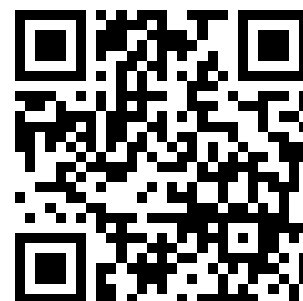

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THE LIFE OF STERLING PRICE

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY
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7262

This work in historical research owes its origin to the desire on the part of the writer to establish more definite information concerning the life of Sterling Price, a man who was not only an eminent citizen of the state of Missouri for over twenty years (1842-1867), but one who was, for part of this time, at least, unquestionably the most popular man in Missouri and one who had a firm hold upon the confidence and respect of the people of his state.

The life of Price was full of incident and event. In times of war and peace he rendered the people of Missouri invaluable service, and he is, therefore, a character to be reckoned with in the story of the state.

The aim in this study has been to collect much of the available material touching the life of Price and arrange it in the form of a biography; an effort has been made to present the facts of his life impartially and candidly, and care has been taken to give the authority for every important statement of fact that has been made--the body of this thesis deals largely with such statements; the conclusion deals with the writer's own interpretation of those facts.

Acknowledgment of obligations is due to the librarians of the Missouri Historical Library at Columbia, Missouri, and those of the Missouri Historical Library at Jefferson Memorial, St. Louis, Missouri; and also to Professor E. M. Violette of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College at Kirksville, Missouri, who made valuable criticisms and suggestions.

OUTLINE

Chapter I

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF STERLING PRICE

I. The Ancestors of Sterling Price:

1. John Price, the Emigrant to the Virginia Colony, 1620.
2. Pugh Price of Prince Edward County, Virginia.
3. Pugh Williamson Price of Prince Edward County, Virginia.

II. Sterling Price, 1809-1840:

1. Birth and boyhood in Virginia.
2. Education.
3. Comes West to Missouri, 1831:
 - a. In Howard County.
 - b. In Chariton County.
4. Marriage to Martha Head, 1833.
5. Business Interests.

III. In State and National Affairs (1840-1861):

1. In State Legislature, 1840-1844:
 - a. Speaker of House.
2. In National House of Representatives, 1845-1846:
 - a. Resigns Seat.
3. In Mexican War, 1846-1848.
4. Farm Life, 1848-1852.
5. Governor of Missouri, 1852-1856.
6. Bank Commissioner, 1860.
7. In Democratic State Convention, 1860.
8. In Missouri State Convention, February, 1861:
 - a. Chairman.

IV. In Civil War, 1861-1865:

1. Major-General of Missouri State Guard, 1861.
2. Joins Confederate States of America:
 - a. Surrender.

V. Price Moves into Mexico, 1866:

1. Commissioner of Colonization and Immigration for Mexico.
2. Settlement at Cordova, Mexico:
 - a. Home life.
3. Abandons Mexican Project.

VI. Returns to St. Louis, Missouri, 1867:

1. Commission Merchant.
2. Death, September 29, 1867.
3. Funeral:
 - a. Centenary Methodist Church.
 - b. Burial in Bellfontaine Cemetery.

Outline Continued.

VII. Price's Family:

1. Children.

VIII. The Price Monument:

1. In Price Memorial Park, Keytesville, Missouri.
2. Bronze Statue:
 - a. Description.

Chapter II

PRICE IN POLITICS TO 1846

I. Elected to State Legislature, 1841-1844:

1. Chosen Speaker.

II. As Presiding Officer:

1. Executive Ability.
2. The Land Bill:
 - a. Unpopularity of Bill.

III. Price Seeks Political Preferment.

IV. Democratic Convention, April 1, 1844:

1. Price Nominated for Congress.
2. The "Hards" and "Softs" in the Party:
 - a. The Clique.
 - b. Vote on Resolution.
3. Election of August 9, 1844.

V. In National Congress:

1. Texas and Oregon Question.

VI. District System Inaugurated in Missouri:

1. Price Fails to be Renominated:
 - a. Vote Against Bill for Improvement of Western Waters.

VII. President Polk and Price Confer:

1. Influence of Thomas Hart Benton.
2. Price Resigns Seat in National Congress.

VIII. Special District Election in Missouri, Oct. 31, 1846.

IX. Price Returns to Missouri, June, 1846:

1. Commissioned to Raise the Second Regiment of Missouri Mounted Cavalry.

Chapter III

IN THE WAR WITH MEXICO

I. Criticism of Price, due to

1. Unwillingness to go to War with Infantry.
2. Resignation of Seat in Congress.
3. Accusation of misrepresentation of facts.
4. Acceptance of salary while absent from National Congress.

Outline Continued.

- II. Price's Regiment:**
 - 1. Command and Companies.
- III. At Fort Leavenworth:**
 - 1. Opposition to Price for Colonelcy.
 - 2. His Election to Colonelcy.
 - 3. Mormon Battalion.
- IV. March Across Plains and Arrival at Santa Fe:**
 - 1. Illness of Price.
 - 2. City of Santa Fe.
 - 3. Price in Command.
 - 4. Conspiracy in the Territory Revealed:
 - a. Information.
 - b. Orders.
- V. Kearney's Bloodless Revolution:**
 - 1. James Magoffin:
 - a. Mission.
 - b. Result.
- VI. Price Marches Against the Enemy:**
 - 1. Battle of Canada:
 - a. The Charge.
 - 2. Battle of El Emboda.
 - 3. Battle of Pueblo de Taos:
 - a. Capture of Tomas.
 - 4. Discipline Enforced in Price's Army.
- VII. Rebellion Continues Unbroken:**
 - 1. Battle at Red River Canon.
 - 2. Battle of Los Bogas.
- VIII. Price Criticized:**
 - 1. Morals of Men.
 - 2. Social Relation of Mexicans.
- IX. Price Returns to States, 1847:**
 - 1. In Jefferson City and St. Louis.
- X. He Again Sets Out for New Mexico, Nov. 11, 1847:**
 - 1. Reception of Price at Santa Fe.
 - 2. Ball in Palace at Santa Fe:
 - a. Report of Approach of Mexicans.
 - 3. Price Marches to Chihuahua and Santa Cruz de Rosales:
 - b. Battle and Result.
 - 4. Detained at Chihuahua.
- XI. Returns to Missouri:**
 - 1. At Brunswick, Oct. 8, 1848:
 - a. Reception and Address.
 - 2. Life on Farm in Bowling Green Township.

Outline Continued.

Chapter IV

STERLING PRICE AND THOMAS HART BENTON

- I. Political Leadership of Thomas Hart Benton in Missouri:
 1. Texas Question.
 2. Jackson Resolutions:
 - a. Denounced by Benton.
 - b. Information Concerning the Price Letter, August 8, 1849.
- II. Relationship of Price and Benton:
 1. Public Letter of Price, Summer, 1849:
 - a. Political Principles.
- III. Price Refuses Candidacy for National Congress:
 1. Reasons.
 2. Result of Election.
- IV. Price for Governor:
 1. Democratic State Convention, April 5, 1852.
 2. Platform Resolutions.
 3. Benton and Anti-Benton Factions.
 4. Price Renominated as Coalition Candidate.
- V. Benton Denounced Action of State Convention:
 1. Denies Union of Two Factions.
 2. Denounces Price:
 - a. Reveals Letter of August 8, 1849.
- VI. The Price-Winston Campaign:
 1. Price Indicted by Politicians:
 - a. Insincerity.
 - b. Cowardice.
 2. Price Elected May 15, 1852.
- VII. Benton and Anti-Benton Factions in State Legislature:
 1. Repeal of Jackson Resolutions, 1852.
 2. Fight Continued, January, 1855.
 3. Price Nominated for U. S. Senate, 1852:
 - a. Speech Against Price by Frank P. Blair-
 1. Reasons.
 - b. Political charges-
 1. Against Price.
 2. Against Benton.
- VIII. Benton Uses Influence Against Price, 1856:
 1. In Tour of State-
 - a. Article by P. F. Foy.
 - b. Article Proved False.
- IX. Anti-Benton Faction Grateful to Price for Abandonment of Benton:
 1. Attempt to Nominate Price for U. S. Senate, 1857-
 - a. Failure.

Outline Continued.

Chapter V

PRICE AS GOVERNOR 1852-1856

- I. Problems of the Price Administration:**
 - 1. Inaugural Address.
 - 2. Problems of Finance and Public Improvement.
 - 3. Benton and Anti-Benton Factions in Seventeenth Assembly:
 - a. Bank-
 - 1. Condition.
 - 2. Officers.
 - 3. Investigation.
- II. Price and the Bank:**
 - 1. Policy of Administration, 1854:
 - a. Opposes Free Banking.
 - b. Asks for Extension of Life of Bank of the State of Missouri.
 - 2. Attitude in 1855:
 - a. Opposes Mammoth City Banks.
 - b. Insinuation Against St. Louis-
 - 1. Reaction of St. Louisans.
- III. Price and Railroad Construction:**
 - 1. Attitude in 1854:
 - a. Favors Central Railroad.
 - 2. Opposition to Further Railroad Building, 1855:
 - a. Oppressive Taxation.
 - b. Bankruptcy and Ruin.
- IV. Price and North Missouri Railroad:**
 - 1. Refused Aid:
 - a. Ridge Route Against Central Route.
 - 2. Railroad Commission Report.
 - 3. Price Vetoes Appropriation Bills for Railroad Building--Passed over Veto.
 - 4. New Bill Declared Unconstitutional by Attorney-General:
 - a. Decision of State Supreme Court.
- V. The Slavery Question:**
 - 1. Price Opposes Abolition.
 - 2. In Pro-Slavery Convention at Lexington, July 12, 1855.
 - a. Doctrine of State Rights.
 - 3. Pro-Slavery Article.
- VI. Price in Washington in Behalf of State Land Titles:**
 - 1. Succeeds in Purpose.

Outline Continued:

VII. Other State Interests:

1. Education.
2. Towns Incorporated.

VIII. Price In Retirement:

1. On Bowling Green Farm.
2. Interests in Tobacco Warehouse.

Chapter VI

PRICE IN THE CIVIL WAR (1861-1865)

Part I

Events Precipitating War

- I. Legislative Action in Missouri, January, 1861:**
 1. Call for State Convention:
 - a. Each Senatorial District Entitled to Three Times its Members in Senate.
- II. Price a Candidate for Election to Convention:**
 1. Price Against Secession.
 2. Election.
- III. Meeting of State Convention, February 28, 1861:**
 1. Price on Committee to Select Officers for Convention.
 2. Price Elected President of Convention.
 3. Adjournment.
- IV. Convention Assembled St. Louis, March 4, 1861:**
 1. Tentative Resolution Against Secession.
 2. The Failure of the Bast Resolution-
 - a. Price's Vote.
- V. Price and Missouri State Guard:**
 1. Chosen Major-General.
 2. Military Law Enforced:
 - a. Training Camps and Instruction.
- VI. Attack on Camp Jackson, May 10, 1861:**
 1. The attack.
 2. Reaction of Price-
 - a. Reasons.
- VII. Price Moves to Jefferson City:**
 1. Military Orders.
 2. Sentiment With Regard to Price.
- VIII. Results of the Price-Harney Agreement:**
 1. Endorsed by People.
 2. Harney Superseded in Command.
 3. Jackson-Lyon Conference, St. Louis, Missouri, June 11, 1861:

Outline Continued.

a. Failure of the Conference.

IX. Movements of Jackson and Price:

1. Leave St. Louis for Jefferson City.
2. Jackson's Proclamation.
3. Flight to Boonville.

Part II

MAJOR-GENERAL STERLING PRICE AND THE MISSOURI STATE GUARD

I. Price at Boonville:

1. Headquarters for Missouri State Guard:
 - a. Surrounded by friendly population.
 - b. Contiguous territory.
2. Battle of Boonville, June 18, 1861:
 - a. Troops Disbanded.
 - b. Price Left for Keytesville, Missouri.
 - c. The Command of Col. John S. Marmaduke.
 1. Result.

II. Missouri State Guard in Southwest Missouri:

1. Object:
 - a. Organization of Men.
 - b. Solicit Aid from Arkansas.
2. Combination of State Troops with Troops from Arkansas:
 - a. March to Wilson's Creek.

III. Battle of Wilson's Creek, Aug. 10, 1861:

1. Missouri State Troops Under McCulloch.
2. Lyon's Forces.
3. The Surprise Attack.
4. The Battle-
 - a. Result.

IV. Price Marches to Kansas Border:

1. Purpose.
2. Line of March.
3. The Pursuit of Marauding Bands.

V. Price at Lexington, Sept. 18, 1861:

1. Description of Lexington.
2. Purpose in Possessing.
3. Position of State Guard.
4. The Attack:
 - a. Object.
 - b. Methods of Fighting.
 - c. Result.
5. Significance of the Battle.

Outline Continued.

- VI. Price's Army Forced into Southwest:**
 - 1. The Retreat from Lexington.
 - 2. Price's Army-
 - a. Short Enlistments.
 - 3. Price's Proclamation-
 - a. Effect.
 - 4. Price Explains His Difficulties:
 - a. Federal Blockade of Missouri River.
 - b. McCulloch's Indisposition to Help.
- VII. Jackson's Commissioners to the Confederate Government:**
 - 1. Appeal for Price to be Given Command in the Army of the Confederacy.
 - 2. Attitude of Davis toward Price-
 - a. Reasons.
- VIII. Price at Springfield, Missouri, February, 1862:**
 - 1. The Attack by Federals.
 - 2. The Retreat to Arkansas.
- IX. Battle of Pea Ridge, March 6, 1862:**
 - 1. The Attack.
 - 2. The Defeat-
 - a. Price Wounded.
- X. Price Enters Confederate Service:**
 - 1. In Subordinate Position.
 - 2. Sentiment with Regard to Price.

Part III

IN THE SERVICE OF THE CONFEDERACY, 1862-1864

- I. Confederate Troops Enroute for Corinth, Mississippi:**
 - 1. Price Letter of Farewell to Troops (Des Arc, Ark.)
 - 2. At Memphis, Tenn.:
 - a. Reception.
 - b. Visit to the Entrenchments.
- II. Confederate Headquarters at Corinth, Mississippi:**
 - 1. Movement of Price's Troops:
 - a. To Trepelo.
 - b. To Iuka.
 - 2. The plan to Capture Corinth:
 - a. Failure.
 - 3. Price's Troops at Grenada, Miss.
- III. Change of Sentiment at Richmond, Va., with Regard to Price:**
 - 1. Causes:
 - a. Copperhead Movement.
 - 2. Accusations Against Price.

Outline Continued.

- IV. Rollins Plan for Price:
 - 1. To Abandon Confederacy-
 - a. Reasons.
- V. Relations of Price with His Son:
 - 1. Confederacy Puzzled.
 - 2. Price Vindicated by Son.
- VI. Price Trip to Richmond:
 - 1. Purpose.
 - 2. Interview with Davis.
- VII. Price in Summer of 1863:
 - 1. Transferred to Trans-Mississippi Department.
 - 2. At Little Rock-
 - a. Failure.
 - 3. At Helena-
 - a. Failure.
 - 4. Assumed Command of the Department of Arkansas-
 - a. Released.

Part IV

PRICE'S RAID INTO MISSOURI, 1864

- I. Preparations for Price's Raid:
 - 1. Reasons for Raid.
 - 2. Army of Trans-Mississippi-
 - a. Organization.
 - 3. Attitude in Missouri.
- II. Price in Command, Aug. 29, 1864:
 - 1. Army Division under
 - a. Fagan.
 - b. Marmaduke.
 - c. Shelby.
 - 2. Price's Line of March-
 - a. Pocahontas to St. Louis.
 - 3. Plan of Attack.
- III. Federal Plan of Defense:
 - 1. Rosecrans at St. Louis.
 - 2. Ewing at Pilot Knob-
 - a. Battle, Sept. 28, 1864.
- IV. Description of Price's Army:
 - 1. At Osage.
 - 2. Along Route to Jefferson City.
- V. Federal Forces in Field:
 - 1. Pleasanton Follows Price.
 - 2. Curtis in Charge Department of Kansas.

Outline Continued.

VI. Price and the Guerrilla Bands:

1. Anderson.
2. Quantrell.

VII. Price's Movements:

1. At Boonville.
2. At Lexington.
3. Battle of Little Blue, Oct. 21, 1864.
4. Battle of Big Blue, Oct. 22, 1864-
 - a. Defeat.

VIII. Price's Retreat:

1. Down State Line:
 - a. Destruction.
 - b. Result.

IX. Significance of Price's Raid.

X. Reynolds' Criticism of the Price Raid:

1. Charges.
2. Court of Inquiry-
 - a. Price Vindicated.

Chapter I

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF STERLING PRICE

The Price family of early Virginia history is said by historians to have descended from one of the most honored and influential in all of Wales¹; from Wales the family spread into various parts of England, France and America². John Price, their emigrant to the Jamestown Colony, was born in the County of Montgomery in Wales in 1584, and came with his first wife, Mary, to America in 1620. After the massacre at Jamestown, he was one of the eleven councillors with Sir Frances Wyatt in the provisional government at the time of the dissolution of the Jamestown Colony. He lived on the "neck of land" in Charles City County, Virginia, very near to Jamestown, and after his marriage to his second wife, Ann Mathews, he moved near to the Falls of the James River in Henrico County, where he was said to have owned much land³.

It is recorded that in 1743 Pugh Price, the son of John Price, was a Processioner in old St. John's Church in Henrico County, but in 1747 he moved into that portion of Virginia which later became Price Edward County, and here he settled close to the present site of Hampden-Sidney College, where he owned a magnificent estate⁴. He was twice married: by his first wife there were seven children; by his second marriage to Jerusha Penick there were nine⁵.

1. The Price Genealogy, p. 3.

2. United States Biographical Dictionary - Missouri- p. 40.

3. The Price Genealogy, pp. 7-8.

4. Ibid, p. 9.

5. Ibid.

Pugh Williamson Price, the father of Sterling Price, was a son of the second marriage of Pugh Price, born after the death of his father. His middle name was that of a family in the neighborhood from which he was expected to choose his wife. In due time, in fulfillment of an old-time custom, he was married to Elizabeth Williamson, who was a daughter of Robert Williamson and Mary Marshall, "the latter a member of that family which produced Chief Justice Marshall of the United States Supreme Court"⁶. The five children of this union were Edwin, Pamela, Robert Pugh, Sterling, and John Randolph⁷. The family were prosperous in Virginia, as the father had inherited much land and some negroes⁸.

Sterling Price was born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, on September 14, 1809⁹. Very little is known of his boyhood, but when he finished an academy course in the schools nearby, he was sent to Hampden-Sidney College, where he was graduated at the age of nineteen¹⁰. He afterwards attended the law school of one of Virginia's most eminent jurists, Creed Taylor¹¹. He acted for some time as a deputy in the clerk's office of his native county¹², for his intention at that time was to make an intensive study of the law; but he followed his ambitious nature and came west with his father to Missouri¹³.

6. The Price Genealogy, p.43.

7. Ibid.

8. U. S. Biographical Dictionary - Missouri- p.40.

9. The Price Genealogy, p.45.

10. U. S. Biographical Dictionary - Missouri- p.41.

11. Snead: The Fight for Missouri, p.181.

12. U. S. Biographical Dictionary - Missouri- p.41.

It was in the fall of 1831 that Pugh Price came from Virginia with his two sons, Sterling and John, to Fayette in Howard County, Missouri, where they spent the winter. In the spring they moved to Chariton County and settled on a farm one mile south of Keytesville¹⁴. On the fourteenth day of May, 1833, Sterling was married to Martha Head, a daughter of Captain John Head and Nancy Burton, who had emigrated in 1830 from Orange County, Virginia, and had settled in the corner of Randolph near the border line of Howard and Chariton Counties¹⁵. Soon after the marriage of Sterling, the father gave to both his sons a share of his property. John moved to Fayette, but Sterling remained in Keytesville, after having bought from his brother a large frame building which had been erected for use as a hotel. He then went into the mercantile business with his brother-in-law, Walter G. Childs, and at the same time managed the hotel¹⁶.

The tall and handsome Sterling Price soon became prominent in local and state politics, being elected a member of the state legislature from 1840 to 1844, at which time he acted as speaker¹⁷. In 1844 he was elected to the national House of Representatives, but because he was not nominated for reelection in 1846, resigned his seat¹⁸. He was shortly afterward, in the spring of 1846, commissioned by President Polk to raise a mounted regiment to aid General Kearney in the war with Mexico¹⁹. Upon his return he remained in private

14. History of Howard and Chariton Counties, pp.425-6.

15. The Price Genealogy, p.47.

16. History of Howard and Chariton Counties, p.425.

17. Journal of the House, 11th General Assembly, 1841-2, p.5.

Journal of the House, 12th General Assembly, 1842-3, pp.4-5.

18. Bevier, R. S.: History of First and Second Missouri Confederate Brigade, p.27.

19. St. Louis Reveille, June 15, 1846.

life and spent his time upon his large, rich farm in Bowling Green Prairie Township until 1852, at which time he was elected governor of the state²⁰. Upon his retirement in 1856, he again returned to his home in Keytesville, where he played a leading part in the affairs of his community²¹. Evidence that he was interested in local affairs is seen in the fact that he acted as president and leading spirit in the first Fair that was ever held in Chariton County at Keytesville in October, 1858²².

