Divided Loyalties in Civil War Kansas

by Gary L. Cheatham

When Kansas Territory was carved out of the Central Plains in May 1854, only a few hundred persons of white descent resided there. Shortly after the territory was opened for settlement, population began to increase. An early territorial census reveals that, by early 1855, immigration had increased the population to more than eight thousand white settlers and two hundred black slaves. Immigration during this early period was largely from the South. Appoximately two out of every three voting-age white males were natives of southern states. Political and monetary support from the South bolstered southern settlement in the territory, and appeared to be leading Kansas toward admission to the Union as a slave state. However, emigration aid societies in the North were determined to bring Kansas Territory into the Union as a free state. The political tug-of-war was exemplified for a time by competing proslavery and abolitionist territorial authorities.[1]

As the 1850s progressed, southern control over Kansas Territory lost momentum. Increased immigration from the North did much to eventually ease Kansas away from southern political control. Bogus elections and a declining commitment from the South were equally significant in ending southern dominance in the territory. By 1859 southern political influence had largely declined, and in October of that year the antislavery Wyandotte Constitution, which was later adopted by the state, was ratified by two out of three Kansas Territory voters.[2]

Despite ratification of the Wyandotte Constitution, slavery continued to exist in Kansas Territory on a limited scale. Attempts to abolish the institution met resistance from a minority of territorial legislators and Gov. Samuel Medary. In 1860, Medary vetoed the "Personal Liberty bill," that would have abolished slavery in the territory. Opponents of the bill referred to it as the "unfriendly legislation."[3] The issue of slavery was finally put to rest when Kansas was admitted to the Union as a free state in January 1861.

The Wyandotte Constitution may have symbolized an abolitionist victory, but its ratification in 1859 did not end internal conflict between northern and southern sentiments in Kansas. The months preceding Kansas statehood were marred by reports of disturbances in the territory. For example, several proslavery Kansans were killed by abolitionists in late 1860.[4]

As the winter of 1860-1861 approached, reports of conflict resembling the days of "Bleeding Kansas" emerged from southern Kansas,[5] but distinctions between rumors of disturbances and actual events were not made clear. On November 27, 1860, the *New York*

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1. Alice Nichols, *Bleeding Kansas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 18, 22; "Executive Minutes: Minutes Recorded in the Governor's Office During the Administration of Governor Andrew H. Reeder," *Kansas State Historical Publications* 1(Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1886):59; R. H. Williams, *With the Border Ruffians: Memories of the Far West, 1852-1868*, ed. E. W. Williams (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1907; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 82.

2. William Frank Zornow, *Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), 86.

3. *New York Times*, March 2, 1860, p.2.

4. Nichols, *Bleeding Kansas*, 243. One of the more notable incidents surrounded the lynching of Russell Hinds in November 1860. Hinds, a resident of Linn County, was accused of kidnapping black refugees in Kansas for later sale as slaves. J. N. Holloway, *History of Kansas: From the First Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, To Its Admission into the Union* (Lafayette, Ind.: James, Emmons & Co., 1868), 573-74; D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka: T. Dwight Thacher, Kansas Publishing House, 1886; New York: Arno Press, 1975), 307.

5. During this period southern Kansas was generally accepted as including that part of the state south of the Kansas River. Albert Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), 6.

The Osage were divided in loyalties during the Civil War. Among the supporters of the Confederacy was the Osage chief, Black Dog, who resided in southern Kansas.

Times printed an article in response to a series of confusing reports on civil unrest in southern Kansas.

> It is evident, however, that trouble is brewing in that quarter,—and whether it has yet actually broken out or not, we may expect to hear of acts of violence and outrage. It is clear, too, that they have their origin partially, at least, in the old troubles and domestic feuds of the Territory. Our correspondent states that they are directly connected with the divisions of the Pro-Slavery and the Liberty Parties, and that the old animosities in that section of the State are by no means healed.[6]

The resurgence of uneasiness in southern Kansas came from a lingering element of support for the proslavery party among some residents. Political campaigning allowed a forum for this element to resurface in the fall of 1860. This resurgence may have had more to do with prosouthern political and social ideals than with the institution of slavery alone. Nonetheless, some Kansans still clung to the hope that Kansas would be admitted to the Union as a slave state.[7]

An example of popular support for proslavery politics during this time can be found in Linn County, Kansas, where J. H. Barlow was the proslavery candidate for probate judge during the fall 1860 political campaign. Barlow, a native of Kentucky, was a prominent lawyer and slave owner in the county. At a Linn County political rally one of Barlow's supporters cheered for the election of Abraham Lincoln for President and Barlow for judge. In reaction, the crowd grabbed Barlow's apparently confused supporter to convince him that he had made an error in equating an abolitionist presidential candidate with their political sympathies.[8]

The significance of events such as the Barlow incident was downplayed by abolitionists, who viewed the proslavery party in southern Kansas as a lingering reflection of a lost cause. The *New York Times* summarized events as only sporadically explosive: "The embers of the fires of '56 and '57 are not completely smothered in Southern Kansas, and they seem to break forth here and there, at intervals, like the pent-up volcano." Opponents excused any political successes of the proslavery faction by suggesting that "the slave party have seemed to imagine themselves the victors of Southern Kansas."[9]

As January 1861 approached it became apparent that Kansas statehood would soon become a reality. Regarding statehood, the Leavenworth daily *Conservative* summarized the mood of many Kansans by proclaiming, "Long and impatiently have we waited for admission into the Union." However, not all Kansans viewed statehood with zeal. A newspaper correspondent in Lawrence reported that "The people of Kansas are comparatively indifferent to the question of admission, and a majority will be disappointed, if we are not kept out by some dodge on the Southern boundary; or some other question growing out of the Slavery issue."[10]

These reports illustrate the varied responses of Kansans toward the matter of statehood. In view of the

6. *New York Times*, November 27, 1860, p.4.

7. Samuel J. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1911), 15.

8. "Some of the Lost Towns of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1911-1912* 12 (1912):430; William Ansel Mitchell, *Linn County, Kansas: A History* (Kansas City: Campbell-Gates, 1928), 81; W. A. Mitchell, "Historic Linn: Sketch of Notable Events in Its First Settlements," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1923-1925* 16 (1925):630.

9. *New York Times*, November 27, 1860, p.4.

10. *Conservative* (daily), Leavenworth, January 30, 1861; *New York Times*, January 9, 1861, p.3.

impending conflict between North and South, the issue of statehood elicited a radical proposal from acting Kansas governor George M. Beebe in January 1861. Beebe proposed the secession of Kansas, in order to become an independent nation, if the Union was dissolved.[11] The proposal failed to receive popular support among Kansans. Their loyalties were too deeply intertwined with the rest of the country and the national fervor over the impending crisis.

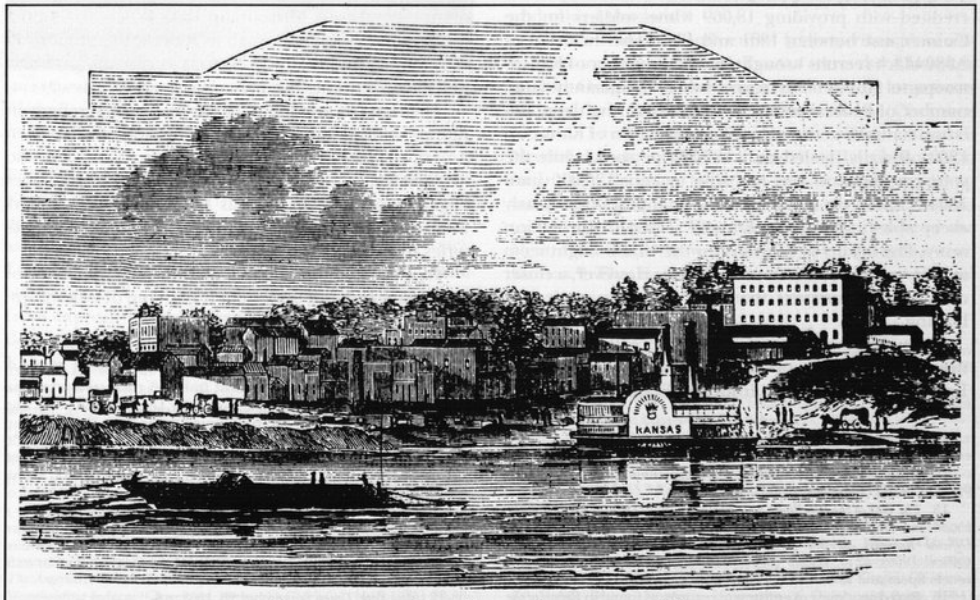
The birth of Kansas as a state coincided with the ongoing secession movement of slave states. When hostilities between North and South began several weeks later, Kansas was clearly against secession and for the Union. However, Kansas was unique among pro-Union states. Settlement patterns and social characteristics in Kansas left a distinctive mark upon the state. White settlement was largely confined to the eastern third of Kansas. The relatively small black population included freedmen, refugees from other states, and some slaves. American Indians could be found in every section of the state, but were varied in their cultural heritage. At the time of statehood, Kansas settlers represented both northern and southern backgrounds.

