Nicaraguan revolution,” asked “Is not the state of parties in the U.S. H. of R. [House of Representatives] truly alarming?”, and wondered about the “two wings of the democratic party” in Missouri. The farm and its activities were not mentioned. He closed his letter by asking Meredith to send him fifty dollars.¹⁰

In the spring of 1846, Meredith enrolled fifteen-year-old Vincent in Masonic College, a new school in rural Marion County, Missouri, established primarily to educate orphaned children of deceased Masons. Meredith’s decision to send Vincent to Masonic College was probably influenced by the presence in the area of other Marmaduke family members, one of whom, a first cousin, was a Mason in the Hannibal Lodge. Also at Masonic College was Meredith’s nephew, Darwin Pearson, son of a dissolved marriage between Elizabeth Sappington and Alonzo Pearson. Young Pearson would be a companion to Vincent, who previously had not lived away from home. In a letter, Alonzo told his uncle that he was “very well pleased with this college indeed I am getting along finely with my studies.” The student body, only forty-some scholars, came “from every direction, some from Mississippi, Illinois, New Orleans & there is several from Jefferson City.”¹¹ Masonic College pleased Vincent as much as it did his cousin. Three weeks after arriving he wrote his mother to reassure her that he was well despite having had a toothache. Vincent’s most important news, however, concerned his appetite which had not suffered by the absence of home-cooked food: “We have fine eating here all the time. We have Puddings and Pies Ice crem [sic] and all those fine things, and plenty of study too.”¹² In 1848, Masonic College moved to Lexington, in Lafayette County, in hopes students and revenue would increase. Unfortunately, the move failed to attract the financial backing needed to assure the school’s success and the institution struggled for another nine years before its doors were permanently closed.¹³

Instead of enrolling Vincent in the new Masonic school at Lexington, Meredith sent him to Chapel Hill Academy in western Lafayette County. Archibald Ridings, a graduate of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, opened the Missouri school in 1840. Many of central Missouri’s wealthy families sent their children to the co-ed academy to prepare them for college. Educator Robert Anthony O’ Bryan-Lawson’s study of Chapel Hill Academy (the subject of his thesis for a Master of Arts History degree from the University of Missouri-Kansas City) noted that among the school’s graduates were “generals, lawyers, doctors, Wall Street bankers, politicians, teachers, engineers, ministers, as well as the wives of prominent Missouri men [representing] the



The Marmaduke sons, left to right: Meredith “Wendell,” Darwin, Henry Hungerford, John Sappington, Leslie, and Vincent. Image courtesy of Missouri State Parks

elite class of Missouri's small slave-holding society."¹⁴

Masonic College and Chapel Hill Academy served as preparatory schools for Vincent, who entered Yale College, at New Haven, Connecticut, as an upperclassman in January 1851, graduating in 1852. Biographer Nathaniel Hughes Jr., author of *Yale's Confederates: A Biographical Dictionary*, concluded that Vincent was "not a creditable student" yet he "proved to be a leader" in later life.¹⁵ Skull and Bones, the secret society limited to a select few Yale undergraduate-seniors, tapped Vincent for membership in his final year at the school. Following Yale, Vincent briefly studied law, then married in 1853 and began farming in Saline County, an interest he pursued the remainder of his life.

Meredith and Lavinia's second son, John Sappington Marmaduke, who also attended Chapel Hill Academy, entered Yale College in 1850 at age seventeen and remained there two academic years. In the fall of 1852 he unexpectedly transferred to Harvard College at Cambridge, Massachusetts. The change of schools caused some wringing of hands at home as Meredith and Lavinia sought to learn their son's intentions. Then came a letter from John proposing an extended visit at home that would stretch beyond the year-end holidays. When this idea failed to receive a positive response from Meredith, John replied that he would "of course defer my visit." But he was not happy with his father's decision to let him remain at Cambridge during the holiday season. "You seem to think that my object [in coming home] was to travel about, kill time, and evade books. My visit was altogether of a contrary nature. It was to save money, save time & to apply myself in such a manner to my books as to benefit myself in the greatest possible degree in the shortest time. . . . My intention was to go among a people who know you well, and who (if I conducted myself properly) would interest themselves in my behalf, find myself a quiet, compatible, cheap place of living where I could give instruction to 10 or 12 pupils . . . until the latter part of July."¹⁶

