

"Desperate Characters"

The Development and Impact of the Confederate Guerrillas in Kansas

by Gary L. Cheatham



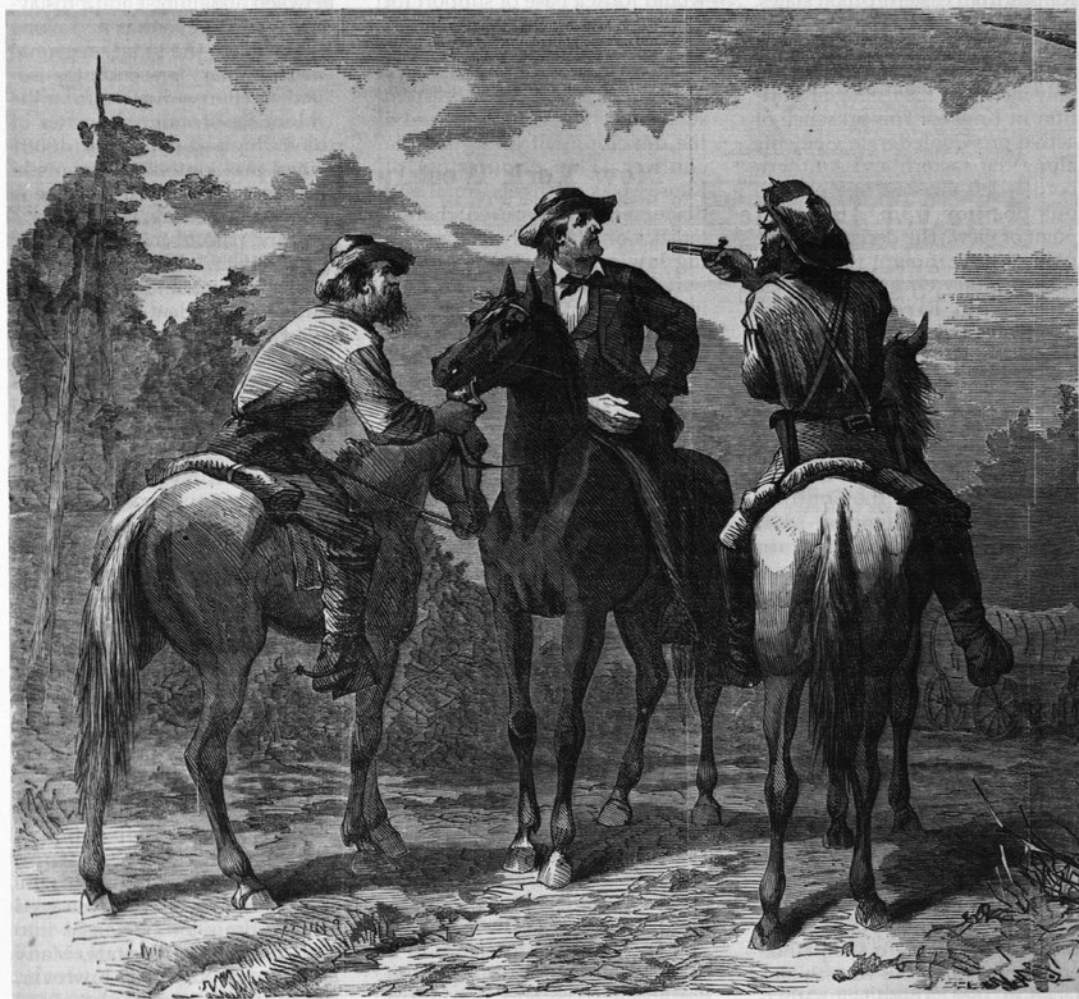
Kansas had just been admitted to the Union when the Civil War began in 1861. Abolitionists had won Kansas as a free state following several years of conflict over the institution of slavery. The free-state victory was accepted by a majority of Kansans, but with the coming of the Civil War, the days of Bleeding Kansas had not come to an end. Memories of conflict over the slavery issue in Kansas had not faded, and they left a lingering fear and a mistrust that would create a unique Civil War experience.

The tense environment existing between free-state and proslavery factions in Kansas and along its eastern and southern borders, left a fertile foundation for the development of a partisan conflict. Parts of Kansas became a battleground during the Civil War as Confederate guerrillas engaged upon a campaign against both the Union army and the civilian population. Militant Kansas anti-slavery units, commonly known as Jayhawkers and Red Legs, also conducted partisan operations along the border, but they had less impact on Kansas than did the fervor of Confederate guerrillas. Aside from one battle between opposing regular units of the Union and Confederate armies at Mine Creek, the Civil War experience in Kansas was a guerrilla conflict.

As a result of their social ties with the South, pro-Southern citizens in the region almost immediately began organizing a partisan movement when the Civil War broke out.¹ This was especially true in Missouri, where the high level of pro-Southern partisan

Gary L. Cheatham, a native of Wichita, Kansas, is an assistant professor of library services at Northeastern Oklahoma State University, Tahlequah. His other publications include "Divided Loyalties in Civil War Kansas," which appeared in the Summer 1988 issue of *Kansas History*.

1. Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 81.



"Guerrilla Depredations—'Your Money or Your Life!'" Harper's Weekly, December 24, 1864.



activity effectively isolated Kansas from eastern Union states. Successful Confederate political and military efforts in Indian Territory (present Oklahoma) only increased the feeling of isolation in Kansas. The presence of active pro-Confederate elements along the eastern and southern borders left the state in a precarious position from a Unionist point of view. The decision by the federal government to concentrate military efforts east of the Mississippi River only compounded the isolation of Kansas from the Union.

In their relative isolation from eastern Union states, some Southern sympathizers in Kansas felt safe in demonstrating their loyalties for the South in 1861.² As early as January 1861, Southern sympathizers in Marshall County began organizing, and reports spread that the county had "Disunited." Some of the pro-Southern residents of Marysville had decided to secede from the Union, and they "organized a separate government, of which Gen. Frank Marshall is the head." A newspaper writer assured the readers that this report was genuine and warned that "this movement has been inaugurated, and it may in the future unpleasantly force itself on our attention."³

This prediction would prove accurate, as Southern sympathizers in other parts of Kansas surfaced in 1861. These sympathizers may have represented a

minority in the state, but some would form a base of support for Confederate partisan activity in Kansas by supplying recruits and refuge for the guerrillas.

Kansas as a frontier western state in the 1860s also influenced the development of a guerrilla conflict. The population of Kansas was relatively small and dispersed, and typified characteristics of a frontier state including lawlessness. A newspaper writer reported: "That Kansas is infested with a set of the most desperate characters that ever infested any country, we believe is admitted by all."⁴ Guerrillas operating in Kansas became one more aspect of this lawless characteristic, sometimes appearing as common outlaws.

The guerrillas' lawless behavior, however, would take on an almost mythical ambience. Their cause was unrestrained both by the law and the accepted rules of war. The Kansas press would enhance this image among the general public by publishing stories of guerrilla exploits in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds.⁵ The inability of civil authorities to control these activities would become yet another important ingredient in the success of guerrillas in Kansas.

A number of elements influenced the creation of an environment favorable to the development of the guerrilla conflict. This included the existence of a base of Confederate support in neighboring Missouri and Indian

Territory, a tradition of conflict between abolitionist and proslavery factions in Kansas and along its borders, the small regional Union military presence, the isolated location of Kansas from the Union, the frontier character of the state, and small but determined pro-Southern elements in the state. As a result of these influences, the stage was set for a long and painful conflict.