In 1857 Price became interested in a county canvass for the subscription of \$250,000 to secure a railroad thru Chariton County, and by his efforts the project carried²³. Price also gave this matter his support by becoming both a director of the road and a share-holder²⁴. Close personal friends of Price knew, however, that he was somewhat financially embarrassed at this time, and they helped him to secure the appointment of Bank Commissioner which was tendered him by Governor Robert M. Stewart in 1860, in the place of Claiborne F. Jackson, who had resigned²⁵.

Price doesn't appear in politics again until he served as a member of the Committee on Resolutions, representing the third district²⁶, in the Democratic State Convention which met in Jefferson City in April, 1860. It was he who submitted the platform at this Convention which was unanimously adopted²⁷. Among other important

20. History of Howard and Chariton Counties, p.425.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid, p.481.

23. Ibid, p.480. (There is no official record of the road ever having been built.)

24. Ibid, pp.563-565.

25. Reynolds Manuscript, p.10.

26. Missouri Statesman, April 20, 1860.

27. Missouri Statesman, April 13, 1860.

issues, it declared that Congress had no power to abolish slavery in the territories²⁸. The Democratic party in Missouri was still in a state of upheaval, and in spite of the fact that Price was recognized as a leader of the conservative group of the anti-Benton faction, he was at the same time a peacemaker and let it be known that while his sympathies were with the South²⁹, he would make any sacrifice to preserve harmony and to promote the welfare and prosperity of the Union³⁰. This Convention was so disorderly that its president, Col. Robert E. Acock, failed to preside and Sterling Price was called to preside in his place³¹. Sterling Price and Gustavus St. Gem were later appointed to state the political principles of their party thruout the state. In this statement they condemned the action of all Democrats who rejected and repudiated Douglas and who endorsed Breckenridge, and they pleaded for a union of their party ranks³².

Price was elected a delegate to the Missouri State Convention which met in February, 1861, and because of his patriotism and good sense he was made president of the Convention³³. He was regarded at this time as a strong Union man, and in May he accepted the position as Major-General of the Militia of the state³⁴. Soon, however, he offered himself to the Confederate government, and fought valiantly until the surrender of Lee, when all of the Confederate

28. Missouri Statesman, April 20, 1860.

29. Ibid.

30. Snyder, J. F.: Reminiscences of the Two Democratic State Conventions Held in Missouri in 1860, p.4. (Globe-Democrat, Feb. 13, 1898) Missouri Historical Society, Jefferson Memorial, Feb. 13, 1898.

31. Ibid.

32. Jefferson Inquirer, October 6, 1860.

33. Letter of James S. Rollins to Edwin Price, October 28, 1863.

34. Missouri Statesman, July 21, 1865.

officers and soldiers of the Trans-Mississippi Department, under Kirby Smith, surrendered on the terms of Lee and on these terms were allowed to return to their homes³⁵.

After the war General Price went to Texas to visit his wife, who had remained there during the war. He made the trip with two pairs of white mules and a wagon³⁶. Nothing was left him from the wreck of war, as all his property had been confiscated by the United States marshal of the Western Division of Missouri³⁷.

Late in the summer of 1866, about thirty Confederates--General Price among them--moved into Mexico from San Antonio, Texas³⁸. Archduke Ferdinand Joseph of Austria had assumed the crown of Mexico and the title of Maximilian I, by the aid of the French Notables and the French army then in Mexico. This imperial government of Maximilian's offered to the Confederate soldiers the chance to establish an American settlement on the abandoned and confiscated land which the government had purchased from the original proprietors and was willing to sell for \$1.00 per acre³⁹. Judge John Perkins, Ex-Governor of Louisiana, and Sterling Price were appointed by the Maximilian government to act as Commissioners of Colonization and Immigration⁴⁰ for the sale of land.

The Confederate settlement was located at Cordova, Mexico, and the land selected was regarded as a garden spot because of the climate, soil, products, and scenery⁴¹. East of it lay the Gulf of

35. Missouri Republican, Jan. 16, 1865.

36. Ibid, July 28, 1865.

37. Ibid, October 20, 1865.

38. Missouri Statesman, July 28, 1865 (New Orleans Times)

Missouri Republican, Sept. 28, 1866 (New Orleans Crescent)

39. Missouri Statesman, Dec. 15, 1865 (New York News, Dec. 9)

40. Ibid, Oct. 20, 1865.

Ibid, Sept. 28, 1866 (New Orleans Crescent).

41. Missouri Republican, July 27, 1866.

Mexico, while to the west stood the noted mountain of Orizaba, which was covered with ice and snow⁴². Price soon became owner of 640 acres of land near Cordova and close to a railroad leading from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico⁴³. He then wrote to his family to come to him at this place, for he did not feel that he could return to the States and ask pardon for the part he had played in the great civil struggle⁴⁴. As soon as Mrs. Price could raise the money, she went by boat to Vera Cruz, where she was met by General Price, who had been waiting several weeks for her arrival⁴⁵. He had heard rumors of shipwreck, and his anxiety became so great that he was greatly reduced in weight; for several months he remained in a feeble state of health⁴⁶. Mrs. Price found her husband not only ill and out of funds, but discouraged as well. He had attempted to get his house built on his farm before the rainy season set in, but had failed in this since all the work had to be done by hand, there being no saw mills⁴⁷. Nevertheless he was enthusiastic about the Cordova settlement, for it was as near to the markets of New York and New Orleans as his former home in Central Missouri, and he shared the belief of the other Confederates that in this country fortunes might be made⁴⁸.

However the French government was not stable in Mexico. Maximilian's power was on the wane, and marauding hands soon infested the land and destroyed the gardens and orchards of the Confederates⁴⁹, forcing the American settlers to abandon their lands and take refuge

42. Missouri Republican, Sept. 28, 1866.

43. Missouri Statesman, Jan. 26, 1866.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid., Sept. 17, 1866.

46. Ibid., Sept. 7, 1866.

47. Ibid., Oct. 12, 1866.

48. Missouri Statesman, Dec. 15, 1865 (from New York Times, Dec. 9)

49. Ibid., July 27, 1866.

in Cordova, where there was a garrison of French soldiers⁵⁰. So it was that on January 11, 1867, General Price and Mrs. Price, with their daughter Stella and son Quintus, came to St. Louis from Mexico. They stayed at the Southern Hotel⁵¹, and during their stay an effort was made by friends of General Price to raise by voluntary subscription a sum sufficient to purchase a residence and furniture to be presented to his wife, Mrs. Martha Price. Liberal amounts were contributed by a large number of men⁵², and in due time Price lived in his residence on Chouteau Avenue and engaged in business as a commission merchant⁵³.

In the early summer of 1867 he went to Baden Springs, Indiana, for the benefit of his health. At first he seemed to recuperate, but he was soon forced to return home. On the Sunday before his death he spent the day in the country near St. Ferdinand⁵⁴, but on September 28, 1867, he was taken very ill with a renewed and virulent attack of Mexican dysentery. At fifteen minutes past two o'clock on Sunday, September 29, 1867, General Sterling Price was dead⁵⁵.

The Monday following was a day of mourning for thousands of people in St. Louis. At nine o'clock the body of General Price was removed from his residence to the First Methodist Church which stood at the corner of Washington Avenue and Eighth Street, and here it lay in state until two o'clock in the afternoon⁵⁶. Crowds gathered

50. Missouri Statesman, October 5, 1866.

51. Ibid., Feb. 15, 1867 (from Missouri Monitor)

52. Ibid.

53. History of Howard and Chariton Counties, p.481.

54. Missouri Historical Library, Jefferson Memorial, clipping.

55. Missouri Statesman, October 4, 1867.

56. St. Louis Weekly Times, October 4, 1867.

at the church, perhaps not less than twelve or fifteen thousand coming and going in a continuous stream⁵⁷. "Many affecting scenes were witnessed, and often the ex-Confederate soldier would wipe away a tear of regret as he lingered beside the remains"⁵⁸.

Dr. W. A. Smith of Centenary Methodist Church preached the funeral sermon, and he stated that before General Price died he expressed himself as trusting in God. Four or five hundred soldier followers occupied seats directly back of the family⁵⁹. The service was doubly sad and impressive because it was also in memory of Celeste Price, the daughter of General Thomas L. Price of Jefferson City and wife of Celsus Price. Mrs. Price had followed her father-in-law in death a few hours later⁶⁰. The hearse was the same that was used in the funeral procession of Abraham Lincoln at Springfield, Illinois⁶¹. It was decorated at this time with plumes and streamers and drawn by six black horses, being followed by a hundred carriages filled with relatives and friends as the body of Major-General Sterling Price was laid to rest in Bellfontaine Cemetery on October 3, 1867⁶².

The life of General Price had been insured in the Atlas Insurance Company for \$10,000, and this insurance was left to Mrs. Price and the five children who survived him⁶³. Five sons and two daughters had been born to Sterling and Martha Head Price.

57. St. Louis Weekly Times, October 4, 1867.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Missouri Statesman, October 4, 1867.

They were Edwin W., Amanda Williamson, Celsus, Heber, Martha Sterling, Quintus, and Athol⁶⁴. Edwin W. and Celsus served with their father during the Civil War. Gen. Edwin W. Price succeeded Gen. John D. Clark as Brigadier of the Missouri State Guards, and fought in the battles of Lexington and Carthage⁶⁵. Celsus enlisted in the Confederate service while a student at the University of Virginia, and served thruout the war on his father's staff. At the close of the war, he, too, went to Mexico to join the forces of Maximilian⁶⁶. Amanda W. and Athol died in childhood, Heber in young manhood, while Martha Sterling married P. J. Willis a year after her father's death. Quintus is the only one of the children now living (1922), and he resides in St. Louis, Missouri⁶⁷.

At the Forty-sixth General Assembly of the State of Missouri, 1911, the sum of \$5,000 was appropriated for the erection of a monument to the memory of Sterling Price. The funds were released in 1912, and on a monument of Barry County granite, in a public park known as the Price Memorial Park at Keytesville, Missouri, rests the bronze statue of General Sterling Price⁶⁸. It stands eight feet high, and was modelled by Allan J. Newman. The unveiling took place on June 17, 1915, before a crowd of fifteen thousand people⁶⁹.

64. The Price Genealogy, p.50.

65. Ibid, p.50.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Laws of Missouri -46th General Assembly, Jan. 4, 1911.

69. Sterling Price Home Chapter No. 1009 U. D. C. (Jeff. Memorial)

Chapter II

PRICE IN POLITICS TO 1846

Sterling Price from his earliest manhood was an ardent and active Democrat. He made his first appearance in politics in 1840, at which time he was elected without regular opposition from Chariton County, Missouri, to the State Legislature¹. In November, 1841, when the House assembled for organization, Charles H. Ashley of Livingston County placed him in nomination for Speaker of the House. As no other person was nominated, Price was unanimously elected². In the election of 1842 Price was returned to the Legislature. He had previously indicated that he would accept his reelection to the speakership as an assurance that he had given satisfaction to his friends³. If defeated, he would regard it as an implied censure. He refused to electioneer for the office, on the ground that it was unbecoming⁴. Some of his friends were hopeful that he would declare himself in favor of districting the state; otherwise they feared he would be defeated⁵. He was, however, elected speaker on the first ballot, over Jesse B. Thompson of Buchanan County. Price received 73 votes and Thompson received 11⁶.

Price's colleagues always spoke of him as being a most dignified and courteous presiding officer, whose decisions were known for fairness and were almost always sustained⁷. The Jefferson

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1. Scharf, J. T.: History of St. Louis City and County, Vol.1, p.513.
 2. Journal of the House--Missouri--11th Gen. Assembly, 1841-2, p. 5.
 3. Letter from B. T. Stringfellow to Thomas Reynolds, Sept. 20, 1842, Reynolds Collection.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Journal of the House--Missouri--12th Gen. Assembly, 1842-3, pp.4-5.
 7. Scharf, J. T.: History of St. Louis City and County, Vol.1, p.513. Missouri Statesman, Jan. 27, 1843.

correspondent of the Missouri Republican of 1843 wrote "when the House, from impatience or other cause, becomes a little disorderly, the tap of the mallet brings them to good order in an instant"⁸.

In November, 1842, Price introduced into the Legislature a bill which provided for the sale of all land and lots reported forfeited on account of non-payment of taxes. If the land thus sold was ever recovered by the original owner, he was to pay any speculator for whatever improvement might have been made even tho the speculator had wrongfully purchased it thru defect of title⁹. In spite of the great unpopularity of this bill, it was approved on February 27, 1843¹⁰. Since Price was largely responsible for this act, he was greatly criticized by his opponents, for they claimed that the bill was not intended as a local project but as a measure of wholesale plunder concocted for the benefit of the speculators and state officials who longed to prey upon the farmers of the state¹¹. Price was not only condemned for the act, but he was also accused of servility to political wire-pullers¹².

In the spring of 1843 Price was very anxious to receive the appointment of state land commissioner, but the law required the members of the commission to have a knowledge of practical surveying. As Price was not qualified in this respect, he became interested in the office of tobacco inspector and also in the commission

8. Scharf, J. T.: History of St. Louis City and County, Vol. 1, p. 513.

Missouri Statesman, Jan. 27, 1843.

9. Missouri Register, July 9, 1844.

Journal of House of Representatives--Missouri--12th Gen. Assembly, 1842, pp.67 ff.

10. Journal of House of Representatives--Missouri--12th Gen. Assembly, 1842, pp.297-300.

Laws of the State of Missouri, 1843, pp.137-142.

11. Missouri Register, July 9, 1844.

12. Ibid.

to superintend the building of tobacco warehouses thruout the state. He had begun to be, by this time, quite at home in the political game, and he felt that he was entitled to at least a small fraction of the party spoils in the general distribution of power¹³.

At a Democratic meeting held at Keytesville in Chariton County, Missouri, on March 4, 1844, the name of Price was recommended as a suitable candidate for Congress¹⁴. As a result of this agitation, one month later, on April 1, 1844, the Democratic State Convention which had assembled at Jefferson City placed him in nomination for Congress on a general ticket along with J. S. Phelps of Green County and J. B. Bowlin of St. Louis¹⁵. The Convention was important in Missouri because it emphasized the serious differences between the "Hards" and the "Softs" in the Democratic party. All the nominations were made by the "clique", which was composed of the Democratic leaders of Howard, Saline, Cooper, Cole, and Chariton Counties, among whom were such leaders as C. F. Jackson, J. J. Lowery, Governor Reynolds, and Sterling Price. An important resolution was lost by a vote of 61 for rejection to 26 for acceptance. Price voted for rejection¹⁶. The resolution declared that "no editor or individual member of the Democratic party ought to be read out of the party in the state or denounced as a traitor merely because he is in favor of a convention to remodel the Constitution so as to equalize representation according to population; or because he is in favor of the district system of electing members of Congress and voting by single

13. Letter from C. F. Jackson to Governor Reynolds, March 12, 1843-- Reynolds Collection.

14. Missouri Statesman, March 12, 1844.

15. Missouri Statesman, April 26, 1844.

16. Ibid.

districts; or because he is opposed to the currency bills as introduced in the last General Assembly; or because he may prefer other firm, consistent and talented Democrats as United States Senator to either of the present incumbents"¹⁷. The vote of Price on this resolution shows plainly his friendly attitude toward Senator Benton at this time.

In December, 1845, Price was in the National Congress at Washington, having been elected on the ninth of August, 1844, on the general ticket system from Missouri to the lower house¹⁸ as a Bentonian or Hard Democrat¹⁹. He received a total vote of 35,128²⁰. Price was described at this time as being in the prime of his young manhood, possessing a tall, straight, majestic figure of perfect proportions. His face was fair and full, with regular, dignified features, and he gave every appearance of manliness and gentility²¹.

The Texas and Oregon questions were the most vital and important issues of the hour. In the spring of 1846, Thomas Hart Benton, United States Senator from Missouri, delivered a very powerful speech in the Senate upon the Oregon question in which he expressed himself in favor of the forty-ninth parallel instead of 50° 40', to the great surprise of many of his Missouri constituency, although it was the same position he had held in 1828²². It was shortly after this that Price abandoned the "54-40" men in Congress, along with two other Missouri members, J. S. Phelps and J. B. Bowlin²³.

17. Missouri Statesman, April 26, 1844.

18. United States Biographical Dictionary, Missouri, 1878, p.41.

19. St. Louis Weekly Reveille, Sept. 9, 1844.

20. Missouri Statesman, April 24, 1846.

21. Missouri Statesman, January 30, 1844.

Ibid, August 9, 1844.

22. Ibid, April 24, 1846.

23. Ibid.

The Whigs in Missouri everywhere rejoiced that the "idolized hero of 54-40 had been slain by Colonel Benton and buried by a Democratic senate" with certain definite results in the House of Representatives²⁴.

Price was a willing aspirant for another term in the National Congress, and as the congressional election drew near his name was again mentioned for that honor²⁵. The state of Missouri had in the meantime abandoned the general ticket system and at the ensuing election in August, 1846, the members of Congress were to be elected from the five congressional districts, this being the first election ever held in the state under the district system²⁶. In the central counties of the state, the sentiment of the Democrats was very strong against the district system, for by it they were all thrown into one district, which lessened their political opportunities; but in the outlying counties the system was greatly favored. The border counties had felt for some time that the central part of the state had too much control of state affairs, and the Democratic leaders of Howard, Saline, Cooper, and Cole Counties had been named the "Central Clique", while Dr. Penn and M. M. Marmaduke of Saline and Sterling Price of Chariton were dubbed the "Fayette Clique"²⁷. This question of the district system brought the two factions of the Democratic party into open conflict. The enemies of Benton claimed that he opposed districting the state in order to protect the interests of his political

24. Missouri Statesman, July 3, 1846.

25. Ibid, March 1, 1846.

26. Ibid, February 20, 1846.

27. Missouri Historical Review X: McClure, C. H.- Early Opposition to Thomas Hart Benton, pp.160-170.

friends in the two cliques in the central portion of the state²⁸.

In spite of Price's political aspirations, the Democrats of the third judicial district assembled in Huntsville, Missouri, on May 11, and, after several days of differences and discussions, on the fifty-ninth ballot nominated James S. Green of Lewis County as their candidate for Congress²⁹. This was undoubtedly a keen disappointment to the followers of Price who had the impression that he was the first choice of the party and would be the nominee. Many felt that the fact that Price had voted against a bill for the improvement of western rivers and harbors had injured him in the eyes of his constituency³⁰. Price immediately addressed a communication to the voters of his district in which he congratulated them upon the result of their deliberations at the Huntsville Convention³¹.

It was shortly afterward, on May 30, 1846, that Thomas Hart Benton and the Secretary of War, William L. Marcy, called upon President Polk to discuss the general outline of the plan of campaign in the war with Mexico³². Senator Benton suggested that Sterling Price command 1,000 mounted men to be called from Missouri³³. The Secretary of War promised to see Price and bring him to President Polk³⁴. Before the church hour on the next morning following (Sunday) the Secretary of War called with Price to consult with President Polk³⁵. As a result of this conference, Price

28. Missouri Historical Review X: McClure, C. H.- Early Oppos-
ition to Thomas Hart Benton, pp. 160-170.

29. Missouri Statesman, May 22, 1846.

30. Missouri Republican, Sept. 17, 1846.

31. Missouri Statesman, July 10, 1846.

32. The Polk Diary I, p.440.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., p.35.

sent an official communication covering his resignation as a member of the House to the Senate in the spring of 1846³⁶. The Whigs and others in Missouri who opposed Price made bold to say that since his constituents had deserted him in the recent district convention, he had determined to desert his duties in Congress³⁷. Price felt that the people were either dissatisfied with his course or else undue influence had been used against him³⁸.

A short time after the resignation of Price from the National Congress the Polk party in Missouri was drumming up a candidate to fill his unexpired term³⁹. At the congressional election which occurred in August, 1846, five congressmen were chosen, but they did not take their seats until December, 1847⁴⁰. Thus, during the next winter session of Congress, unless an election were held, Missouri would have but four members in Congress⁴¹. There was some agitation for filling the vacancy by the general ticket system, since Price was elected by that system, but this was strenuously opposed because that method had been repealed by law and the district system substituted in its place⁴². It was finally settled by a special district election which occurred October 31, 1846, when William M. Kincaid of Platte City was elected to fill the vacancy⁴³.

36. Missouri Statesman, July 31, 1846.

37. Ibid.

38. Bevier, R. S.: History of First and Second Missouri Confederate Brigade, 1861-1865, p. 27.

39. Missouri Republican, November 2, 1846.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Missouri Statesman, November 2, 1846.

43. Ibid.

Price had reached his home⁴⁴ in the early summer of that year, having left Washington on June 3⁴⁵ with a commission in his pocket from President Polk to raise a regiment⁴⁶ of Missouri volunteers to be known as the Second Regiment of Missouri Mounted Cavalry⁴⁷.

