JOHN SAPPINGTON MARMADUKE.

BY JOHN F. LEE.

(An Address Delivered at a Meeting of the Society, 26 May, 1906.)

John Sappington Marmaduke was born in Saline county Missouri, near Arrow Rock, on March 14th, 1833.

The name "Marmaduke" is said to mean mighty leader. The origin of the family is not distinctly traced. We first find it in Westmoreland county, England, one of the northwestern counties which is generally mountainous in character and well calculated to produce a vigorous race of men. An early record is found of a Sir Miles Meredith Marmaduke, which is the same name as that of the father of the subject of this sketch. It is known that some members of the English family emigrated to Westmoreland county, Virginia, at an early date and remained there until Miles Meredith Marmaduke came to Missouri and settled in Saline county, shortly after the admission of the state into the union, which was in 1820. He engaged in farming but shortly after reaching Missouri went with the first wagon train from Missouri to Santa Fe, and as the country crossed was then in the possession of hostile Indians, the journey was attended with great peril. Notwithstanding this he took part in two other similar expeditions at later dates. He was a man of high character and great influence in the community in which he lived. He was elected Lieut. Governor in 1840, and upon the death of Governor Reynolds in 1844, he succeeded to the office of governor, which he filled with great credit. He married Lavinia Sappington, a daughter of Dr. John Sappington, a native of Maryland, who came to Missouri from Tennessee.

Dr. Sappington, for whom John S. Marmaduke was named, was a practicing physician who enjoyed in a very uncommon degree, the respect, confidence and affection of all who knew him.
The two families of Marmaduke and Sappington united by marriage exercised a controlling influence over the politics of their county, and the memory of this fact has been perpetuated by the painting by General Bingham entitled "The County Election" of which engraved copies have been made in such numbers that it is familiar to thousands; Bingham offered himself as a candidate for the legislature from Saline county against Erasmus Darwin Sappington and as might have been foreseen was defeated. The painting was made in explanation of the artist's defeat and exhibits decided skill. It shows all of the election machinery under the control of the two families who compose also the greater part of the electorate. While it has some exaggeration, it is not a caricature. The figures of the principal parties are resemblances, and Miles Meredith Marmaduke can be easily recognized in the presiding Judge.

Six sons and three daughters of the marriage of Miles Meredith Marmaduke and Lavinia Sappington reached maturity. John was the fourth child and second son. The influence of each of his parents was very strongly felt in the development of his character; he attended the country schools of the neighborhood in which he lived until he went to Yale at the age of seventeen. After spending two years at Yale he went to Harvard. He studied at Harvard one year, when he was appointed to the United States Military Academy, where he was graduated in 1857. He served on frontier duty in the First United States Mounted Riflemen under Col. Loring, and later in the 7th United States Cavalry under Col. Albert Sidney Johnston in Utah.

At the opening of the civil war he suffered the conflict of emotions which tore so many men when called on to decide to which side their duty called him, but the promptitude with which he acted and the circumstances under which he reached his decision were characteristic of him, and showed that those qualities were his by inheritance. He was at his father's home at the time and sought the
advice of his father at this critical moment of his career. The latter listened patiently to a full statement of his son's feelings, and when he had finished said simply: "John go up stairs and change your uniform." The first of that momentous conflict was the firing on Fort Sumter, April 12th, 1861, and five days later he resigned his commission.

Immediately after resigning he joined the Missouri State Troops and served as Colonel. On the 17th of June following he was brought in contact with the Federal Troops at Boonville. Col. Marmaduke believed the Confederate Troops were not prepared for a battle under the conditions which then obtained and so expressed himself to his superior officer, Gov. Jackson, but disregarding Marmaduke's opinion Jackson ordered an engagement, which resulted in the defeat of Col. Marmaduke. Shortly after this he resigned his commission and after spending a few weeks at home, went to Richmond and tendered his services to the Confederate Government. He was commissioned Lieut. Colonel and assigned to the Staff of Gen. J. W. Hardee, who was at Pocahontas, Arkansas, but after a short service in Arkansas and Missouri he was placed in command of the Third Confederate Infantry and crossed the Mississippi. He took part in all the desperate work around Bowling Green, Kentucky, at Fort Donelson and the retreat to Corinth.