The ability of Confederate guerrillas to operate in Kansas was only partially dependent upon a favorable environment. To some extent the activities of militant Kansas Unionists encouraged the success of guerrillas by occupying Federal troops and fueling anti-Union sentiment in the region. The most prominent pro-Union partisans were known as Jayhawkers, which according to one contemporary definition was "a term peculiar to Kansas, and means a sort of guerrilla warfare, carried on by parties of men on their own hook, who generally make sure they strike in the right place, then come with a swoop quick and sudden, wreaking such vengeance upon wrong-doers as is not likely soon to be forgotten."⁶

Jayhawkers viewed the advent of the Civil War as justification for the continuation of their territorial assault on proslavery settlers. Their crusade against slavery was encouraged by the admission of Kansas into the Union as a free state. Many antislavery Kansans, however, did not support Jayhawkers because jayhawking was seen as an impediment to economic development and civil order. The *Fort Scott Democrat* summarized the disfavor many Kansans felt

2. Southern sympathizers were reportedly scattered throughout Kansas in 1861, as found in Alfred A. Woodhull, "Kansas in 1861," in *War Talks in Kansas* (Kansas City, Mo.: Franklin Hudson Publishing Co., 1906), 11.

3. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, January 5, 1861.

4. *Western Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, Mo., December 1, 1859.

5. Some of the guerrillas became folk heroes. For example, the exploits of William C. Quantrill found their way into western folk ballads after the Civil War. See Thomas D. Isern and Mark D. Weeks, "Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence: From Disaster Song to Outlaw Ballad," *Mid-America Folklore* 14 (Fall 1986): 1-14.

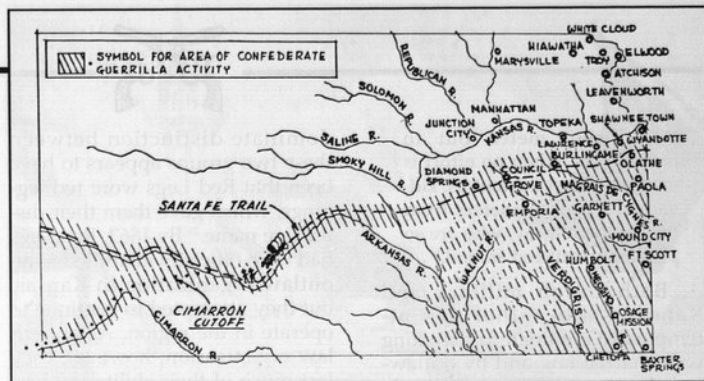
6. *Kansas Chief*, White Cloud, September 5, 1861.

for Jayhawkers by proclaiming: "Hard times and jay-hawkers combined, cannot stop the march of improvement."⁷

As the war progressed, Jayhawkers increasingly fell out of favor with many Kansans. By 1863, the Jayhawkers' private war against slavery was seen as an excuse to commit unlawful activities. Jayhawking became known in Kansas as "a fancy name for horse-stealing."⁸ Attempts to hinder it were not always met with success. In November 1863, a Doniphan County, Kansas, newspaper proclaimed: "The Anti-Jayhawk movement has thus far proven a complete farce. . . . [T]he country is about stolen bare of stock."⁹

General respect for jayhawking declined, and many Kansans began viewing these activities with a combination of disdain and humor. The *Kansas Chief* declared: "The Jayhawkers in this vicinity are certainly getting 'hard up.' An old man living on the other side of the river, says they stole all his girls, [sic] clean shirts off of the clothes line, a few nights ago, leaving them not one!"¹⁰

By 1862, the arrest of Jayhawkers received nearly as much attention on the pages of Kansas newspapers as the death or capture of Confederate guerrillas. Jayhawkers largely failed to win public support in Kansas because many made little effort to distinguish between proslavery settlers and Unionists, when it came to "liberating" livestock or taking property in their fight against slavery. Even the staunchest Unionists came to see



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these marauders as mere thieves, "stealing themselves rich in the name of Liberty."¹¹

Union military authorities also viewed Jayhawkers with disfavor because they made it more difficult to maintain order. The Union army intervened when civil authorities demonstrated that they were unable to contain the Jayhawkers. This intervention tied up troops that were needed to control Confederate guerrillas. The situation was compounded when pro-Southern Missourians began reprisal raids upon Kansans in response to jayhawking in Missouri.¹² Kansas Unionists resented pro-Southern Missourians crossing over into the state to take revenge. The *Kansas Chief* reported: "We have but very little sympathy for Jayhawkers; but traitors should not be permitted to come over here under any circumstances whatever."¹³

Jayhawking in Kansas was most prominent in the state south and east of Salina. They were particularly active in extreme northeastern Kansas, in Atchison, Doniphan, and Leaven-

worth counties.¹⁴ Their disruption became so serious in northeastern Kansas that the Union army found itself hunting Jayhawkers in Kansas rather than Confederate guerrillas in western Missouri. Unionists also accused the army of hunting Jayhawkers more vigorously than Southern sympathizers in Kansas. Pro-Southern Missourians were reportedly able to "stalk abroad" in Kansas "unmolested" by the Union army, but "Union troops cross over into Kansas to arrest Jayhawkers."¹⁵ The *Kansas Chief* reported:

We hear general complaint of the soldiers stationed at Troy, in this County. We are told that their favorite associates (especially the officers) are Secession sympathizers. . . . While the officers are so intimate with traitors, their zeal in hunting Jayhawkers knows no bounds. . . . We have no objections to Jayhawkers being punished for real crimes, but we do object to . . . rigorous

7. Fort Scott Democrat, January 12, 1861.

8. Council Grove Press, November 30, 1863.

9. *Kansas Chief*, November 19, 1863.

10. *Ibid.*, October 22, 1863.

11. *Daily Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, February 4, 1864.

12. *Kansas Chief*, October 17, 1861.

13. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1862.

14. Council Grove Press, July 6, 1863; *Western Journal of Commerce*, July 25, 1863; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, v. 8 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 54-56 [hereafter cited as *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*].

15. *Kansas Chief*, October 10, 1861.



punishment meted out to jayhawkers, when no effort is made to molest the traitors, kidnappers, and murderers from the Southern army, who are so plentifully scattered around.¹⁶

Both Union military and Kansas state authorities attempted to eliminate jayhawking with martial law and by outlawing the practice, but with little initial effect.¹⁷ The inability of federal and state authorities to eliminate it led to an increase in the incidence of vigilante activities. Ironically, both Unionists and Southern sympathizers engaged in vigilantism against jayhawkers and were even known to cooperate with one another in an effort to stop these activities. Unionists and pro-Southerners from both sides of the Kansas-Missouri border might be found together hunting jayhawkers in Kansas.¹⁸ Over a period of time, the combined military and civilian efforts to control jayhawking succeeded. By 1863, many of the more troublesome jayhawkers, such as "Captain" Chandler and "Captain" Cleveland, had either been killed or imprisoned.¹⁹

Red Legs met a similar fate as the war progressed. Little distinguished the activities of Red Legs from jayhawkers. In fact, Red Legs were often seen as an offshoot of the jayhawkers. The pre-

dominate distinction between these two groups appears to have been that Red Legs wore red leggings, which gave them their distinctive name.²⁰ By 1863, Red Legs had been officially identified as an outlaw organization in Kansas, but they attempted to continue to operate in the region. As an outlaw organization, however, they lost much of their ability to operate freely. They were now considered criminals, which only resulted in their blending into the general lawlessness of the state.²¹

The eventual decline of jayhawkers and Red Legs left federal military authorities with more resources to control guerrilla activities. This decline, however, did not have an immediate effect upon Union military success in the guerrilla conflict. As the pro-Union partisan groups declined, pro-Southern guerrillas were experiencing increased operational successes in Kansas.