44. Missouri Republican, November 2, 1846.

45. Ibid, July 2, 1846.

46. United States Biographical Dictionary-Missouri-1878, p.42.

47. St. Louis Weekly Times, October 6, 1867.

St. Louis Weekly Reveille, June 15, 1846.

Chapter III

IN THE WAR WITH MEXICO

In June, 1846, a dispatch was received by Governor Edwards from Colonel Kearney, requesting that the new regiment authorized to be raised by Sterling Price be changed to a foot instead of a horse regiment, as he had as many horses as he wanted but was in need of more infantry¹. The dispatch was immediately sent to Price, who left at once for Jefferson City².

Since Price was very unwilling to go with a foot regiment, he proceeded at once to organize his regiment of mounted cavalry³. He was severely criticized because he had expressed his unwillingness to go with the infantry⁴. He was also severely censured for having left his place in Congress. His accusers claimed that he came back to Missouri for his own aggrandizement⁵. His enemies charged that he had attempted to leave the impression that in addition to his Colonelcy he had an important official commission to perform⁶, that he was to act as a commissioner in the matter of a treaty between our government and the authorities of Mexico⁷. He was further accused of accepting his salary as a member of the national legislature while absent from Congress⁸. In fact the whole Democratic party was openly blamed and criticized⁹. People resented Price's appointment by President Polk, and felt that under

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1. Missouri Statesman, July 10, 1846.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Missouri Republican, July 9, 1846.
 5. Ibid., June 13, 1846.
 6. St. Louis Reveille, June 15, 1846.
 7. Ibid.
 8. Missouri Republican, June 13, 1846.
 9. Ibid.

the volunteer system men should have the opportunity of determining who should lead them in battle¹⁰. William L. Marcy, Secretary of War, wrote to Governor Edwards recommending Price for the Colonelcy and asked for the approval of the Governor¹¹.

President Polk had deemed it advisable to send out a strong reinforcement under Price to sustain Kearney, who was already on his march across the plains¹². This reinforcement was to consist of one full mounted regiment, one mounted extra battalion, and one extra battalion of Mormon infantry, the whole to be filled up by volunteers¹³. The companies from Boone, Benton, Carroll, Chariton, Linn, Livingston, Monroe, Randolph, St. Genevieve, and St. Louis Counties composed the full mounted or Second Regiment¹⁴. The separate battalion was composed of the companies from the Counties of Marion, Polk, Platte, and Ray¹⁵. Thus the strength of Price's command was about 1200 men. Beside the cavalry force he had a considerable number of heavy pieces of artillery, with artillery men to manage them commanded by officers of the regular service and a great number of baggage and provision wagons¹⁶. These companies rendezvoused at Fort Leavenworth, and were mustered into service about the first of August¹⁷.

Price arrived at Fort Leavenworth on the twenty-ninth day of July, 1846. It was his idea that after his regiment of mounted

10. Missouri Republican, June 13, 1846.

11. Ibid, July 2, 1846.

12. Hughes, J. T.: Doniphan Expedition, p. 256.

13. Ibid, pp. 256-257.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

men was raised, he would then be a candidate for the command, although he scorned the idea of commanding any group of men who would prefer another¹⁸. There was certain talk of opposition to Price for the Colonelcy of this regiment, but such talk was due to the fact that men were exasperated by all candidates who had been recommended by the President, and they were determined to vote for their own candidates from their own ranks¹⁹.

The election was subsequently held on the fifth day of August, by the nine companies who were present at that time, and Price was elected Colonel without opposition²⁰. Some of the men feared that if he were not elected, the whole regiment would be disbanded²¹, and one volunteer declared that Price would have been beaten had he had opposition²².

The Mormon battalion of Price's regiment consisted of five companies lettered A, B, C, D, and E. This battalion was mustered into service on July 16 and rendezvoused at Fort Leavenworth²³. It commenced its march following close upon Colonel Price, who had started for the Pacific Coast by way of Santa Fe, some 1990 miles distant²⁴.

Price's army was not molested by the marauding Indians, but suffered the loss of many horses that died or failed on the march. All of these abandoned horses were devoured by the gangs of wolves

18. Missouri Statesman, July 10, 1846.

19. Ibid.

20. Missouri Statesman, July 10, 1846.

21. Missouri Republican, August 13, 1846.

22. Missouri Statesman, August 21, 1846.

23. Hughes, J. T.: Doniphan Expedition, p. 256.

24. Hughes, J. T.: Doniphan Expedition, p. 258.

24. Ibid.

that daily followed the army²⁵. The most serious accident that occurred during the march was the loss of sixty or more horses in a stampede somewhere on the Arkansas River²⁶. Price was a day's march in advance of his regiment at that time, very dangerously ill and not expected to live²⁷. He arrived in Santa Fe with his staff officers on June 28, in a very feeble condition, to find that Kearney was three days off for California²⁸. The different companies and detachments of his army continued to come to Santa Fe daily until about October 12²⁹, and here "they quartered on the ground-----there being no more houses in Santa Fe than barely enough to shelter the inhabitants from the inclement weather"³⁰. Price had completed his march in about fifty-three days, "having lost three soldiers on the way, one by accident, the other two by sickness"³¹.

The city of Santa Fe was made up of a number of houses resembling brick kilns, built with flat roofs without any regard to beauty or convenience. The houses were warm and would have been comfortable if it had been possible to keep them clean, but this seemed impossible since they had no floors³². "The city is alive with a promiscuous throng of American soldiers, traders, visitors, stragglers, women, and children, numbering, perhaps, not less than

25. Hughes, J. T.: Doniphan Expedition, p. 259.

26. Missouri Statesman, November 13, 1846.

27. Ibid, October 23, 1846.

28. Hughes, J. T.: Doniphan Expedition, p. 259.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Missouri Statesman, December 25, 1846.

12,000 souls", writes John T. Hughes, who accompanied the "army of the West" for the purpose of writing a history of the campaign³³. And a volunteer in a private letter declared that "this part of Mexico is black and desolate looking; it is broken and mountainous, and covered with species of shrubbery of pine and cedar"³⁴.

On October 26 Price assumed command of all troops in the Mexican territory, owing to the absence of Kearney, who had gone to California, and of Doniphan, who had that day started on his expedition against the Navajo Indians³⁵. Price issued an order on October 28 requiring the troops under his command "to appear on parade, for drill and discipline, twice each day"³⁶. The officers were required to perform an extra drill, that they might be the better qualified to instruct the men. This discipline was rigidly adhered to³⁷. Price is responsible for the issuance of this order, for under Doniphan there had been great disorder, and Price had an earnest desire to preserve order and discipline among the troops³⁸.

A great conspiracy in the Territory was revealed to Price in December thru a mulatto girl, the wife of one of the conspirators; but by the prompt action and vigilance of Price and his men, it was smothered though not completely crushed. Consequently, on January 19, it broke out again simultaneously in every part of the Territory, and on this date Governor Charles Bent and his retinue

33. Missouri Statesman, November 27, 1846 (From Liberty Tribune)

34. Ibid, December 25, 1846.

35. Hughes, J. T.: Doniphan Expedition, p. 513.

36. Ibid, p. 511.

37. Missouri Republican, January 1, 1847.

38. Ibid.

were cruelly murdered by the Pueblos and Mexicans at the village of Taos³⁹. It was about ten o'clock on the night of January 20, 1847, that a friendly Indian brought the news of the murder to Santa Fe, with the additional information that the enemy was approaching with a continually increasing force⁴⁰.

Price was determined to act promptly, before the invaders should be reinforced from other cities or before they could commit further outrages⁴¹. He gave orders to the captains to be ready for the march by ten o'clock the next day. Many of the men were compelled to labor all night in the work of preparation, but the next morning when he appeared on the Plaza, the army of 340 men was ready⁴². "It appears to be the object of the insurrectionists to put to death every American and every Mexican who has accepted office under the American government", writes Price in his official report⁴³. Men returning to the States from the New Mexico territory in March, 1847, told of the cruel assassination of Governor Bent and expressed grave apprehensions that if Price was not upon his guard a similar attack would take place at the city of Santa Fe, and that Doniphan and his band would also be led into the snare⁴⁴.

Before proceeding with the account of the fight which ensued, it must be kept in mind that Kearney had previously led an expedition just before Price from the western borders of Missouri to

39. Missouri Republican, January 1, 1847.

40. Missouri Statesman, May 21, 1847. Official Report of Price of February 15, 1847.

41. Missouri Statesman, December 3, 1847.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., March 21, 1847--Official Report of Price, Feb. 15, 1847.

44. Missouri Statesman, March 31, 1847--Official Report of Price.

the province of New Mexico, and had succeeded in making a bloodless conquest⁴⁵. How was it done? At the time that Kearney's expedition was being planned, there was in the city of Washington a citizen of the United States by the name of James Magoffin who had long been a resident in the province of New Mexico. He was at that time in Washington on business, and Thomas Hart Benton proposed that he go with the Kearney expedition after he had secured the approval of President Polk and the Secretary of War⁴⁶. As a result he went with the expedition, and was sent ahead with an officer of the army, each having his own mission to perform⁴⁷. Magoffin's mission was to induce Governor Armijo, who was in supreme command in the province of New Mexico⁴⁸, not to resist the entrance of the American troops; and his mission seems to have been easily accomplished; but the second man in command, Colonel Archulete, was determined to fight the Americans, and Magoffin explained to him that Kearney had intended to take only the left bank of the Upper Del Norte, the eastern half of New Mexico, as a part of Texas, leaving the western part untouched⁴⁹. He recommended that Archulete take that half to himself. Archulete readily agreed and gave up the fight, and Magoffin informed Kearney of what he had accomplished⁵⁰. So it was that Kearney occupied the capital without the firing of a gun⁵¹. The capture of Santa Fe and the possession

45. Benton, T. H.: Thirty Years' View, Vol. 2, p. 38.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Missouri Republican, May 18, 1846.

49. Benton, T. H.: Thirty Years' View, Vol. 2, p. 638.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

of the province of New Mexico was regarded as one of the memorable events of the war⁵².

Magoffin seemed to be sincere in what he had said to Archulette, but soon Kearney had taken possession of the whole of New Mexico and had annexed it to the United States by proclamation⁵³. For this action he was justly blamed, for it was regarded as an extraordinary stretch of power⁵⁴. Archulette, thinking himself cheated, determined on revolt. He prepared the upper country above Santa Fe, and went below to prepare the lower part of the country. The plot was then detected and revealed to Price⁵⁵, who was left in command just as the insurgents were ready for their battle.

On January 21 Price marched to meet the enemy, leaving Lieutenant Colonel Willard in command at Santa Fe⁵⁶. On the evening of January 24 he met 2,000 of them at Canada under command of Jesus Tafoya, Pabla Charez, and Pablo Montoya⁵⁷. The enemy occupied the hills commanding the road, but they were so scattered that the fire from the American lines was in a great degree ineffectual⁵⁸. Price's men then charged the hill, which routed the enemy, and a scattering fight ensued which lasted until sundown⁵⁹. The Mexicans acknowledged a loss of 36 killed and 45 taken prisoners. The enemy then retreated toward Taos, which was their stronghold⁶⁰. Price

52. St. Louis Weekly Reveille, October 12, 1846.

53. Missouri Republican, September 28, 1846.

54. Ibid.

55. Benton, T. H.: Thirty Years' View, Vol. 2, p. 638.

56. Missouri Statesman, April 9, 1847.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

continued to follow, and again encountered them at El Emboda on January 29⁶¹. The enemy was discovered hiding in the thick brush on each side of the road at the entrance of a defile by a party of spies, who immediately fired upon them. A charge was then made by the Americans, resulting in the total rout of the Mexicans and Indians⁶². The battle lasted for a half hour, but the pursuit was kept up for two hours longer. Finally, on February 3, Price and his men, now numbering six or seven hundred, arrived at Pueblo de Taos, where they found the Mexicans and Indians strongly fortified, and an attack began the next morning⁶³.

A church which had been used as part of their fortifications was taken by the Americans, but the fight was hotly contested until nightfall, when two white flags were hoisted by the enemy. The next morning the fort was surrendered, the Mexicans suffering a loss of 282 killed, while the total loss of the Americans was 11 killed and 47 wounded, Price being among the number wounded. He demanded the surrender of Tomas a Pueblo, Indian, one of the men who had instigated and had been actively engaged in the murder of Governor Bent. Tomas was later shot by a private while in the guard room at Don Fernando⁶⁴. All others who were condemned were hanged with the exception of one man who was recommended to the President of the

61. Missouri Statesman, April 9, 1847.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

United States for pardon⁶⁵, and who was later ordered released⁶⁶. On the morning of the surrender, men and women came to Price on their knees, with white flags, crosses, and images, begging for mercy and declaring that they had been soundly whipped⁶⁷. Army officers at this time spoke favorably of the conduct of Price, and stated that he had conducted the campaign with energy and judgment⁶⁸.

"After the suppression of the rebellion in New Mexico, the troops were posted in almost every part of the country"⁶⁹, and a more careful watch was kept and stricter discipline enforced⁷⁰. "The soldiers slept upon their arms; they never left their quarters, or rode out of the city, or visited the villages, or passed thru the country without their arms in their hands. They were always prepared both day and night for any sudden emergency"⁷¹. Notwithstanding this preparation, the Mexican rebellion remained unbroken, and they continued their attack on May 26, 1847, in the battle at the Red River Canon, about 120 miles from Santa Fe, where 200 of Price's men were surprised by about 500 Mexicans and Apache, Comanche, and Kiawa Indians combined. The enemy retreated the next morning with 17 killed and many wounded. The Americans had lost one man and several were slightly wounded⁷². In July the battle

65. Missouri Statesman, April 9, 1847.

66. Benton, T. H.: Thirty Years' View, Vol. 2, p. 638.

67. Missouri Republican, April 12, 1847.

68. Ibid.

69. Hughes, J. T.: Doniphan Expedition, pp. 5-9.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

of Las Bogas was fought; the town was reduced to ashes and six prisoners were courtmartialed and sentenced. On August 3 they were executed, by order of Price, in the presence of the army⁷³.

Unfavorable reports of Price's regiment had by this time reached the States. Men who had gone out to Santa Fe during the summer wrote back that moral conditions in Santa Fe were in a miserable state, and while they described Price's officers as being "gentlemen who hold themselves aloof from dissipation", the large majority were said to be "a reckless ragamuffin band, a disgrace to the name of American soldiers, and will return to Missouri a miserable ragged set with morals corrupted, and will, ere long, be a great accession to our state penitentiary"⁷⁴. Much of this criticism of Price and his men was due to the writings of "John Brown", correspondent for the St. Louis Weekly Reveille, but other writers differed with him materially⁷⁵. There were those who asserted that Price had a host of warm friends and admirers in New Mexico, and that there was not a private in his regiment who would not boldly defend his reputation at the point of a sword; that he had been honest and impartial, and had become the idol of his men⁷⁶. The fact is that Armijo, who was in supreme command in the province of New Mexico, in attempting to compensate his people

73. Hughes, J. T.: Doniphan Expedition, pp. 5-9.

74. Missouri Statesman, Sept. 10, 1847--From the Independent Expositor.

75. St. Louis Weekly Reveille, October 4, 1847.

76. Ibid.

for his tyranny, had allowed them every sort of license in their social relations, and Price's men were highly susceptible to the disorder and confusion which prevailed⁷⁷.

Back in the Whig centers in the state of Missouri, the enemies of Price were in utter astonishment⁷⁸ to hear of his promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General. He was accused of being a devotee at the shrine of Thomas Hart Benton, and Benton was accused of being responsible for the promotion⁷⁹. Editors of papers suggested that it would be good judgment if Colonel Price would refuse the office⁸⁰.

Early in August General Price left a garrison of five companies at Santa Fe and with the remainder of his troops returned to Missouri, where he arrived about September 25. He reported at this time a total loss of more than 400 men in battle and by disease⁸¹. Price spent much of his time after his arrival in Jefferson City and St. Louis⁸². In the latter city a number of prominent and Democratic citizens invited him to partake of a public dinner, which he modestly declined⁸³.

He did not linger long in the States, for on November 11, 1847, he again set out from Fort Leavenworth for New Mexico⁸⁴. The whole available force under his command amounted to about 15 men and 12 teamsters⁸⁵. It was undoubtedly a hazardous undertaking to cross

77. Smith, J.: War with Mexico, Vol. 2, p.216.

78. Missouri Statesman, August 13, 1847--From the St. Louis New Era.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.

81. Hughes, J. T.: Doniphan Expedition, p.524.

82. Missouri Statesman, October 15, 1847.

83. Ibid., November 12, 1847.

84. Missouri Statesman, November 12, 1847.

85. Ibid.

the plains at this season with so small a company⁸⁶. He reached Santa Fe without interference on December 12, and three days later an enthusiastic public dinner was tendered him in which a great number of persons participated⁸⁷. The subject of the toast given on this occasion by General Price was "To the Legislature of New Mexico". He said, "May the results of the deliberations of the legislature now in session in New Mexico prove to the citizens that wise and deliberate councils are their only safeguard"⁸⁸.

In February following, General Price and his staff gave a ball in the Palace at Santa Fe in honor of the American victory at the battle of Taos⁸⁹. During the dance a report was brought to General Price that there were prospects for a fight in the neighborhood of El Paso, where a large Mexican force had gathered. The report created a sensation, and Price immediately sent off dispatches for different posts⁹⁰. He started with two companies of the First Regiment of United States Dragoons, arriving in El Paso about the twentieth of February⁹¹. Since Price was determined to attack Governor Trias, he continued on March 1, with 400 men, and arrived at Chihuahua on the seventh of March, to find that all the important personages had fled⁹². Price pursued Governor Trias and his men for sixty miles, or until he came to Santa Cruz de Rosales⁹³. He

86. Missouri Statesman, November 12, 1847.

87. Ibid., Jan. 21, 1848.

Missouri Republican, Jan. 11, 1848.

88. Missouri Republican, Jan. 13, 1848.

89. Missouri Statesman, May 19, 1848.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

92. Missouri Republican, May 15, 1848.

93. Ibid.

demanded an unconditional surrender of the town and of public property belonging to the army⁹⁴. This demand was refused, and on March 16 Price took the town by force, after bitter fighting. The Mexicans surrendered after losing 150 men and having as many wounded⁹⁵. Forty Mexican officers were taken prisoners and fourteen pieces of artillery were captured. The Americans lost five men and had nine wounded⁹⁶. Peace had been concluded when this battle was fought, and Price was blamed by the Mexicans, though unjustly, as he had not been officially notified of the armistice⁹⁷. Enemies of Price alleged that whenever he saw fit to disobey orders from superior officers, he did so, and then got a promise from Senator Benton at Washington City to protect him against censure⁹⁸.

On March 18, Price started back to Chihuahua, taking with him Governor Trias⁹⁹. All the Mexican prisoners, however, were liberated on parole upon his arrival at his destination¹⁰⁰. Price was compelled to remain for some time in Chihuahua, owing to the state of the wounded among his men. At this time "it was thought by those who had been much with the troops of Generals Wool and Scott that the volunteers under Price would compare favorably with any in the field"¹⁰¹.

By July, 1848, Price was on his way from Chihuahua with his

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94. Missouri Republican, May 15, 1848.
95. Missouri Statesman, August 11, 1848.
Smith, J.: War with Mexico, p. 166.
96. Ibid.
97. Missouri Republican, May 15, 1848.
98. The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 3.
99. Missouri Statesman, May 19, 1848.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid, August 11, 1848.

whole command¹⁰², and his return trip was without incident except for a few days' delay where they were waterbound at the Pawnee Fork, a branch of the Arkansas River a few miles west of Council Grove¹⁰³.

Price arrived at Brunswick, Missouri, on October 8, 1848, having been absent almost a year on his second campaign¹⁰⁴. He had returned to Missouri from the very heart of a hostile country, and he went immediately to his farm in Bowling Green Prairie,¹⁰⁵ a beautiful retreat, largely bottom land and very productive, which had been managed during his absence by his wife¹⁰⁶. On Wednesday, October 20, the people of Chariton County gave a barbecue in honor of the Chariton County Volunteers of Price's and Doniphan's regiments. The reception address was made by the editor of "The Brunswicker", Dr. John H. Blue, and responded to for the volunteers by General Price¹⁰⁷.

Price always regretted that he was unable to bring back to Missouri the Mexican artillery as trophies of the war¹⁰⁸.

102. Missouri Statesman, August 25, 1848.

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

105. History of Howard and Chariton Counties, p. 471.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid, p. 524.

108. Ibid, p. 479.

Chapter IV

STERLING PRICE AND THOMAS HART BENTON

Thomas Hart Benton was for many years the most distinguished political leader in Missouri, and performed great services for his state. His long public life brought him warm political friendship with Sterling Price, who followed his leadership for many years but who finally was one of those who repudiated him. The circumstances which led to the final break in their friendship began when Benton refused to favor the annexation of Texas, at which time he lost the support in Missouri of such Democrats as Claiborne F. Jackson and David B. Atchison¹. The leaders in the Fayette Clique, of which Price was a member, also publicly declared that they would not vote for Benton or any other man for the United States Senate who was opposed to the immediate annexation of Texas².

