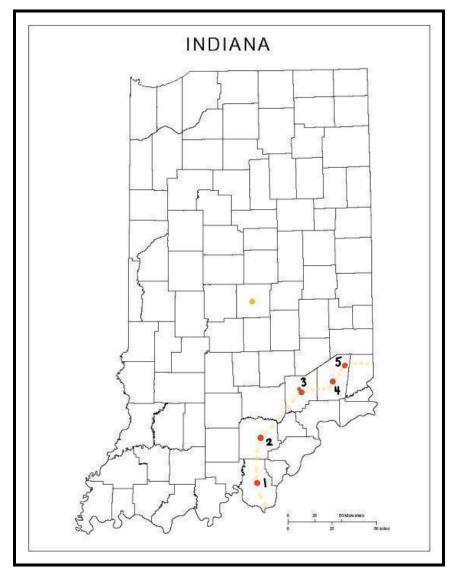
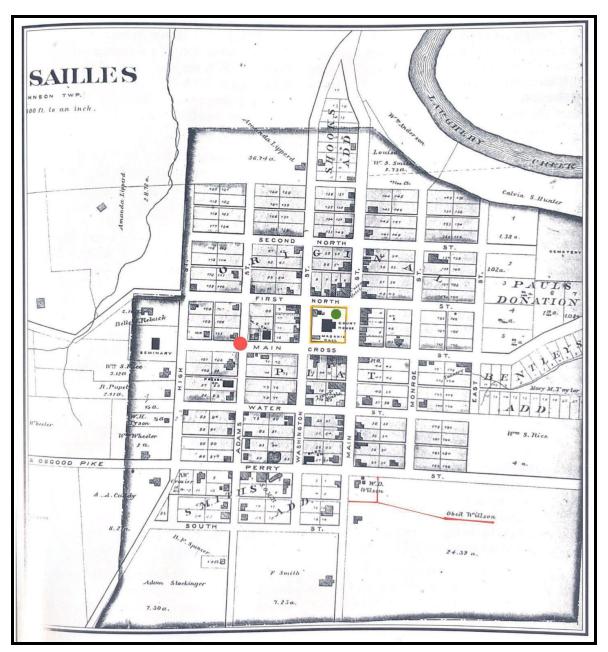
Morgan's Raid in Versailles, Indiana

by Caitlyn Garcia



(Figure 1: Map of Indiana)

Red #1	Corydon, Indiana: Morgan's initial entry.
Red #2	Salem, Indiana
Red #3	Vernon (the smaller dot represents North Vernon)
Red #4	Versailles, Indiana
Red #5	Sunman, Indiana
Yellow	Indianapolis, Indiana



(Figure 2: Alan F. Smith, Tales of Versailles (Four-Step Publications, 1999).)

Red Circle	Where Mira D. Sheets stood when the raiders came into town.
Red Outline	Obed Willson family property where Mira most likely stayed.
Yellow Outline and Green Circle	Courthouse and courthouse yard; where the militia assembled and was kept prisoner.



(Figure 3: Raider Mascot Emblem; located in South Ripley High School Gymnasium)

Introduction

Confederate raiders galloped through Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio during the course of Morgan's Raid in July of 1863. An 1891 *Century Magazine* article was titled "A Romance of Morgan's Rough Riders" and portrayed Morgan as a bold, confident, and swift-thinking leader.¹ Even twentieth-centuries histories have called the raid a "high-hearted adventure" led by the "dashing" Kentuckian John Hunt Morgan.² The "Great Raid" excited the South and "invigorated Southern morale" as an incursion deep into federal territory which tied up Union forces and destroyed supplies and infrastructure.³

¹ "A Romance of Morgan's Rough Riders: The Raid, the Capture, and the Escape," in *The Morgan Raid in Indiana and Ohio (1863)*, by Arville L. Funk (ALFCO, 1971), 37.