Geographically Kansas was also in a unique position. Surrounding states and territories were a reflection of the mix of social characteristics found in Kansas. On the eastern border of Kansas was the slave state of Missouri, which was particularly divided in sympathies along its border with Kansas. Seven of the twenty-five most ardent prosouthern Missouri counties were in the western part of the state.[12] South of Kansas were native American Indian tribes and white residents of Indian Territory (Oklahoma), as well as the dominant regional slave state of Texas. To the west and north were the pro-Union territories of Colorado and Nebraska.

At the time of statehood, Kansas was at the crossroads of northern, southern, and western elements in the expanding nation. In celebration of the new state, a newspaper writer gave the following description of

11. *New York Times*, January 18, 1861, p.3.

12. Ralph A. Wooster, *The Secession Conventions of the South* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962), 236.



Leavenworth when six years old.

The town of Leavenworth was fervently pro-Union, although some county residents sympathized with the South.

Kansas in January 1861: "Located in the geographical centre of the continent—with a population made up of elements the most varied and vigorous, combining in an admirable mosaic, the intelligence of New-England with the energy of the West and the heartiness of the South . . . the young State starts on the career of empire after having had a training in the school of adversity which has given strength to its character and consistency to its courage."[13]

On the eve of statehood, the ratio of northern versus southern-born Kansans had reversed from that of early territorial days. By 1860 approximately one out of every three white adults was of native southern descent. Most of these native southerners were from what became the divided border region of the South. Predominately this included emigrants from Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina.[14] Many of these Kansans would support the Union.

Kansas is generally remembered in history as one of the more vigorous Union states during the Civil War. This reputation was largely earned as a result of the military support the state gave the Union cause. Kansas supplied an inproportionate number of soldiers for the Union army, in comparison with other states. Kansas is credited with providing 18,069 white soldiers for the Union cause between 1861 and 1865. The inclusion of 2,080 black recruits brought the total number of Kansas troops to 20,149. This represents a significantly large number of Federal troops, when considering the population statistics of the state. The population of Kansas in 1860 officially totaled only 107,204 persons, while the voting population was not able to equal 20,000 until 1864.[15] Based on numbers alone it appears that nearly every able-bodied male Kansan served in the Union army. The loyalty of Kansans for the Union might seem to have outshined much of the North. However, a closer consideration suggests that such a conclusion is misleading.

A study of enlistment records reveals that nearly twenty-five percent of white Union army recruits in Kansas units were not from the state.[16] Out-of-state recruits came from many states and territories, as well as a small representation from Mexico. Kansas drew on a very diverse population to fill its military ranks, and even a careful study of enlistment records fails to account for the total number of enlistees from outside Kansas.

By 1863, Union enlistments in Kansas were swelling the ranks of newly formed units. In September 1863 a newspaper correspondent reported, "It is surprising to see the rate at which recruiting progresses in Kansas." The correspondent concluded that much of this recruiting resulted from "Union refugees from Missouri and Arkansas who have flocked into the State."[17] Missouri supplied many out-of-state recruits for Kansas regiments.[18] In fact, some Kansas regimental companies were mostly comprised of Missourians. Some of these refugee enlistees misleadingly recorded Kansas as their home, even though they were only temporary residents.

William Rider, a direct ancestor of the author, may be a typical example of a Missouri refugee who became a Kansas soldier. In 1863, Rider became a refugee by moving his family from Cass County, Missouri, to Kansas. When Rider enlisted in the Fourteenth Kansas Cavalry in 1863, he listed his home as Paola, Kansas.[19] However, he was only a temporary Kansas resident and returned to Austin, Missouri, in 1865. When accounting for refugee enlistments, such as Rider's, the proportion of out-of-state recruits in Kansas regiments probably well exceeds twenty-five percent.

Missourians were not alone in seeking refuge in Kansas during the Civil War. The struggle between American Indian factions in Indian Territory also brought many refugees into the state. Indian refugees began appearing in Kansas in significant numbers following early Confederate political and military victories in Indian Territory.

In December 1861 a devastating military defeat of pro-Union Indians, under the leadership of Opothleyo-

13. *New York Times*, January 30, 1861, p.5.

14. Wallace Elden Miller, *The Peopling of Kansas* (Columbus, Ohio: Press of Fred J. Heer, 1906), 44.

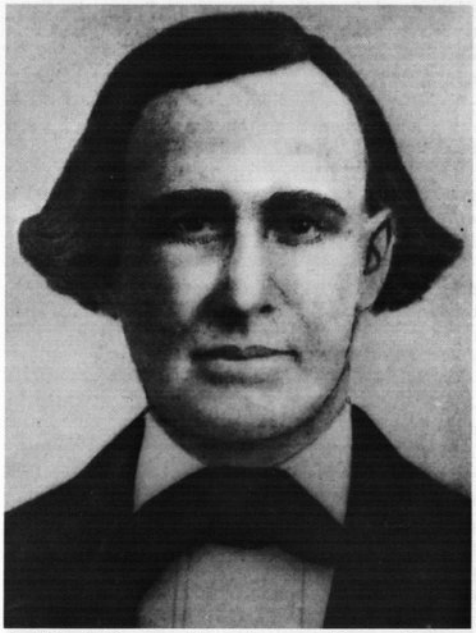
15. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* [hereafter cited as *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*], ser.3,4 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 1270, ser.3,5 (1900), 623; *Kansas Senate Journal* (Lawrence: Speer and Ross, 1866), 22.

16. Based on a study of enlistment records, as found in *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-'65*, vol. 1 (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Co., 1896); *Roll of the Officers and Enlisted Men of the Third, Fourth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Kansas Volunteers, 1861* (Topeka: W. Y. Morgan, 1902). Approximately forty-five percent of those recorded as enlisting from other states were from Missouri, nineteen percent from Illinois, twelve percent from Arkansas, seven percent from Iowa, five percent each from Nebraska Territory and Ohio, and the remaining seven percent in declining order from Texas, Indian Territory, Indiana, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Colorado Territory, New Mexico Territory, New York, Mississippi, Louisiana, California, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Kentucky, Virginia, Michigan, District of Columbia, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Mexico. Not all recruits listed in the two above sources are accompanied by a place of residence upon enlistment. The twenty-five percentile figure is based on a compilation of 4,413 identifiable out-of-state recruits. Enlistees from the Cherokee Neutral Lands are included as in-state recruits.

17. *New York Times*, September 20, 1863, p.3.

18. George W. Martin, "Memorial Monuments and Tablets in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1909-1910* 11 (1910):278.

19. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-'65*, 484.