In 1848, Frank P. Blair, Jr., and other confidential friends of Senator Benton, attempted to establish an organization of the Free Soil Party in Missouri, and thereby secure an electoral ticket for Van Buren and Adams to defeat the Cass and Butler electoral ticket³. A newspaper called the "Barnburner" was established in St. Louis, and public meetings were held and speeches were made in behalf of the movement⁴.

Senator Benton was not directly connected with this movement, but he made no attempt to denounce or repudiate it, and many of his

-
1. Missouri Historical Review X: McClure, C. H.--Early Opposition to Thomas Hart Benton--(1915-1916) p. 188.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Politics in Missouri (1856) p. 5.
 4. Ibid.

followers had misgivings as to his political faith and purposes⁵. The Democratic Party in Missouri as a whole was determined to remain faithful to Benton if he would obey the instructions which were given to him by the legislature of the General Assembly in January, 1849⁶. In these resolutions--known as the Jackson resolutions--it was stated among other things that the citizens of every state had a right to remove to the territories with their property, and that these territories ought to be governed for the common benefit of the people of all the states; there was also an important statement that each senator and representative should vote in conformity with these resolutions⁷. Senator Benton declared that these Jackson Resolutions were just a mere copy of the Calhoun Resolutions of 1847, and were not passed for the intention of instructing him at Washington, but for the purpose of attacking him at home and for the purpose of "chaining Missouri to the nullification car of Calhoun"⁸. Many sympathized with Senator Benton in his view of the matter because they too believed that the palpable object of these resolutions was to drive him from Congress⁹, the ultimate result of which would be the "effacement of the Jacksonian system of the Southern Confederacy and the triumph of the Calhoun element"¹⁰.

Senator Benton revealed the plot which he claimed was concocted against him. He charged that in January, 1849, a squad of Confederate nullifiers met in a room at the capital at Jefferson City and prepared many drafts of the resolutions. They were then placed

5. Politics in Missouri (1856) p. 5.

6. Ibid.

7. Missouri Statesman, June 8, 1849.

8. Ibid., June 22, 1849.

9. Jefferson Inquirer, July 10, 1852.

10. Missouri Historical Review II, 1907: Missouri from 1849 to 1861, by Chas. M. Harvey, (1907-08) pp. 21-40.

in the hands of Judge W. P. Napton¹¹, "to digest and make one out of the whole". Benton further declared that all of the newspapers in the state, the Bank of the State of Missouri and its branches, the State University, and all state officers were to be led in one harmonious crusade against him¹². It was indeed a fact that the strife in the state between the Benton and anti-Benton factions of the Democratic party had reduced itself to personal vilifications which were shameful and scandalous¹³.

Colonel Benton's information with regard to the Jackson Resolutions was based in part upon a letter received from Price which had been written from his Val Verde farm in Chariton County, Missouri, on August 8, 1849. In this letter Price assured Benton that Judge W. P. Napton had shown him, during the winter, a set of these resolutions which Price believed were those that passed the legislature¹⁴.

In 1849 local newspapers published the statement that Price was "against Colonel Benton"¹⁵. Price made himself clear on this point thru the columns of The Brunswicker in the summer of 1849, when he declared that he had preferred to keep out of the unfortunate controversy between Colonel Benton and a portion of the Democratic party. He stated clearly that he was opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, which Benton favored, and that he was opposed to Congressional interference with the institution of slavery in the territories, for he believed that the citizens of the territory should be allowed to

11. Missouri Statesman, May 28, 1852.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., July 20, 1849.

14. Missouri Statesman, June 4, 1852.

15. Missouri Statesman, August 3, 1849--From The Brunswicker.

decide that question for themselves. He felt, too, that the legislature which elected its senators had a right to instruct them, and he favored making the people responsible for both the election and the instruction¹⁶.

Price further stated that had he been in the legislature at the time the resolutions in the controversy were introduced, he would have voted for them. He did not believe, however, that there was any state in the Union that would threaten nullification or disunion; he was opposed to both, and did not believe in allowing the agitation of either¹⁷. He was of the opinion that Senator Benton was attempting at that time to put down just such an agitation and bespoke for him a fair hearing on the subject¹⁸. "If I find," he declared, "when he has said all he wishes to say, that I cannot support him without abandoning my principles, then I will be against Colonel Benton, and not until then"¹⁹.

It is, therefore, true that Price and Benton did not entirely agree in their political policies. They differed not only on the subject of the Benton appeal, but with regard to the Texas and Oregon question and the Wilmot Proviso²⁰; but in spite of this fact, Price was unwilling to give up the valuable services of Senator Benton. He felt that the state needed his opinion and his support, and especially in connection with the question of the Pacific rail-

16. Missouri Statesman, August 3, 1849--From The Brunswicker.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

road, which was an issue at that time²¹.

In the approaching election of 1850, friends of Price endeavored to bring his name before the country as a candidate for Congress of the United States from the Third Congressional District of Missouri, and he was recommended as a man eminently fitted for the place²².

The Benton group was eager for a man strong enough to oppose James L. Green, because of the bold front with which Green had opposed Benton in the National Congress²³. Thus all eyes were turned on Price²⁴ as a harmonious and patriotic choice²⁵. Price settled the matter in a public letter which he wrote from Val Verde on February 5, 1850, in which he asked that his name be withheld from the canvass because the affairs of his private business demanded his personal attention after his prolonged absence from the country²⁶. Price seized this opportunity to again make clear his attitude toward Senator Benton, for he said, "In regard to the position which I sustain toward Missouri's most honored and distinguished son, I have only to say that my confidence in his honor and integrity and patriotism remains unshaken; whenever the vital and absorbing questions of domestic policy which are now threatening the perpetuity of our government shall be brought up in national councils, he will be found where he has ever been, nobly defending those very doctrines which have cemented our political fabric and exhibited her fair proportions in such singular and striking beauty"²⁷.

21. Missouri Republican, August 13, 1846.

22. Missouri Statesman, August 17, 1849.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., January 4, 1850.

25. Ibid., February 22, 1850.

26. Missouri Statesman, February 22, 1850.

27. Ibid.

The election which took place the following August gave to J. G. Miller, the Whig candidate, a majority of 24 votes over J. S. Green, the anti-Benton Democrat²⁸, and in January, 1851, occurred the memorable fight in the General Assembly of Missouri for the election of United States Senator, at which time Henry S. Geyer was elected over Thomas Hart Benton²⁹.

There was little chance for harmony in the ranks of the Democrats in Missouri, but when their leaders cast about for a candidate for Governor in 1852, the man Sterling Price stood out, because of his moral character and genuine integrity³⁰. An effort was made in both the state and presidential elections of that year to bring together in one state convention all who claimed to be Democrats³¹; in fact there was sentiment in several counties of the state to unite and bury the tomahawk³², but the efforts of the Barnburners, which had begun in 1848³³, and the campaign of the newspaper known as the Democratic Flag, tended to keep alive the old animosities, while Benton and some of his friends stood aloof from the Democratic party in that part of the state where they had strength³⁴.

In the light of this condition, the Democratic State Convention met in Jefferson City on April 5, 1852, to make its nominations for state officials. Honorable John M. Krum of St. Louis was selected to have an interview with Price, who was a Benton delegate to the Convention³⁵. Price promised to pursue a course that would be

28. Missouri Statesman, August 23, 1850.

29. Ibid, January 31, 1851.

30. Jefferson Inquirer, May 8--From the Savannah Sentinel.

31. Politics in Missouri, 1852, p. 8.

32. Missouri Republican, January 23, 1852.

33. Ibid, July 26, 1848.

34. Politics in Missouri, 1856, p. 8.

35. The Reynolds Manuscript, pp. 4-5.

acceptable to the Benton men, and it was agreed that the ticket should represent a united effort of a fused Convention³⁶. Price was one of the twelve men who had drawn up the platform resolutions, and out of this number six men were unqualifiedly Benton men³⁷. The patched-up platform which had been adopted was in brief as follows:³⁸

1. To defend and support the Democratic platform of the Baltimore Convention of 1848.

2. To cling to the Republican doctrines as contained in the celebrated Virginia and Kentucky resolutions.

3. To abide by and maintain the principles of the Compromise of 1850 recently passed by Congress.

4. To regard the right of instruction as a vital principle of Republicanism, representatives and senators being bound to obey in their legislative action the instructions of their constituency.

5. To hold no political fellowships with abolitionists of the North or the nullifiers of the South, and to discard as unworthy of confidence all enemies of the union of the states.

The other leading candidate for the governorship was Thomas L. Price of Cole County, then Lieutenant-Governor, who had been nominated by Frank P. Blair, Jr., while Sterling Price was placed in nomination by Mr. Doxey of Chariton County³⁹. On the first and second ballots, Thomas L. Price was in the lead of Sterling Price, there being a few scattered votes for J. S. Phelps, J. M. Hughes,

36. The Reynolds Manuscript, pp. 4-5.

37. Missouri Republican, June 27, 1853.

38. Missouri Statesman, April 16, 1852.

39. Missouri Statesman, April 16, 1852.

and William Gilpin⁴⁰. In the afternoon session there was an attempt to withdraw the name of Thomas L. Price if the name of Sterling Price would also be withdrawn, and place in nomination Colonel M. M. Marmaduke of Saline County; but Marmaduke's position and political principles were not satisfactory, and the nomination was withdrawn⁴¹. On the third ballot the majority vote stood for Sterling Price, and he was declared the nominee⁴². He was accordingly notified of his nomination⁴³, and he appeared before the Convention and delivered a one-sentence speech as follows: "Gentlemen, I thank you for the honor conferred upon me by my nomination, and I pledge myself to do my utmost to unite the Democracy of the state on the platform you have adopted." A remark which caused laughter came from Dr. Lowry, a delegate: "General, you say you will attempt to unite the Democracy on our platform. Are you on it yourself?"⁴⁴

The anti-Benton faction considered that they had won in this Convention, for Thomas L. Price had always been an uncompromising friend of Senator Benton. Sterling Price, on the other hand, was thought of as anti-Benton in principle, but a Benton man by personal regard⁴⁵.

The reaction of Senator Benton to the proceedings of the Convention was reflected in an address he delivered at the town of Jackson, Missouri, on May 15, 1852⁴⁶. It was a scathing denunciation of the action of the State Convention. He denied that there

40. Missouri Statesman, April 16, 1852.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Missouri Republican, April 17, 1852.

46. Missouri Statesman, May 28, 1852.

was any union of the two wings of the Democracy, and pronounced it all a farce and a cheat from the beginning. He especially made a point of the fact that all of his "prominent friends" failed to be nominated. Thomas L. Price was the only man, in his estimation, whom the people had indicated they wanted as governor. He mentioned also the repudiation of Colonel Marmaduke, who was also a strong Benton man. He said: "I say nothing about the gentleman nominated over him, whether as good a friend of Benton or not"⁴⁷.--"And who were they that dominated at Jefferson City?" he asks. "They were the old nullifiers of 1823, 1844, and 1849. They were the men who hold the right of a state to secede when she thinks proper. They were the men who deny the right of Congress to legislate upon slavery in the territory and assert the right of the state to resist the acts of Congress when they please"⁴⁸. Benton was privately very severe on Sterling Price, whom he considered indebted to him for all he was, both in the military and the political field⁴⁹. He and his friends continued to separate themselves from the Democratic party, opposing the Kansas-Nebraska Act and insisting upon the ostracism of all who favored it⁵⁰. Just as this time Senator Benton made public the letter referred to above which Price had written to him in 1849. Since Price was the coalition candidate, the newspapers took great delight in revealing to the anti-Benton wing the seeming

47. Missouri Statesman, May 28, 1852.

48. Missouri Statesman, May 28, 1852.

49. The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 5.

50. Politics in Missouri, 1856, p. 5.

friendly relationship which existed between Price and Benton⁵¹. They also let it be known that in the congressional election of 1850, Price had voted for J. G. Miller from the Third District and against James S. Green, the most prominent and most bitter anti-Benton Democrat in the district⁵².

In the campaign which followed, it was consequently talked that Price was a Benton man with anti-Benton principles⁵³. He had not made any speeches on the political topics of the day, and the press was clamoring to know his position⁵⁴. Even the public began to wonder if he were afraid to come out before the people⁵⁵. Illness in his family did in a measure prevent him from making an extensive campaign. The real fact, however, was the the "silent" game was imposed upon him by the Jefferson City Convention⁵⁶, and he was discreet enough to obey orders, which resulted in the election of the entire fusion ticket⁵⁷. Price's friends refused to believe that he was a coward when he had fought so nobly on the battle fields⁵⁸.

The Whigs in the state had been very certain that Major James Winston, their brilliant candidate for governor, and grandson of the patriot, Patrick Henry⁵⁹, would be supported by the Benton wing of the Democracy⁶⁰, and that "Sterling Price who does not dare to show his nose outside of Val Verde is to be abandoned by the whole troupe of them"⁶¹. Mr. Winston had expressed himself frankly upon every

51. Missouri Statesman, June 4, 1852.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid., July 2, 1852.

54. Ibid.

55. Missouri Statesman, July 16, 1852.

56. Missouri Republican, July 1, 1852.

57. The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 5.

58. Jefferson Inquirer, July 24, 1852.

59. Missouri Statesman, October 20, 1854.

60. Missouri Republican, July 1, 1852.

61. Missouri Statesman, July 9, 1852.

political topic, and has been especially severe in his denunciation of the Jackson Resolutions⁶²; he declared that they were a part of the Nashville Nullification Convention, which he charged contemplated treason to the Union⁶³.

The official returns of the August election gave to Sterling Price 46,495 votes; to Winston, 32,686. The county of Chariton recorded 462 votes for Price and 261 votes for Winston⁶⁴. It was admitted that Price had received the whole vote of the Democracy of the state, for both the Benton and anti-Benton men had voted for him⁶⁵.

It was after Price had taken his stand on the Jackson Resolutions and the Jefferson City Convention platform, and after Benton's condemnation and rebuke of Price on May 15, 1852, that Sterling Price and Thomas Hart Benton came to the parting of the ways. From this time on Price and all others who stood upon the Baltimore platform and maintained its principles were assailed by the Benton press⁶⁶; and when the Seventeenth General Assembly of the State of Missouri met in December, 1852, this fight between the two factions was resumed in that body⁶⁷. Much time was spent in protracted discussion and debate upon the question of the repeal of the Jackson Resolutions which had been adopted in the session of 1849⁶⁸. Price was governor at this time, and was in favor of the anti-Benton wing, and quietly

62. Missouri Statesman, July 9, 1852.

63. Missouri Republican, July 15, 1852.

64. History of Howard and Chariton Counties, p. 641.

65. Missouri Republican, August 17, 1853.

66. Ibid, June 7, 1853.

67. Missouri Statesman, February 17, 1853.

68. Ibid.

gave them his support on the question at issue⁶⁹. The resolution of Frank P. Blair to repeal these resolutions was finally laid upon the table in the House of Representatives on February 14, 1853, in order that its members might consider and pass bills of importance. Sentiment in the matter, notwithstanding, seemed in favor of the repeal⁷⁰.

Governor Price was at the time esteemed for his good qualities as a citizen and as an executive, but by many he was despised as an extreme partisan, for the impression was still prevalent that he was a Benton man, while the official newspaper at Jefferson City was grinding out abuse of the Benton democracy⁷¹.

On April 25, 1854, Benton again brought himself into direct opposition with the anti-Benton faction by an address which he delivered in the National House of Representatives⁷², in which he stood solidly against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and against the Nebraska bill, which he alleged was but a scheme to smuggle slavery into that territory⁷³. In the August election of 1854, the anti-Benton faction and the Know Nothing party together succeeded in defeating Benton for reelection to Congress⁷⁴. Local newspapers continued to propose a reconciliation of the two factions, but both sides repudiated in contemptuous terms the overtures of the other⁷⁵. The Benton faction, in a mass meeting in Jefferson City on November 12, 1855, did all they could to prevent the threatened harmony⁷⁶.

69. Missouri Statesman, March 4, 1853.

70. Ibid.

71. Missouri Republican, March 23, 1853.

72. Ibid., May 31, 1854.

73. Missouri Republican, August 15, 1854.

74. Missouri Republican, August 15, 1854.

75. Missouri Statesman, October 13, 1854.

76. Politics in Missouri, 1856, pp. 13 ff.

On January 4, 1855, the Missouri legislature met in joint session to elect a United States Senator to succeed David R. Atchison. After juggling with the names of Atchison, Doniphan, Benton, and Wilson⁷⁷, on the twenty-second ballot the name of Atchison was dropped and William Scott of the Supreme Court was nominated in his place. Since no nominee received a majority of all of the votes given, the name of Scott was withdrawn and Sterling Price was nominated on the twenty-fifth ballot. The vote stood: for Price, 55 votes; for Benton, 40; for Doniphan, 29⁷⁸. The name of Price was then withdrawn and Atchison was again nominated⁷⁹. As no one received a majority, the legislature adjourned; and when they reassembled in November, they were not in joint session; thus no Senator was elector⁸⁰. At this time it was generally conceded that Price was against Benton, and it was hoped that in the event of his election to the Senate, it would bring about a fusion or political amalgamation of the two wings of the party⁸¹.

In this session when D. D. Brown from Platte County placed the name of Sterling Price in nomination, he stated that Governor Price was a man who had been true to Missouri and to the Union, and he called upon the Benton democracy who had supported him in the race for the governorship to come forward and support him at this time⁸². When the roll was called, Frank P. Blair, champion of Thomas Hart Benton, arose, and hurled against Governor Price one of the most

77. 18th General Assembly of Missouri- Adj. Sess.-House, 1854, p.63.

78. Ibid, pp. 94-99.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.

81. Missouri Republican, January 10, 1855.

82. Missouri Statesman, January 19, 1855.

caustic philippics ever voiced in the Missouri legislature⁸³. He declared that the nomination of Governor Price was an insult to the Democracy of the state, and that his nomination was a definite scheme to enable Price to play a game of treachery and deceit. He claimed that Price had betrayed Benton, who had lifted him from his position of obscurity, and that Price had been not only faithless to Benton but to both parties of the Democracy⁸⁴.

At this point it is interesting to know that Blair had been placed under arrest while with Price in the War with Mexico⁸⁵, and it is probable that the attitude he assumed at this time was his method of retaliation. This trouble with Blair, many believed, was the cause of Price's desertion of Benton in 1852, for at that time Benton chose Blair as his political leader in Missouri along with Montgomery Blair, his brother, and B. Gratz Brown, a cousin⁸⁶. Governor Price, however, maintained that the quarrel in Mexico was between Blair and a subaltern officer, with which he really had little to do, and he refused to consider it as a matter of importance⁸⁷.

Friends of Price in the legislature repudiated all insinuations that the nomination of Price had been pre-arranged. They stoutly maintained that it was unsolicited, and that Brown, in proposing the name of Sterling Price, had acted upon his own authority⁸⁸. They declared that Benton had been the traitor to Price in 1852, when Benton published certain information for ulterior purposes which had

83. Missouri Republican, January 15, 1855.

84. The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 2.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. Missouri Republican, January 15, 1855.

been given to him by Price in confidence in 1849⁸⁹.

In February, 1856, the anti-Benton men held a meeting in Jefferson City in which they favored a judicious system of internal improvements and at the same time they endorsed the action of Governor Price in his opposition to internal improvements⁹⁰. They also favored the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and desired the overthrow of abolitionism⁹¹. The work of this Convention was later completed in St. Louis in April, when Trusten Polk was nominated for governor⁹². The Benton men in Convention in St. Louis on April 21 nominated Thomas Hart Benton for governor⁹³, but he did not formally accept his nomination until after the nomination of James Buchanan for the presidency at Cincinnati, June 2-6, 1856⁹⁴. The Benton faction adopted a resolution to send delegates to Cincinnati with instructions to vote for no man for president whose antecedents were not compatible with the platform they had adopted⁹⁵. Both delegations of the Missouri Democracy claimed seats in the Convention. The Benton men represented ten counties of the state, with three-fourths of all their delegates from St. Louis, St. Charles, and Cole Counties⁹⁶. The anti-Benton delegation represented sixty counties, with delegates from all quarters, and were acknowledged by the National Convention. They were not favorable to the nomination of Buchanan, and they voted against him as long as he had opposition⁹⁷.

89. Missouri Statesman, January 19, 1855.

90. Missouri Republican, February 1, 1856.

91. Ibid,

92. Ibid, April 23, 1856.

Ibid, April 25, 1856.

93. Missouri Republican, April 23, 1856.

94. Ibid.

95. Missouri Statesman, May 9, 1856.

96. Missouri Republican, June 11, 1856.

97. Jefferson Inquirer, June 10, 1856.

The greatest issue with the anti-Benton party was the slavery question, and they repudiated Senator Benton in no uncertain terms and advocated the perpetuity of the institution of slavery⁹⁸, while Senator Benton denounced the abolition movement in the Missouri Assembly and expressed himself as opposing the slavery agitation. He said it had been the whole policy of his life to keep the slavery question out of the state⁹⁹.