² R. Max Gard, *Morgan's Raid into Ohio* (Lisbon, Ohio: By the Author, 1963), xiv, 3.

³ Robert R. Mackey, *The Uncivil War: Irregular Warfare in the Upper South, 1861-1865* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

Basil W. Duke, Morgan's brother-in-law and an officer in his regiment, wrote one of the key accounts of Morgan's Raid. Published shortly after the war, Duke's *History of Morgan's Cavalry* lauded Morgan's military acumen as well as the "bold riders" who served under him. Morgan was "the greatest master of 'cavalry strategy,' that ever lived." Duke light-heartedly recounted that "'a great fear' had fallen upon the inhabitants" of Indiana when Morgan's men crossed into the state and called the Hoosiers who rallied to oppose the Confederates "badly armed and perfectly raw." Both Duke and the historians who have relied on his account have had little to say about ordinary Hoosiers' experience of Morgan's Raid. While Morgan's invasion took his men through four states and over a thousand miles of southeast Indiana, Versailles will act as a case study to unveil the civilian experience of what has been called "one of the most exciting events of the Civil War."⁴

Versailles, Indiana is approximately forty-five miles from Harrison, Ohio, the first town the raiders encountered when they crossed into their next state. Morgan's force spent less than a day in Versailles before moving on because of the proximity of Union forces under General Edward H. Hobson. Archival accounts and newspapers allow us to understand the true narrative of what the local population faced and endured including theft, threat, destruction, and even death. Morgan and his men left a lasting impression on the small and quaint town of Versailles.

John Hunt Morgan was born on June 1, 1825 in Huntsville, Alabama. His father, Calvin C. Morgan, was a wealthy retail merchant who married Henrietta, the daughter of John Wesley Hunt. The maternal family was also well off; they were associated with a distinguished hemp manufacturing company while also being importers and exporters of fine horses. The family moved to the outskirts of Lexington, Kentucky in 1829, where they would raise John and his seven siblings. Morgan's career started at Transylvania University, but he was suspended in his second

⁴ Basil W. Duke, *History of Morgan's Cavalry* (Cincinnati, 1867); Alan Keller, *Morgan's Raid* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961), 15.

year and never further pursued academics. In 1846, John, along with a brother and uncle, enlisted in the First Kentucky Cavalry. After a year's service in the U.S.-Mexican War, John returned to Lexington where he went into business manufacturing bags, jeans, and linsey-wool products. In 1848, he married Rebecca Gratz Bruce and they would welcome a son in 1853. Unfortunately, the baby died in infancy, and Rebecca, who never fully recovered from childbirth, died in 1861. Morgan was a community man; he was a local Mason, the captain of a fire company, a city council member, school board member, and church goer. In addition, he organized, equipped, and drilled the "Lexington Rifles," a social-military company that performed exhibitions for patriotic events. When the Civil War broke out, many Kentuckians sought to keep the state neutral. In the beginning, the Lexington Rifles themselves were supporters of neutrality.⁵

When Kentucky's hopes for neutrality were denied, Morgan, despite fighting for the United States in the war with Mexico, raised a Confederate flag over his home shortly after his wife's funeral in July. His brother Tom, who had already joined the Confederacy, heard that federal soldiers were coming to seize the arms and equipment of the Lexington Rifles. Provoked by this, more and more of the Rifles left to join Confederate forces under General Simon Bolivar Buckner in Bowling Green, Kentucky.

In the Confederate army, Morgan kept his rank of captain over his men. When those from far and near traveled to serve under him, the regiment reached an impressive size and soon became the Second Kentucky Cavalry. Morgan was then promoted to colonel and, after the Battle of Shiloh, to brigadier general.⁶ One of Morgan's men described him as "a magnetic man, of pleasing personality.... His manner genial and gracious, his face an open book."⁷ Allan Keller, an author who studied the Indiana and Ohio raids, said that many of Morgan's men specifically desired to

⁵ Gard, Morgan's Raid into Ohio, 21-22.