An influential Kansan and prosouthern sympathizer was John Mathews, who became a commissioned officer in the Confederate army.

hola, forced several thousand Indians to take refuge in Kansas from Indian Territory. Pro-Union Indian refugees in parts of south-central and southeastern Kansas greatly suffered through the winter of 1861-1862. Friendly Indians and Union authorities in the state attempted to supply the refugees, but hundreds died from exposure and hunger.[20] A newspaper correspondent in Kansas reported the refugees' plight in southern Kansas with the following description: "The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, has been here for nearly three weeks, actively engaged in the work of relieving the loyal Indians. They need all the assistance it is in our power to give. In the Counties of Butler and Hunter, there are now some seven thousand or eight thousand Indians encamped, all of whom are perfectly destitute."[21] By 1864 Indian refugees were able to return to Indian Territory, following Union military successes in the region.[22]

Many Indians residing in the eastern half of Kansas, at the outbreak of the Civil War, remained loyal to the United States. Some tribal representatives affirmed their allegiance to the Union with treaties. Hundreds of Indians from eastern Kansas also supported the Union cause by participating in military activities in Indian Territory.[23] However, the Union cause was not well received by all Indians in the south-central and southeastern parts of the state.

Indian groups that resided and ranged in parts of southern Kansas were divided in their loyalties during the War Between the States. Many were known to be sympathetic with the Confederate cause. This was particularly true of those Indians in the region south of Humboldt. The proximity of Confederates, as they pushed pro-Union Indians into Kansas, heightened instability in the region. In response to Confederate activities, Union authorities selected Humboldt as the southern-most permanent military post in that section of Kansas. The countryside south of Humboldt became a loosely defined front line, as opposing forces probed and raided the area.[24]

Two of the most influential Indian tribes in southeastern and south-central Kansas were the Cherokee and the Osage. Their influence resulted from large tracts of land held by each tribe, known as the Cherokee Neutral Lands and Osage Reserve. The Cherokee Neutral Lands, separated from the Cherokee nation in Indian Territory by other Indian lands, made up much of present-day Bourbon, Cherokee, and Crawford counties in Kansas. The Osage Reserve bordered the Neutral Lands on the west, and extended toward western Kansas.[25] The establishment of the Cherokee Neutral

20. Annie Heloise Abel, "The Indians in the Civil War," *The American Historical Review* 15 (January 1910): 289; Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (1919), vol. 2. of *The Slaveholding Indians* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915-1925), 79-80; "Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs William P. Dole, November 26, 1862," in Wilcomb E. Washburn, comp., *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*, 4 vols. (New York: Random House, 1973), 1:95-96.

21. *New York Times*, February 25, 1862, p.3. Hunter was a southernmost county bordering Indian Territory; it ceased to exist after 1860, becoming part of Butler County.

22. Edward E. Hill, *The Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1880: Historical Sketches* (New York: Clearwater Publishing Co., 1974), 174.

23. "Indian Treaties and Councils Affecting Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1923-1925*, 16:767; Theodore Gardner, "The First Kansas Battery: An Historical Sketch, With Personal Reminiscences of Army Life, 1861-'65," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1915-1918* 14 (1918): 238-40.

24. Alfred Theodore Andreas [William G. Cutler, ed.], *History of the State of Kansas*, 2 vols. (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1883), 1473; T. F. Morrison, "The Osage Treaty of 1865," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1926-1928* 17 (1928):697; John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 638-39; Tillie Karns Newman, *The Black Dog Trail* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1957), 114.

25. Homer E. Socolofsky and Huber Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 13.

Lands and Osage Reserve in southern Kansas appeared more restrictive on a map than in reality. The border between Kansas and Indian Territory was viewed by the Indian groups as largely fluid, creating close ties among Indians on both sides of the border.

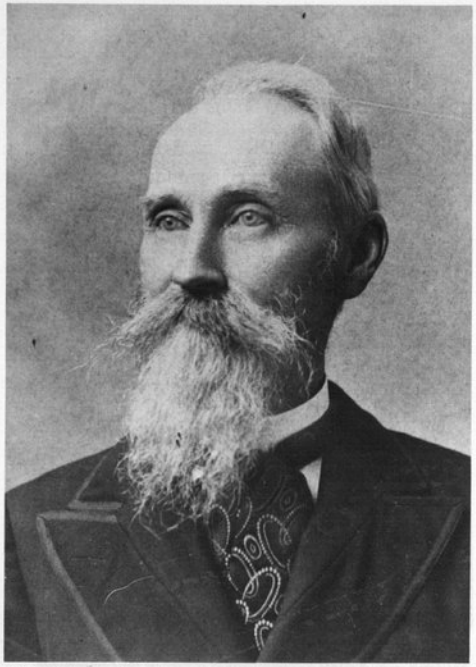
The longstanding bone of contention with the Federal government over the status of the Kansas Cherokee Neutral Lands did little to help the Union cause within the Cherokee nation. The Cherokee believed that the Federal government had violated an early treaty when the Neutral Lands was included in the creation of Kansas Territory. Prior to the Civil War, Cherokee leaders were also increasingly troubled over the expanding presence of white squatters in the Neutral Lands.[26]

The growing national mood to admit Kansas, as a free state, presented another concern for Cherokee retaining slaves in the Neutral Lands. Rep. Horace Maynard of Tennessee raised the issue before Congress in 1860 during a discussion on the admission of Kansas.

> It is well known, I suppose, that the Cherokees are slaveholders. I understand there are about two thousand slaves belonging to the people of the nation.... I confine myself to the fact that, under their laws, they hold this species of property, and hold it under a guarantee which we ought to respect. I will not stop to inquire... what will be the security to this property, when included within the limits of the free State of Kansas.[27]

Maynard failed to exclude the Neutral Lands from the boundaries of Kansas, and the outbreak of the Civil War delayed any final solution to the controversy.

Failure of the Federal government to resolve the Neutral Lands problem by 1861 resulted in the Cherokee nation turning to the Confederate government. As a result, in October 1861, the Cherokee nation sold the Neutral Lands to the Confederate States of America. In effect, this placed a portion of southeastern Kansas as part of the Confederacy. However, the Confederate government was unable to establish control over the Neutral Lands, even though Union control was mostly tenuous. The Cherokee were also hindered from intervening in the Neutral Lands because of the distance separating the Neutral Lands from the bulk of the Cherokee nation in Indian Territory. During the war both Federal and Confederate forces periodically occupied the Neutral Lands, and the Federal government later voided the sale of the area to the Confederacy.[28]



Albert Morrall, shown here about thirty years after he left Kansas to join Confederate troops, returned to Kansas after the war and eventually settled in Wamego.

Osage influence in southern Kansas was more pronounced than that of the Cherokee. Much of the Osage nation resided and hunted in southern Kansas. This influence shaped the course of the Civil War in that area of the state. When the war began, the Osage found themselves seriously divided in loyalties. This partly resulted from close ties with tribes in Indian Territory, as well as the influence of white acquaintances supporting both northern and southern causes.[29]

26. Lula Lemmon Brown, *Cherokee Neutral Lands Controversy* (Girard, Kans.: Girard Press, 1931), 7; Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838-1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), 91.

27. *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st sess., (Washington: John C. Rives, 1860), 210.

28. Brown, *Cherokee Neutral Lands Controversy*, 8, 9; Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist: An Omitted Chapter in the Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy* (1915), vol. 1. of *The Slaveholding Indians*, 64; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Indian Affairs, *Cherokee Neutral Lands of Kansas: House Report 53 to Accompany H.R. 1074*, 41st Cong., 2d sess., April 1, 1870, pp. 1-9.