Confederate guerrillas were typically found in Kansas as either raiders or for the enjoyment of a temporary haven from the Union army. A few guerrilla groups were also at least partially recruited and organized in Kansas. As raiders, the guerrillas appeared equally satisfied with Union military targets or civilians. For a haven, they found occasional refuge with the assistance of Confederate sympathizers in the state and took advantage of the sparsely populated Kansas frontier to escape detection. Guerrillas were sometimes able to move about with

impunity and their sudden appearance became one of their trademarks. As a result, a fear of real and imagined guerrillas would plague much of the civilian population of Kansas for the duration of the war.²²

The guerrilla conflict in Kansas developed slowly in response to events in the region. The spring of 1861 passed in Kansas with a great deal of public excitement, much pro-Union activity, and a few incidents of pro-Southern displays. Throughout the spring many communities formed companies to serve in the Union army, while some Kansans left for regular Southern military service. At least two regular Confederate army companies were organized in southeastern Kansas. As spring turned into summer, excitement over the war in the East was replaced with apprehension over the inability of the Union army to consolidate itself in the West. By August 1861, Kansas Unionists were convinced that Confederates in Missouri would invade the state.²³

22. In 1864, the *Kansas Daily Tribune* provided the following description of a guerrilla: "... he is a good judge of a horse, and has one superior in speed and bottom to those of any of his pursuers, and it is often of the best Kentucky or Louisiana blood. All seasons are alike to him, but his more daring feats are performed when the leaves are on the trees ... His arms are a big knife, and one or two navy revolvers, or a rifle or a shot gun, or possibly a carbine captured from some straggling soldier. ... His original uniform is, of course, a ragged suit of butternut; but he now often has a blue coat or pants. ... He owns allegiance to no Government; is bound by no laws. ..." *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, May 10, 1864. Another description of the appearance of the guerrillas is provided in Edward Conrad Smith, *The Borderland in the Civil War* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1927), 329-30.

23. James Montgomery to the Citizens of Kansas, August 29, 1861, George A. Crawford Papers, 1854-1861, Special Collections, Abilene

16. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1862.

17. *Daily Missouri Republican*, February 4, 13, 1862; *Kansas Chief*, January 23, 1862.

18. *Kansas Chief*, October 3, November 28, 1861.

19. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1862; *Daily Missouri Republican*, May 17, 1862; *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, v. 8 (1902), 55. Cleveland's real name was reportedly Charles Metz. See "The Last of the Jayhawkers," in *A Collection of the Writings of John James Ingalls* (Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co., 1902), 153.

20. Albert Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958), 112.

21. *Western Journal of Commerce*, April 25, 1863; *Council Grove Press*, May 4, 1863.

Concern over a potential Confederate invasion of Kansas was unfounded. The Confederate army was struggling to remain in Missouri and was probably even less able to mount a sustained invasion from Indian Territory. Confederate partisan activity, however, was not confined to the supply and command structure that was failing the Southern army in Missouri and Indian Territory. It was the partisan movement that posed the greatest threat to the security of Kansas. Regional support for the guerrillas, which is an essential ingredient for the success of any partisan movement, would bring Kansas directly into the Civil War.

The guerrilla movement in the Kansas region was incapable of acting as an occupation force for the South, because the Confederacy had little means to hold on to the area. The guerrillas also had no apparent interest in acting as an occupation force, as evidenced by the black flag that they were known to carry, instead of the Confederate flag. In a sense, the guerrillas were carrying on a war to protect what they perceived as a threat to their way of life that also corresponded to the war aims of the Confederacy.²⁴ As such, the guerrilla movement posed a perplexing problem for Union military



"A Rebel Guerrilla Raid in a Western Town." Harper's Weekly, September 27, 1862

Library, Wichita State University, Wichita, Kansas; John N. Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas, or the Warfare on the Border* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand and Co., 1877), 51; 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), 47; John S. Gilmore, "History of Wilson County, Kansas," in *History of Neosho and Wilson Counties, Kansas* (Fort Scott, Kans.: L. Wallace Duncan, 1902), 823.

24. Don R. Bowen, "Counterrevolutionary Guerrilla War: Missouri, 1861-1865," *Conflict* 8 (1988) 1:76.

planners. In an attempt to understand the sort of war the guerrillas were waging, the Union army went so far as to publish a small book on the subject.²⁵

25. Francis Lieber, *Guerrilla Parties, Considered with Reference to the Laws and Usages of War* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1862).

Confederate guerrilla activity in the West blossomed during 1861. By the summer of 1861, guerrillas were openly operating in the Kansas Cherokee Neutral Lands.²⁶ Guerrilla incursions

26. "Memoir of Hon. George A. Crawford," and Eugene F. Ware, "The Neutral Lands," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1897-1900 6 (1900): 244, 150.



from Missouri and Indian Territory into Kansas were also on the rise. In September 1861, a Junction City, Kansas, newspaper reported: "Governor Robinson . . . thinks Kansas is in a tight place, and says that on the Eastern and Southern borders, predatory incursions are common."²⁷

Outside incursions were not the only source of guerrilla activity in Kansas during 1861. Guerrilla recruitment in parts of central and southeastern Kansas could also be found. Most guerrillas from Kansas melted into the larger pro-Southern partisan movement originating in Missouri and Indian Territory. For example, some Doniphan County pro-Southerners joined Confederate guerrillas in Missouri, as reported by the *Kansas Chief*: "Quite a number of hounds from Iowa Point and vicinity, have gone to Missouri, to fight the battles of secession thieves, murderers and bridge-burners."²⁸ William Thraikill, who achieved something of an infamous reputation, was among the Iowa Point Southern sympathizers to join the guerrillas in Missouri.²⁹

William and James Anderson of Morris County, Kansas, formed one of the few homegrown Confederate guerrilla organiza-

tions in the state. Recruiting for this group began early in the war around Council Grove, Kansas, and William "Bloody Bill" Anderson eventually named it the "Kansas First Guerrillas." Two well-known persons to join this guerrilla organization in Morris County were Lee Griffin and William Reed. The Andersons eventually relocated their guerrilla band to Missouri, but, as late as 1863, Bill Anderson continued to refer to it as the "Kansas First Guerrillas." Another homegrown guerrilla band was raised in Lyon County, Kansas, by Ingram Baker, but this group existed only briefly in 1862.³⁰

To a small extent, pro-Southern elements could also be found entering Kansas from the west. In 1861, the state became a crossing point for Confederate sympathizers leaving western territories for the South, although such travelers may have regretted moving through the state. In October 1861, pro-Union partisans captured a pro-Southern wagon train near El Dorado as it was traveling toward the Cherokee Nation in Indian Territory. The *Emporia News* reported: "We learn . . . that on Friday last, the people on the Walnut took possession of a train that was passing through that country . . . and have thereby kept it from falling into the hands of Secessionists."³¹ This type of activity alarmed Unionists in the state,

who feared that the war would be brought to their own doorsteps.

Kansas Unionists had good reason for concern when it became evident that Confederate partisans were finding some support in the state. This support weathered Unionist efforts to snuff it out until well into the war. As late as 1863, the press was reporting that the guerrillas still "have their emissaries and friends" in Kansas. This was especially true of Morris County, where some residents were accused of "harboring Rebels."³² Support for the guerrillas in Kansas, however, could only exist with outside assistance.

The predominately pro-Union political environment in the state meant that Kansans sympathetic to the guerrillas could only hope to sustain their efforts in isolated areas, even with assistance from Missouri and Indian Territory. The more populated areas of the state would become too dangerous for guerrillas or their supporters. The only part of Kansas where guerrillas were able to come close to sustaining their presence was in the southeastern portion of the state, where the sparse, divided population and the close proximity of Indian Territory kept Union efforts at bay.

The guerrilla conflict in southeastern Kansas was particularly unique due to the divided loyalties of the area's Indian population. The slavery question in Kansas had not escaped the Cherokees, for example, as abolitionists and proslavery settlers interacted with this tribe.

27. *The Smoky Hill and Republican Union*, Junction City, September 12, 1861.

28. *Kansas Chief*, September 5, 1861.