As Sterling Price entered the last year of his governorship in the summer of 1856, Benton made a political tour thru the state, accompanied by P. F. Foy, of the staff of the St. Louis Democrat. Foy acted in the capacity of historian to Benton¹⁰⁰. When they came to Jefferson City, Foy wrote and published an article accusing Governor Price of having sent twelve pieces of cannon and twenty-four boxes of muskets out of the state for the conquest of the Kansas territory¹⁰¹. James S. Hackney, the quarter-master general at Jefferson City, on July 1, 1856, proved this to be a deliberate untruth by issuing a statement branding the accusations as false in every detail, and exonerating Governor Price¹⁰². The story, however, had gone abroad and was published in all of the leading abolitionist papers¹⁰³.

In 1857, when Price's term as governor had just expired, he was urged for the short term senatorship, which would end in March, 1861¹⁰⁴.

98. Jefferson Inquirer, July 25, 1857.

99. Missouri Statesman, April 10, 1857.

100. Missouri Republican, July 9, 1856.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid.

103. Ibid.

104. The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 8.

The anti-Benton men attempted to nominate him as an expression of their gratitude to him for his abandonment of Benton in 1852, but in this they failed¹⁰⁵.

Thus it was that Sterling Price and Thomas Hart Benton, long-time friends, went different political paths after 1852, each one working against the other; one quietly, with dogged determination, the other noisily voicing his sentiments with great aggression.

105. The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 8.
Missouri Statesman, January 16, 1857.

Chapter V

PRICE AS GOVERNOR 1852-1856

On February 3, 1853, at the regular session of the Seventeenth General Assembly of the State of Missouri, Sterling Price and Wilson Brown, newly elected governor and lieutenant-governor, were duly inaugurated¹. The inaugural address of Governor Price was a short message, as compared with the messages of previous governors, and it aroused but little editorial comment².

Governor Price expressed his faith in the institutions of the country, in the supremacy of the Union, and in the hope that the legislature of the state might take wise action in matters of public works³. The message did not give satisfaction to the Benton faction, since they regarded the firm position that Price had taken as unfavorable to their views and opinions⁴, and he had plainly reiterated the fact that he intended to carry out the principles of the party platform upon which he had been nominated⁵.

The people of Missouri at this time were interested in problems of finance and in matters of public improvement. Thru the efforts of Frank P. Blair of St. Louis, all bank notes had been driven out of the state except the notes of the Bank of the State of Missouri, and all circulation was reduced to the notes of the bank and to its gold and silver⁶. This was the old scheme of

1. Missouri Statesman, Jan. 14, 1853.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., Jan. 7, 1853.

4. Missouri Republican, Jan. 9, 1853.

5. Missouri Statesman, Jan. 14, 1853.

6. Missouri Republican, Feb. 23, 1853.

Senator Benton, and a law was accordingly passed authorizing a sale of the stock owned by the state in the Bank of the State of Missouri⁷.

Before the session of this Seventeenth Assembly was far advanced, the anti-Benton men were by coup d'etat expelled from all bank offices, and many of these offices were thrown into the hands of the Whigs⁸. The anti-Benton men argued that it was wrong for the Bentonites to vote for Whigs for bank officers and directors, but the Benton men were determined to fight politically any man who had in any way opposed "Old Bullion"⁹, as Benton was frequently called. In January, 1855, when the legislature had again completed its election of the President and Directors of the Bank of the State of Missouri and its branches,¹⁰ the Whigs and the Bentonites continued to divide the spoils. It was evident that all attempts to coalesce the anti-Benton and Benton factions were fruitless¹¹.

In the beginning of his administration Governor Price had appointed a committee to examine into the state and condition of the Bank of the State of Missouri at St. Louis and its branches, which were located in the towns of Jackson, Palmyra, Fayette, Lexington, and Springfield¹². The report, in brief, of the

7. Missouri Republican, Feb. 23, 1853.

8. Missouri Republican, Jan. 21, 1853.

9. Missouri Statesman, Feb. 11, 1853.

10. Missouri Republican, Jan. 27, 1853.

11. Ibid.

12. Missouri Statesman, Feb. 11, 1853.

committee showed the following condition¹³:

	<u>Assets</u>	<u>Liabilities</u>
Bank of the State of Missouri.....	\$3,983,131.36...	\$3,983,131.36
Jackson Bank.....	349,850.08...	349,850.08
Palmyra Bank.....	358,217.08...	358,217.08
Fayette Bank.....	384,807.17...	384,807.17
Lexington Bank.....	402,966.61...	402,966.61
Springfield Bank.....	291,067.57...	291,067.57
	<u>\$5,770,039.87...</u>	<u>\$5,770,039.87</u>

In view of this report, when Governor Price wrote his next message of December 25, 1854, he accordingly favored a rechartering of the state bank, and asked that its capital stock be increased to the sum of \$5,000,000¹⁴. He doubted, however, the wisdom of introducing the free banking system¹⁵, or banks secured by stocks or by individual liabilities, for such would call for an amendment to the constitution¹⁶. In the early part of the winter of 1854, many banks all over the country were in a state of failure and collapse. This was particularly true of many of the "free banks"¹⁸, and the seriousness of the situation raised the question in the mind of Governor Price.

The corporate existence of the bank was extended until Feb. 2, 1861, and an amendment was proposed and approved on March 5, 1855, to abolish Article VIII of the Constitution of Missouri and substitute the following: "The General Assembly shall have power to establish such bank or banks as may be deemed necessary for the interests of the state; but every bank so established shall be based upon specie capital and made liable to redeem its issue in gold and silver; provided that the number of banks chartered shall not exceed

13. Missouri Statesman, Feb. 11, 1853.

14. Missouri Republican, Dec. 30, 1854 (The Bank of the State of Missouri had been chartered in 1837 for a period of twenty years).

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., Jan. 3, 1855.

17. Missouri Statesman, Nov. 24, 1854.

18. Ibid.

ten and the aggregate amount of capital shall never exceed twenty millions of dollars"²⁰.

In Governor Price's final message of Dec. 29, 1856, he very severely condemned and arraigned the mammoth city banks of the Atlantic states as enemies of the farmer and the country merchant²¹. He then asserted that the state of Missouri had just such enemies in her midst, and that she was in danger of being controlled by anti-slavery corporations in the city of St. Louis²². This insinuation of Governor Price aroused the members in the legislature from St. Louis to such an extent that one member opposed the printing of additional copies of the message²³; he felt that the charge was a foul slander upon a portion of the community of St. Louis. He declared that Governor Price had disgraced himself as an officer of the state. "Sterling Price by name, or rather by misnomer, has seen fit to reflect upon the constituency that I represent upon this floor-----I deny the right of Governor or any executive to take upon himself the criticism of the votes or political action of the people themselves"²⁴.

In addition to the question of the bank, the problem of railroads stirred public interest at this time. Governor Price stated in his message to Congress in 1854 that the Assembly could not abandon the idea of giving aid to the railroads which were then in

20. Laws of Missouri -19th General Assembly (1856-57) pp. 4-5.

21. Missouri Statesman, Jan. 2, 1847.

22. Missouri Statesman, Jan. 2, 1857.

23. Ibid.

24. Missouri Statesman, Jan. 9, 1857.

progress in the state; further than this he did not commit himself, but commended the whole subject to a consideration of the General Assembly²⁵. He did favor, however, the building of a central railroad from the state of Missouri to the Pacific, feeling that it would strengthen the bonds of national union and prevent a monopoly of trade and travel by either the northern or southern section of the country²⁶.

A special session of the legislature in November, 1855, was given entirely to a discussion of the railroads, which had been undertaken by incorporated companies who were requesting that they be further aided by the credit of the state²⁷. This special session brought a short and businesslike message from Governor Price which was devoted to the consideration of the railroads and swamp lands²⁸. In this message he took a stand against the release of the state lien, or a change of the lien of the state on the roads from a first to a second mortgage²⁹. He presented very cogent reasons in opposition to that measure, which had been previously proposed³⁰. Governor Price summarized the several acts of the legislature for the years from 1851 to 1855 which had authorized the issue of state bonds to the railroads³¹, and said he believed the people in general were hostile to any scheme which might result in an oppressive taxation and a charge upon the public treasury³².

25. Journal of the House- Missouri- 17th Gen. Assembly, 1854, p. 25.

26. Ibid, p. 29.

27. Journal of the House- Missouri- 18th Gen. Assembly, Adj. Session, 1855, p. 8.

28. Missouri Statesman, Dec. 7, 1855.

29. Missouri Republican, Dec. 4, 1855.

30. Ibid.

31. Missouri Statesman, Dec. 7, 1855.

32. Journal of the House- Missouri- 18th Gen. Assembly, Adj. Session, 1855, p. 11.

In spite of the fact that the people were willing to encourage important undertakings, Price sent a veto message to the Senate, rejecting the bills pertaining to the Platte County and Lexington and Daviess railroad³³. His objection to these bills was placed not upon constitutional grounds, but upon the point of expediency³⁴. His veto of this measure created considerable excitement thruout that part of the state which was affected³⁵; however, his message was not an onslaught upon internal improvements, but full of wise and important suggestions³⁶. He did question the constitutionality of the branch roads, and he objected to the extension of these main lines of railroad until the main lines were completed or at least assured³⁷.

In a message to the House in February, 1855, Price returned a bill entitled "An Act to Amend an Act to Incorporate the Platte County Railroad" which had passed both houses but which Price opposed because of growing depression in monetary affairs prevalent all over the country³⁸. Notwithstanding this fact, many acts were passed incorporating county railroads³⁹.

In the spring of 1854, Governor Price refused to aid in the construction of the North Missouri Railroad⁴⁰; while the charter of this railroad specifically stated that it should run from St. Louis thru Mexico, Missouri, by the Ridge Route⁴¹, the directors had

33. Missouri Republican, Jan. 27, 1853.

34. Ibid.

35. Missouri Republican, Jan. 27, 1853.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Journal of the House- Missouri- 18th Gen. Assembly, Adj. Session, 1855, pp. 352-3.

39. Laws of Missouri - 18th Gen. Assembly, Adj. Session, pp. 130-326.

40. Missouri Statesman, April 21, 1854.

41. Ibid.

adopted the Central Route, which diverged from Mexico, running across numerous little hills and tributaries of Salt River that the Ridge Route avoided by running on the Ridge⁴². Price was therefore justified and partly praised in refusing to issue the state bonds and in standing by the law, since the Central Route would have cost more money notwithstanding the fact that the Ridge Route was the longest⁴³.

The location of the road on the Ridge Route was made conditional on the subscription of the sum of \$450,000 additional by the counties thru which it passed⁴⁴. Because of the stand taken by Governor Price, late in the fall of 1854 the company decided by resolution to locate the road on the Ridge⁴⁵.

Governor Price believed and held that the railroads could not be completed in Missouri without occasioning bankruptcy and ruin to the state, and he did not favor any change in the system then in use⁴⁶. His opponents declared that railroad building was impossible under the system then in force⁴⁷. Earlier in the year, by joint resolution of the legislature, commissioners had been appointed to examine railroads in the state⁴⁸. The committee made a very detailed and elaborate report of conditions, in which they stated that the actual and probable cost of railroad build-

42. Missouri Statesman, April 21, 1854.

43. Ibid, May 19, 1854.

44. Ibid, October 27, 1854.

45. Ibid.

46. Missouri Statesman, November 16, 1855.

47. Missouri Republican, November 10, 1855.

48. Journal of the House- Missouri- 18th Gen. Assembly, 1854-1855, p. 500.

ing in the state was not as great as that of other roads in other states, and expressed a hope that the state might be enabled to complete the various roads under construction⁴⁹; but on Dec. 10, 1855, Governor Price, true to his convictions, returned the bill which had passed both houses and which proposed to issue the following sums to the railroads⁵⁰:

Pacific Railroad Company.....	\$2,000,000
Hannibal & St. Joseph R. R. Co.....	1,500,000
North Missouri R. R. Co.....	2,000,000
Iron Mountain R. R. Co.....	1,500,000
	<u>\$7,000,000</u>

Governor Price claimed that this measure would result in a total indebtedness of the state in the shape of bonds to \$16,000,000; that the \$7,000,000 in bonds would be issued as fast as the companies could show that they had raised and expended in construction one-half of that amount⁵¹. He was willing to assume responsibility for one-half the cost of construction for the state, but the plan as it stood held the state responsible for two-thirds of the cost of its road construction, and this he opposed⁵². Public sentiment felt that the Governor would feel constrained to sign the bill since it had passed by a majority of the Assembly⁵³; and upon reconsideration, it passed both houses by the constitutional

49. Journal of the House- Missouri- Adj. Session, Appendix, p. 123.

50. Journal of Senate- Missouri- 1855, pp. 214-219.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Missouri Republican, Dec. 4, 1855.

majority over the veto of Governor Price, and became a law Dec. 10, 1855⁵⁴. As a result of this action, grants to roads were made as follows:⁵⁵

Pacific Railroad.....	\$2,000,000
Branch Pacific Railroad.....	3,000,000
Hannibal and St. Joseph R. R..	1,500,000
North Missouri R. R.....	2,000,000
St. Louis & Iron Mountain R.R.	2,250,000
Cairo and Fulton R. R.....	250,000
	<u>\$11,000,000</u>

Governor Price immediately referred the new law to Attorney-General Gardenhire, who pronounced it unconstitutional⁵⁶. This decision, however, was so unsatisfactory to the people in general that Price consented to abide by the decision of the State Supreme Court, although he was advised by many politicians and lawyers of the state to treat the law as a nullity and withhold the bonds⁵⁷. He was severely criticized as having attempted to thwart the will of the people and set himself up as a dictator of the General Assembly⁵⁸. The Supreme Court soon delivered their opinion in which they declared the railroad law to be constitutional and valid⁵⁹. Price apparently took little notice of what the people were saying, for at the close of the legislative session of 1855, he vetoed the Fulton and Cairo railroad bill and the Western and Randolph railroad bill, both of which failed because of his veto⁶⁰.

During his administration, Price's attitude on the question of slavery was made clear in a public letter which he addressed to one

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54. Laws of Missouri- 18th Gen. Assembly, Adj. Sess., p. 18.
Journal of Senate- Missouri- 18th Gen. Assembly, 1855, p. 221.
55. Laws of Missouri- 18th Gen. Assembly, Adj. Sess. p. 18.
Journal of Senate- Missouri- 19th Gen. Assembly, 1856-1857, Appendix, p. 30.
 Million, John B.: State Aid to Railroads in Missouri, 1896, pp. 91-107.
56. Missouri Republican, Jan. 9, 1856.
57. Jefferson Inquirer, Jan. 19, 1856.
58. Ibid.
59. Missouri Republican, April 23, 1856.
60. Missouri Statesman, Dec. 21, 1855.

Josiah Foster who had sent him a mass of abolition literature for his official endorsement⁶¹. In this letter Price expressed himself in no uncertain words as being out of sympathy with the abolitionist movement, and requested that no more of such appeals be sent into the state⁶². Further proof of his position on this question is seen in the fact that in the State Pro-Slavery Convention which met at Lexington, Missouri, on July 12, 1855, Governor Price was present and was invited to a seat within the bar⁶³. This Convention condemned the effort that was being made by the Union to exterminate the institution of slavery, since they believed that it was exclusively a question of state jurisdiction⁶⁴. The Convention also approved the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Fugitive Slave Law⁶⁵.

A few weeks later a pro-slavery article to the people appeared in the columns of the newspapers, signed by William B. Napton, Sterling Price, M. Oliver, and S. H. Woodson⁶⁶. In the article there was an attempt to show that Missouri contained 100,000 slaves and that one-half of this number were located in the eighteen counties within a mile of the Kansas border⁶⁷. There was an objection raised in the fact that the settlers who had come from New England to Kansas called themselves emigrants without having marks of the older pioneers who cut down the forests, leveled the canebrakes, or

61. Missouri Statesman, Dec. 23, 1853.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., July 20, 1855.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid., Oct. 19, 1855.

67. Ibid., July 20, 1855.

broke up the plains⁶⁸. The authors of this article held that these emigrants were hirelings recruited and shipped by one state of the Union to make war upon an institution not existing in the Territories⁶⁹. They declared slavery to be a question which concerned the State and not the Federal Government⁷⁰.

Governor Price was outspoken in denouncing the Free Soil Party as an advocate of unconstitutional schemes⁷¹, and he maintained that no power was given to Congress to say that "slavery" should exist on one side of a line of latitude and not on another⁷². He accordingly expressed his satisfaction in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise⁷³.

During the early fall of 1855, Governor Price went to Washington, D. C., to secure titles for the state of Missouri to the swamp lands selected by the state agents under the Acts of Congress⁷⁴. Some controversy had arisen over a technicality and all the state lands had been withheld and correspondence had failed to get issued the patents to the uncontested lands. Governor Price took it upon himself to visit Washington, and succeeded in accomplishing the object of his visit⁷⁵.

In addition to the fact that the people of Missouri were interested in the question of railroad building, banking, and slavery, there were many other progressive measures that engaged

68. Missouri Statesman, July 20, 1855.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Journal of the House- Missouri-18th Gen. Assembly, 1854-5, p.30.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid, p. 31.

74. Missouri Statesman, Sept. 28, 1855.

75. Ibid.

their attention. Many schools, academies, and female seminaries were founded all over the state, and many towns were incorporated⁷⁶. During his governorship, Price felt that the salaries of all public officials, including the governor, were inadequate, and he asked that the salary of the governor be increased to \$3,000 per year and that all other salaries be increased to a fair living compensation⁷⁷.

After his retirement from office, Governor Price went to his farm near Keytesville, in Bowling Green Township. In addition to his farm interests, he operated a large tobacco warehouse at the Keytesville Landing on the Missouri River⁷⁸.

76. Laws of Missouri, 18th Gen. Assembly, 1855-6, Adj. Sess. House, pp. 130-326.

77. Journal of the House- Missouri- 18th Gen. Assembly, 1854, p. 27.

78. History of Howard and Chariton Counties, p. 474.

Chapter VI

PRICE IN THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865

Part I

Events Precipitating War

It was the desire of the political leaders of Missouri to know how the state stood on the question of secession. On Dec. 31, 1860, the General Assembly met in Jefferson City¹, and Claiborne F. Jackson, the newly elected governor, declared that the will of the people should be discovered thru a State Convention². The General Assembly agreed that public affairs demanded the calling of a Convention to take action in the interest and welfare of the state³. The legislature accordingly passed an act in January, 1861, calling for a State Convention⁴, and providing that each senatorial district should be entitled to elect three times as many persons to the Convention as the district was entitled to numbers in the State Senate.⁵

Sterling Price then announced himself as candidate for the Convention in the district composed of the counties of Howard, Chariton, and Randolph⁶, and during the canvass he took the position that secession was not a right under the Constitution. He believed that it should exist only as a right of revolution when oppression became intolerable⁷.

1. Missouri Statesman, Jan. 4, 1861.

2. Ibid, Jan. 18, 1861.

3. Journal and Proclamation of Missouri State Convention, 1861, p.3.

4. Missouri Statesman, Jan. 18, 1861.

5. Ibid.

6. Missouri Republican, Jan. 20, 1861.

7. Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. 2; Early Recollections of Missouri, by Thomas Shackelford, p. 11.

As a result of this canvass, the Sixth Senatorial District sent as its delegates three Union men, Sterling Price of Chariton, Thomas Shackelford of Howard, and William A. Hall of Randolph to the Convention⁸. The votes for these men from the district were as follows⁹:

Thomas Shackelford.....	3,902
Sterling Price.....	3,897
William A. Hall.....	3,420

Price was at this time fifty-one years of age and acting as Bank Commissioner¹⁰.

On February 28, 1861, the Convention met at the Court House in Jefferson City, and Judge Hamilton R. Gamble acted as temporary chairman¹¹. The name of Price was soon placed on the committee selected to determine what officers would be necessary for the future action of the Convention¹². The approved report of this committee recommended that each delegate elected to the Convention should take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Missouri, and to properly demean himself in office, before entering upon the discharge of his duties¹³.

James O. Broadhead of St. Louis then nominated Sterling Price for the office of President of the Convention. N. W. Watkins of Jackson, Missouri, was also nominated, but when the roll was called there appeared for Price 75 votes, for Watkins 15 votes¹⁴. Price

8. Journal of the State Convention, 1861, p. 9.

9. Missouri Statesman, Feb. 22, 1861.

9. Missouri Statesman, March 8, 1861.

10. Journal of the State Convention, 1861, p. 12.

11. Missouri Statesman, March 8, 1861.

12. Journal of the State Convention, 1861, p. 10.

13. Ibid, p. 12.

14. Proceedings of the State Convention 1861, p. 9.

was declared elected, having received a majority of the votes cast¹⁵. He was informed of his election and was conducted to the chair amid much applause¹⁶. Upon taking the chair, he made his usual brief speech, in which he thanked the men of the Convention for the honor they had conferred upon him¹⁷. He asked the Convention to be calm, deliberate, and dispassionate, in its deliberations and actions, and to keep in mind that they were not meeting under ordinary circumstances but at a critical time¹⁸. At the end of the second day the Convention adjourned to meet in St. Louis March 4, 1861¹⁹.