John felt that staying at Harvard for the upcoming semester was unnecessary, that he could independently study and then pass examinations. It was just a matter of applying oneself. "From the 19th of this month until the last of July I have nothing to keep me here. . . . in one week I can master Logic, Natural & Moral Philosophy as to pass a fine examination. Then I have nine weeks . . . to study Spanish & German alone. Say that I average 9 hours a day on them, that is 54 a week (excepting Sunday) or in all 486 hours. Now how many hours are employed by the student in the study of these two languages who remains at college the 22 weeks. . . . By taking such a course it would have required greater exertions on my part, and would have debarred me from many enjoyments & pleasures which are to be met with here." John didn't specify the "enjoyments & pleasures" he had in mind, but the possibilities were known. "There is less dissipation here, as far as I have been able to learn, than at Yale, although the opportunities here are much greater."¹⁷

Sensing his son's restlessness, worried he might leave school altogether, Meredith, in December 1853, wrote newly-elected U.S. Representative John Phelps, of Springfield, Missouri, seeking an appointment for John to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. In response, Phelps wrote to John with a challenge. Wanting to be sure that his first appointment to West Point went

to someone genuinely interested in the Army (and perhaps aware of John's unhappiness with college) he offered John the appointment with one condition which John reported to his father: "Probability is in your favor upon the condition that if you receive the appointment you make arms your profession for life." John doubted whether making such a commitment was necessary. He told his father, "It is not a mistake when he says 'Make arms your profession for life.' I had always heard and supposed that after three years [sic] service one was at liberty to withdraw or not. I still think so."¹⁸ Still, the condition placed on the appointment rattled John enough that he failed to respond to a second inquiry from Phelps. With John remaining silent, Phelps obtained the appointment and sent it to Meredith, with a caveat: "I requested him to write me . . . but I recd' no letter from him. If your son shall not accept this appointment please inform me . . ." Otherwise, Phelps would select someone else.¹⁹

In early June 1853, West Point admitted John Sappington Marmaduke as a new cadet. A letter John had promised his thirteen-year-old brother Darwin arrived at the Saline County farm not long thereafter.

"My Dear Darwin,

"I promised to write you shortly after my arrival here. I now fulfill it. I reached this place last Friday (Wednesday). Made known my name to the officers on Monday last. Am now regularly at work, studying, reciting and drilling, all going in pretty well.

"Every thing is [done] according to military rules. Each cadet is required to attend strictly to his duty, or leave the academy. Many do leave, perhaps one third of those that enter.

"On the 20th of this month all new cadets are examined mentally and physically. We are stript [sic] stark naked and examined by an intelligent medical board. What think you of that?

"We have about 250 cadets in all. We rise at 5 a.m., breakfast 7-1/2 a.m., dine at 1, sup at 7-1/2 p.m., go to bed at 10 p.m., thereby giving us seven hours to sleep. We sleep on the floor, or rather on a blanket which is spread on the floor, cover with a comfort. It went hard first night, but is equal to a bed of down now. I am exceedingly tired tonight, so I expect a capital sleep.

"The new cadets look exceedingly sad as if they would like to get home. Poor little fellows I pity them. Some of them are not much larger than you. You doubtless know more than some of them. . . . the drum & fife are sounding 1/2 past nine o'clock at night before my window, indicating that I must fix my pallet & c. so as to be in bed by 10 o'clock. So good night.

Your affectionate Brother, John S. Marmaduke."²⁰

John Marmaduke graduated from West Point June 28, 1857. His performance as a cadet was not outstanding. Rated on academic, leadership, and athletic achievement, he ranked thirtieth in a graduating class of thirty-eight. Forty cadets who were admitted with him in 1853 failed to complete the rigorous four-year course of study and drill. Newly commissioned Lieutenant John S. Marmaduke was assigned to the United States Mounted Rifles Regiment and sent to New Mexico where – from his home base at Fort Union, now a National Monument – he was tasked with protecting settlers from raids by Indians. In 1858 John Marmaduke and the Mounted Riflemen were reassigned to Camp Floyd in Utah, joining an expeditionary force sent by President Buchanan to effect change in the territory's Mormon administration. There,

Lieutenant John Marmaduke was transferred to the 7th Infantry, at the time commanded by Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston. John remained in the west until the start of the Civil War, when he returned home to join the Confederate Army.²¹

Born in 1835, Meredith Miles Marmaduke, Jr., was the third son Lavinia delivered in five years. He undoubtedly followed the footsteps of his older brothers as they traipsed around the family farm and went away to school. At age 23, after a stint at land speculation in Texas, he married and bought a large farm near Marshall. He lived there for the next thirty years, he and his wife raising a houseful of children, one of whom they named Meredith Miles Marmaduke, III.²²