29. *Ibid.*, October 3, 1861; Albert Castel, "The Jayhawkers and Copperheads of Kansas," *Civil War History* 5 (September 1959): 287. Iowa Point, Kansas, was particularly known as a hotbed of pro-Southern activism in 1861. See *Kansas Chief*, December 5, 1861; P. L. Gray, *Gray's Doniphan County History: A Record of the Happenings of Half a Hundred Years* (Beneden, Kans.: Roycroft Press, 1905), 32; Daniel Fitzgerald, *Ghost Towns of Kansas: A Traveler's Guide* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 12.

30. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, v. 41, pt. 1 (1893), 442, and pt. 2 (1893), 75-77; A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 2 vols. (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1883), 1: 800; L. D. Bailey, *Border Ruffian Troubles in Kansas* (Lyndon, Kans., 1899), 46, 48.

31. *Emporia News*, October 12, 1861; Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Papers of Chief John Ross*, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 2:504.

32. *Emporia News*, May 16, 1863; *Council Grove Press*, May 11, 1863.



The Osages were also caught in the middle as whites on both sides of the slavery issue had actively sought to influence them during territorial days.

Early in the war, the Confederacy wisely sought the support of Indians in both Indian Territory and southern Kansas. In 1861, the *Emporia News* reported: "Every tribe of Indians on the plains, and evry [sic] tribe in Eastern Kansas, have been tampered with, by Secession agents." Southern agents even attempted to influence known pro-Union Indians in Kansas. In 1862, pro-Union Indians, who had been forced to flee Indian Territory and take refuge in southern Kansas, were "told by rebel emissaries" that the federal government would renege on its promises to provide them with supplies and shelter.³³

Confederate activity among the Osages of southern Kansas posed the greatest threat to Union efforts in that portion of the state. Confederate efforts in 1861 led some Osage leaders to sign a treaty with the South, which influenced at least one-third of the tribe to support the Confederacy. Some Osage warriors, choosing to side with the South, left Kansas for Indian Territory, but many of them did not remain supporters of the Confederacy for the duration of the war. A white Confederate soldier in Indian Territory reported: "I do not like to fight with the Indians much, for you do not know at what moment they will turn over to the opposite side."³⁴

In 1861, the Osages largely resided in southeastern Kansas, with many of their villages located along the Neosho and Verdigris rivers and their tributaries. Although no clear lines divided the pro-Southern Osages from their pro-Union brethren,

MAJOR GUERRILLA RAIDS IN KANSAS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

1861	Gardner (October) Humboldt (September, October) Mine Creek (October) Potosi (December)
1862	Aubrey (March) Johnson County (October) Olathe (September) Shawneetown (October)
1863	Baxter Springs (May, October) Black Jack (May, August) Diamond Spring (May) Gardner (May) Humboldt (October, November) Lawrence (August) Marion (May) Osage Mission (October) Shawneetown (June) Valley Township (October)
1864	Bull Creek (June) Cimarron Crossing (May?) Marmaton (October) Osage Mission (May, September) Trading Post (October) Wyandotte (June)
1865	None

many of the Osages sympathizing with the South appear to have come from the western and southern sections of this area. The most well-known Osages to become guerrilla leaders in

southeastern Kansas included Chief Black Dog, big chief of the Arrow-Going-Home band, and Ogeese Captain. These guerrilla leaders and their followers may have left their homes in southern Kansas for Indian Territory, but few stayed away from the state for any length of time. Their periodic return to Kansas during the war became a source of conflict among both Indian and white Kansans.³⁵

Osage Mission was a particularly important focal point for the Osages during the Civil War. It had long served as a center for interaction between Indians and whites in southeastern Kansas, in terms of education and trade. It had also been the location of antagonism between proslavery and abolitionist factions, which led to its symbolic importance for both sides in the Civil War.

This mission had been established by anti-slavery Jesuit missionaries long before the war began and was the location of a trading post owned by well-known proslavery Kansan John Mathews. Both the Jesuits and Mathews were viewed with favor by many Osages, but at the outbreak of the Civil War, opposing factions among the Osages arose as Osages befriended either the Jesuits or Mathews. As early as 1861, Osage Mission became the

People (Fallbrook, Calif.: Ciga Press, 1989), 343-45; John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 635; Tillie Karns Newman, *The Black Dog Trail* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1957), 120; "Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs D. N. Cooley, October 31, 1865," in Wilcomb E. Washburn, comp., *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*, 4 vols. (New York: Random House, 1973), 1:130; *Mission Journal*, Osage Mission, September 29, 1870.

35. W. W. Graves, *Life and Letters of Rev. Father John Schoenmakers S.J.: Apostle to the Osages* (Parsons, Kans.: Commercial Publishers, 1928), 80, 105; Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*, 637; Louis F. Burns, *Osage Indian Bands and Clans* (Fallbrook, Calif.: Ciga Press, 1984), 7-17; W. G. Coffin to W. P. Dole, September 26, 1861, *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81, Neosho Agency, 1831-1875 (1859-1861)* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1958), roll 532; Burns, *A History of the Osage People*, 345.

33. *Emporia News*, October 12, 1861; U.S. Congress, House Ex. Doc. 132, *Relief to Indian Refugees in Southern Kansas*, Letter from J. P. Usher, 37th Cong., 2d sess., June 16, 1862, p. 1-14.

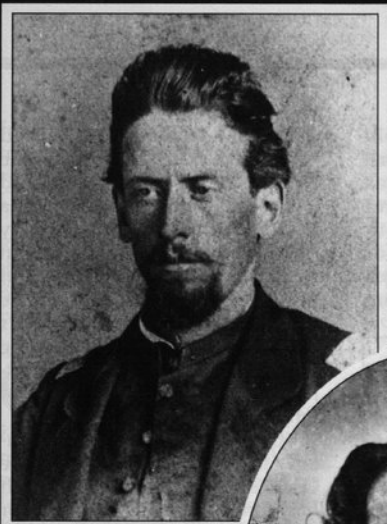
34. *Texas Republican*, Marshall, January 4, 1862; Louis F. Burns, *A History of the Osage*

Desperate

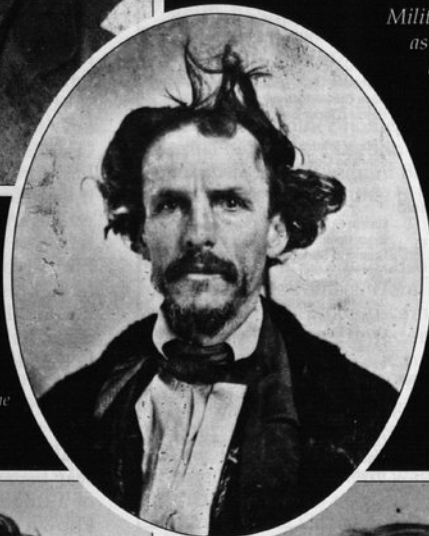
Jayhawkers

Militant free-state Kansans, commonly known as Jayhawkers, formed quasi-military units before and after the war began, conducting dubious operations along the border.

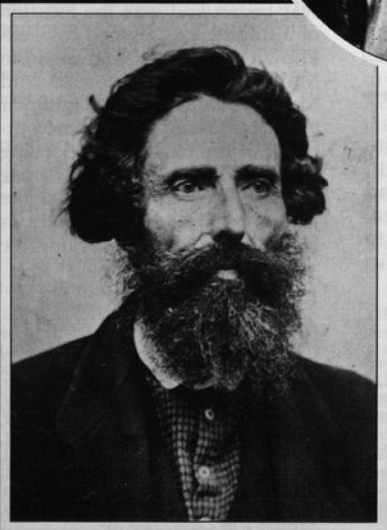
These partisans, like the ones pictured here, came from all walks of life: "General" and Senator Lane was a politician; Jennison, colonel of the notorious 7th Kansas Cavalry ("Jennison's Jayhawkers"), was a physician; Colonel Montgomery, who went east with the 2nd South Carolina "Colored," was a preacher; and the 7th Kansas' second in command, Lt. Colonel Anthony, was a journalist.