29. Newman, *The Black Dog Trail*, 111-21.

Southern influence upon the Osage led to negotiations with Confederate representatives. As a result, some Osage leaders signed a treaty with the Confederacy in 1861. Perhaps one-third of the Osage sided with the Confederacy, while the remainder were largely pro-Union in sentiment. A principal proponent of Confederate support among the Osage was Chief Black Dog of southern Kansas.[30]

One of the most influential white Kansans among the Osage and other Indians of southern Kansas was John Mathews, a native of Virginia who had been a longtime resident of Kansas by the time of the Civil War. In the early 1840s he had established an Indian trading post in present-day Labette County, and he also operated other trading establishments in Kansas and Indian territories. Prior to the Civil War, Mathews built a home where Oswego, Kansas, now stands.[31]

John Mathews was staunchly prosouthern in sentiment, and occasionally he found himself at odds with abolitionist settlers in Kansas. After the Civil War began, his sympathies became expressed in support for the Confederacy. In June 1861, Mathews and Robert Foster held a prosouthern meeting in southeastern Kansas. Their efforts were aimed at securing public support for the Confederate cause. The meeting resulted in raising a company of soldiers for the South, commanded by Foster and James Patton.[32]

The efforts of John Mathews to encourage support in Kansas for the South received attention from Confederate military authorities. This led to Mathews being commissioned an officer in the Confederate army, and Confederate general Ben McCulloch also attempted to use Mathews to recruit Quapaw Indians for the South. The order from McCulloch was found on Mathews after he was killed by Union soldiers near Chetopa, Kansas, in September 1861. Mathews' death was viewed by Unionists as punishment for an earlier Confederate raid on Humboldt.[33]

Confederate interest in enlisting Indians in the West persisted through much of the war. A Confederate enlistment effort in 1863 exemplifies the influence that such interest played in southern Kansas through the height of the war. In May 1863 twenty-two Confederate recruiters were sent to enlist Indians of the western Plains. The recruiters chose to travel through the Osage lands of southern Kansas to reach their destination. When a band of pro-Union Osage challenged the recruiters as they traveled west through present-day Montgomery County, the challenge was resisted by the Confederates and a running battle on horseback ensued. The Osage warriors pursued the Confederates to the banks of the Verdigris River, near present-day Independence, Kansas, where the battle ended. All but two of the Confederates were killed by the Osage. One of the dead was an officer named Charles Harrison, a former Union army lieutenant in the Second Kansas Cavalry who had deserted to the Confederacy in early 1862.[34]

The issue of divided loyalties among Kansans has received limited attention in the history of the state. The roots of southern sympathy extended back to early migration from the South into Kansas Territory. When the Civil War began, Kansans leaning toward the southern cause were faced with a dilemma that could not be ignored.

The newly formed state of Kansas, with a staunchly pro-Union wartime government, had little tolerance for Confederate sympathizers, and these sympathizers were forced to decide the extent of their loyalty. Remaining in Kansas as even a tepid southern sympathizer became a risky choice as the war progressed. Some adopted the Union cause for the sake of their families and homes. For example, southern sympathizers in Jefferson County served under the Union banner in the local militia, in response to the activities of marauding Jayhawkers.[35] Other sympathizers publicly lived as Unionists, while quietly aiding Confederate associates or relatives. The more determined sympathizers were generally compelled to become exiles by choice or threat of force. Some Kansans took their sympathies underground and became Confederate guerrillas.

30. Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*, 635; "Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs D. N. Cooley, October 31, 1865," in Washburn, *The American Indian and the United States*, 1:130; Newman, *The Black Dog Trail*, 120.

31. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 669, 1454, 1466, 1473; Morrison, "The Osage Treaty of 1865," 693; Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*, 628.

32. Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*, 628; United States Office of Indian Affairs, *Indian Office Special Files Number 201, Southern Superintendancy*, B567 of 1861, letter quoted in Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 47n.

33. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 1473; Nelson Case, *History of Labette County, Kansas, From the First Settlement to the Close of 1892* (Topeka: Crane & Co., 1893), 22; Jay Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border, 1854-1865* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1955), 195. Mathews' responsibility for personally directing the September 1861 raid on Humboldt has been questioned. See Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 1454, 1473, and Case, *History of Labette County*, 22.

34. John S. Gilmore, "History of Wilson County, Kansas," in *History of Neosho and Wilson Counties, Kansas* (Fort Scott, Kans.: L. Wallace Duncan, 1902), 824-25; William Lewis Bartles, "Massacre of Confederates by Osage Indians in 1863," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1903-1904* 8 (1904):62-66; Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*, 639-43.

35. Johann Strauss Clawson, "The Early History of Jefferson County, Kansas," (Master's thesis, University of Colorado, 1934), 33-34; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 503.

The actual number of Kansans in sympathy with the South during the Civil War is difficult to surmise. Considering the native origins of Kansans on the eve of the war, the number of southern sympathizers would not have been naturally large. A Union supporter reported from Lawrence in May 1861, "There is great unanimity in favor of the Union among our people. I can remember of seeing but one Kansas Secessionist."[36] However, other accounts of "disloyalty" in Kansas indicate that there were more than just a few Confederate sympathizers in the state.

In 1861 southern sympathizers in Kansas were reported to be sprinkled throughout the state.[37] The fact that they were scattered, rather than concentrated in any one particular section, discouraged the organization of their interests. The overwhelming control of Unionists and popular support in Kansas for the North also gave these sympathizers little opportunity to demonstrate any serious opposition to the place of the state in the Union. Unionists took quick action in some instances to ensure that the state conformed to the northern cause.

At least several hundred Kansans were reported to have been forcibly exiled from the state on charges of disloyalty during the first few months of the war. Some Unionists also required suspected Confederate sympathizers remaining in Kansas to take oaths of allegiance. However, not everyone willingly took such an oath, particularly if it was contrary to his sympathies. For example, an expedition of Linn County Unionists, attempting to secure oaths of allegiance from suspected southern sympathizers, resulted in the quick departure of a man named Swingley who was later reported to have become a Confederate army colonel.[38]

Charges of disloyalty also resulted in the banishment of several Atchison County residents. This included two Atchison County lawyers known as Headley and Carr. J. T. Hereford also was forced to leave the county. All three were later reported to have served in the Confederate army. Additionally, Peter T. Abell and Tom Ray were forced to leave the county on charges of disloyalty. Abell was an early settler of Atchison and a well-known proslavery leader in the city. Ray, a local businessman, returned to Atchison after a brief exile in Winthrop, Missouri.[39]

Kansas Unionists falsely accused some of their neighbors of being disloyal. The ruling Republican party was particularly prone to view Democrats in the state as southern sympathizers.[40] Kansans born in slave states were also the object of suspicion throughout the war. In their defense a Kansas newspaper editor declared, "How unjust, to class all who were born or bred, on southern soil with rebels."[41] Excitement over the war and lingering memories of proslavery confrontations during territorial days, were largely influential in causing Unionists to see disloyalty where there was none. However, suspicions of disloyalty were confirmed in a number of instances. The advent of open demonstrations of support for the South was a clear confirmation of such suspicions.

One of the earliest demonstrations occurred about the time of the fall of Fort Sumter. The steamer *Sam Gaty*, which ran along the Missouri River between St. Louis and Kansas, docked at Leavenworth on an April 1861 morning, flying a secessionist flag. The population of Leavenworth was predominantly pro-Union and had little tolerance for such displays. A group of citizens collected along the levee and demanded that the flag be removed. Once the steamer's captain realized the crowd's determination, the flag came down and was replaced by the Stars and Stripes.[42]

Other parts of Kansas experienced more menacing displays of support for the South in 1861. Some activities were ineffective attempts to subvert Union efforts in the state, and demonstrations of southern support generally involved isolated individuals or communities.

One of the most challenging proposals of opposition to Unionism came from a longtime Kansan named Francis J. Marshall of Marysville.[43] In May 1861, Marshall wrote a letter to Jefferson Davis about conditions in

36. *New York Times*, June 2, 1861, p.2.

37. Alfred A. Woodhull, "Kansas in 1861," in *War Talks in Kansas* (Kansas City, Mo.: Franklin Hudson Publishing Co., 1906), 11.

38. Sheffield Ingalls, *History of Atchison County, Kansas* (Lawrence: Standard Publishing Co., 1916), 141; Mitchell, "Historic Linn: Sketch of Notable Events in Its First Settlements," 630.