When their fourth son was born in 1840, Meredith and Lavinia faced a dilemma. They wanted to name him after one of her brothers, William and Darwin, but which one was to be honored? Meredith was close to both, however Darwin Sappington had been his partner in the Jonesborough store. Should it be his name that carried forward in Meredith's family? Hoping to please both brothers, Meredith and Lavinia christened the newborn child Darwin William Marmaduke. But familial rivalry was not to be settled so easily. Darwin Sappington was in Russelville, Kentucky, when he learned about the new Marmaduke in Missouri. He was pleased that the boy's first name was Darwin, "knowing that the latter one [William] is hard to wear in any country."²³

In 1853, when Darwin was thirteen, a family friend traveling to Virginia where he was a student at Randolph-Macon College, visited the Marmaduke home at Arrow Rock. The young man later wrote Meredith to say, "You spoke of being at a loss (when I was at your house) to know what to do with Darwin. As you are very much opposed to him studying the dead languages, I could recommend to you the scientific courses as very thorough indeed, but I do not think that you would send him here."²⁴

Knowing his son's interests and aspirations Meredith realized that the study of "dead languages" might not be appropriate for Darwin, who needed a more practical course of study. Of course he could go to one of the two colleges in Lafayette County, however the curricula at Chapel Hill College included ancient languages, mathematics, mental and moral philosophy, and music. Masonic College's required courses (in addition to geology, mineralogy, chemistry, civil engineering and botany) included Cicero's Orations, Greek Testament, Horace's Satires, Epistles and Arts Poetic, as well as Greek translations and composition, and composition in English and Latin.²⁵ Dead languages it seems were in abundance at both schools, yet sending young Darwin far from home and his mother was not an option Lavinia would accept. Wherever he ultimately went to complete his education (probably Masonic College), Darwin undoubtedly had his father's assurance that he needn't worry about proficiency in the study of dead languages. In July of 1860 Darwin worked as a commission broker in St. Louis where he lived in Jane and Levin Harwood's home. That fall he married Jane Caroline (Jennie) Sappington, a first cousin, the daughter of his namesake, Darwin Sappington. It is recorded that "Both families opposed the marriage."²⁶

After Darwin, Lavinia gave birth to three more sons. Layton Price Marmaduke, born the first day of August, 1841, died in infancy and was buried in the Sappington family cemetery. A year later Lavinia delivered her ninth child, Henry Hungerford, named

for Meredith's uncle in Virginia. In 1858, at age sixteen, Henry (Hank, to his siblings) entered the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, as a midshipman. His older brother's experience at West Point may have interested [his younger brother] Leslie in the potential of a military school. More likely a lackadaisical temperament prompted Meredith to send him to a school where order and discipline were enforced. Like his brother John at West Point, Henry was a mediocre student at Annapolis, often failing to rise above the bottom third in class ranking in his studies. During Henry's time at Annapolis, Lavinia and Meredith worried about the number of demerits reported home each semester by the authorities at school. In an attempt to deflate their concern, Henry depicted his misconduct as "trifling offenses," telling his mother he had been at the school sixteen months, "during which time the Superintendent has never said a word to me as regards bad conduct, a thing which the majority of the Students cannot say."²⁷

Lavinia was thirty-nine years old when her last child was born, Meredith was aged fifty-five. Their daughter Jane's observation, "every eighteen months will see another added to the list," had mostly proven true for Lavinia and Meredith except for this son, whom they named Leslie. Born in June, 1846, four years had elapsed between his birth and that of his nearest-in-age sibling, Henry. Two years after Leslie's birth Lavinia miscarried her eleventh child, causing ill health that persisted for several years. Hoping for improvement, she tried a "magnetic cure" treatment that was popular at the time.²⁸ In mid-summer of 1860, on the eve of the Civil War, fourteen-year-old Leslie Marmaduke lived with his parents and his sister Bena in the family home. Meredith's other children, scattered across the country from Annapolis, Maryland, to Camp Floyd in Utah Territory, were engaged in occupations that ranged from student to soldier, from housewife and mother to commodities broker and commercial farmer. They were the beneficiaries of their father's determination to become wealthy, and they had every expectation that they would continue to prosper in the future. Within a year they all would find their lives turned upside-down as the nation sundered in the early days of the Civil War.