When the Convention reassembled, a resolution was passed declaring tentatively against secession but opposing the policy of coercion²⁰. After a passage of the original resolution, a member introduced a resolution (Bast) to the effect that if all the border states, meaning Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland, seceded from the Union, then Missouri would take her position with her sister states. William A. Hall and Thomas Shackelford, members from the Sixth Senatorial District, voted "No" on this resolution, which lost, and Sterling Price, the third member from the Sixth Senatorial District, voted "Yes". Thomas Shackelford later had this to say²²:

"That evening after the adjournment of the Convention, he

15. Proceedings of the State Convention 1861, p. 9.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Missouri Statesman, March 22, 1861.

21. Missouri Historical Collection, Vol. 2, April, 1903--Early Recollections of Missouri, by Hon. Thomas Shackelford, p. 12.

22. Ibid.

(Price) took me by the arm and led me to the extreme north end of the hall in the Planter's House and said to me: 'You were surprised at my vote today.' I told him I was. He said to me: 'It is now inevitable that the general government will attempt the coercion of the southern states. War will ensue. I am a military man, a southern man, and if we have to fight, will do so on the part of the South.'²³

In April following the secessionists at Keytesville, Missouri, held a meeting in which they passed a resolution complimenting Sterling Price for voting for this resolution, and censuring Hall and Shackelford for voting against it. Price's son was present at the meeting and told them that his father would not be flattered by their resolution²⁴.

In the meantime Price was appointed Major-General of the Missouri State Guard²⁵. He had been chosen to command the state troops because of his military ability²⁶, and the Governor had ordered the Missouri troops organized under the military law of the state to go into encampment in their several districts for the term of six days, for purposes of military training and instruction²⁷.

On May 10, 1861, Price was a witness of the attack on Camp

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23. Missouri Historical Review, Vol. 2, April, 1903, p. 12.
24. Missouri Republican, June 12, 1861.
25. Missouri Statesman, July 26, 1861.
26. The Reynolds Manuscript, pp. 14-15.
27. Missouri Statesman, May 17, 1861.

Jackson which occupied Lindell's Grove in the suburbs of St. Louis²⁸. Price's eldest son was also present with the Company which he had raised under the laws of the state, and of which he was captain²⁹. The state troops were made prisoners of war, and an offer was made to release them if they would take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and swear not to take up arms against the government. Only eight or ten out of the 800 soldiers were willing to do so; the rest preferred to be made prisoners of war, because they claimed they had already sworn allegiance to the United States. They felt that to repeat the oath would be to admit that they had been in rebellion against their government, which they were not willing to concede³⁰. Price was very angry over this attack of the Federal troops upon the State troops, and it marks the end of his Unionism; for he thought it was an insufferable trespass upon the rights of the state.

On May 18, Price went to Jefferson City, where as Major-General of the forces of the state, he took charge of the men who arrived at that place³¹. He issued a proclamation from Jefferson City June 4, 1861, in which he made clear that his idea in becoming a military commander of the Missouri State Guards was to prevent the transfer of the seat of the war from the Atlantic states to the state of Missouri³². He felt that there was no

28. St. Louis Weekly Times, Oct. 6, 1876.

29. U. S. Biographical Dictionary- Missouri- 1878.

30. Missouri Statesman, May 17, 1861.

31. Ibid.

Rebel Legislature- Journal of the Senate, Oct. 21, 1861, p. 4.

32. Moore, Frank: The Rebellion Record, p. 338.

reason for disturbing the peace and tranquillity of Missouri, since she had taken no steps to dissolve her connection with the Federal government³³.

The Missouri Military Bill which was passed at the Twenty-first General Assembly of the Legislature at Jefferson City³⁴ divided Missouri into nine military districts, and declared that all able-bodied free white male inhabitants of the state between the ages of eighteen and forty-five who should be enrolled, or liable to military duty under the provision of this act, should constitute the Missouri State Guard³⁵. On May 16, 1861, Price issued an order calling upon the Brigadier-Generals in their districts to organize the militia according to law, and to hold them in readiness for active service³⁶. The object was to protect the people in their rights under the Constitution of the State and under that of the United States. The flag used by the militia was the flag of the State of Missouri³⁷.

The attack on Camp Jackson had been followed by a rumor that Federal troops would march upon the capital of the State³⁸, but the orders promptly issued by Price did a large amount of good in quieting apprehensions and in maintaining quiet and peace³⁹; for this reason Price was welcomed in the capacity of Major-General of

33. Moore, Frank: The Rebellion Record, p. 338.

34. Laws of the State of Missouri - 21st Gen. Assembly, 1861, p. 43.

35. Missouri Statesman, May 24, 1861.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Missouri Republican, May 23, 1861.

39. Ibid., May 25, 1861.

the Missouri State Guards--he was conservative and discreet⁴⁰. Even the Union men at Jefferson City felt and expressed confidence in his ability⁴¹.

General Price in the meantime had held his important interview with General William S. Harney of the United States Army, in which they had issued, on May 21, a mutual declaration, each agreeing to recognize the authority of the other, and agreeing not to make any military movements which might create excitement and jealousies within the state⁴². This agreement was cordially endorsed by the masses of the people in the state, and Governor Jackson and General Price disbanded the troops at Jefferson City and at St. Joseph and ordered them home, there to drill and receive instruction⁴³. General Harney issued orders on May 27 for the withdrawal of the German regiments of the Federal troops from the different encampments in the suburbs of St. Louis⁴⁴. After this agreement there was correspondence between Price and Harney, in which Price assured Harney that he was sincere in his part of the agreement⁴⁵. Harney, however, seemed to be in fear of the coming of organized troops from Arkansas⁴⁶, and he suggested to Price that the Home Guards (Federal soldiers) be sent into the vicinity of Springfield, Hannibal, St. Joseph, and Kansas City⁴⁷. To this Price objected, believing that such action would develop hostilities between the Federal and State governments⁴⁸. Indeed, Price advocated the abandonment of the Home

40. Missouri Republican, May 16, 1861.

41. Ibid, May 25, 1861.

42. Missouri Statesman, May 24, 1861.

43. Missouri Statesman, May 31, 1861.

44. Ibid.

45. Soldiers of Missouri in Service During the Civil War, p. 258.

46. Soldiers of Missouri in Service During the Civil War, p. 258.
War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol. 3, p. 379.

47. Ibid.

48. Soldiers of Missouri in Service During the Civil War, p. 259.

Guards and emphatically declared that no troops from Arkansas were expected or desired⁴⁹. A short time after this General Harney was superseded in the command of the United States troops by General Nathaniel Lyon⁵⁰; but notwithstanding this fact, Harney's confidence in the honor and integrity of Sterling Price remained unimpaired⁵¹. General Price, then, in order to correct misapprehensions and misunderstandings, stated officially and publicly that since the Federal Government had thought it proper to remove General Harney from command of the Department of the West, he felt sure that his successor would consider himself and his government in honor bound to carry out the agreement in good faith⁵². But such was not to be the case, for on June 11, 1861, occurred the famous interview of Brigadier-General Nathaniel Lyon and Frank P. Blair, Jr., with Governor Claiborne Jackson and Major-General Sterling Price⁵³. Jackson and Price had left Jefferson City on the tenth of June in a special train. They arrived in St. Louis at midnight and took rooms at the Planters House⁵⁴. The next morning Lyon sent them carriages and an invitation to meet him at his quarters at the Arsenal⁵⁵. This invitation was declined, however, and they met in rooms at the Planters House⁵⁶. The communications were conversational in nature, and no record was officially kept of the proceedings of the conference, which was several hours in length. The terms offered were unacceptable and were refused, and the conference

49. Soldiers of Missouri in Service During the Civil War, p. 259.

50. Missouri Statesman, June 7, 1861.

51. War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol. 3, p. 383.

52. Missouri Statesman, June 14, 1861.

53. Ibid.

54. Missouri Republican, June 12, 1861.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

broke up⁵⁸. There were those who were of the opinion that Jackson and Price had hoodwinked Harney and that in this interview they hoped to do the same to Lyon and Blair⁵⁹.

At twelve o'clock June 11, 1861, Governor Jackson and General Price reached Jefferson City on their return from St. Louis, burning bridges and demolishing the telegraph as they went⁶⁰. On June 12, Governor Jackson issued a proclamation calling the militia of the state, 50,000 men, into active service⁶¹. He urged the people to obey the Constitution of the United States and to do nothing to disturb that relation until the State Convention expressed the sovereign will of the people⁶². On June 15, 2,000 Federal troops started from St. Louis in pursuit of Jackson and Price⁶³. They came up the Missouri River in four boats commanded by General Lyon⁶⁴. Jefferson City was taken without resistance, for Jackson and Price had fled to Boonville⁶⁵.

Part II

Major-General Sterling Price and the Missouri State Guard

Price established his headquarters on the banks of the Missouri River, about four miles below the town of Boonville, at which place he planted his battery to command the river. He was of the opinion that Boonville was surrounded by a population friendly to him and

58. Missouri Statesman, June 21, 1861.

59. War Sketches and Incidents, Vol. 2, p. 279.

60. Missouri Statesman, Jan. 14, 1861.

Moore, Frank: The Rebellion Record, p. 104.

61. Missouri Statesman, June 21, 1861.

62. Missouri Statesman, June 21, 1861.

63. War Department Report - Major L. B. Parsons, p. 11.

64. Ibid.

65. War Department Report - Major L. B. Parsons, p. 11.

Missouri Statesman, June 14, 1861.

Ibid., June 21, 1861.

that it was close to those counties from which he expected his greatest support¹. He then gathered around him some 3,000 poorly armed men without training or organization². On June 17, 1861, a report was current that seven boats were coming up the river from St. Louis carrying Union troops³. Price decided to disband his troops because they were not strong enough to sustain themselves against such a force⁴, and, as he was prostrated by illness, he left on a steamer for his home in Chariton County after issuing an order for the troops to retire toward Arkansas⁵.

When it became evident that the steamboat story was without foundation, the state troops, under the command of Colonel John S. Marmaduke, were detained to attack the Federal forces stationed a few miles below the State Guard on the south side of the River⁶. 1500 of Marmaduke's men marched in helter-skelter, pell-mell fashion from Boonville, and on June 18, 1861, they fought with the Federal troops in the battle of Boonville⁷. Marmaduke's men could not stand the fire of these troops, and they were forced to retreat⁸ before them. The Federal troops marched into the town and took possession on the evening of the same day⁹. Shortly after this battle, Price, fully recovered from his illness, started with about 5,000 of the State Guards into the southwest corner of the state¹⁰.

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1. Missouri Statesman, June 14, 1861.
Snead, T. L.: The Fight for Missouri, pp. 206-207.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Moore, Frank: The Rebellion Record, Vol. 1, p. 107.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Missouri Statesman, June 28, 1861.
 6. Ibid, June 21, 1861.
 7. Ibid.
 8. Ibid.
 9. Ibid.
 10. Missouri Republican, June 23, 1861.
Missouri Statesman, June 28, 1861.

His objects were to organize his men into companies or regiments¹¹, obtain arms from Arkansas, and invite General Ben McCulloch and his forces into the state¹².

A report was widely circulated at this time to the effect that McCulloch was unwilling to give aid to Missouri¹³. He claimed that his reluctance in this matter was due to the fact that he had been assigned to the Indian Territory, with instructions to defend it from invasion, and in giving aid to Price, he did so at his own risk, with no assurance that the government would approve of his conduct¹⁴.

On July 25, Price moved his entire command from Cowskin Prairie in McDonald County, where he had encamped, to Cassville in Barton County, at which place he arrived on July 28, joining his forces on the following day with those of McCulloch and Pearce of Arkansas¹⁵. Price was compelled while in this section of the state to move his army from place to place, as the country was too poor to sustain him long in any given spot¹⁶.

The combined forces that met at Cassville left on August 5 and moved towards Wilson's Creek, ten miles southwest of Springfield, where they were put in readiness, under command of General Ben McCulloch¹⁷, to meet the enemy¹⁸. Lyon and his command had followed Price into the Southwest and were stationed only a short distance

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11. Military Operations in Missouri, 1861--Unpublished report of Gen. Ben. McCulloch, C. S. A.--Hist. Mag., May, 1872, p. 130.
 12. Missouri Statesman, June 28, 1861.
 13. Military Operations in Missouri, 1861--Unpublished report of Gen. Ben. McCulloch, C. S. A.--Hist. Mag., May, 1872, p. 130.
 14. Ibid.
 15. Missouri Statesman, Aug. 23, 1861.
 16. Military Operations in Missouri, 1861--Unpublished report of Gen. Ben. McCulloch, C. S. A.--Hist. Mag., 1872, p. 130.
 17. Missouri Statesman--Official Report of Price, Aug. 23, 1861.
 18. Ibid.

from the camp of Price¹⁹. Lyon had divided his forces into two divisions, and had planned that Gen. Franz Sigel should attack the enemy from the rear while he made an attack upon them from the front²⁰. McCulloch had withdrawn his pickets, and the advance of the enemy was not discovered until J. J. Snyder informed him of the Federal surprise²¹. It was early in the morning of August 10, 1861, when Snyder discovered the Federal troops advancing. He hurried to Price, who appeared from his tent bare-headed, in shirt, trousers and boots, buttoning his suspenders as he emerged²². Price instantly called for his horse, and was soon in the saddle. Rushing forward, he verified the report of Snyder, and the severe and bloody battle of Wilson's Creed ensued.

*McCulloch undertook to meet the attack made by Sigel, while Price opposed Lyon. By nine o'clock Sigel was retreating upon Springfield, having been completely routed. McCulloch then turned to assist Price against Lyon, and for three hours more the contesting forces grappled with each other in deadly conflict. At the critical moment Lyon was killed. By noon the Federals were in full retreat upon Springfield, under the command of Sturgis, who had succeeded Lyon²⁴. Both sides had fought with great courage and endurance, with heavy losses in killed and wounded²⁵.-----

*General Price displayed unflinching and heroic daring upon the

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- 19. Missouri Statesman- Official Report of Price, Aug. 23, 1861.
 - 20. Snead, T. L.: The Fight for Missouri, pp. 270-276.
 - 21. Missouri Statesman, Oct. 1, 1886.
 - 22. Ibid, Oct. 1, 1886.
 - 23. Ibid.
 - 24. Violette, E. M.: History of Missouri, pp. 363-364.
 - 25. Missouri Statesman, Aug. 23, 1861.

Battle field, riding on horse back where bullets flew the thickest at the head of the column²⁶ and speaking words of encouragement to the fighting men²⁷.

A few days before the battle of Wilson's Creek, Price had dispatched General Raines with a portion of his mounted men to clear the counties bordering on Kansas of the bands of marauders who were devastating that section of the state²⁸. Raines had halted in Cedar County for reinforcements, and after the battle of Wilson's Creek, Price marched to his aid. Price had planned to march to the Missouri River with McCulloch, but McCulloch had refused on the grounds that he needed his force to protect upper Arkansas and because he had little ammunition³⁰.

Price resumed his march from Cedar County westward on September 1³¹. For six or seven miles the road he travelled lay thru a rolling prairie covered with grass five or six feet high. It then entered a dense forest about a mile wide, lying on both sides of Big Dry Wood Creek³². The enemy were soon discovered within eight miles of Fort Scott, Kansas, under the command of Montgomery, Lane, and Johnson³³.

26. Missouri Statesman, Aug. 23, 1861.

27. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 44.

28. Missouri Statesman, Sept. 13, 1861.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Missouri Statesman, Sept. 27, 1861- Official Report of Price.

32. Ibid.

33. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 54.

At this place Price reviewed his army, and "he was greeted by the command with shout after shout, which he acknowledged by raising his hat, as was his custom, and a fine view was presented of his countenance, figure and bearing"³⁴. Price led forward only a portion of his forces against the enemy, and opened upon them an effective fire of artillery and small arms³⁵. The enemy speedily fell back to cover of the forest and were soon in full retreat³⁶. Price pursued them for some three miles and was then compelled by the approaching darkness to halt his forces and encamp. At this camp he was detained for several days by heavy rains³⁷.

After driving the marauding bands out of the state, Price turned his march toward Lexington with an army that increased hourly in numbers and enthusiasm³⁷. On September 10, he learned that a detachment of Federal troops and Home Guards were marching from Lexington to Warrensburg, and he decided to press forward and surprise them at the latter place³⁸. In this march towards Warrensburg the cavalry went ahead, marching all night, and Price rode at the head of the column³⁹. On September 11 he reached Warrensburg only to find the bridges burned and the enemy gone to Lexington⁴⁰. He pressed forward in pursuit toward Lexington, which was about twenty-one miles distant, reaching the town on September 13⁴¹.

Lexington was in the heart of a very rich country, and Price wanted to possess the entrenchments erected there by the United

34. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 54.

35. Missouri Statesman, Sept. 27, 1861--Official report of Price.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

Missouri Statesman, Oct. 4, 1861.

38. Ibid.

39. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 61.

40. Missouri Statesman, Oct. 4, 1861.

41. Ibid.

States troops and to hold the river so the state could not be divided by the Federals⁴². Shortly after his arrival he took his position within range of Lexington College, but he soon withdrew his forces to the fair grounds, where he encamped and gave his men much needed rest and food⁴³. On September 18, after being reinforced, he again moved into the town⁴⁴.

Old Lexington was originally the early settlement located back on the hill, south of the river⁴⁵. The main body of Price's army was stationed at this place, from which point the attack was made⁴⁶. Old Lexington had been superseded by New Lexington farther up the river, where the steamboats landed⁴⁷. New Lexington was the main city and both towns, with the few scattered houses along the bluff between, were united under the one name "Lexington"⁴⁸. Col. James Mulligan's fortifications, consisting of heavy earth-works some ten feet high, were between the two locations⁴⁸. This fort surrounded a college building which was used by Mulligan as headquarters for his soldiers⁴⁹.

The first attack of Price upon the fort was made on September 18, with a force of about 8,000 men. The engagement lasted two hours and ended in the retreat of the Confederates⁵⁰. On the next day Price, with from 16,000 to 20,000 men, began a desperate

42. Missouri Republican, Sept. 14, 1861.

43. Missouri Statesman, Oct. 4, 1861.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid., Sept. 27, 1861.

46. Missouri Statesman, Sept. 27, 1861.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Missouri Statesman, Sept. 27, 1861.

assault upon the fortifications. It was a furious battle of a day's length⁵¹. The men under Mulligan fought for many hours without water, and had only three barrels of vinegar to quench their thirst⁵². The Confederates captured three government steamers and a ferry boat that was within range of the Federal cannon⁵³. The object of Price was to surround the fort and cut off the supply of water for Mulligan's men; and this he succeeded in accomplishing⁵⁴. Price's troops, in their advance upon the garrison, rolled bales of hemp before them, each bale protecting about four men and making effective movable breastworks⁵⁵. On the afternoon of the 20th, after fifty-two hours of continuous firing, a white flag was displayed on the part of the Federal troops. Firing ceased immediately⁵⁶. At the time the surrender took place men in the fort were dropping from faintness and fatigue, while Mulligan wept at the necessity which forced him to surrender⁵⁷. Price rode in and sat upon his horse near the center of activities, and received and returned the sword of Mulligan⁵⁸. The state troops lost 25 men by death and 72 wounded; the Federal side lost 40 men killed and 100 wounded, with the further loss of 3500 men taken prisoners, Mulligan being among the number⁵⁹.

Price recovered the great seal of the state and the public records, which had been taken from their custodians, and about

51. Missouri Statesman, Sept. 27, 1861.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Missouri Republican, Sept. 28, 1861.

58. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 74.

59. Missouri Statesman, Sept. 27, 1861.

\$900,000 which had been taken from the bank at Lexington⁶⁰. He restored the lost property to the bank, thru feeling of generosity, and by this act made many personal friends⁶¹. Price was not given much credit for this battle by the Federals because the numbers were overwhelmingly in favor of the Militia⁶². However, the Confederates in the South felt that Lexington was of great significance, and Vice-President Stephens of the Confederacy is said to have remarked that were he President, he would make Price Generalissimo⁶³. The Confederate movement officially tendered its thanks to Price for his "brilliant achievement at Lexington"⁶⁴.

Price and his army were forced by military necessity to move southward⁶⁵. When this retreat was ordered, a race began between Price and Fremont, Price to secure again a base in the southwest and Fremont to overtake him⁶⁶ and drive him out of the state⁶⁷. Price's army went south across the Missouri River thru Lafayette and Johnson counties and thru those counties that are near to the Kansas border. The army finally encamped near the town of Neosho, at which place the state legislature had been called into extra session by Governor Jackson and where an Act of Secession had been passed on October 22, 1861⁶⁸. Price's army consisted of about 2,000 wagons and 16,000 horses and from 18,000 to 20,000 men; but his men were in need of necessities and many were dissatisfied⁶⁹. However, they marched to Cassville and found some help in rein-

60. Missouri Statesman, Sept. 27, 1861.

61. Edwards, John N.: Shelby and His Men, p. 45.

62. Missouri Statesman, Sept. 27, 1861.

63. The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 40.

64. War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol. 3, p. 729.

65. Compilation of Letters and Papers of the Confederacy, 1861-5, Vol. 1, p. 168.

66. Missouri Statesman, Oct. 1, 1861.

67. Edwards, John N.: Shelby and His Men, p. 45.

68. Missouri Republican, Oct. 8, 1861.

69. Missouri Statesman, Oct. 25, 1861.

70. Ibid, Oct. 18, 1861.

forcements from Colonels Thompson and Hardsee⁷⁰.