⁶ Gard, Morgan's Raid into Ohio, 24.

⁷ Keller, Morgan's Raid, 21.

serve under the audacious leader. Morgan, with his confident attitude, polished appearance, and tactical expertise, was a charismatic figure.

Confederate forces under General Braxton Bragg were stationed in Tullahoma, Tennessee, in the summer of 1863, blocking Union army penetration of the Deep South. Morgan proposed making a raid through Kentucky and Bragg granted his consent. Bragg's orders, however, limited Morgan's movement to Kentucky, as the purpose was to draw Union pressure away from the Confederate army in Tennessee and, secondarily, to bring back supplies and equipment. However, Morgan disobeyed orders to launch his "Great Raid" farther north. Morgan wanted to instill fear and demoralization in Northerners, as many of them felt safe behind the barrier of the Ohio River. Reverend T.D. Moore, a Methodist chaplain who served under Morgan, claimed that Morgan hoped the raid would demonstrate his superiority as a cavalry commander in comparison to Benjamin Grierson, who had led Union cavalry through Mississippi a few months earlier.⁸

After fighting his way through Tennessee and Kentucky, Morgan, with between 2,000 and 4,000 troops, entered Indiana by crossing the Ohio River at Brandenburg, Kentucky on the night of July 8-9, 1863. Union forces pursued Morgan after his force entered the state, but they were nearly twenty-four hours behind him and did not stop Morgan's advance through the state. Most famously, Morgan's force was able to drive off the home guards who had rallied to oppose him at Corydon, Indiana.⁹ The raid through Indiana lasted only six days, with the Confederate cavalry sweeping through several southeastern Indiana towns including Salem, Vienna, Lexington, Paris, Vernon, and Versailles. Versailles, located in Ripley County, was the last major town Morgan's cavalry raided. The general himself arrived in the town on Sunday, July 12, stayed through the night and left in the early morning to avoid Hobson's force.

⁸ Keller, Morgan's Raid, 22-24.

⁹ Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880* (Indianapolis, 1965), 203-4; Keller, *Morgan's Raid*, 61; Mackay, *Uncivil War*, 176-92.

The Ripley County Historical Society, only steps away from the courthouse where many locals encountered Morgan's raiders, possesses a collection known as the Toph Papers after their compiler, Violet E. Toph. The Toph Papers includes accounts of the county's history dating back to its formation, but it also contains the reminiscences of Versailles residents who each underwent a different ordeal during the raid. Their accounts challenge the romanticized narrative of the raid and tell of the terror and destruction the raiders caused.

Mira Dickerson Sheets was born in 1852 and would have been around eleven or twelve years old during the raid. She lived about a mile and half southwest of Versailles. On the evening before the raiders arrived in Versailles, Saturday July 11th, the townspeople gathered to celebrate the Union victory at Gettysburg. Mira would later recall two strange men being present at the patriotic event. They seemed to be observing the crowd. Looking back, they were thought to be some of Morgan's scouts. However, no one took much notice of the strangers at that time. That night, Mira stayed at the home of Reverend Sparks, a local Methodist minister. Around 3 o'clock in the morning, a messenger visited and awakened the household to inform them that Morgan's men were at Vernon and would arrive in Versailles around 11:00 a.m.

"The news soon spread and intense excitement and fear prevailed," Mira remembered. She was both excited about the enemy visitors, but also aware of the potential danger that might accompany them. She observed her elders hauling anything of value off by the wagon load. The local men were instructed to meet at the courthouse with their guns and best horses. As the hours passed and the town prepared, Mira found herself standing with the Rowland Holman family on the corner of Adams Street and Main Cross. She first heard, then watched, the dusty Confederate cavalry gallop into town and head for the courthouse where the militia had gathered. Local men were soon taken prisoner and their weapons were broken on the courthouse corner. The

Confederates gave warning that if a gun was fired by the town every man, woman, and child would be killed, and that the town would be burned to ashes.