NOTES

1. "run about, at least, but I reason in this way": Jane Harwood to Lavinia Marmaduke, November 7, 1852. Box 5, Folder 2, Sappington & Marmaduke Papers, MHS.
2. an "ardent Democrat" of Pike County, Missouri: *The History of Pike County, Missouri*, 418.
3. "Scrofula Fugax, it often arises from the absorption of matter from sores upon the head": Welborn to Marmaduke, April 26, 1843. Box 3, Folder 3, Sappington-Marmaduke Papers, MHS.
4. "very well, and have been so since you left": Sarah Marmaduke to Marmaduke, November 22, 1845. Box 3, Folder 6; December 13, 1845. Box 3, Folder 5, Sappington-Marmaduke Papers, MHS.
5. "beginning to recover her natural colour and is now pretty much out of danger": Yerby to Marmaduke, January 15, 1853. Box 5, Folder 3, Sappington-Marmaduke Papers, MHS.
6. "had not had sight of her since the first of Oct": Mrs. John Sappington to My Dear Daughter, January 20, 1856. Box 5, Folder 6, Sappington-Marmaduke Papers, MHS.

7. "Mr. Price [who] comes around every day & yesterday he was here three times": Lavinia Marmaduke to My Dear Ma, September 2, 1859. Box 5, Folder 6, Sappington-Marmaduke Papers, MHS. Mr. Price has not been identified.

8. "sewing as hard as if she was working for wages. She goes out walking every day, and then to her work": Jane Harwood to My Dear Ma, September 14, 1859. *Ibid.*

9. "Mr. Price asked to be remembered to you & family": Jane Harwood to Marmaduke, January 22, 1860. Box 5, Folder 7, *Ibid.*

10. In a letter to Meredith, John mentioned a "Nicaraguan revolution": John S. Marmaduke to Meredith Marmaduke, December 30, 1855. Box 5, folder 5, Sappington-Marmaduke Papers, MHS. At the time John wrote to his father, his class of cadets at West Point was studying mercenary adventurer William Walker's recent armed rise to power in Nicaragua. Doubleday, C.W. *Reminiscences of the Filibuster War in Nicaragua*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1886.

11. "very well pleased with this college indeed I am getting along finely with my studies": Darwin Pearson to Marmaduke, December 3, 1845. Box 3, Folder 6, Sappington-Marmaduke Papers, MHS. James Bragg Marmaduke, a resident of next door Shelby County, had campaigned for Meredith in northeast Missouri during his bid for the lieutenant governor's office. William Daniel Marmaduke, then a merchant at Hannibal, was Master of St. John's Masonic Lodge No. 28. Grace Sharp. Letters from a Missouri "Forty-Niner," Col. William Daniel Marmaduke. *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (October 1925), 129.

12. "We have fine eating here all the time. We have Puddings and Pies Ice cream and all those fine things, and plenty of study too." Vincent Marmaduke to Dear Mother, May 26, 1846. Box 4, Folder 1, Sappington-Marmaduke Papers, MHS.

13. Masonic College's major asset was ownership of 1,270 acres of rich farm land twelve miles southwest of Palmyra, Missouri. *History of Marion County, Missouri*, 233-34. History of Lafayette County, Missouri, 248-49. Young's *History of Lafayette County*, 207-210.

14. "are generals, lawyers, doctors, Wall Street bankers, politicians, teachers, engineers, ministers, as well as the wives of prominent Missouri men": Robert A. O'Bryan-Lawson. *Chapel Hill, Missouri: Lost Visions of America's Vanguard on the Western Frontier, 1820-1865*, 69. Chapel Hill College's success prompted directors of the Missouri Synod of Cumberland Presbyterian Church South to affiliate with the school and Archibald Ridings in 1847, a position they maintained until purchasing the property from Ridings in 1860. Declining enrollment during the late 1850's and the onset of the Civil War finally forced its closing in 1861.

15. "not a creditable student" while attending Yale, yet he "proved to be a leader": in later life. Nathaniel C. Hughes Jr., *Yale's Confederates: A Biographical Dictionary*, 132. Skull and Bones Society is known for "crooking," stealing keepsakes and mementos from other Yale societies or from campus buildings, and is said to possess the skulls of Geronimo and Pancho Villa. Zach O. Greenburg, "Bones May Have Pancho Villa Skull." *The Yale Herald*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (January 23, 2011).