Price well knew that the Missouri State Guard was not prepared for long military operations. The men had been sworn in for only six months' service, and the time was fast approaching when they should be discharged⁷¹. What should Price do? Early in December, thru the columns of the Missouri Argus, he issued a proclamation to the people of central and north Missouri calling for 50,000 men⁷². He appealed, also, for clothing, tents, guns, blankets, shoes, and bedding. This proclamation was ridiculed and parodied as the melodramatic wail of a desperate and defeated man, and it tended to greatly discourage the Confederate government when they realized the sad straits of Price's army⁷³.

In December, 1861, Price set forth in a letter the reasons it had been so difficult for him to carry on a successful war in Missouri⁷⁴. He claimed that many men who wanted to join his forces lived north of the Missouri River and that the approach to his army had been cut off by the Federals who held the river⁷⁵. He stated that General McCulloch had refused to accompany him to clear the river after the battle at Wilson's Creek, and that McCulloch continued to refuse to aid him after his retreat into the Southwest; and that McCulloch's constant and repeated refusals to cooperate, had

70. Missouri Statesman, Nov., 1861.

71. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, pp. 111-112.

72. Missouri Statesman, Dec. 6, 1861.

73. Ibid.

Missouri Republican, Dec. 1, 1861.

74. Soldiers in Missouri in Service During the Civil War--Letter from Price to General Polk, Dec. 23, 1861.

75. Ibid.

engendered in the minds of many of the people of Missouri a doubt as to the sympathy and desires of the Confederate government toward the state⁷⁶. McCulloch himself admitted a part of this, at least, to be true when he said: "Whilst General Price and I have ever been on the most friendly terms personally, yet we never could agree as to the proper time of marching to the Missouri River"⁷⁷.

While Price was struggling to hold his dissatisfied army together, in the latter part of 1861, Major E. C. Cabell and Thomas L. Snead, Commissioners for Governor Jackson to the Confederate government at Richmond⁷⁸, were doing all in their power to persuade President Davis to place Price in command of all the forces in Missouri and Arkansas⁷⁹. A letter written to Price by the Commissioners contains the following: "The President was firm and even impatient in his opposition to our views. He declared that while you had done well, and while he entertained the kindest feeling for you personally, he was determined to appoint no man as Major-General to command that department who was a resident of Missouri, Arkansas, or Texas. He alluded to the difficulties between you and McCulloch and gave this as a reason why some one disconnected with those feuds should be placed over all the forces".

These Commissioners intimated to Price in this letter that Jackson had criticized him to President Davis, and that this

76. War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol. 3, p. 746.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid., p. 727, 735.

Ibid., p. 714.

79. Soldiers in Missouri in Service During the Civil War, p. 295-6.
The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 32.

criticism had greatly influenced Davis⁸⁰. It is true that Jackson wrote to Davis on November 5, 1861, of the difficulties between Price and McCulloch, but he later wrote to Davis, on Dec. 30, 1861, from New Orleans urging the appointment of Price⁸¹. On this same date he sent a letter to Price in which he declared that he could not understand the attitude of Davis toward Price. "I am free to acknowledge there is a mystery about the whole affair which I do not comprehend"⁸².

Thomas Reynolds, Lieutenant-Governor in Missouri at the outbreak of the war, claimed that after the Lyon-Jackson conference neither Jackson nor Price ever again enjoyed the full confidence of President Davis⁸³. It must be remembered that at that conference Governor Jackson expressed his willingness to drive Confederate troops out of the state, if by so doing he might help to keep Missouri neutral⁸⁴. Davis could not understand such an offer and lost faith in the sincerity of Jackson and Price⁸⁵.

It was the opinion of many that the prejudice which Davis held toward Price dated back to the days when they both were young men in Congress, one representing the state of Missouri, the other the state of Mississippi. They both resigned their seats in Congress to serve in the war with Mexico, and each had been commissioned a colonel and ordered to lead a regiment to the seat of war⁸⁶. Davis

80. Soldiers in Missouri in Service During the Civil War, p. 296.

81. Ibid, p. 297.

82. War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol. 3, p. 725.

83. The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 50.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.

86. Williams, Walter: A History of Northeast Missouri, Vol.3, p.1539.

objected to his assignment, for it compelled him to join his forces with those of his father-in-law, General Zachary Taylor, with whom he had been estranged⁸⁷ since his elopement with Taylor's daughter, who had died soon after of fever⁸⁸. Davis insisted that his regiment be sent up the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers to Fort Leavenworth and from there to Santa Fe, and that Price and his regiment go down the river to New Orleans and embark from that point to join Taylor in Mexico⁸⁹. This plan was refused by Price, and it is thought Davis never forgave him for his unwillingness to make the change⁹⁰.

While politicians were everywhere speculating in 1861 as to the cause of Davis' disregard of Price, the following appeared in praise of the latter: "The popularity of Price is not exceeded by that of any general in the Confederate service. Not one of them has achieved so much renown with means such as he had. He placed himself upon the tide of revolutionary enthusiasm of his people, and led them on to victory with a courage and sagacity that has ranked him among the most dignified and popular military men in the South".

In February, 1862, Price had established his headquarters at Springfield, in order to be within reach of supplies⁹²; but he was soon surprised by an attack from superior numbers, and on

87. Missouri Statesman, Feb. 25, 1848.

88. Williams, Walter: A History of Northeast Missouri, Vol. 3, p.1539.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. Missouri Statesman, Jan. 3, 1862.

92. Moore, Frank: The Rebellion Record, 1862, p. 40.

February 12 he left Springfield by the Fayetteville road⁹³. He was pursued by General Curtis, who succeeded in overtaking his rear guard. Price had fled in hot haste, leaving the road strewn with wagons and baggage, all of which was captured by General Curtis⁹⁴. After a fatiguing march of over four days' duration, Price finally brought his troops to Cross Hollows in Arkansas⁹⁵.

The Confederates and Missouri State Guard took their position in the Boston Mountains, a high range that divides the waters of the White and Arkansas Rivers⁹⁶, and at this place Price managed to rally a large number of the forces that had fought with him at Wilson's Creek and Lexington⁹⁷.

On March 3 Major-General Earl Van Dorn came to Price's headquarters and took command of his forces. The soldiers all agreed that Van Dorn could fight, but they greatly preferred that Price should be at the head of the army⁹⁸. The men were soon arranged in two divisions, one commanded by Price, the other by McCulloch, and both under Van Dorn¹⁰⁰, numbering not less than 20,000 men¹⁰¹.

The Federal force, estimated at upwards of 25,000 men, were in the command of Curtis¹⁰². They were discovered in the neighborhood of the Elkhorn Hotel and on March 6-8, 1862, occurred the

93. Missouri Statesman, Feb. 21, 1862.

94. Ibid.

95. Moore, Frank: The Rebellion Record, 1862, p. 40.

96. Missouri Republican, April 28, 1862.

97. Ibid.

98. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, pp. 161-162.

99. Missouri Republican, April 28, 1862.

Bevier, R. S.: History of First and Second Missouri Confederate Brigades, p. 95.

100. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 162.

101. Stephens, Alex. H.: A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States, 1870, Vol. 2, p. 540.

102. Ibid.

battle of Elkhorn or Pea Ridge¹⁰³. During this struggle, the Missourians under Price heard above the roar of the battle his constant command, "Forward, Missourians"; and they defiantly pressed on in their attempt to hurl back the Federal lines¹⁰⁴. Price received very painful flesh wounds in the arm and abdomen, but he would not leave the field, and he wept when compelled by necessity to give orders to retreat¹⁰⁵.

Van Dorn and his army had been completely whipped; Price at the head of a division fled in one direction, Van Dorn took another, while McCulloch and his son had been killed in battle¹⁰⁶. Van Dorn, in describing this battle, said the following of Price and his men¹⁰⁷: "I have never seen better fighters than these Missouri troops and more gallant leaders than General Price and his officers. From the first to the last shot, they continually pushed on and never yielded an inch they had won, and when at last they received the order to fall back, they retired steadily and with cheers. General Price received a severe wound early in the action, but would neither retire from the field nor cease to expose himself to danger¹⁰⁷".

After the battle of Pea Ridge, Price was determined to enter the Confederate service, and while encamped at Van Buren, Arkansas, he received notice that he had been appointed Major-General in the Con-

103. Stephens, Alex. H.: A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States, 1870, Vol. 2, p. 540.

104. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 171.

105. Ibid, p. 181.

106. Missouri Statesman, Feb. 28, 1862.

Ibid, March 21, 1862.

Missouri Republican, March 16, 1862.

107. War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol. 3, p. 285.

federate service, to cooperate with Van Dorn in "the army of Western Tennessee, east of the Mississippi River"¹⁰⁸. This appointment placed Price in a subordinate position, and his friends said it was due to the influence of McCulloch and Jackson¹⁰⁹. McCulloch had published a long letter in the Richmond Whig, in which he had abused Price and accused him of enriching himself¹¹⁰.

Union men continued to express great regret that Price had left the Union. They felt that he was a man of strong mental caliber and far above the average of many public persons with whom he associated¹¹¹. The closest personal friends of Price felt also that he had not even been treated with common fairness by the Confederate government. They believed that had he been less fair and less honorable, he would have abandoned the Confederacy in disgust¹¹²; for they claimed that he had been betrayed, deceived, and humiliated¹¹³.

108. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 187. Missouri Republican, Feb. 15, 1862.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid, Feb. 10, 1862.

111. Missouri Republican, Feb. 13, 1862.

112. Ibid, Feb. 22, 1862.

113. Ibid, Feb. 27, 1862.

Part III

IN THE SERVICES OF THE CONFEDERACY, 1862-1864

On April 8, 1862, Price gave up his command of the Missouri State Guard and became a Major-General in the Confederate Army¹. He accordingly wrote a letter to the Missouri State Guard from Des Arc, Arkansas, in which he bade them farewell and asked them to follow him². The Confederate forces were en route for Corinth, Miss., where they were to unite with the armies of General Beauregard³.

At Des Arc the boats were at the landing ready to transport the troops. The cavalry had been dismounted and the horses had been sent into Texas to graze⁴. As the transport boats of Van Dorn and Price came in sight of Memphis, Tenn., hundreds of its citizens were found waiting on the levee for a sight of the two men, and the crowds kept calling first for one and then for the other⁵. After a short time Price appeared on the hurricane deck dressed in a handsome uniform of Confederate gray with the insignia of Major-General upon it⁶. He wore his sword belt and his sash around him, and acknowledged the great ovation given him by the assembled crowd by bowing and standing with his head uncovered, "his fine face in full view, and his white locks fluttering in the breeze"⁷. The

1. Missouri Statesman, May 16, 1862.

2. Ibid.

3. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 189.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p. 191.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

The hotel in Memphis was brilliantly lighted that night, and filled with well dressed men and women awaiting the arrival of Price⁸. At his approach there was a burst of music, the waving of handkerchiefs and much cheering⁹.

Upon being shown the entrenchments at Memphis, he remarked to the general who accompanied him, "Well, these things may be very fine; I never saw anything of the kind but once, and then I took them"¹⁰. When the troops passed Price in review, they gave him not only the military salute, but a greeting of cheers and wild acclamations¹¹. In fact, all accounts from the South show that Price was held in high esteem by his army for his personal and military qualities¹².

Corinth, Miss., was situated at the junction of the Memphis and Charleston and the Mobile and Ohio Railroads¹³. It was headquarters for the entire command of General Beauregard and the separate corps under Hardee, Polk, Bragg, Van Dorn, and Price, consisting in all of some 80,000 men¹⁴. Major-General Halleck moved against this force with an army of 110,000 men, and forced the entire command to evacuate on May 29. They went south from Corinth, falling back to Tuscumbia, Miss.¹⁵ Van Dorn was then withdrawn to another place, and Price was left commander-in-chief of the army around Tuscumbia¹⁶.

8. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 191.

9. Ibid.

10. Missouri Statesman, June 27, 1862.

11. Ibid - (Memphis Correspondent to New York World).

12. Ibid, July 4, 1862.

13. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 193.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid, pp. 21, 202.

16. Ibid, 202.

The camp of Price was broken up a number of times by marching. Finally his forces proceeded thru a wild and uncultivated country to the headwaters of the Tombigbee River¹⁷. In falling back to Iuka, Miss., Price and his men encamped just south of the city¹⁸.

On September 19, just two hours before day, they were attacked by Rosecrans, but made good their escape by fleeing southward on an unguarded road. Price then succeeded in joining his forces with those of Van Dorn¹⁹. The whole design of this movement on the part of the Confederates was that Price should draw out the Federal forces from Corinth, and Van Dorn and Lovell, who were thirty-five miles away at Holly Springs, were then to capture Corinth²⁰. The movement was a failure²¹, and Price and his men suffered greatly. The Federal forces at Corinth were commanded by General Rosecrans, and on October 3 and 4, when Price attacked Rosecrans' right and Van Dorn and Lovell his left, they were repulsed and driven back²². The victory for Rosecrans was due in part to the fact that he had 25,000 tried soldiers²³, while the army of Price was a heterogeneous mixture. Some of his men were dressed in citizen's clothes; some, in frock coats and beaver hats; others, in drab homespun; with all kinds and varieties of weapons²⁴.

A few days after the battle of Corinth, Price's troops were

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17. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 202.
18. Moore, Frank: The Rebellion Record, Vol. 5, p. 481.
19. War of the Rebellion Series I, V, Vol. 24, pp. 65-66.
20. Ibid, Series I, V, pp. 150-151.
21. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 217.
22. Ibid, p. 227.
23. Moore, Frank: The Rebellion Record, Vol. 5, p. 91.
24. Missouri Statesman, Aug. 26, 1862.
25. Missouri Republican, Oct. 6, 1862.
26. Missouri Statesman, Aug. 1, 1862 (Charleston Courtier)

put in charge of J. C. Pemberton²⁵ at Holly Springs, and later they were moved to Grenada, Miss., where they encamped²⁶.

It was thought by many in official circles that when Van Dorn was released at Holly Springs Price would be his successor²⁷. There was undoubtedly a purpose in the bad treatment of Price by the Confederate politicians, and editors in the North were hoping that Price would resign from the Confederacy, sue for pardon, and come back to Missouri and advocate the cause of the Union²⁸. Major Thomas L. Snead, Price's Chief of Staff, resigned his position because of the bad treatment Price had received after his arrival at Corinth. Snead claimed that Davis treated Price with disregard and that all of Davis' "pets" emulated his example²⁹.

In face of the fact that Van Dorn, Beauregard, Bragg, and others pleaded with Davis to place Price in command of the entire Confederate army west of the Mississippi³⁰, a marked change of opinion seemed to have taken place at Richmond in 1863 with regard to Price among such men as George G. Vest, E. C. Cabell, and Thomas Reynolds, all of whom suspected Price of being interested in a plot to remove Davis from the presidency in order to make room for himself in that office³¹.

It must be remembered that there was current in 1862 a conspiracy known as the copperhead movement, which originated in

26. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 245.

27. Ibid, p. 26.

28. Missouri Statesman, Dec. 5, 1862 (Missouri Republican)

29. Missouri Statesman, Dec. 5, 1862.

30. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 21.

31. Ibid, p. 21.

Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois³². Its purpose was a mystery, but at times it seemed to be a movement to join the Northwest, including Missouri, with the Southern Confederacy³³. Price was accused of having connection with this movement, and it was further declared and whispered around Richmond in January, 1863, that Davis was to be displaced and Price proclaimed President or Generalissimo³⁴. Price denied any knowledge of this scheme except as he chanced to read of it in the newspapers, and he always expressed surprise and condemnation of it³⁵. Two members from Missouri to the Southern Confederacy, Senators Clarke and Cooke, talked it indiscreetly and to no purpose in the streets of Richmond³⁶. At the same time the Argus and Crisis, a journal published at Jackson, Miss., regarded as an "organ" of Price, was openly hostile to Davis; against all of which Price was protesting in vain³⁷.

James S. Rollins of Columbia, Missouri, in the summer of 1863 was anxious for President Lincoln to extend a free pardon to General Price, if Price would voluntarily abandon the rebel cause and return to his allegiance to the government of the United States³⁸. President Lincoln addressed a letter to Rollins in August, 1863, promising to pardon Price should he voluntarily return³⁹.

Rollins had faith in Sterling Price. He believed him to have been a firm and decided Union man who by force of circumstances had

32. The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 37.

Logan, John: The Great Conspiracy, p. 559.

33. The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 37.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

38. Missouri Statesman, March 9, 1866.

39. Letter from Abraham Lincoln to James S. Rollins, August, 1863--
Personal Correspondence of C. B. Rollins, Columbia, Missouri.

drifted into the Confederacy "contrary to his better judgment and his conviction of duty"⁴⁰. Rollins wished that Price might lay down his arms and bring back into the Union the men who had followed him into the rebellion⁴¹, for Rollins was of the opinion that if Price should do this thing "he would be acclaimed with a shout of universal gladness as one of the saviors of the Republic, and of constitutional liberty"⁴². Rollins was in high hope that Edwin W. Price might influence his father in this matter⁴³, for young Price, who had been a Federal prisoner indicted for treason and conspiracy by the United States Court, was pardoned by President Lincoln at the instance of Governor Gamble of Missouri, and young Price had returned to his home in Chariton County, Missouri, in November, 1862, thoroughly disgusted with the Confederacy⁴⁴.

It was believed that Edwin Price and his father made an effort to confer with each other during the winter of 1863-1864⁴⁵. This belief baffled the military officers of the Confederacy⁴⁶, because they did not have knowledge of these relations which seemed to exist⁴⁷. It was a well known fact, however, that Edwin Price had visited his father and tendered his resignation when he left the Confederacy in 1862⁴⁸, and a story was in circulation at that time to the effect that Sterling Price was in great anguish over his son's desertion⁴⁹. Edwin Price, moreover, wrote a letter to

40. Letter from James S. Rollins to Edwin W. Price, Oct. 28, 1863--Personal Correspondence of C. B. Rollins, Columbia, Mo.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Missouri Republican, Oct. 23, 1862.

45. The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 111.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid, p. 47.

48. Ibid, pp. 38-39.

49. Ibid.

the editor of the Missouri Republican on August 21, 1863, in which he declared as unquestionably false the repeated rumors that his father was penitent and wanted to return to his home and abandon the Rebel cause⁵⁰.

It was just at the time of this unfortunate controversy, in the summer of 1863, that Price went to Richmond with the request that he be transferred to the west side of the Mississippi River, where he could have a more direct effect upon the destinies of Missouri⁵¹. It was said a stormy scene ensued between Price and Davis⁵², for in the first interview Davis was cold and formal and demanded that Price submit his proposition in written form⁵³. Price presented a statement of his views to the effect that the Trans-Mississippi District should be constituted in a separate department, under the command of an officer in whom the government had confidence, and that an active and aggressive campaign should be made immediately in the direction of Missouri⁵⁴. At the next interview Davis informed Price that his request could not be granted⁵⁵. Price then declared that he would resign, go back to Missouri, and win new victories for the South. To which Davis replied, "Your resignation will be promptly accepted, General; if you do go back to Missouri and raise another army and win victories for the South, no one will be more pleased than myself, or surprised"⁵⁷. Price

50. Missouri Statesman, Aug. 21, 1863.

51. Anderson, E.: Memoirs: Historical and Personal, p. 261.

52. Webb, W. L.: Battles and Biographies of Missourians, p. 285.

53. Ibid.

54. War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol. 13, p. 838.

55. Webb, W. L.: Battles and Biographies of Missourians, p. 285.

56. McElroy: Struggle for Missouri, p. 289.

57. Webb, W. L.: Battles and Biographies of Missourians, p. 286.

then arose and said with emphasis, "Then I'll surprise you, sir", and strode in great anger out of the room⁵⁸. He went at once to his hotel, wrote out his resignation, and prepared to leave for Missouri. But the next day he received notice that Davis would permit him to return to the Trans-Mississippi Department with his troops at that time when they could be best spared with safety⁵⁹. A few days after, John B. Magruder called upon Davis and urged the giving of unlimited power to Price. At this, Davis, with blazing eyes, "snatched the pen from behind his ear hurriedly, and threw it with an impetuous motion upon the floor without uttering a word"⁶⁰. Since 1862 Price and Davis had differed with regard to Missouri. Price wanted to hold Missouri for the Confederacy, while Davis thought it was futile to expect a permanent occupation of the state and was content to hold Arkansas as the northern line of the Trans-Mississippi Confederacy⁶¹.