Mira spent most of her afternoon at the home of her friend, Alice Willson. Alice's mother prepared and served food to the Confederate soldiers who came and went continuously. It was common for Morgan's men to arrive at a home and "demand" the women provide a meal. At one point, two Confederates entered, showed Mira and Alice their knives and guns, and asked if the girls were afraid of them. Mira and Alice claimed that they were not frightened. The men said that the girls should not fear them, as they had little girls themselves, and would not hurt them. Despite the Confederates' denial that they would hurt the young women, and Mira and Alice's declaration that they were unafraid, the men's brandishing of their weapons must certainly be expected to have frightened the girls.¹⁰

In his history, Duke frequently refers to Morgan's men taking civilians captive to serve as guides. Mira's father, J. Bluford Dickerson, served as such a captive guide for the Confederate cavalry. General Morgan told her father that if he misguided the Confederates his death would be certain. During his captivity, Dickerson was compelled to pull down telegraph wires, blistering his hands. Dickerson was also made to lead the raiders to a railroad bridge, where the rebels pushed empty railcars upon it, drenched them in turpentine, and set them afire in an effort to destroy the bridge. The Confederates took Dickerson as far as Ballstown, giving him one of their cast-off horses when they discharged him.

After his release, Dickerson was deputized and charged with gathering up horses that Morgan's men had left behind. The horses were kept in a pasture adjacent to Mira's home. By this time, General Hobson's troops had finally arrived in Versailles. For several days the Union soldiers

¹⁰ "The People's History of Ripley County," n.d. (Ripley County Historical Society, Versailles, Ind.), p. 503; *History of Ripley County, Indiana* (Batavia, Ohio: Clermont Publishing, Co., 1968), 17-18.

camped just north of this pasture. Unlike the Confederate soldiers, however, they were welcomed. Mira's mother and a neighbor woman prepared a basket of food to take to the camp. This offering of food was voluntary, unlike the coerced cooking Alice Willson's mother had done for Morgan's men. Mira remembered the Union soldiers as pleased by the food and she thought it was great to see so many Union soldiers near her home. Although Mira claimed that Morgan's men did little damage outside of breaking the militiamen's guns and taking horses, her account still testifies to Hoosiers' fear of theft, the coercion of local women to cook for the raiders, and the threat of death that compelled her father to guide the Confederates and aid them in destroying telegraph lines.

Mira Dickerson was a child, but Watson C. Shaw was old enough to be called upon by local deputies to report and defend the town. Watson remembered that Morgan arrived in Versailles in the early afternoon. Watson had neither a horse or gun, and he refused to take one from his neighbor as the deputies told him to do, but fearing punishment if he refused to obey the summons, he set out for the courthouse on foot. When he arrived, he saw a ramshackle group. The men were dressed in civilian clothes, "some in shirt sleeves," and their weapons consisted of squirrel rifles, pistols, or shotguns. Shaw recalled that the majority of those gathered did not even believe that Morgan was in the state. Unfortunately, they were incorrect. James H. Cravens, who had been an officer in the 83rd Indiana before poor health caused his resignation, gave a rallying speech and began to organize the group into companies of a hundred men each. As the men were forming up, they heard sounds of advancing horsemen on the plank road. The newly formed militia thought the force was part of their own. They were sadly mistaken when the raiders finally came into view with their carbines and masked faces.