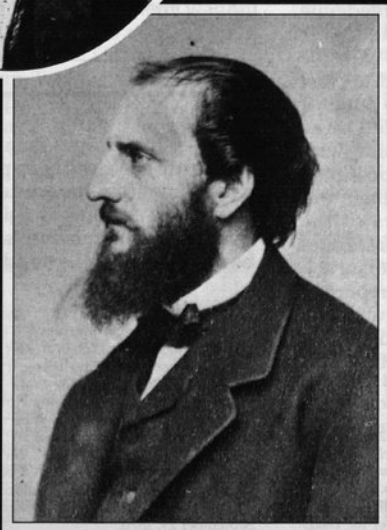
Charles R. Jennison



James H. Lane



James Montgomery

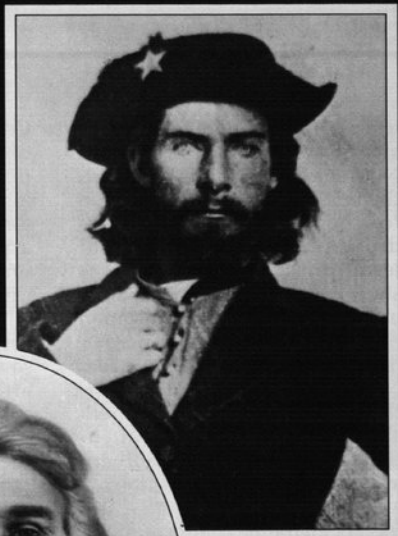


Daniel R. Anthony

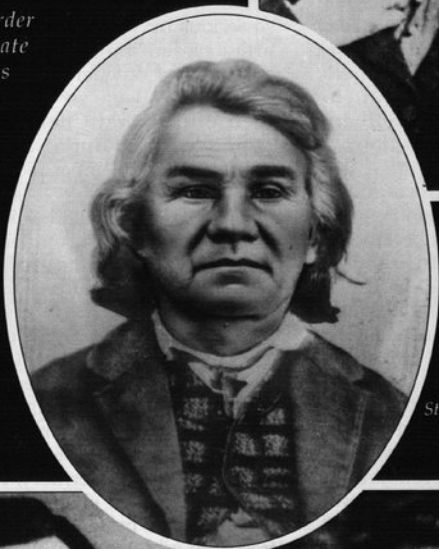
Characters

Guerrillas

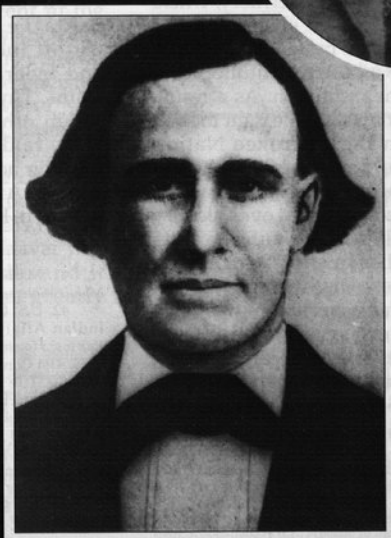
The Jayhawkers' counterparts in this border war were an irregular force of Confederate guerrillas who engaged in campaigns against Union troops and civilian populations in the region. A mere rumor that Quantrill or one of these other infamous characters was in the vicinity wreaked terror among the citizenry, some of whom lived in constant fear for nearly a decade of "Border Ruffians" and then Confederate guerrillas.



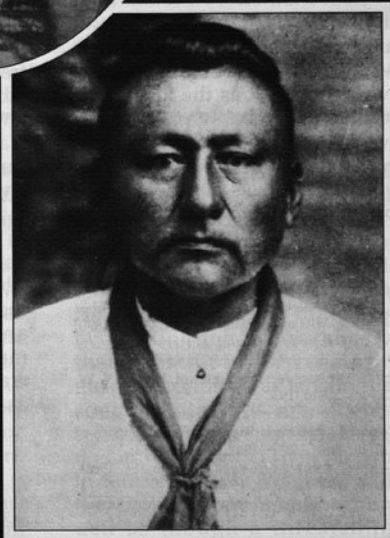
"Bloody Bill" Anderson



Stand Watie



John A. Matthews



Black Dog



focus of the struggle for the loyalty of the Osages for either the North or the South. In June 1861, the mission was seemingly won for the South when Mathews drove out its most prominent Jesuit priest.³⁶ This victory was short-lived because pro-Southern elements lacked the organization necessary to maintain a permanent presence in the area. Nonetheless, the symbolic importance of Osage Mission for both sides continued to draw attention, as Unionists and Southern sympathizers vied for control.³⁷

The mission's importance as a focal point for the control of southeastern Kansas was second only to Humboldt. Humboldt became an important symbol of Unionism when, early in the war, the Union army adopted it as an outpost and buffer location in southeastern Kansas. As a symbol of Unionism, Humboldt suffered from several guerrilla raids during the war.³⁸ Responsibility for the first raid in September 1861 was quickly given to John Mathews. In retaliation, the Union army hunted Mathews and killed him outside Chetopa.³⁹ Mathews' death early in the war was significant as the loss of his leadership probably prevented a wider guerrilla conflict in southeastern Kansas.

Chetopa was another source of suspected support for the

Confederate guerrillas. Residents of this small community had more than once been accused of providing refuge and supplies for these forces, and at one point the Union army placed the entire town under arrest for such activities. Combined Indian and white guerrilla activity in this section of southeastern Kansas had become so serious by 1863 that the Union army raided the area to squash support for Confederate partisans. Union troops were so vigorous in their efforts that Chetopa was nearly destroyed during a federal army raid in November 1863.⁴⁰

The Cherokees held a particular interest in southeastern Kansas when the war began. This interest focused on whether jurisdiction in the Cherokee Neutral Lands was held by the Cherokee Nation, the state of Kansas, or the federal government. The question of jurisdiction became particularly complicated when, in January 1861, Kansas went from being a territory, where the right to hold slave property was protected by federal law, to a free state whose constitution prohibited the institution. As a result, laws guaranteeing the right to keep slaves in the Cherokee Nation came into direct conflict with the laws of the new state of Kansas.

The controversy over slavery in the Cherokee Neutral Lands harmed Union efforts among the Cherokees. Dissatisfaction with the federal government over this and other issues encouraged many Cherokees to join Confederate Indian regiments or to serve as pro-Southern guerrillas in

Indian Territory and southern Kansas. Confederate Cherokee leader Stand Watie was especially instrumental in encouraging Indian guerrilla raids on southern Kansas. Pro-Union residents of southern Kansas learned to fear Indian guerrilla raids whenever Watie operated near the Kansas-Indian Territory border.⁴¹ The Cherokee Neutral Lands were most vulnerable to this type of guerrilla activity for the duration of the war.⁴²

Parts of southwestern Kansas also experienced guerrilla conflict during the Civil War. Confederate elements in northwest Texas and the eastern slopes of the southern Rocky Mountains were specifically responsible for opening this guerrilla front, and focused most of their attention on the Santa Fe Trail and Cimarron Cutoff. Guerrilla activity in this part of Kansas largely occurred between 1863 and 1864, but it was so sporadic that it failed to significantly influence the Union war effort in the state.

Favorite targets along the Santa Fe Trail and Cimarron Cutoff included both civilians and federal government wagon trains. Unlike guerrillas operating in other sections of Kansas, these raiders found no support for their activities on the desolate plains. Any traveler in southwestern Kansas was probably

36. Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*, 632-33.

37. *Western Journal of Commerce*, October 24, 1863; *Mission Journal*, September 29, 1870; W. S. Graves, *Life and Letters of Fathers Ponziglione, Schoenmakers and Other Early Jesuits at Osage Mission* (St. Paul, Kans.: W. W. Graves, 1916), 193.