Price was idle during the greater part of 1863, but during the summer he was transferred to the Trans-Mississippi Department under Kirby Smith⁶². Price did the greater part of his fighting in the state of Arkansas, although he failed to hold Little Rock in the summer of 1863 because the reinforcements he had sent for did not arrive⁶³. He had been ordered to attack at dawn but had failed to do so⁶⁴. Price was also at Helena on July 3 and 4⁶⁵. He was

58. Webb, W. L.: Battles and Biographies of Missourians, p. 286.

59. Ibid.

60. Edwards, J. N.: Shelby and His Men, p. 107.

61. Missouri Republican, Aug. 13, 1863.

62. Ibid, Sept. 30, 1863.

63. The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 88.

64. Ibid, p. 81.

65. The Reynolds Manuscript, pp. 164-165.

ordered to storm the fort of the enemy at sunrise, and he accordingly swept it "like a hurricane", but General Fagan failed, and Generals Marmaduke and Walker failed to attack. Price, who was driven back, retreated from the field, and the battle was lost⁶⁶.

In February, 1864, Price assumed command of the Department of Arkansas, relieving General Holmes, but he was in turn relieved of that command on August 27, 1864, and J. B. McGruder was appointed in his place⁶⁷. The chief ambition of Price at this time was to make one supreme effort to save Missouri for the Confederacy, for he sincerely believed that Missourians were loyal to the Confederacy⁶⁸, and he was assured that the Confederate flag floated over all of the principal towns in North Missouri⁶⁹.

66. The Reynolds Manuscript, p. 167.

67. War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol. 34, p. 817.
Ibid, Vol. 39, p. 1087.

68. Ibid.

69. Missouri Republican, Sept. 30, 1867.

Part IV

PRICE'S RAID INTO MISSOURI-1864

Price was convinced by midsummer of 1864 that the people of Missouri were ready for a general uprising, and that the time for the advance into the state was propitious¹. It was also generally conceded by Confederate officers that the Federal forces in Missouri were badly scattered and that the Confederates in the state had organized and were called for help from the South². They hoped, too, that a raid into Missouri would relieve the pressure upon Virginia and Georgia³.

President Davis had finally completed the organization of the Army of the Department of the Trans-Mississippi under General Kirby Smith. It consisted of Major-Generals Sterling Price, John S. Marmaduke, and James S. Fagan; of Brigadier-Generals W. L. Cabell, M. Jefferson Thompson, and Joseph O. Shelby⁴. These men had influenced Kirby Smith to permit them to come into Missouri under command of Major-General Sterling Price⁵.

Since the autumn of 1862 there had been repeated rumors that Price was planning to invade Missouri, but late in September, 1864, the citizens and military authorities at Jefferson City well knew that the state was at last in real danger from the long expected raid⁶. Hundreds of people, however, "received the glad tidings of the coming of Price, and rejoiced at the approach of their deliverer"⁷.

1. War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol. 38, p. 1020.

2. Ibid, p. 1027.

3. War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol. 39, p. 1011.

4. Jenkins, P.: Battle of Westport, p. 27.

5. Scott: Story of a Cowboy Regiment, p. 305.

Jenkins, P.: Battle of Westport, pp. 27-28.

6. Missouri Statesman, Oct. 21, 1864.

7. Ibid, Oct. 28, 1864.

General Rosecrans of the United States Army, commanding the Department of Missouri, had known since the spring of 1864, thru the order of the American Knights, that Price intended a great invasion of the state⁸. It was true that Price and Marmaduke placed much reliance in the secret orders of the Knights of the Golden Circle, and the American Knights of the State of Missouri, from whom they were expecting large accessions to their army⁹. Brigadier-General W. L. Cabell was to command these accessions in a separate division, but the whole plan was blocked by Rosecrans, who arrested and placed in jail their president, secretary, and treasurer¹⁰.

While it had been understood since May that Price was to invade Missouri, it was thought that the Federal forces could repel him, and many troops who were under Rosecrans were ordered to assist Sherman in Georgia. Rosecrans was thus left to defend St. Louis, Pilot Knob, Rolla, Springfield, and Jefferson City¹¹.

Price assumed command of his army on August 29, 1864, at Princeton, Arkansas¹². He had about 25,000 men, 10,000 of whom were mounted, 300 wagons of ammunition, and 80 pieces of artillery¹³. The three divisions of his army were commanded by Fagan, Marmaduke, and Shelby¹⁴, the latter being sent in advance into Southeast Missouri¹⁵. Price got well started on his march and crossed the Arkansas River at Dardanelles in Pope County, sixty miles northwest

8. War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol. 41, p. 307.

9. Edwards, J. N.: Shelby and His Men, p. 379.

Jenkins: The Battle of Westport, p. 28.

10. Ibid.

11. Missouri Statesman, Nov. 11, 1864.

12. Jenkins: Battle of Westport, p. 33.

13. Missouri Republican, Nov. 11, 1864.

14. Jenkins: Battle of Westport, p. 33.

15. Missouri Republican, Sept. 25, 1864.

of Little Rock, and was moving north to the Arkansas-Missouri line before the actual movement and objective of his army became known¹⁶. From Batesville, Arkansas, there were three main lines of travel open to Price: from West Plains to Rolla, or up the White River to Springfield, or by way of Pocahontas to Pilot Knob¹⁷. Price chose the route from Pocahontas because it led directly to St. Louis¹⁸. He had no intention of attacking St. Louis, but he hoped that by keeping the Federals interested in a defense of that city, to occupy and hold Jefferson City¹⁹. Accordingly, he entered Missouri on September 19, crossing from Arkansas to Ripley County in the Southeast corner of the state²⁰. He maintained that a Federal scout destroyed the town of Doniphan in that county²¹, although Price is credited with having done so²². Passing on thru Greenville in Wayne County, he finally was repulsed by the Federals under Ewing at Pilot Knob in Iron County on September 28. The Federal defense at Pilot Knob was but one phase of the plan of Rosecrans to occupy the whole length of the Iron Mountain Railroad²³.

Price was severely criticized by the Confederate authorities for the result of the battle at Pilot Knob, for here he lost hundreds of his best soldiers in the attempt to storm the well protected Federal fort on the mountain of Pilot Knob²⁴. Families in this community suffered great distress, for Price ordered the capture of all

16. Rebel Invasion of Missouri and Kansas, 1864, pp. 12-13.

17. Missouri Republican, Nov. 11, 1864.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid, Dec. 9, 1864.

20. Missouri Statesman, Nov. 11, 1864.

21. Missouri Republican, Oct. 3, 1864.

22. Jenkins: Battle of Westport, p. 34.

23. Missouri Republican, Nov. 11, 1864.

24. War Papers and Personal Reminiscences, Vol. 1, 1861-5, p. 51.

supplies of flour, bacon, and other provisions²⁴, a portion of which he planned would be distributed among the women and children; but this was prevented by the action of the Reeves guerrillas⁵.

Price was delayed for three days at Pilot Knob; from there he pressed on as if St. Louis were his goal, but on October 2, at St. Clair in Franklin County, he turned westward toward Jefferson City. Shelby's brigade, which did the fighting at the Osage, were considered the best fighters in Price's army. They were also the worst plunderers²⁸. In some places along the line of march Price's army was received with enthusiasm, especially by the women, who fed and often housed the sick and wounded soldiers²⁹. It is quite true, however, that crops were totally consumed, people were robbed of money, houses were plundered, and all wearing apparel for men was taken. Every good horse with saddle and bridle was taken, and wornout horses were left. In fact the country was stripped bare of all farm stock and of food³⁰. Price's force was estimated by the people along the route to number from 10,000 to 75,000 men. It must be kept in mind that this Trans-Mississippi Department was a self-subsisting force; and the soldiers were compelled to furnish their own clothing. The arms used were of all kinds and sizes, picked up wherever they could be found³¹.

When Rosecrans realized that St. Louis was safe and Jefferson City in danger, he telegraphed Major-General Alfred S. Pleasanton

24. War Papers and Personal Reminiscences, Vol. 1, 1861-5, p. 51.

25. Missouri Republican, Oct. 6, 1864.

26. Ibid.

27. War Papers and Personal Reminiscences, Vol. 1, 1861-5, p. 30. Rebel Invasion of Missouri, p. 28.

28. Missouri Statesman, Oct. 21, 1864.

29. Confederate Military History, Vol. 4, p. 182.

30. Missouri Statesman, Oct. 21, 1864.

31. Ibid.

to come at once and take possession of forces in the field. In this instance many volunteers came from Illinois to aid in repelling the invader³². As Price's men approached Jefferson City, Fagan's division attacked only the outposts of the capital; by this time Pleasanton was in the field and Price, instead of attacking the city, made a detour south³³.

At Boonville on October 11 Price received W. L. Quantrell and Bill Anderson, leaders of guerrilla bands³⁴, or, as they were often called, Partisan Rangers³⁵. Price urged men of this type to attach themselves to his army in order that they might act as scouts and rangers against the enemy³⁶. Anderson was sent out to destroy the North Missouri Railroad and Quantrell was to cut up the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, in order that no more Federal troops might be imported into the state. Part evidence of this fact was found upon the body of Anderson, who was killed fifteen days after being sent out³⁷. Anderson was very fond of "Old Pap", as Price was familiarly called by his men, and had presented him with a pair of costly silver mounted pistols³⁸. Quantrell, however, was with Price's army for only a short time in 1864, for he had come to regard Price with bitterness³⁹; and as the days were darkening for the Confederacy, Quantrell left the state with thirteen of his restless men⁴⁰. It was supposed that many of Price's men took delight in tearing up the railroads, for at the outbreak of the war

32. Jenkins: Battle of Westport, p. 39.

33. Ibid, p. 34.

34. Ibid, p. 44.

35. Soldiers of Missouri in Service During the Civil War, pp. 320-324.

36. Jenkins: Battle of Westport, p. 44.

37. Missouri Statesman, Nov. 25, 1864.

38. Missouri Republican, Oct. 27, 1864.

39. Connelly, Wm. E.: Quantrell and the Border Wars, p. 455.

40. Quantrell, the Guerrilla Chieftain, from his own Diary, p. 44.

nearly all of the North Missouri Railroad employees were Southern sympathizers and secessionists; and when they were dismissed from the service of the road, they went into Price's army⁴¹.

In Marching northward from Boonville, Price took Glasgow in Howard County on October 15. He then marched straight across the country to Lafayette County, where he engaged in a skirmish some three miles south of Lexington⁴². As he drew near to the Kansas line he found General S. R. Curtis, who was in command of the Department of Kansas, prepared for his coming⁴³, while Pleasanton and his men were pursuing him from Jefferson City⁴⁴. At the battle of the Little Blue, on October 21, the Confederate attack was made by Marmaduke⁴⁵, after which the Federals retired to the Big Blue between Independence and Kansas City⁴⁶. On October 22 occurred the battle of the Big Blue, which lasted from three in the morning until eight o'clock at night, and Price and his entire army were completely routed⁴⁷. He fled northwest to Leavenworth before he could be persuaded to retreat to the South⁴⁸. He did, finally, turn south, as his army became disorganized and fled down the state line, pursued by Curtis and a force of 10,000 men⁴⁹. Price burned more than 200 wagons and blew up his ammunition train⁵⁰. Cattle and sick men were left lying by the roadside, and the country thru

41. Missouri Statesman, Nov. 25, 1864.

42. Jenkins: Battle of Westport, p. 34.

Rebel Invasion of Missouri and Kansas, p. 184.

43. Jenkins: Battle of Westport, p. 45.

44. Ibid, p. 53.

45. Ibid, p. 83.

46. Ibid.

Rebel Invasion of Missouri and Kansas, p. 122.

47. Jenkins: Battle of Westport, p. 79.

48. Edwards, J. N.: Shelby and His Men, p. 164.

49. Rebel Invasion of Missouri and Kansas, p. 290.

50. Missouri Statesman, Nov. 18, 1864 (St. Joseph Herald and Tribune)

which they passed was desolate and black with ruin⁵¹. He attempted to make a stand at Fort Scott, but was forced on by Curtis⁵². The raid ended with a single blow dealt Price by Generals Blunt and Sanborn at Newtonia in Newton County⁵³. Price escaped because of the fleetness of his horse and because he was not dressed in any way to make himself conspicuous⁵⁴. He continued his flight until he reached the Arkansas River, where he attempted to rally the remnant of his army⁵⁵.

The raid into Missouri by Price was regarded as stupendous from the standpoint of its distance from base, the country traversed, objective and daring⁵⁶. Price had lost in his retreat 3700 killed and wounded, 3000 prisoners, several pieces of artillery, and many wagon trains captured or destroyed⁵⁷. He was criticized for having blundered as a cavalry commander, for being too slow and too cautious⁵⁸, and for having rested when he should have strained every effort to escape the Federal army⁵⁹. J. B. Magruder, on the other hand, congratulated Price on his raid, claiming that it stopped the siege of Mobile and diverted many men from Sherman⁶⁰.

The approaching election of November 8, 1864, was undoubtedly anticipated during this raid, for it was held that in the event that Price could occupy the state, it might be possible to turn the

51. Rebel Invasion of Missouri and Kansas, pp. 185-187.

52. Missouri Statesman, Nov. 4, 1864.

53. Missouri Republican, Sept. 30, 1867.

54. Missouri Statesman, Nov. 18, 1864 (St. Joseph Herald and Tribune)

55. Missouri Republican, Sept. 30, 1867.

56. Rebel Invasion of Missouri and Kansas, p. 5.

57. Missouri Republican, Feb., 1865 (Cincinnati Council)

58. Edwards, J. N.: Shelby and His Men, p. 465.

59. Ibid, p. 428.

60. The War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol. 41, p. 1053.

political scales in favor of McClellan as opposed to Lincoln⁶¹.

Shortly after the raid, Thomas C. Reynolds, who had accompanied Price's army thru the state and who was expecting to act as governor of the state in the event of victory, published a scathing attack of Price⁶² in which he claimed that the state of Missouri had offered only a feeble resistance and that Price failed because of indecision and inability and because he allowed pillage and plunder⁶³. The Reynolds letter produced much excitement among army men⁶⁴. Price ignored the Reynolds review of his raid, but his friends answered it⁶⁵. He was finally compelled to ask for a court of inquiry, which convened at Shreveport, Louisiana, on April 21, 1865⁶⁶. This inquiry established the fact that Price availed himself of maps and guides, which he had been accused of ignoring⁶⁷. It also proved that the lack of discipline in his army was due to the number of untrained men who were daily being added to his ranks⁶⁸. Thomas Reynolds was requested by Price to be present before the court and testify as a witness against him, but this Reynolds refused to do⁶⁹. The court delayed action from time to time, until finally, when the end of the war came, April 9, 1865, it disappeared in the general crash⁷⁰.

61. Scott, Wm.: The Story of a Cowboy Regiment, pp. 305-306.

62. The Reynolds Manuscript, pp. 12-15.

63. Ibid. Attack published at Marshall, Texas, Dec. 17, 1864.

64. Edwards, J. N.: Shelby and His Men, p. 475.

65. Confederate Military History, p. 196.

66. War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol. 41, p. 701.

67. Ibid., p. 713.

68. Ibid., p. 721.

69. Ibid., P. 718.

70. Confederate Military History, p. 196.

Price went into Mexico soon after the close of the war and took with him all of his important papers and documents pertaining to the war. He later took these to New York and gave them to Thomas L. Snead, who was his most trusted staff officer during the war and his only confidant⁷¹.

71. Letter from Thomas L. Snead to John F. Snyder, April 21, 1882- Snyder Collection, Missouri Historical Library, Jefferson Memorial.

CONCLUSION

In person Price was tall, handsome, and military in bearing. His face was round and fair, showing both strength and sensitiveness. His voice was soft and mellow, and he possessed a dignified and commanding manner. He was a man of great physical courage, a superb horseman, and an obstinate fighter, seeming never to heed danger on the battle field.

Price was not, however, a man of remarkable capabilities nor did he possess any definite creative energies of mind. He did have uncommon executive ability; though little given to writing or speaking, he was unusually blessed in the matter of common sense. He had a personal magnetism that endeared him to his soldiers in times of war, and caused them to cling to him with unusual devotion. In Missouri during the trying days of 1861, Price was the best loved and most trusted man in the state because of his fairness, common sense, and leadership. He possessed an intuitive ability in reaching conclusions, and this probably accounts for his success in performing certain works of effort and endeavor that marked him as a leader.

From beginning to end his private life was unassailed; the acts of his public life proved him to be a man of firmness and decision of character. Price was by nature very social, and he established a reputation for cordiality and gentility. One of his neighbors said of him that he so polite and friendly that he would even touch his hat to a negro man. He had a slight tendency toward the patronizing of associates in his political and military relationships and in some respects he was inclined to allow himself to be

imposed upon. But when he was compelled to fight, he did so with dogged determination.

After Kearney's "bloodless victory" in the Mexican War, the responsibility for the Mexican revolution fell unjustly upon Price, although it was Kearney who failed to abide by the agreement made for him by Magoffin with Archuleta to the effect that only certain parts of Mexico would be occupied by American soldiers. Notwithstanding this fact, Price and his men faithfully and untiringly performed their military duties and succeeded in holding the New Mexico territory and in stamping out rebellion in that region.

During the time Price was governor his policies in several different directions helped to shape the future prosperity of the state. In the first place, Price was not totally opposed to the policy of public improvements, but it was his plan to hold the legislature in check in the matter of railroad construction. He prevented the building of a large number of short line railroads before the main lines were completed, for railroad building had gone far beyond the credit of the state and since business and finance were on a somewhat abnormal basis, his policy was that of the conservative leader. This is seen also in his attitude toward the bank. He strenuously opposed the introduction of "free banking" into the state, and stood firmly for the extension of the corporate existence of the Bank of the State of Missouri and its branches. Price was attempting to save the state from the financial panic and collapse so prevalent all over the country. Again, thru the leadership and encouragement of Price, many new towns were incorporated, schools and seminaries were founded, and education

generally received greater impetus.

There is no doubt that Price attempted to bring about a union of the two factions of the Democratic party in the state at the time he became the coalition candidate for governor (1852), but the two wings of the party continued to fight each other so bitterly, and Benton became so antagonistic in his relations to his opponents, that the result was the desertion of Benton by Price.

The attitude of Price in the Civil War has always been considered very difficult to determine. As a matter of fact, in the campaign and election of 1860, he supported Douglas for the presidency because of Douglas' Unionism; and during the excitement in the early part of 1861, Price was undoubtedly a staunch and sincere Union man, using his influence in opposition to the secession of Missouri from the Union. He was an advocate for the Union until he felt that the Federal government gave its support to the policy of coercion. Price was an ardent believer in the sovereignty of the states, and he thought that Missouri had a right to choose her own position with regard to secession without coercion on the part of the Federal government, and he believed that both the Federal and State Constitution gave Missouri the right to defend herself against a coercive policy. He was one of many in Missouri who wanted to avoid the Civil War, and he occupied the position of "armed neutrality".

His change from Unionism began with Lyon's attack on Camp Jackson, which he thought caused the unnecessary shedding of blood of Missourians. He became more determined in his Unionism when

Lyon treated with contempt Price's agreement with Harney; and after the Lyon-Jackson conference he decided to draw his sword in defense of his state. Price was sincere in his belief that it was the purpose of the United States Government to suppress the sovereignty of the state, to keep her from arming her militia, and to prevent the assembling of her legislature. The military force known as the Missouri State Guard, under the leadership of Price, was organized to defend Missouri as an "Independent Republic" against the aggression of the Federal forces. Later, failing in its purpose, it formed an alliance with the Confederate states. Their leader may have been influenced somewhat by the example of his native state, Virginia, which joined the Confederacy in April, 1861. While Price was not a secessionist, he did sympathize with the South.

Jefferson Davis never appreciated Price, and the only reason he ever gave him even the slightest consideration was due to army clamor, congressional urgency, and popular demand. Had Price been given an independent command in Arkansas and Missouri, and had designing and jealous politicians been fair with him, there would have been, undoubtedly, greater vigor and less failure in the whole western army of the Confederacy.

When Price went to Mexico after the Civil War, he believed the Maximilian government to be safe and that the marauding bands infesting the land would soon be exterminated. He did not want to return to the States, either to share in the reconstruction of the South or to ask pardon of the Union for the part he had played in the Rebellion. He had grave apprehensions as to the future of the South, because of the emancipated negro. He was unwilling to ask

pardon for acts of his which had been committed in sincerity of purpose and which he felt would again be perpetrated under similar circumstances.

Price's greatest military fault was leniency as a commander. He seemed at times to disregard military discipline and attempt to govern by respect and love. Often he would issue strong military orders and at the same time give his subordinate and brigade commanders too loose a rein. The greatest single determining influence in the life of Price was his undying ambition, and when the end came in St. Louis in October, 1867, he passed away with the word "ambition" upon his lips.

Regardless of the attacks that have been made upon the character, actions, and sincerity of Sterling Price, the facts remain, and it must be said that he deserves a much greater appreciation and fairer historical evaluation than he has been given. It becomes evident that much of the criticism and lack of appreciation was due to the excitements and the prejudices that obtained during his life.

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