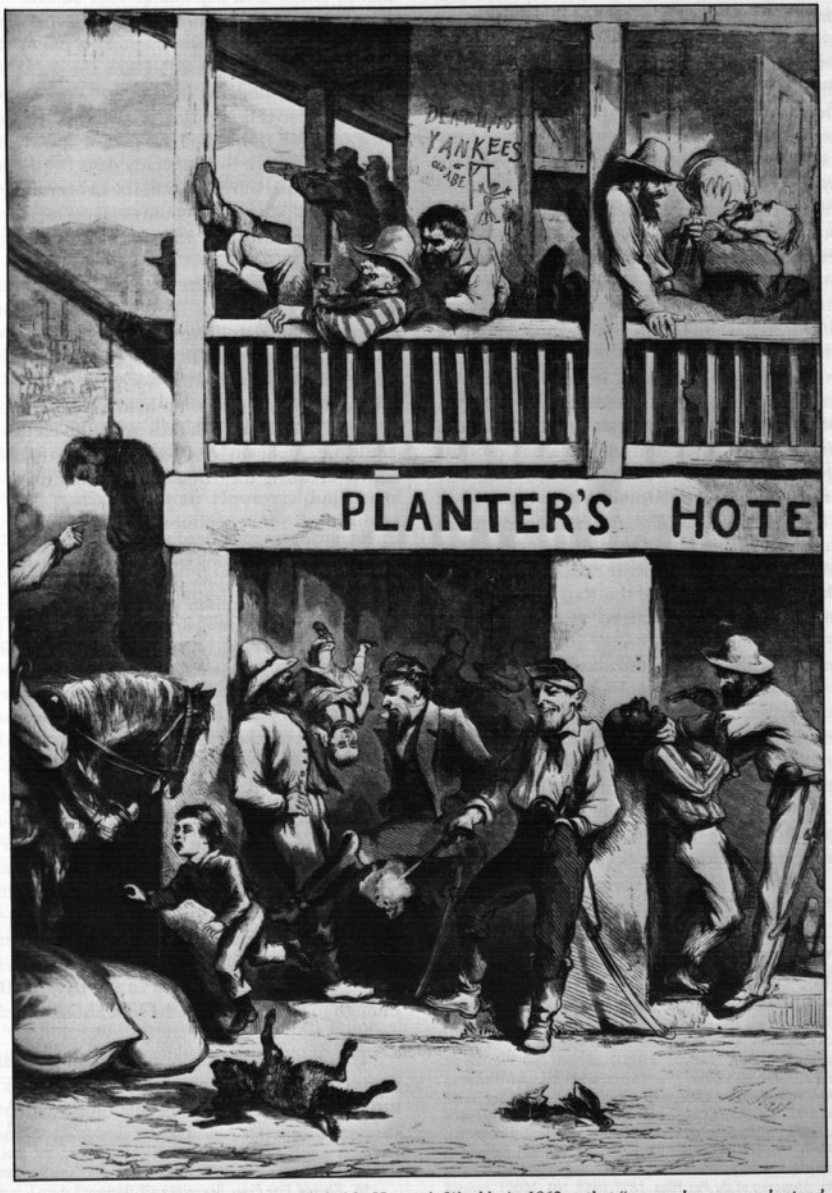
39. Ingalls, *History of Atchison County, Kansas*, 141; Elmer LeRoy Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1858," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1919-1922* 15 (1923):350; "Kansas Chronology," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1911-1912*, 12:406.

40. Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865*, 213.

41. *Kansas Frontier*, Junction City, May 18, 1861.

42. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 428; Shalor Winchell Eldridge, "Recollections of Early Days in Kansas," *Kansas State Historical Publications* 2 (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1920):167. Citizens of the city of Leavenworth may have been predominately pro-Union in sentiment, but some Leavenworth County residents openly proclaimed their secessionist sympathies, as found in *Conservative* (daily), Leavenworth, July 18, 1861.

43. Francis J. Marshall was a native of Virginia. In 1849 he established a ferry on the Big Blue River near what would become Marysville, Kansas. Marshall was a member of the bogus territorial legislature, candidate for territorial governor under the Lecompton Constitution, and proslavery leader during the 1850s. Marshall County was named after him. See John Rydjord, *Kansas Place-names* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 312; [Albert Morrall], "Dr. Albert Morrall: Proslavery Soldier in Kansas in 1856. Statement and Autobiography," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1915-1918*, 14:135n; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 914, 917; William E. Connelley, *History of Kansas Newspapers* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1916), 235; Eldridge, "Recollections of Early Days in Kansas," 152.



"A Guerrilla Raid in the West" was published by Harper's Weekly *in 1862 so that "our readers may understand the sort of war the rebels are waging."* Harper's *then gave an account of Quantrill and his guerrillas taking "possession of Olathe."*

Kansas and neighboring areas. Marshall reported that Kansas contained a prosouthern element that was being suppressed by an abolitionist state government, and he asked the Confederate government to capitalize on this by militarily intervening in the region. Confederate army colonel Richard Hanson Weightman, formerly of Atchison County, endorsed the letter.[44]

Public demonstrations of southern sympathy in Kansas were typically met with swift responses from Unionists. Southern sympathizers in Wyandotte County were among those who experienced such a response. When prosoutherners in Wyandotte County saw Confederate flags flying in Missouri, they proclaimed their own intention to raise secessionist flags. Their plans were frustrated, however, when Unionists threatened to shoot anyone attempting to do so.[45]

The fervor of some Unionists, in response to pro-Confederate demonstrations, is exemplified by an incident in Johnson County. The knowledge that southern sympathizers existed in the county stirred area Unionists to take quick action when a Confederate flag was reported to be flying over Monticello. A number of Unionists from Johnson and Douglas counties marched on Monticello to investigate. Once in the town, they discovered that the flag had been raised by the postmaster. The Unionists removed the flag, and the postmaster and his wife were obliged to take oaths of allegiance to the United States.[46]

Attempts by southern sympathizers to influence local affairs in Kansas were generally unsuccessful. When the war began, residents of Iowa Point in Doniphan County were largely sympathetic to the Confederacy. In November 1861 three Iowa Point prosoutherners tried to serve questionable arrest warrants on Unionists in Troy. Their attempt was blunted by armed resistance in Troy. Responding to the incident, a newspaper writer in White Cloud wrote, "Guess the Secesh begin to think Kansas is the wrong place for them to carry on their work of harassing Union men, under the garb of law."[47]

An earlier incident, not far from Troy, indicates that Doniphan County contained a number of Confederate sympathizers attempting to influence community matters. In September 1861 several "boisterous secessionists" tried to break up a pro-Union meeting in Elwood. This attempt was met with a public flogging of two of the "secessionists." Later the local newspaper endorsed the flogging by stating: "These traitors have walked our streets in peace, preaching their treason, too long, and we think that the people have come to the same conclusion. Before many days Doniphan County will be two [*sic*] warm for traitors. Let certain gentlemen in different parts of the county make a memorandum of this, and we think they will give us the credit of being a prophet."[48]

Southern sympathizers in Atchison County were influential enough in 1861 to participate in a local political campaign. The campaign leading up to the Atchison city elections in the spring of 1861 focused on the issue of support for the North or South.[49] Democrats sympathetic with the South held a convention in Atchison and nominated candidates for the election. In May 1861 the Atchison *Freedom's Champion* published an article accusing the "Democratic ticket" of disloyalty to the Union:

> No intelligent voter need now misunderstand the issue involved in the municipal election, to be decided on Monday next. The only question in dispute, is whether the citizens of Atchison will prove themselves true and loyal to the Government, or faithless to their vows of allegiance. Shall Atchison City be kept in unison with the patriotic sentiments of the State, or shall she be blasted in her high and bright anticipations, by sympathizing with the Southern Confederacy? There are men in our city who believe in the right of secession and the authority of Jeff. Davis...[50]

Southern sympathizers were unable to control political events in Atchison. By the end of the summer of 1861 several of "the most ultra secessionists" were exiled, along with some prominent city leaders accused of similar sympathies. Not all prosouthern Atchison city leaders left, however. In September 1861 the Leavenworth daily *Conservative* reported from Atchison: "There are a few more men here holding offices that are not sound on the great question of the day, but they know enough to keep their mouths shut about 'Lincoln's war,' &c."[51]

The composition of loyalties among Atchison residents continued to accommodate prosouthern elements through early 1862. During this time southern sympa-

44. *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, ser.1,3 (1881), 3:578-79.