38. S. W. Brewster, "Reverend Father Paul M. Ponziglione," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1905-1906 9 (1906): 22; W. W. Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission* (St. Paul, Kans.: W. W. Graves, 1934), 44.

39. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 2: 1454, 1473.

40. *Ibid.*, 826, 1454, 1473; Nelson Case, *History of Labette County, Kansas, From the First Settlement to the Close of 1892* (Topeka: Crane and Co., 1893), 23, 144.

41. Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*, 638.

42. 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, p. 1-9; Ware, "The Neutral Lands," 150; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Indian Affairs, *Cherokee Neutral Lands: House Report 5 to Accompany H.R. 1074*, 41st Cong., 3d sess., January 11, 1871, p. 1-13; U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Public Lands, *Cherokee Neutral Lands in Kansas: Senate Report 241 to Accompany S.1257*, 42d Cong., 3d sess., December 16, 1872, p. 1-12.

aware of the possibility of crossing paths with guerrillas but actually feared meeting hostile Plains Indians more than pro-Southern partisans.⁴³

Active guerrilla elements in central and western Missouri opened a third front of influence for Confederate partisans making Missouri the most important source of guerrilla activity in Kansas. The success of these operations in this neighboring state brought fear to many Kansans along the length of the Kansas-Missouri border. The actual operational area of Missouri guerrilla intrusions into Kansas, however, did not extend much north of the Kansas River.

Guerrillas operating from Missouri were responsible for the most memorable events in Kansas during the Civil War. For followers of Kansas history, these events would probably include the raids on Lawrence and Diamond Spring. The raid on Lawrence was the single most significant wartime event in the state and is frequently the only reference to Kansas in general Civil War histories. The guerrilla conflict in Kansas, however, was not limited to William Quantrill's August 1863 raid.

A brief look at the chronology of the partisan conflict in Kansas during the Civil War reveals that the guerrilla war was more than a few raids, and it illustrates that Kansas greatly



"Surprise of Rebel Guerrillas." *Harper's Weekly*, November 15, 1862

suffered from the war experience. As the table on page 151 shows, at least twenty-nine significant raids can be identified in Kansas during the Civil War. This does not include an unknown number of minor guerrilla incidents in the state, such as Ogeese Captain burning down the Porter Hill Mill outside Osage Mission.⁴⁴ When studying the guerrilla conflict in Kansas, the conclusion may be drawn that the experi-

ence was contrasted by periods of high activity and lulls, with most activity occurring in 1863.

For many Kansans during the war, the threat of guerrilla raids brought an almost persistent fear. As the graph on page 157 shows, by plotting the major raids by their month of occurrence, the guerrilla conflict was largely seasonal. Winter was the quietest season, as many guerrillas in the region went south. Their activity in Kansas sharply increased with the arrival of spring and continued as though a threatening

43. Jack D. Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail: A Historical Bibliography* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971) 26; R. L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (New York: Tudor Publishing 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; *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, July 30, 1864; *Western Journal of Commerce*, May 21, 1864.

44. Graves, *Life and Letters of Rev. Father John Schoenmakers S.J.: Apostle to the Osages*, 105.



storm cloud loomed over the state until late in the fall season. With the coming of spring in 1864, the *Kansas Daily Tribune* reported: "The great danger still threatening the West, is that the guerrilla warfare will continue.... [W]e in Kansas must expect and prepare for the coming season."⁴⁵

The increased activity during each spring partly resulted from many of the guerrillas returning to the Kansas region from winter quarters in Texas and Arkansas.⁴⁶ The guerrillas had to time their return carefully in order to avoid disaster. In the spring of 1864, the *Western Journal of Commerce* reported: "Quantrell [sic] and his gang of cut-throats are again on their way north. . . Stragglers from the South have been picked up quite frequently of late, and larger bodies, we presume, are moving. But they have come a little too early. The leaves are not yet out and they can be hunted easily."⁴⁷

The scope of these forces in Kansas was directly tied to Confederate successes in the region and the decisions of Confederate war planners. A look at each year of the war illustrates the impact that outside influences played upon the guerrilla conflict in Kansas.

Confederate military successes in Missouri and Indian Territory during the first year of the war almost guaranteed that portions of southeastern Kansas would fall under the influence of partisan activities. By the end of the summer of 1861, the Cherokee

Neutral Lands in southeastern Kansas were effectively controlled by guerrillas but only with the cooperation of Southern sympathizers in neighboring Missouri and Indian Territory.⁴⁸

The cooperation of Confederates in Missouri and Indian Territory led to a series of guerrilla operations in southeastern Kansas, including two raids on Humboldt. During the early part of the war, Stand Watie was particularly successful in encouraging guerrilla operations into that portion of Kansas from Indian Territory.⁴⁹ The irregular war in western Missouri also spilled over into portions of extreme eastern Kansas in 1861, leading to raids on Gardner, Mine Creek settlements, and Potosi.⁵⁰ The lateness of the year probably prevented a more active campaign that first year. More importantly, the guerrillas were only beginning to organize and were operating with no formal support from the Confederate government.

The spring of 1862 marked the beginning of a more organized guerrilla war in Kansas and reintroduced William Quantrill to the state. Since gaining his freedom from a Kansas jail in 1861 with the help of Southern sympathizers, Quantrill was becoming one of the most influential guerrilla leaders in western Missouri. Having lived

in Kansas Territory, Quantrill was well acquainted with the area and would use this knowledge to conduct operations in the state. In 1862, Quantrill conducted several forays into Johnson County attacking Aubrey, briefly occupying Olathe, and sacking Shawneetown.⁵¹

As they were flexing their ability to operate in Kansas in 1862, another event more than a thousand miles east would set the stage for an escalation of the guerrilla conflict. In April 1862, the Confederate government passed the Partisan Ranger Act, which was designed to enlarge the guerrilla war by recognizing pro-Southern partisans as paramilitary soldiers of the Confederacy.⁵² In effect, this act gave authority and validity to Confederate guerrillas. Recognition from the Confederate government in Richmond, Virginia, presented the irregulars with a greater incentive, and many adopted real or imagined positions of military rank in the regular army. William Quantrill was one of the guerrillas to take advantage of this new status by donning the rank of Confederate army colonel.⁵³

Eastern war events, including Union successes on the battlefields east of the Mississippi River, did not always influence the guerrilla conflict in the West. By 1863, the war east of the

48. "Memoir of Hon. George A. Crawford," 244; Ware, "The Neutral Lands," 150.

49. W. Craig Gaines, *The Confederate Cherokees: John Drew's Regiment of Mounted Rifles* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 8-9; Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission*, 44.

50. Shalor Winchell Eldridge, "Recollections of Early Days in Kansas," *Kansas State Historical Publications* 2 (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1920), 182.

51. Ibid.; *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, v. 8 (1883), 335-36.

52. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 4, v. 1 (1900), 1094-95, 1098.

53. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, v. 22, pt. 1 (1888), 700-1. Wiley Britton, *Memoirs of the Rebellion on the Border, 1863* (Chicago: Cushing, Thomas and Co., 1882), 134; Kit Dalton, *Under the Black Flag* (Memphis, Tenn.: Lockard Publishing Co., 1914), 16-17.

45. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, March 29, 1864.

46. Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War*, 106.

47. *Western Journal of Commerce*, April 30, 1864.



Mississippi River was turning in favor of the North, but Union efforts in the West were still struggling. More importantly for Kansas, by 1863 both Missouri and Indian Territory were still unconquered by the North.