16. "You seem to think that my object was to travel about, kill time, and evade books": John Marmaduke to Marmaduke, January 14, 1853. Box 5, Folder 3, Sappington-Marmaduke Papers, MHS. John Marmaduke's six-page letter to his father is a lengthy justification of his decision to enroll at Harvard, as well as a discussion of the classes he was taking and why he believed he could pass exams in most of them with little difficulty. To offset his father's concern about increased costs, John conceded that "Board & Room bill, fuel & c is greater. To counterbalance such expenses there ought to be great advantages, and great improvement, improvement which could be made no where else at less cost."

17. *Ibid.*

18. "Probability is in your favor upon the condition that if you receive the appointment you make arms your profession for life": John Marmaduke to Marmaduke, January 14, 1853. Box 5, Folder 3, Sappington and Marmaduke Papers, MHS. Phelps condition was contained in a letter sent to John.

19. "I requested him to write me . . . but I recd' no letter from him. If your son shall not accept this appointment please inform me": John Phelps to Marmaduke, March 12, 1853. Folder 19, Marmaduke Papers C1021, SHSMO.

20. "My Dear Darwin, I promised to write you shortly after my arrival here. I now fulfill it": John Marmaduke to Darwin Marmaduke, June 8, 1853. Box 5, Folder 3, Sappington-Marmaduke Papers, MHS. John Marmaduke's comment "Poor little fellows I pity them," reflects his status as an older cadet who already had three years of college experience. Cadets who entered West Point with him in 1853 and graduated four years later (38), ranged in age from 16 to 21. John and one other were age 21, five cadets were age 20, the remainder ages 16 to 19. Ages of cadets who failed to complete the four-year course aren't known.

21. John graduated from West Point on June 28, 1857: 1965 *Register of Graduates and Former Cadets of the United States Military Academy*, 245-46. Newly commissioned Lieutenant John S. Marmaduke was assigned to the United States Mounted Rifles Regiment: John Lee, John Sappington Marmaduke, *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol 2, 26-28. "The Army at Camp Floyd," *The New York Times*, January 17, 1860. William Wing Loring 1818-1886, thelatinlibrary.com/chron/civilwarnotes/loring.

22. Born in 1835, Meredith Miles Marmaduke, Jr.: 1860 U.S. Federal Census, Saline County, Mo., Schedule 1, 249; 1870 U.S. Federal Census, Saline County, Mo., Schedule 1, 154.

23. "knowing that the latter one is hard to wear in any country": Darwin Sappington to Marmaduke, March 24, 1840. Box 2, Folder 5, *Ibid.*

24. "You spoke of being at a loss (when I was at your house) to know what to do with Darwin": Unknown to Marmaduke, August 28, 1853. Folder 19, Marmaduke Papers C1021, SHSMO.

25. "ancient languages, mathematics, mental and moral philosophy, and music": Paul D. Porter, *History of Chapel Hill, College* provides look at state's higher education. *Democrat News*, Marshall: October 13, 1987. Reel 28220, Newspaper Collection, SHSMO. Henry C. Chiles, *The Masonic College of Missouri*, 14-16, 25. Fulton, MO: Ovid Bell Press, 1935. Chiles characterizes the college as a "Prep" school in 1855-56, although completion of the four-year course of study resulted in a Bachelor of Arts Degree.

26. "Both families opposed the marriage." Undated newspaper clipping. Folder 15, Sappington Family Papers C2889, SHSMO. Jane Sappington Marmaduke died five years after the marriage. In 1870 Darwin married Mary Crawford of Mobile, Alabama.

27. Leslie was a mediocre student at Annapolis: G.S. Blake, Superintendent Naval Academy, report, December 1859. Box 5, Folder 7, Sappington-Marmaduke Papers, MHS. Henry Marmaduke to Dear Ma, January 13, 1860. *Ibid.*

28. Two years after Leslie's birth Lavinia miscarried her eleventh child: L.S. Edkins to Marmaduke, May 28, 1848. Box 4, Folder 4, Sappington-Marmaduke Papers, MHS; George Penn to Marmaduke, June 2, 1848, *Ibid.*; Penn to Marmaduke, March 27, 1849. Box 4, Folder 6, *Ibid.* Magnetic healing, or "animal magnetism" as it was called, was popularized in Europe during the latter years of the 18th century by Franz Mesmer, a German Physician. A 1781 French scientific inquiry (Benjamin Franklin was a member of the French commission) into Mesmer's claims concluded there was no scientific evidence of animal magnetism. Magnetic healing gained a following in the United States during the first half of the 19th century, with many books about the subject being published. Practitioners claimed they could heal all kinds of afflictions.