45. Eldridge, "Recollections of Early Days in Kansas," 167; G. Raymond Gaeddert, *The Birth of Kansas* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1940), 141; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 1232.

46. Woodhull, "Kansas in 1861," 22-23. Monticello was located in Johnson County about ten miles outside Olathe. See Williams, *With the Border Ruffians: Memories of the Far West, 1852-1868*, 101, 106.

47. P. L. Gray, *Gray's Doniphan County History: A Record of the Happenings of Half a Hundred Years* (Bendena, Kans.: Roycroft Press, 1905), 32; *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, December 5, 1861.

48. *Elwood Free Press*, September 7, 1861.

49. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 374.

50. *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, May 4, 1861.

51. *Conservative* (daily), Leavenworth, September 14, 1861.

thizers took refuge in the city, including some formerly exiled residents. Some of these refugees were probably Confederates seeking a haven from Union military successes in Missouri. Instability caused by the presence of prosouthern refugees alarmed Unionists, and in February 1862, Atchison mayor G. H. Fairchild issued a proclamation warning such sympathizers that they were unwelcome in the city. The mayor concluded his proclamation by stating: "As a representative of a loyal people, I will not encourage men to return among us who have circulated reports that they were refugees from Union States on account of their secession doctrines, nor will I give protection to men who unmistakeably [*sic*] at heart belong to the 'Confederates.'"[52]

Prosouthern activity in Atchison subsided as Union control of neighboring Missouri tightened. By the end of the war, the town resembled a steadfast pro-Union community. In this regard, the experience of Atchison was similar to other divided Kansas communities influenced by events in Missouri. Paola, for example, possessed a distinctive prosouthern element throughout the early part of the war. However, the loss of Confederate support in Missouri led to the departure of southern sympathizers in Paola, and by 1865 the town possessed a staunchly pro-Union reputation.[53]

Many of those who supported the South chose to actively follow their conscience and willingly left Kansas for Confederate service. Some of these Kansans left as a result of confrontation with Unionists, while others quietly departed on an individual basis.

An example of confrontation between southern sympathizers and Unionists occurred in Davis (now Geary) County. Confederate support among a minority of county residents was realized early in the war. In early 1861 a Confederate flag was raised over Junction City, and a riot erupted when Unionists tried to cut it down. As a result, several men left for Confederate service, while others were inspired by the incident to organize a company for the Union army.[54]

The departure of Junction City residents for service in the Union and Confederate armies was not the end of divided loyalties in the community. When the war began, Junction City was referred to as a "secession" town. A traveler heading toward Junction City in 1861 reported: "On my way I was frequently asked, why go to Junction City?—the city of grogshops and secessionists. Repeatedly was I assured that certain leading citizens were radically southern in principle, and that they influenced the majority of the people." Upon reaching Junction City, the traveler concluded that "there are more whisky [*sic*] saloons, than there should be," but he also found the town to possess "true patriotism."[55]

The issue of divided loyalties in Junction City continued to create tension into 1862. Instability heightened following the establishment, in early 1861, of a weekly newspaper called the *Kansas Frontier*. H. N. Short and H. T. Geery, publishers of the *Frontier*, used the paper as a forum to criticize the Union war effort.[56] Eventually the newspaper was labeled pro-Confederate, and a confrontation between Unionists and the publishers appeared inevitable. This confrontation did occur in March 1862 when Union soldiers stationed at Fort Riley destroyed the *Kansas Frontier* offices.[57]

While Junction City had its Confederate sympathizers, one of the most openly prosouthern communities existed in Marshall County. Early in the war Unionists in that county had raised the U.S. flag over Marysville. Southern sympathizers in the community took offense at this gesture and threatened to cut the flag down. In response, Unionists placed a guard at the flag.[58]

The most influential prosouthern community in Marshall County was known as Palmetto. Largely settled by emigrants from the South during territorial days, Palmetto, before the Civil War, overshadowed the county seat of Marysville as the most predominate settlement in the county. In 1860 a number of Palmetto residents proclaimed their intention to leave Kansas for southern states, if Abraham Lincoln became President. Their

52. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 374; *Freedom's Champion*, March 1, 1862.

53. William Elsey Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1910), 190.

54. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 1006; George W. Martin, "The George Smith Memorial Library," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1913-1914* 13 (1915):405.

55. *Kansas Frontier*, May 18, 1861.

56. The *Kansas Frontier* was particularly critical of Republican leadership in the state. Staunch Unionist and Republican state leader James R. "Jim" Lane became an object of this criticism. For example, the newspaper suggested that the poor musical abilities of "The Junction city Sheet Iron Band...would be as terifying [*sic*] to secessionists as Jim's name." *Kansas Frontier*, May 25, 1861.

57. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas*, 345; "Kansas Newspaper History," *Kansas Historical Collections* 1-2 (1881):172; George W. Montague, "George Montague," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1907-1908* 10 (1908): 636. Many Junction City citizens viewed the Fort Riley soldiers as being overbearing in community matters when the *Kansas Frontier* was destroyed. The extent of disloyalty, on the part of the *Kansas Frontier*, was also publicly questioned by residents. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 1001.

58. Emma E. Forter, *History of Marshall County, Kansas: Its People, Industries and Institutions* (Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen and Co., 1917), 265-66.

eventual departure left Marshall County in the hands of Unionists.[59]

The experience of divided loyalties in Kansas was influenced by the mixture of a dispersed population and the western way of life. For example, the sparse white population of Greenwood County perceived the need for protection from Indians and supported a small militia. When the Civil War began, Captain Petty of the militia was suspected of conspiring to sign over the organization to the Confederate army, and a subordinate officer, Lt. Robert Clark, was killed after accusing Petty of the plan. Following the incident Petty departed for Texas. Other prosouthern residents of Greenwood County also left after the war began.[60]

The link between Confederate sympathy in southern Kansas and Texas may have influenced the naming of a Confederate regiment. In the early part of the war, the Confederate Third Texas Cavalry Regiment was alternately known as the South Kansas-Texas Rangers. The regiment may have initially contained enough recruits from southern Kansas to have supported the alternate name.[61]

Sparsely settled areas of southern Kansas were particularly prone to hardship resulting from divided loyalties. This included Dorn County, from which Neosho and Labette counties were formed in the 1860s. After the war broke out some inhabitants of this area joined the Union army, while others actively aided the Confederate cause. Southern sympathies led to some residents becoming Confederate soldiers or guerrillas. Raids caused both Indian and white inhabitants to suffer from loss of property, while some residents were killed or forced to leave. Responsibility for wartime strife in former Dorn County may be ascribed to the activity of Confederate guerrillas, as well as to the Union army. For example, in November 1863, Union soldiers were ordered to destroy property and goods in the area to prevent their use by Confederates. This raid nearly exterminated Chetopa, Kansas, where residents had been suspected of collaborating with Confederates since the war began.[62]

The combination of resident southern sympathizers and the sparsely populated Kansas frontier provided an amenable haven for collaboration with Confederates. This collaboration was especially open in Morris County, Kansas. The presence of the Santa Fe Trail, which ran westward through that county from the heart of Confederate guerrilla country in Missouri, resulted in a prosouthern influence that may not have existed otherwise.