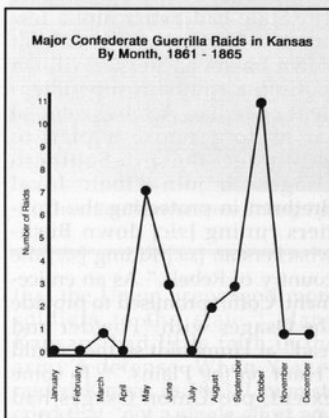
As a largely pro-Union state within this regional setting, Kansas took on the appearance of protruding as though it were a Union military outpost in the central Plains. During the height of the war, a Union supporter in Lawrence wrote:

No State has a deeper interest in the issue of events than Kansas. Unanimously and intensely loyal, she is cut off from her loyal sisters by a large and powerful State of rebel proclivities. She is a part of the territory which the Confederacy has always claimed as their own, and which, in case of their success, would undoubtedly fall into their hands. . . . The success of the Confederacy, therefore, is the ruin of Kansas as a loyal State. . . . This is true of no other State in the Union.⁵⁴

Both the Unionists and the Confederates knew of the vulnerability of Kansas at this time. The guerrillas would take advantage of this vulnerability in 1863 by pushing the limits of their abilities to conduct operations in the state.

The arrival of spring in 1863 brought the guerrillas back to Kansas with a vengeance. They selected their targets in the usual areas, particularly along the eastern and southern borders of the state. Major raids occurred at Gardner, Black Jack, and Shawneetown. Johnson County was espe-

cially hard hit and was raided several times before the summer.⁵⁵ Guerrilla raids in Johnson County were so destructive that one newspaper proclaimed: "How long must we continue to chronicle these outrages? Is there no remedy or protection for the people? At this rate, Johnson county will soon be abandoned by its citizens altogether."⁵⁶



The close proximity of the Union army post at Fort Scott to guerrilla bases in western Missouri resulted in a number of clashes in that area during 1863. Irregulars also conducted operations west of Fort Scott, raiding near Humboldt and at Osage Mission. The level of guerrilla activity in the area led to

a near panic among local Unionists. Isaac Brown Hitchcock reported that public fear of the guerrillas encouraged many area residents to flee their homes in that portion of southeastern Kansas. Guerrilla operations in the Cherokee Neutral Lands also continued, including two raids at Baxter Springs.⁵⁷

The scope of these operations in Kansas during 1863 should have been anticipated by the pattern of such activity established during the first two years of the war. The guerrillas, however, took their campaign a step further in 1863, by expanding their territory of operations to deep inside Kansas and along the Santa Fe Trail. Their boldness became evident with the return of spring, as reports spread that guerrillas were openly moving about the state in several different areas. One example of the guerrillas' boldness occurred at Wyandotte where a well-known guerrilla Jim Vaughan was casually receiving a shave in a barber-shop when he was spotted and arrested by Union authorities.⁵⁸

By May 1863, fear of these forces had spread to encompass the length of the Santa Fe Trail. This fear intensified when Richard Yeager led a group of

55. *Emporia News*, May 16, June 13, 1863; *Western Journal of Commerce*, May 16, 1863; *Council Grove Press*, June 15, 1863, June 18, 1864. Johnson County, Kansas, was known to harbor guerrillas because of the support of resident Southern sympathizers. See Joseph Thoes, "Going to Market in 1862," in J. M. Bisbey, "Pioneering in Wabaunsee County," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1909-1910 11 (1910): 602-4; Woodhull, "Kansas in 1861," 22-23.

56. *Western Journal of Commerce*, June 13, 1863.

57. Britton, *Memoirs of the Rebellion on the Border*, 1863, 275-76; 432, 454; *Western Journal of Commerce*, October 24, 1863; *Kansas Chief*, October 15, 1863; *Baxter Springs News*, October 11, 1884; *Diary of Isaac Brown Hitchcock*, 1863, Hitchcock Collection, University Archives, John Vaughan Library, Northeastern Oklahoma State University, Tahlequah.

58. *Emporia News*, May 7, 16, June 13, 1863; *Western Journal of Commerce*, May 16, 1863; *Council Grove Press*, May 11, 1863; O. S. Barton, *Three Years With Quantrell: A True Story Told by His Scout John McCorkle* (New York: Buffalo-Head Press, 1966), 65; Henry Pickering Walker, *The Wagonmasters: High Plains Freightmen from the Earliest Days of the Santa Fe Trail to 1880* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 243.

54. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, November 29, 1863.



guerrillas in raids along the Santa Fe Trail, looting homes and sacking the Kansas towns of Diamond Spring and Marion. Residents of communities in the interior, who were not visited by Yeager, feared the same outrages might befall them.⁵⁹

These fears permeated much of everyday life in Kansas during 1863 and resulted in residents keeping weapons with them much of the time. In August 1863, a Union army report from Leavenworth stated: "A fearful state of excitement exists throughout the State of Kansas. . . . The guerrillas have been largely re-enforced by men from Price's army, and have never been so active and defiant as now."⁶⁰ Portions of eastern Kansas were left "almost uninhabited" because "the frequent raids of guerrillas, have driven off the settlers."⁶¹ Pro-Union citizens near Oswego became so concerned over the reported presence of nearby guerrilla camps that they periodically shelled the banks of the Neosho River in hopes of keeping the raiders at bay. A feeling of desperation among Unionists even led for a call to arrest any "suspicious characters" in the state. The *Texas Republican* warned its readers: "In Kansas they are murdering every man suspected of sympathy with the South."⁶²

59. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 248; "Ernestine Franke Hunings' Diary, 1863," in Marc Simons, ed., *On the Santa Fe Trail* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 73-83; D. Hubbard, "Reminiscences of the Yeager Raid, On the Santa Fe Trail, in 1863," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1903-1904 8 (1904): 168-71; *Western Journal of Commerce*, May 16, 1863.

60. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 3, v. 3 (1899), 719-20.

61. *Western Journal of Commerce*, May 2, 1863.

This feeling of desperation also led many Kansans to distrust the Union army's protection against the guerrillas. In 1863, an anticipation of guerrilla raids from Indian Territory resulted in a call to hire pro-Union Osages to protect southern Kansas. The *Emporia News* suggested: "The farce of being protected by the soldiers, is about played out. They cannot be depended upon. The State had better hire a few hundred Osage Indians, to hunt down bushwhackers." William G. Coffin, southern superintendent of Indian Affairs, went so far as to propose a plan to encourage the pro-Southern Osages to join "their loyal Brethren in protecting the frontiers runing [sic] down Bushwhackers an [sic] Riding [sic] the country of Rebels." As an enticement, Coffin promised to provide the Osages with "Powder and lead" at Humboldt so they could "Hunt on the Plains."⁶³ To some extent, pro-Union Osages had already taken the responsibility for protecting the southern border of Kansas, as evidenced by their attack on a party of Confederate recruiting officers in May 1863, near present Independence.⁶⁴ The lack of coordination between federal military and state govern-

62. Graves, *Life and Letters of Fathers Ponziglione, Schoenmakers and Other Early Jesuits at Osage Mission*, 133-34; *Council Grove Press*, October 5, 1863; *Texas Republican*, June 20, 1863.

63. *Emporia News*, June 13, 1863; W. G. Coffin to W. P. Dole, June 11, 1863, *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81, Neosho Agency, 1831-1875 (1862-1865)* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1958), roll 533.