Immediately out-numbered and surrounded, the militia followed the order to surrender. The raiders then dismounted, took their guns, poured out their powder, and broke their weapons on the

corner of the courthouse. While some Confederates destroyed the firearms, others rounded up the militia and placed them under heavy guard in the courthouse yard. Yet other Confederates were busy removing the saddles from the Hoosiers' horses and replacing them with their own saddles. In his history, Basil Duke discussed at length the need for fresh horses on these raids and even accepted the label of "horse-thieves." Shaw estimated that the raiders took almost five hundred horses. The rebels took possession of all the blacksmith shops in town to put new horseshoes on their acquired horses, but there were not enough horseshoes to supply them. Some of the raiders deliberately stripped the Hoosiers of their money, knives, and tobacco, all while demeaning them as abolitionists or amalgamationists. While Watson and the others were being robbed, other raiders helped themselves to the stores and stables in the surrounding area. The militia was kept in the prisoner pen until the raiders acquired all the materials they deemed necessary.¹¹ Duke freely admitted that the Confederates "pillaged" Indiana towns, taking cloth (some called it the "calico raid") and miscellaneous items such as a bird-cage and a chafing-dish. They felt entitled to, Duke claimed, because of Federal depredations in the South, but he compared them to "boys robbing an orchard" who would "throw away their plunder after awhile, like children tired of their toys."¹² The citizens of Versailles whose money and goods were stolen probably did not see the theft as so harmless. The county history does record, however, that when Morgan, a Mason, discovered that his men had stolen the jewels from the Masonic Lodge in Versailles, he ordered them returned.¹³

General Morgan arrived as the looting concluded. He spoke to the imprisoned militiamen, saying that he had found them with arms and therefore considered them soldiers. The next time he came to Versailles, he would come with a sword in one hand, and a firebrand in the other, so that he

¹¹ *History and Directory of Ripley County*, comp. by Ed. C. Jerman (1888), 42-43; Duke, *History of Morgan's Cavalry*; "The People's History of Ripley County," 507.

¹² Duke, *History of Morgan's Cavalry*.

¹³ History of Ripley County, 17.

could shed blood and lay their town in ashes. Asked if he was an abolitionist, Cravens freely admitted that he was. "Suppose I should hang you for it?" Morgan inquired. Cravens announced himself wiling to suffer such a fate, but Morgan released him.¹⁴ After threatening the Hoosiers, Morgan told them to disperse to their homes, and to never again be found with arms in their hands unless they were lawfully exchanged. Just before their liberation, one rebel sternly requested a guide; they needed direction to the railroad bridge. That was when Bluford Dickerson, Mira's father, was forced to guide them.

Shaw estimated that the raiders were 6,000 strong, with a battery of cannons and small field pieces, and even heard that their advance guards were Texas Rangers.¹⁵ Shaw claimed that many of the locals had never seen such an army, and to them, the Confederates seemed very ugly and rude. His overestimation of their force's size and inclusion of the feared Texas Rangers may have been the exaggerations of memory—he gave his account over thirty years after the raid—or may have reflected the fear the militiamen felt on that July afternoon.

Shaw and the freed militiamen sensed the Confederates were in a hurry to gain distance from Versailles. The locals learned afterwards this was true as General Hobson was well underway in his pursuit. The raiders left heading towards Milan, Indiana, leaving Versailles in a high state of excitement, according to Shaw. This only increased when the Hoosiers learned about the murder of a Mr. Horseley and the shooting of another man. In Shaw's words, the "public mind was wrought up to frenzy."¹⁶ Horseley had been shot when he failed to surrender to raiders on a road near his home. Although he made no resistance to the Confederates, he was deaf and did not respond to the rebels' orders.¹⁷ Like Horseley, William C. Stark met the Confederates on the road and they ordered him to

¹⁴ "The People's History of Ripley County," 507.

¹⁵ "The People's History of Ripley County," 507

¹⁶ "The People's History of Ripley County,", 511.

¹⁷ "The People's History of Ripley County," 509.

surrender. Stark was riding a first-rate horse that the raiders wanted. Stark responded by shooting at the rebels and fleeing which led to a pursuit and his eventual escape. Duke, however, fails to mention any civilian deaths or attacks on civilians during the incursion into Indiana.