The Battle of Shiloh is generally recognized as one of the decisive battles of the Civil War, and there are many who believe that had the outcome been otherwise the result of the war might have been changed. The Confederate forces were under the command of General Albert Sidney Johnston, Marmaduke's old Commander in Utah. The evening before the battle, which was to begin at dawn on April 6th, the Confederate forces were ranged in battle order and the Commanding General, attended by his staff, rode down his lines to review them. General Hardee had command of the first division, General Hindman of the second, and Marmaduke was in command of Hindman's Brigade, which formed part of the second division. General John-
ston spoke words of encouragement and exhortation to the respective commands as he passed them. But when he reached Marmaduke, who was stationed in front of his command, he halted his body guard, rode up to Marmaduke and grasping his hand with that feeling of comradeship which one intrepid spirit feels for another when confronted by a heroic enterprise, only said: "Marmaduke, I know you will do your duty." He recognized that Marmaduke needed no urging to do his best. He had the great Commander's fullest confidence and Marmaduke's conduct on the bloody field next day proved how well he deserved that confidence.

The accounts of the results of the first day's fighting at Shiloh are very conflicting. How far the Confederate forces drove back the Federals, and what was the confusion in the Federal Camp, is a matter of widely differing opinions and probably will never be definitely settled. One view is that the Federals were broken and had retired near the river, were only saved from flight by General Johnston's fall, when General Beauregard assumed command he felt so sure of receiving a surrender of the Federal forces the next day that he ordered a cessation of hostilities for the day, and the arrival of General Buell with fresh forces reversed the fortunes of the day. General Marmaduke was wont to say that on his advance he entered a tent where a meal for Federal officers was set out, but had been left behind untasted. It must be remembered that the opposing Commander was General Grant, whose glorious career records no surrender and the splendid army which he led was capable of supporting great reverses with unbroken spirit. It is certain the second day's fighting resulted in a disastrous Confederate defeat.

For his distinguished services on the field at Shiloh, Col. Marmaduke was made a Brigadier General.

He took a conspicuous part as a Division Commander at the Battle of Prairie Grove. General Hardee in his report said that Marmaduke had apparently not been confirmed as Brigadier General, but that if the authorities
had witnessed his valor at Shiloh and Prairie Grove, the honor would not be delayed.

After the retreat of the Confederates from Shiloh, General Hindman was assigned to command the entire forces west of the Mississippi River, and holding Marmaduke’s military services in the highest esteem he urged Marmaduke to accompany him to that field of action. The invitation was accepted.

The history of all the Confederate leaders, save those who died before the result of the conflict was decided, is necessarily a history of defeat. The resources of the Confederacy were not large enough to maintain the army of Northern Virginia, the army east of the Mississippi and a third army west of the Mississippi in the highest state of efficiency. The two first armies were considered at Richmond as of more vital importance than the army west of the Mississippi, and the interests of the latter were consequently sacrificed to the other two.

Gen. Marmaduke made excellent use of the means at his command. He took part in a number of engagements with varying success. He was present at Springfield, Hartville and Cape Girardeau. He defeated the federals at Taylor’s Creek, but failed in an attack on Helena for want of proper support. During General Price’s defence of Little Rock, Marmaduke commanded the cavalry of the army and formed its rear guard, which was mentioned in the report as “Skillfully handled and behaved admirably.” His attack on Pine Bluff was repulsed. He made a skillful disposition of his troops and a four days fight at Elkin’s Ferry and Prairie d’Ane. He was successful in a brilliant action at Poison Spring and at Jenkins Ferry his services were important. For his part in these campaigns he was commissioned a Major General, but did not receive his commission until the closing days of the Confederacy.

In May and June of 1864, he was stationed on the Mississippi and had a creditable encounter at Lake Village with Gen. A. J. Smith.

He commanded one of the three Divisions led by Gen-
John Sappington Marmaduke.

eral Price in the Missouri raid in 1864, and rendered distinguished services at the Battle of the Little Blue, where two horses were shot from under him while he was attempting to stem the onset of the enemy's forces. In the fierce battle of October 22, 23 and 25, 1864, at Marais des Cygnes, while guarding the rear, his command was overwhelmed. He was made a prisoner, carried to Fort Warren and held there until August, 1865.

After his release he took a journey to Europe for his health.

In May, 1866, he returned to Missouri and established the commission house in St. Louis of Marmaduke and Brown. It met with immediate success, but the details of business were not congenial to him and he left that business to become Superintendent of Southern Agencies for the Life Association of America, which position he retained for about two years. He then brought out the "Journal of Agriculture of St. Louis" and remained its Editor from 1871 to 1874, when he was appointed to the State Board of Agriculture.

Between the years 1875 and 1880 he was a member of the Railroad Commission of Missouri. He was elected Governor of this State and took office January, 1885. He died in the Executive Mansion December 27th, 1887, before the expiration of his official term.