The area around Council Grove was a particular haven for southern sympathizers, and the town acquired the reputation of being a "rebel town," even though it contained a prominent pro-Union element. This reputation resulted from several factors. A number of Council Grove residents subscribed to a Copperhead publication, the *Crisis*, that was criticized as anti-Union in sentiment.[63] Open defiance of the Union cause was not uncommon in Council Grove, and some residents also provided refuge for Confederate guerrillas, while publicly living as Unionists. In May 1863 the *Council Grove Press* published an article questioning how a southern sympathizer could also be a "Union Man": "We know at least a dozen men in the county whose brothers are in the Rebel army.—When it gets too hot in Missouri for the bush-whackers, they come here and are harbored and fed by these men.... Let it be understood that rebels can no longer be harbored in Morris county. They give such places as Leavenworth, Lawrence, &c, a wide berth; they must do the same by us. Martial Law should be declared at once in Morris, Marion, and Peketon counties; this includes the whole Santa Fe Road." Guerrilla activity in Morris County persisted into 1864, despite Unionist efforts to nullify it.[64]

The borderland character of Kansas during the Civil War provided a receptive environment for the appearance of Confederate guerrillas. This was particularly

59. Morrall, "Dr. Albert Morrall: Proslavery Soldier in Kansas in 1856. Statement and Autobiography," 129n; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 917; William E. Connelley, "Wild Bill—James Butler Hickok," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1926-1928*, 17:9-10; Palmetto lost its preeminence in Marshall County and was absorbed by Marysville. See Jeff. Jenkins, *The Northern Tier: Or, Life Among the Homestead Settlers* (Topeka: Geo. W. Martin, Kansas Publishing House, 1880), 10.

60. "Some of the Lost Towns of Kansas," 455; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 1198.

61. W. J. Tancig, comp., *Confederate Military Land Units, 1861-1865* (New York: South Brunswick, 1967), 91; Gilmore, "History of Wilson County, Kansas," 823.

62. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 825, 826, 1453, 1454, 1473; Case, *History of Labette County*, 23, 144; Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*, 634.

63. George Pierson Morehouse, "Diamond Springs, 'The Diamond of the Plain'," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1915-1918*, 14:800; *Council Grove Press*, April 20, May 11, 1863. The *Crisis* was a nationally published newspaper that criticized the Federal war effort. The publication was established at Columbus, Ohio, in January 1861 by Samuel Medary, who resigned as governor of Kansas Territory in December 1860. Although not a secessionist, Medary became an outspoken critic of the Lincoln Administration and a prominent personality of the northern peace movement. See Helen P. Dorn, "Samuel Medary—Journalist and Politician, 1801-1864," *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 53 (January-March 1944): 31-36; "Governor Medary's Administration," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1889-'96* 5 (1896):632; Charles Lanman, *Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States, During Its First Century* (Washington: James Anglim, 1876), 289.

64. *Council Grove Press*, May 11, 1863; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 800. Peketon County took in most of south-central and all of southwestern Kansas during the war years.

true in southeastern Kansas and in sections of the state along the Santa Fe Trail. The most successful period for southern guerrilla activity in Kansas occurred during the height of the war. In 1863 guerrillas harassed civilian targets along the Santa Fe Trail from the Missouri border to Diamond Spring in Morris County, and preyed on wagon trains along much of the trail.[65] A number of Kansans came to be counted among the ranks of these irregular Confederate soldiers. However, these underground activists were generally more welcome in Missouri and Texas than in their own state.

Two of the most famous Kansans to become Confederate guerrillas were the Anderson brothers of Morris County. Prior to the Civil War, William and James Anderson had made a reputation along the Santa Fe Trail as rugged frontiersmen. The Anderson family, originally from Missouri, also possessed this reputation. During the early part of the war, the Anderson brothers made Council Grove their center of operations. Other would-be guerrillas, such as Lee Griffin, joined them there.[66]

Eventually William Anderson formed and commanded what he called the "Kansas First Guerrillas," and claimed that many of his men were Kansans. Despite the group's name, Anderson never forgot his native state of Missouri, even though he had moved to Kansas as a youth, and he justified many of his deeds as retaliation for Union atrocities in Missouri. The Anderson brothers and their guerrillas operated in many parts of Kansas and Missouri. William Anderson's career as a guerrilla ended when Union Missouri militia killed him in 1864; James Anderson survived the war.[67]

Another famous Confederate guerrilla with a Missouri and Kansas background was Richard Yeager. He may best be described as a nominal Kansan since he had worked as a freighter on the Santa Fe Trail before the war. Although Yeager had joined a group of Confederate guerrillas in Missouri, he was particularly well known in the Council Grove area. In 1863 he spared the town of sacking through the intervention of a longtime acquaintance named Malcolm Conn, who was a prominent Council Grove businessman. Yeager may be most famous in Kansas for the Diamond Spring raid of 1863. He never saw the end of the war for he was killed in western Missouri by Union soldiers in 1864.[68]

William Clarke Quantrill is probably the best known Confederate guerrilla to have come from Kansas. Much has been written about Quantrill. His origins and relationship with the southern cause were particularly debated following the Civil War.[69] As a Confederate, Quantrill was largely the product of the conflict between abolitionist and proslavery factions in territorial Kansas. However, his Civil War legacy is shared between Kansas and Missouri.

William Quantrill, a native of Ohio, moved to Kansas Territory in 1857 while still in his teens. By 1861 he

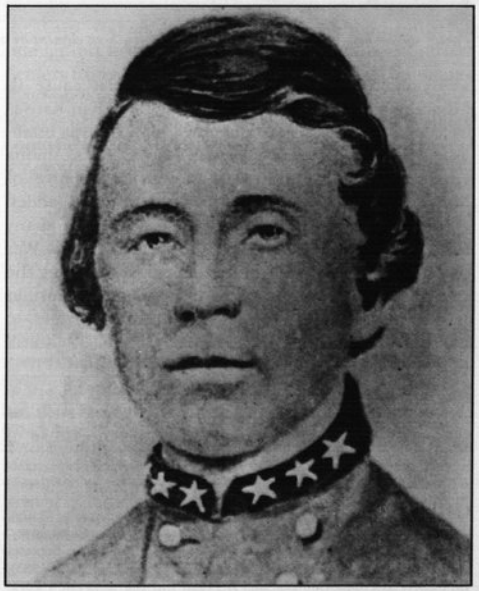
65. R. L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930), 248; *West by Southwest: Letters of Joseph Pratt Allyn, A Traveller Along the Santa Fe Trail, 1863* (Dodge City, Kans.: Kansas Heritage Center, 1984), 18-19; Henry Pickering Walker, *The Wagonmasters: High Plains Freighting from the Earliest Days of the Santa Fe Trail to 1880* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 243. Actually travelers along the Santa Fe Trail feared more from attacks by nonaligned Plains Indians than the threat posed by Confederate guerrillas.

66. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 800.

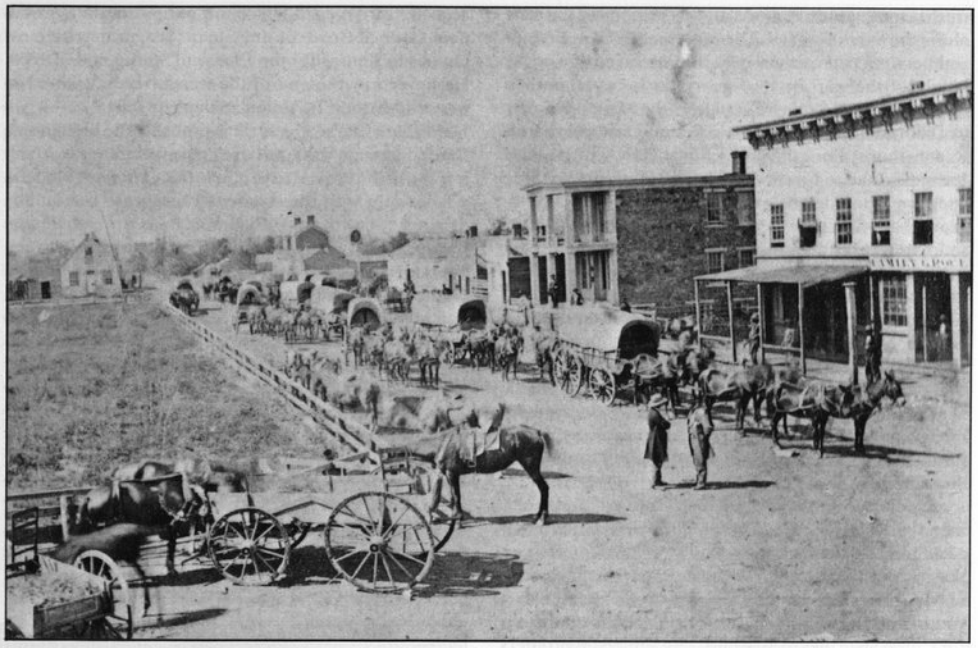
67. *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, ser. 1,41 (1893), pt. 1,442, pt. 2,75-77; Richard S. Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1865* (1958; paperback ed., Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 253.