The raid and the accompanying acts of violence prompted public meetings in Versailles and elsewhere. Shaw stated that the turn of events effectively stopped the mouths of southern sympathizers and the "copperheads," or Peace Democrats, who wanted a negotiated agreement with the South. Hoosiers expressed not just outrage against the Confederates at these meetings, but a unanimous opinion in favor of prosecuting the war. Although Morgan may have expected southern sympathizers to support the raiders, if anything, the raid strengthened Hoosiers' opposition to the South and support for the Union. Far from seeing the raiders as gallant, the Evansville *Daily Journal* entitled its account of the raid, including Horseley's murder and a home invasion and robbery near Vernon, "Morgan's Chivalrous Conduct" mocking southern pretensions to noble behavior.¹⁸

On the Sunday of the raid, Reverend B.F. Ferris began his morning by attending Sunday school and class meetings at a schoolhouse which was located at the intersection of Harrison Road and the road leading from Old Milan to Sunman, approximately ten to fifteen miles from Versailles. At the school building, he learned Morgan had captured Versailles, and that the Confederates were expected to arrive in Sunman some time that day. Like Mira Dickerson and Watson Shaw, the reverend remembered great excitement and anxiety as he waited for the raiders' arrival. Around the evening dusk, he saw a cloud of dust on the road and went to investigate, but four rapid shots rang out in the distance. He changed his course to follow the noise. He then saw two horsemen coming up the road, and his initial thought was that they were militia scouts. Upon closer appearance, he realized that they were armed cavalrymen. They ordered him to halt, which he promptly did. They

¹⁸ (Evansville) *The Daily Journal*, July 20, 1863. Hoosier State Chronicles Newspaper Database.

took him back towards the schoolhouse and delivered him to Colonel Dick Morgan, to whom they reported.¹⁹

Ferris, along with four or five of his neighbors captured by the raiders, soon found themselves in the presence of General Morgan who questioned Ferris as to why he was out by the road at that time of day. Morgan accepted Ferris's answers. While they were in conversation, the officer who initially captured Ferris came in to report. The officer told Morgan that he, and twenty men, had headed towards Sunman as commanded, where they were suddenly ambushed. At first, he claimed that the Confederates had lost ten men, but returned moments later to say no men had been lost. Ferris later found out from a neighbor that two men had died. Ferris's neighbor, a militiaman, was present during the skirmish. Ferris's own daughter provided the Confederates with a blanket that she saw them spread over two bodies in a wagon.²⁰

Like Bluford Dickerson, Morgan pressed Ferris into service as a guide along the roads leading west of Sunman. The reverend was furnished with a horse and rode at the front with an officer. He led them one mile west of Sunman where the rebels cut down telegraph wires and built fires upon the railroad tracks. The group then returned to the schoolhouse, occupied by Morgan and his officers, around 10:00 p.m. Perhaps sarcastically, Ferris remembered that he was "honored with a seat on one of the benches and kindly permitted to pass the night in company with some of my fellow prisoners, as a guest of Morgan."²¹ The minister returned to his worried family the next morning. The day before, Ferris's daughter and son were looking for him when Confederates stopped them. The raiders escorted his daughter and her younger brother home safely, but failed to tell them their father's whereabouts despite promising Ferris to do so. As with Alice Willson's

¹⁹ "The People's History of Ripley County," 514.

²⁰ "The People's History of Ripley County," 514-15.

²¹ "The People's History of Ripley County," 516.

mother, the minister's family told him "they were kept pretty busy . . . baking biscuits for hungry soldiers."