He was in height above six feet, well formed with broad shoulders carried well thrown back. His neck was strong and the head well placed upon it. The head was round, the face oval, the cheek bones not high, the brow well marked, the nose prominent and aquiline, the mouth small, lips delicate, chin and jaw strongly marked, the hair light brown cut short and parted in the middle and in later life worn off the temples, a slight mustache of the same color, complexion ruddy, forehead white, eyes a clear blue which looked darker when the brows were gathered. His hands were small and beautifully formed, soft as a woman's but his grasp was firm. His carriage was very erect. He walked with a full easy stride and as his soldierly figure
passed, you could almost hear the clank of saber and spurs. He sat a horse superbly and managed him with grace. Ac-
custed to riding from his youth he seemed to be proof
against fatigue from that form of exercise. In early life
his figure was spare. It was fuller in his last years but he
was never heavy or unwieldy. An officer who served on
the union side in the civil war, speaking of General Mar-
maduke, when a young man said; he had never seen so mil-
itary a looking man.

None of the pictures of him were satisfactory to those
who knew him well. Probably the best is the oil painting
by John Reed which was painted for the Executive Mans-
ion. The photographs generally seen of him exaggerate
the expression of firmness and make the face look harder
than it should.

It has been truly said that some men have one sort of
courage, some another. It may be said of General Mar-
maduke that he had courage in every phase, at all times,
under all circumstances. A courage which was equal to
any crisis, or danger in any form.

His integrity was unquestionable. He not only never
did a dishonest thing, but he was never tempted to do it.
Subtle distinctions between the right and wrong were very
distasteful to him and he had the quality of distinguishing
at a glance that which was entirely right from what was
questionable, and he embraced one and turned from the
other without a moment’s hesitation when the choice be-
tween them was presented to him.

He came out of the southern army a penniless man, and
when not long thereafter he was appointed to the office
which he held under the insurance company, and was
receiving an income of between $8,000.00 and $10,000.00
a year, he became satisfied that some of the practices of
the insurance company were not strictly honest; and
though he was not called upon in his office to do or sanc-
tion anything of which he did not approve nevertheless,
without hesitation, and because of these questionable prac-
John Sappington Marmaduke.

He did not value money and he spent it with a free hand when he had it. As long as it lasted he was ready to give it to any one who had either his affection or his sympathy. His views of the value of money were greatly at variance with the commercial spirit of the present day. Whether a man succeeded in accumulating a fortune, or not, had not the slightest effect upon the estimate he made of that man's success in life. 

On one occasion he remarked that generally his old soldiers had done well in life. As this expression is commonly used with reference to the accumulation of worldly goods, the gentleman to whom he was speaking said, his experience with the General's soldiers had been rather to the contrary. General Marmaduke looked at him with genuine surprise and said, without any feeling of irritation, or with any purpose of giving a rebuke: "Why they have raised respectable families, they are men of weight in their communities, and are highly esteemed." He had not noticed their financial condition.

He was a man of strong affections and hearty dislikes. If he disliked a man he wanted to have nothing to do with him in any relation of life. If he liked him he was very apt to love him and he trusted his friends implicitly. He was a most loyal friend and never lost an opportunity of advancing the interests of a friend although he was ever careless of his own interests.

When in the army he was very solicitous for the welfare of his officers and men, and when wounded on the second day of the battle of Shiloh, he did not go to the hospital until he had hunted up one of his officers who had been wounded, to learn the extent of the latter's injuries.

He was a cheerful companion, easily moved to laughter and had a hearty, ringing laugh which added much to the gayety of his presence. It was none the less hearty when he was the subject of the jest.

Notwithstanding his university education he cared little
for books, he took his lessons from life and the enjoyment he derived from social intercourse with his friends was great. His bearing towards woman was very chivalrous and he was a great favorite with them. There was in his attitude towards them a respect and protection which was very winning. He passed a portion of one summer in the hotel at Sweet Springs, Missouri. The adjoining town of Brownsville had been visited the year before by a severe cyclone. One evening a terrific wind storm arose and as it increased in fury it seemed to threaten the coming of another disaster like that of the year previous. The hotel was a frame building and in the large parlor there were seated about fifty persons of all ages and both sexes. Apprehension was seen on every face but there was nothing approaching a panic. Whilst the storm was at its highest, one of the doors opened and General Marmaduke strode into the room, apparently unconscious of any danger. As he reached the middle of the room a lovely young girl who had been nearly terrified to death but had remained perfectly quiet, seeing him seemed to think he could afford her protection, and rising from her seat without a word and although she knew him very slightly as her father's friend, walked up to him, put her head upon his shoulder and burst into tears, tears of relief that she had found safety. The stalwart soldier, the clinging girl, the raging storm, the subdued sitters about the room made a picture not soon to be forgotten. His presence seemed to reassure everybody and coincident with his coming the storm began to abate.