68. Morehouse, "Diamond Springs, 'The Diamond of the Plain'," 800; D. Hubbard, "Reminiscences of the Yeager Raid, On the Santa Fe Trail, in 1863," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1903-1904*, 8:169; Thomas F. Doran, "Kansas Sixty Years Ago," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1919-1922*, 15:488; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, ser. 1,34 (1891), pt. 1,995.

69. John N. Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas, Or the Warfare of the Border* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand and Co., 1877; Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Bookshop, 1976), 31.



William C. Quantrill in Confederate army uniform.



Paola, shown here in the 1860s, had lost its prosouthern element by war's end and possessed a staunch pro-Union reputation.

was publicly associated with the southern cause in Missouri, partly because he was not welcome in Kansas by civil authorities. Subsequently, Quantrill was established within the ranks of Missouri Confederates. Among Confederates, Quantrill was known as a native of Maryland rather than Ohio, and this probably added credibility to his prosouthern assertions. His many forays in Kansas and Missouri during the Civil War brought a national attention that peaked following the raid on Lawrence in 1863. Southern military authorities favorably viewed enough of Quantrill's activities to regard him as a Confederate army officer. Quantrill failed to survive the war. He was fatally wounded in 1865 while trying to escape from Federal authorities.[70]

Disregarding the more notable figures such as Quantrill, the place of Kansans among the ranks of Confederate guerrillas was minor in directing the course of the Civil War in the West. Their number was readily absorbed by a wider guerrilla activity in contested areas west of the Mississippi River. Confederate guerrillas from areas neighboring Kansas also brought their brand of warfare to the state, sometimes in unexpected places. For example, in the spring of 1864 guerrillas struck a wagon train in southwestern Kansas near the Cimarron crossing of the Santa Fe Trail. The guerrillas were led by a Colorado Confederate named James Reynolds, operating from Fort Belknap, Texas.[71] However, when Kansans were the source of Confederate guerrilla activity in the state, they were rarely recognized as Kansans. Guerrillas operating in Kansas, despite their background, were frequently labeled as Missouri Confederates.

Unlike the guerrillas, a number of southern sympathizers in Kansas entered regular service with the Con-

70. Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 54; *Conservative* (daily), Leavenworth, March 29, 1861; "Quantrill and His Famous Command," *Confederate Veteran* 18 (June 1910): 278-79; *New York Times*, September 20, 1863, p.3.; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, ser. 1,13 (1885), 45; Carl W. Breihan, *Quantrill and His Civil War Guerrillas* (New York: Promontory Press, 1959), 164-65.

71. *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, ser. 1,41 (1893), pt. 2,753; Stan Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 64-65.

federacy. Some of the most prominent members of various Kansas communities chose to leave behind personal property and respected positions in order to enter Confederate service. Among these men were John T. Barton, a well-known physician and politician of Johnson County who served as a surgeon in the Confederate army,[72] and Albert Morrall, who left Marshall County in 1861 to serve as a Confederate soldier until the close of the war.[73] Davis County attorney W. W. Herbert became a Confederate colonel,[74] as did Richard Hanson Weightman of Atchison County.[75]

Kansas also produced a general for the Confederacy, John Wilkins Whitfield. Whitfield was an early settler of Kansas Territory, a delegate from Kansas Territory to the U.S. Congress, and the Pottawatomie Indian agent in Kansas. For a time he worked in western Kansas Territory as an Indian agent with the Upper Arkansas Agency, and in 1857 Whitfield became a land office register at Doniphan, Kansas Territory. In April 1861 he left Kansas for Texas to join the Confederate cause. Rising through military ranks, he was commissioned a brigadier general in the Confederate army in 1863, and following the war, General Whitfield settled in Texas.[76]

The forced or voluntary departure of Kansans from the state, resulting from their southern sympathies, largely occurred between 1860 and 1862. This left a small prosouthern element composed of itinerant Confederate partisans and a quickly diminishing number of active southern sympathizers. By the end of 1864, the issue of southern versus northern loyalties in Kansas was a moot question. The failure of the fall 1864 Confederate invasion of Missouri and Kansas, led by Gen. Sterling Price, demonstrated that the southern cause was lost in the region.[77] The subsequent dispersal of organized Confederate guerrilla activity in the West meant that the war in Kansas was largely over.

Noticeable demonstrations of support for the South in Kansas grew silent as 1864 came to a close. By this time any remaining Confederate sympathizers in Kansas had probably grown to accept an inevitable Union victory in the war. Kansas spoke with a single voice in favor of the Union cause in the closing months of the Civil War. The circumstances of conflict existing in antebellum Kansas had been resolved as the state became a credited member of the victorious Union.

The realization that the war was over in Kansas brought increased immigration and economic growth to the state by late 1864.[78] This growth peaked following the Civil War as the state attracted a wide range of immigrants from across the nation and other countries. Settlers from the North and South, including Union and Confederate veterans, began new lives in the state. Kansas became a land where previously divided loyalties could be set aside for the common goal of building upon a new state. KH

72. John T. Barton, a native of Virginia, is credited with having named the town of Olathe, Kansas. Barton left Olathe in 1860 before the secession of the South. He later joined the Confederate army. Following the Civil War, Barton settled in Kansas City, Missouri. See Ed Blair, *History of Johnson County, Kansas* (Lawrence: Standard Publishing Co., 1915), 112-13; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 629.

73. Albert Morrall, a native of South Carolina, moved to Kansas Territory in 1856. Shortly after his arrival, Morrall joined the proslavery militia and participated in the 1856 "Sack of Lawrence." He is also credited with naming and owning much of the town of Palmetto, Kansas. Morrall left Kansas in 1861 to join the Confederate army. He returned to Kansas following the war, only to discover that his property in Marshall County had been lost. Morrall entered the medical profession, eventually settling at Wamego, Kansas. See Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1858," 417; Morrall, "Dr. Albert Morrall: Proslavery Soldier in Kansas in 1856. Statement and Autobiography," 126, 140, 142; Connelley, "Wild Bill—James Butler Hickok," 10.

74. W. W. Herbert, a native of South Carolina and early promoter of southern emigration to Kansas Territory, became a Confederate army colonel in a South Carolina regiment. He was captured in 1862 by Union troops in Virginia. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Population* (Washington, D.C.); Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 1006; Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1858," 418.

75. Richard Hanson Weightman, a native of Virginia, was an early settler of Atchison County. In 1861 he left Kansas to accept a colonel's commission in the Confederate Missouri State Guard. He was mortally wounded in Missouri at the battle of Wilson's Creek, 1861. See Ingalls, *History of Atchison County, Kansas*, 142; William Henry Haupt, "History of the American Church, Known in Law as the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1923-1925*, 16:369; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, ser.1,3 (1881), 128.

76. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), 1915; William Elsey Connelley, "The Prairie Band of Pottawatomie Indians," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1915-1918*, 14:499, 501; "Official Roster of Kansas, 1854-1925," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1923-1925*, 16:659, 720, 731-732; Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1858," 348; Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (1959; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 334. Some biographical accounts of John W. Whitfield misleadingly report that he was an Indian agent in Missouri and Arkansas. Confusion over the location of his post as an Indian agent may stem from Whitfield temporarily serving Plains Indians from a Westport, Missouri, office, and his later post with the Upper Arkansas Agency along the Arkansas River in western Kansas Territory.

77. Breihan, *Quantrill and His Civil War Guerrillas*, 162.

78. "Address of Gov. John A. Martin," *Kansas State Historical Publications*, 1:183.