Like Shaw, Ferris knew of an innocent civilian the raiders killed. One of Morgan's men shot John Sawdon only to examine the fallen body and discover that Sawdon had been unarmed. The raider expressed mild regrets and rode off with the rest of his fellow troops. Reverend Ferris preached Sawdon's funeral sermon.²²

Although he survived the experience, Ferris's close friend, William M. Duley, the county treasurer and a resident of Versailles, received a visit from the raiders. Upon news of Morgan's raid, the treasurer had taken all of the money in the courthouse safe, except for eight dollars, and buried the town funds in his garden. When a Confederate officer visited his home and demanded the public funds, Duley accompanied him to the safe at the courthouse. He opened it for the looter to see that there was practically nothing inside. Surprised, the Confederate officer sharply asked Duley how Ripley County had so little money on hand. Duly lied, stating that they heard the rebels were coming and sent the money to Indianapolis for safe keeping. Humorously, the minister wondered if Duley was justified in violating the commandment, "Thou shalt not bear false witness."²³

Although Ferris remembered that his family had not been "molested" and that the Confederates only stole a new wagon whip from him, other parts of his account coincide with those of Mira Sheets and Watson Shaw including accounts of theft and destruction. His southern-sympathizing neighbor lost 125 bushels of corn and most of his wheat to feed the raiders' horses and mules. The Confederates burned fence rails in camp fires. In addition to his family, the reverend knew other women forced to cook for the Confederates. Ferris served as a guide and then ministered to the family of a murdered civilian.

²² "The People's History of Ripley County," 516.

²³ "The People's History of Ripley County," 519.

After riding out of Versailles, Morgan's raiders crossed into Ohio. A week after they terrorized Ripley County, Morgan's force attempted to cross back into Kentucky at Bluffington Island but were cut off by Union forces and gunboats. Duke and almost six hundred men were surrounded and surrendered. Morgan and a remaining four hundred men were captured at New Lisbon, Ohio on July 26, 1863. The Great Raid was over. The Ohioans imprisoned Morgan and some of his men at the state penitentiary rather than a prisoner-of-war camp, rebuffing southern chivalry by labeling the raiders as mere criminals. Morgan, however, escaped only to be killed on his final raid into Kentucky in 1864.²⁴

Despite their different experiences, Mira D. Sheets, Watson C. Shaw, and Reverend B.F. Ferris all experienced theft, threat, and destruction during Morgan's Raid. Raiders stole not just horses and feed, but also money, personal property, and store goods. Mira Sheets remembered Hoosiers hiding their possessions and they were wise to do so. The Confederates sought ransom from towns they passed through as they did from Ripley County treasurer William Duley. Besides the extortion from local governments and theft of horses and other personal property, Morgan's troops destroyed telegraph lines, railroads, and bridges to impede the Union pursuit. Morgan threatened residents of Versailles with death if they did not guide his troops. Local women were coerced into feeding the hungry Confederates. Some of these threats did become a reality as the raiders murdered at least two men. Duke's history of Morgan's cavalry does not mention the impressment of guides, the forcing of women to cook for the Confederates, demanding ransom from towns, or the killing of civilians during the raid into Indiana.²⁵ Modern authors perpetuate the myth of the raid as a daring, light-hearted adventure when they describe the raiders as "horse-playing

²⁴ Mackay, Uncivil War, 176-92; Duke, History of Morgan's Cavalry.

²⁵ Duke, History of Morgan's Cavalry.

teen-agers" and deprecate the civilians as "fear-crazed" as if Hoosiers' fright at the invasion was irrational.²⁶

Morgan's Raid through Indiana left a memorable history and tradition among the locals. Today, the only school in Versailles, Indiana is represented with a raider mascot who resembles Morgan. (See figure 3.) While the event caused much strife for the people of Versailles in 1863, the present-day population embraces the romanticized version of the event; it is visible through their local school and tourism efforts. Residents seem to have forgotten the ugly reality civilian experienced during the raid. Over the span of a few summer days, the townspeople suffered distress, fear, and outrage as they were threatened, robbed, made captives, and in some cases, murdered. Ironically, the modern local adoption of the raider embraces the romanticization of Morgan and his men at the expense of what the people of Versailles really experienced in July of 1863.

²⁶ Gard, Morgan's Raid into Ohio, xvi; Keller, Morgan's Raid, 98.