He never married, but he had felt the deepest and tenderest feelings of the human heart.

He was very indifferent to what are generally called personal comforts. He kept but a very few clothes and those of the simplest character. They were all he wanted. It was amusing and at the same time a pathetic sight to see him pack his trunk. The packing consisted of throwing any such articles of clothing as were nearest his hand into the trunk in the order in which he reached them. His mili-
tary life had accustomed him to wearing boots, and his boots were generally the first thing one saw on top of everything else when his trunk was opened, but always in that trunk, wherever he went, was a packet of letters addressed to him in a female hand in faded ink which told a story he only knew.

No memorial of General Marmaduke would be complete which did not mention his duel with General Walker, both because it has been so much talked of, and because for many years it was so imperfectly understood.

In one of the battles near Little Rock General Marmaduke was hotly engaged and he sent to General Walker, his superior officer, for reinforcements. The reinforcements were not sent and there is yet some uncertainty as to what was exactly done by General Walker when he came upon the field. The relations between a general and the officers of his staff are of peculiar confidence and freedom, they are the members of his official family. It is established that a member of General Marmaduke’s staff later informed two members of the staff of General Walker, that Marmaduke had accused Walker of cowardice on the day mentioned. Correspondence followed which resulted in the duel. It was fought before sun-rise, the principals were placed at fifteen paces, General Marmaduke was so near-sighted that he was unable to see his opponent with anything approaching distinctness, but while being placed he had the coolness to notice that certain weeds were in line between him and General Walker, and in firing he aimed at them. General Walker was mortally wounded.

The best account ever given of the duel is probably that of Col. Robert H. Crockett, who was General Walker’s second on the occasion. It is said Col. Crockett never made a statement of the unfortunate occurrence until 1889, when General Marmaduke had for more than two years been dead. In that statement Col. Crockett says: “I desire to say, and right here, that while I loved General Walker as one man rarely loves another, I had the highest respect for General Marmaduke as a gallant soldier and
chivalrous gentleman. We may accept this as the last word and find whatever excuse we may for the unfortunate man whose indiscretion in repeating what he had heard under circumstances which bound him to secrecy was the cause of this very deplorable event.

General Marmaduke was a candidate for the governorship of Missouri in 1880, but he entered the field when the canvass of his rivals for the nomination was practically completed and it was too late for him to draw to his support his friends, who were to be found all over the state. He bore his defeat so manfully that it made him many friends, and when the canvass for the governorship opened in 1884, he entered the lists.

The governorship had been the object of his ambition ever since the war closed his military career, not only that he wanted it, himself, but it had always been his mother's desire that one of her sons should hold the office their father had held.

General Marmaduke was without money and it was soon apparent that the party machine was against him. When his chances were still very much in doubt a gentleman called upon him and offered the assistance of his friend, a man who had a very powerful political influence but he was a man whose part in politics General Marmaduke believed was an influence for evil. He did not do as many would have done, temporize, or accept such an aid intending not to be swayed by it when in office, but he said in his quiet, resolute way, "I want to be governor but I don't want to be governor by that man's help."

When the election of delegates began to be held it became apparent that Marmaduke would sweep the state, not by the aid of any clique or the ring, but, as he said in his inaugural address, "In spite of its potent and persistent opposition."

He entered upon the duties of his office without any pledge other than that imposed upon him by his oath. There was great interest felt throughout the state as to how the man who had been looked upon as merely a soldier
would perform his executive duties. No one doubted his integrity or his courage, but it was feared that his well known love for and confidence in his friends might lead him to appoint men to duties which they were unqualified to perform, and here the greatest surprise of his career awaited the public. It is true he never expected to find the qualifications for office in any but his friends, yet he showed the soundest judgment in selecting his appointments, and he was inflexible in his purpose to subordinate private interests to the public good. As a result his administration was eminently successful and unattended by any scandal.

He never kept an applicant for office in any uncertainty as to what his action would be. If he intended to reject an applicant he would begin his answer with "No." He would say: "No, I will not appoint you to that office," but he would give no reason unless asked for one, and then he gave the real reason. A gentleman to whom he was warmly attached, and of whom he had a very high opinion, and whom he intended to appoint to an office, applied, to him for a different office. Marmaduke replied: "No, I can't appoint you to that office." "Why?" inquired the friend. "Because," he said, "I have a man who I think will perform its duties better than you could." This simple and direct method instead of alienating his friends, was received at first with some amusement which gradually settled down to the conviction that it was the best way for him to act and gave less pain in the end.

It was a motto of General Marmaduke's: "When you quarrel with a man and he leaves you, unless you think you are in the wrong, don't go after him. If he is a good man he will find out his mistake and come back to you, and if he is a bad man, you are well rid of him;" I do not know how this method tried by most men would succeed, but it succeeded admirably with him.

He cared very little for appearances. He was absolutely truthful and anything which even savored of insincerity was foreign to his nature. He wanted to know the real right or wrong of a matter; as soon as he did he was ready
to act. He believed that the legislature which met in 1887 ought to pass legislation which would effectually control the railroads. The railroads had sufficient influence to prevent the passage of an act at the regular session and the legislature adjourned without action. Governor Marmaduke promptly summoned the legislature, as under our constitution he had power to do, to a special session and committed to them the question of railroad legislation. As there was a majority of six or more in the Legislature opposed to railway legislation, they thought at first the issue was in their hands, and it was proposed that the legislature again adjourn without action. He announced if they adjourned he would call another session, and continue to call sessions until the legislature acted. Such course of action had never been known in Missouri and I doubt if it had its precedent in the United States, but when Governor Marmaduke announced his purpose there was not a man in the state who doubted he would carry it out.

It was a time of great political excitement. The railroads believed the proposed legislation would inflict incalculable injury upon them, and the Missouri-Pacific, which generally acted for the other railroads in questions of this sort, sent their general counsel John C. Brown, to Jefferson City to do what he could to defeat legislation. Now it happened that Mr. Brown who had been a Major General in the Confederate Army, Governor of Tennessee, and was for many years a warm personal friend of Governor Marmaduke's. They were now the leaders on rival sides of the question at issue, but Gov. Marmaduke insisted that if General Brown came to Jefferson City he should while there be his guest at the Executive Mansion; he did not think it becoming to him that his friend should stay anywhere else. General Brown at first protested that it might expose Gov. Marmaduke to the imputation of being influenced by the railroads, but he found Gov. Marmaduke was absolutely indifferent to this, and it was a singular tribute to Gov. Marmaduke's honesty and firmness that no
one thought it more than an amusing incident, and one
that was very characteristic of him. It was recognized
that if any change of opinion took place between the two
it would be on the part of General Brown.

Finally the Governor had his way and the Legislature
with its one hundred and forty members passed a bill
which was entirely satisfactory to him, and from that
day to the present there has been no railroad question in
Missouri.

During Gov. Marmaduke's administration we had the
first great railroad strike in this country, known as the
Martin Irons Strike, which extended from St. Louis to
Texas and paralyzed the operations of the greatest railroad
system in the Southwest. Gov. Marmaduke's first posi-
tion was that the law must be observed and there must be
no violence. It was understood he meant it. So com-
plete was the organization of the strikers that the railroads
could find no men to operate their trains. They were
disposed to say that they had the men but the rioters were
able to prevent the movements of trains by violence. Gov.
Marmaduke soon settled that question. He believed the
men had some cause of complaint. He went to see the
chief officers of the railroad, insisted that these should be
righted and his views were met. He promised the neces-
sary protection to trains and it thereupon became apparent
the railroads did not have the men. They were very soon
secured and the trains were moved. The strike was broken
without the loss of a life, furnishing a strong contrast to
troubles of this sort which have been experienced many
times in other quarters. The passage of the railroad leg-
islation and the outcome of the strike, established on a
firm basis Gov. Marmaduke's reputation as a firm, wise and
patriotic executive. Thereafter his administration passed
on without anything to threaten or disturb its success.

His constitution of iron had enabled him through life
to violate with impunity the rules of health, but exposure
to the severity of the season in December, 1887, brought
on an attack of pneumonia from which he died on the 27th of that month.

He met death with the same fortitude with which he had faced it on so many fields of battle. From all quarters of the State there came recognition of his public services and expressions of sorrow for his loss, and the universal sentiment was that Missouri never had a better Governor.

To-night, more than nineteen years after his death, when the greater number of those who took part in the great scenes through which he passed have gone before or followed him, he is still remembered with affection by many who are still living. The memory of his high qualities and great virtues make them feel that they are happier, better men for having known and loved John S. Marshall.