64. 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*, 639-643; *Kansas Chief*, June 25, 1863; *Emporia News*, June 13, 1863; W. G. Coffin to W. P. Dole, June 11, 1863.

ment was partially responsible for the level of guerrilla successes in 1863. In-fighting between political factions in Kansas encouraged this lack of coordination. The absence of intercession from national political and military leaders in Washington, D.C., only compounded the situation. While Union efforts were faltering, the intent of Confederate leaders was to heighten the guerrilla war in the West.⁶⁵

Between the spring and the fall of 1863, irregulars operated in Kansas almost without ceasing. Much of this activity concentrated on civilian targets and resembled gang robberies more than military encounters. In October 1863, a dozen guerrillas raided Valley Township in Linn County and "robbed some five or six families."⁶⁶ Two of the most devastating raids were in August 1863, when Anderson attacked Black Jack and Quantrill led his warriors against Lawrence. The Lawrence raid shocked not only Kansas but the nation and Europe. Even the *London Times* carried the story of Quantrill's raid on Lawrence.⁶⁷

In response to the Lawrence raid and other guerrilla successes, Union authorities issued "Order No. 11."⁶⁸ This order required most residents of four Missouri counties bordering

65. G. Raymond Gaedert, *The Birth of Kansas* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1940), 145.

66. *Western Journal of Commerce*, October 10, 1863.

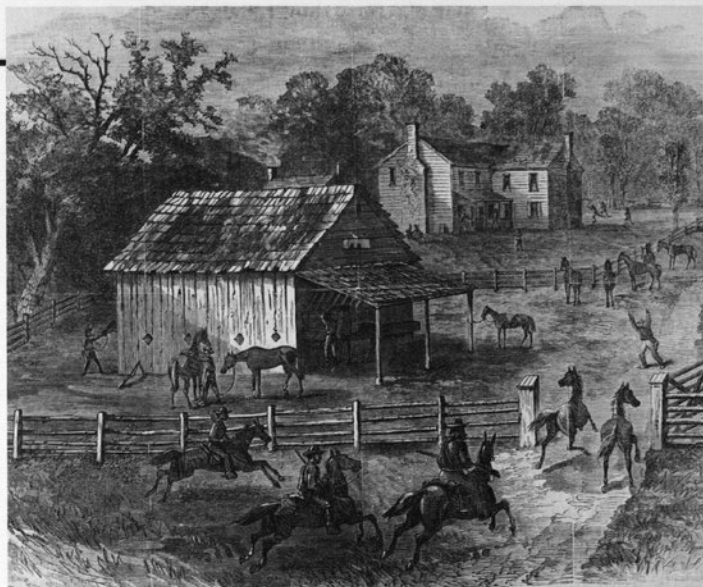
67. *New York Times*, September 20, 1863; *Times*, London, September 10, 1863; Mamie Bernard Aguirre, "Spanish Trader's Bride," *The Westport Historical Quarterly* 4 (December 1968): 10; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 356.

68. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, v. 22, pt. 2 (1888), 473.

Kansas to leave their homes. Union authorities hoped that this forced evacuation of pro-Southern sympathizers would remove much of the popular support for the guerrillas. This order, however, had less impact than did the coming of winter. Many of the guerrillas began fading from the region with the falling leaves, and in December 1863, the *Western Journal of Commerce* reported: "The utmost quiet reigns along all the borders of Kansas and Missouri. . . . The guerrilla warfare is at an end for the present."⁶⁹

Before the trees were in full bloom in the spring of 1864, Kansas was bracing itself for another onslaught of attacks. The raiding season in 1863 had taught Kansans to rely upon a program of raising the alarm at any report of the guerrillas' approach. The first reports of irregulars moving toward Kansas were received in March 1864, prompting communities such as Lawrence to publicize to any potential attackers that they were well defended. In July 1864, the *Western Journal of Commerce* reported: "Lawrence is probably the best defended place now in the West." The *Kansas Daily Tribune* reported in June that Kansans along the Missouri border were watching for the guerrillas "and sleep every night with their arms."⁷⁰

Preparations for a defense against renewed operations in Kansas also included a demand



"Guerrilla Depredations - Seizing Horses." *Harper's Weekly*, December 24, 1864.

that the Union army send more soldiers to the state.⁷¹ Many Kansans had little faith in the army's defense. When Yeager raided Kansas in 1863, Unionists cried that "not a single effort was made to intercept Yeager."⁷² The perception that the Union army was not doing enough to defend the state was, however, only partially correct. In reality, federal forces were too thinly stretched to provide adequate protection against guerrilla raids. The continued in-fighting among state leaders, particularly between Gen. James Lane and Gov. Thomas Carney, were also interfering with the proper defense of Kansas.

In July 1864, the *Council Grove Press* reported that the number of Union troops necessary to defend the state was still being refused

by authorities because of this political in-fighting.

Kansas was and is menaced upon every hand. Emigration is retarded and our State injured millions of dollars, yet these troops are refused, and why, because Gov. Carney would have to appoint and commission the officers, or as Lincoln himself said "Lane will oppose it," . . . We are coolly informed that unless we surrender the entire control of our State up to the "Lane party," that "Quantrell is welcome to devour us at his will."⁷³

The increased number of false reports of guerrilla activities in 1864 were also interfering with defense efforts. The *Kansas Daily Tribune* encouraged its readers to be certain before reporting. "Private citizens can greatly aid

69. *Western Journal of Commerce*, December 12, 1863.

70. *Ibid.*, June 11, 18, July 2, 1864; *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, v. 34, pt. 2 (1891), 570; *Council Grove Press*, May 7, 21, June 18, July 23, 1864; *Emporia News*, May 7, 1864; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, March 9, May 8, June 2, 15, 1864.

71. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, v. 34, pt. 2 (1891), 570; *Council Grove Press*, June 18, 1864.

72. *Council Grove Press*, September 7, 1863.

73. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 18, 1864; *Council Grove Press*, July 9, 1864; Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865*, 139.



the military, by not raising false reports. . . . It is folly in the extreme for our citizens to encourage alarm and panic sensation."⁷⁴

By the summer of 1864, the hysteria over the guerrillas' return to Kansas would seem prophetic, as they demonstrated a continued ability to operate in various parts of the state. They conducted successful raids on Osage Mission, Wyandotte, Marmaton, and Bull Creek in Miami County.⁷⁵ Their operations in southwestern Kansas, however, pointed out that the partisan conflict was entering a new stage. In the spring of 1864, James Reynolds led a raiding party from Texas into southwestern Kansas. Near the Cimarron Crossing of the Santa Fe Trail, Reynolds captured a Union army wagon train that was apparently ferrying supplies between forts in Kansas and New Mexico Territory. The presence of Reynolds and other guerrillas in southwestern Kansas, particularly east of Fort Lyon, was viewed as "startling."⁷⁶

Southern military planners were aware that the central Plains were an exposed section of Union-controlled territory. In a continued effort to capitalize on this, Confederate leaders renewed their plans to recruit Plains Indians for raids in the area.⁷⁷ Military planners placed

too much hope on the success of such operations, however, and any chance of a Confederate success on the western Plains crumbled with the disastrous invasion of Missouri and Kansas in the fall of 1864.

In September 1864, Confederate Gen. Sterling Price led his army out of Arkansas and into Missouri, first heading toward St. Louis and then westward toward Kansas. When Price reached western Missouri, he placed the guerrillas under his regular army command.⁷⁸ This decision would destroy the guerrilla organization along the Kansas-Missouri border.

The shield of cover and unpredictability, normally enjoyed, was lifted as they cooperated with an invading force of the regular Confederate army. The ensuing series of skirmishes and battles between Confederate and Union armies mauled Price's command and left a number of key guerrilla leaders dead. "Bloody Bill" Anderson, leader of the Kansas First Guerrillas, was included among those killed during the Price invasion. The death of Anderson and other irregular commanders was an irreversable blow to the guerrilla movement. The failed Confederate invasion gasped for the last time in October 1864, when Price was soundly defeated in Kansas at the battle of Mine Creek. With this defeat, the South lost all hope of conquering the region.⁷⁹

Guerrilla operations in Kansas slowly faded with the retreat of Price from the state. The final serious activity in Kansas occurred in November 1864, as the last remnants of the guerrillas accompanying Price's command moved south. One newspaper reported: "The Mound City Sentinel says the retreat of Price's army through that part of Kansas was marked . . . by robbery and desolation of the wildest kind."⁸⁰ The vicinity of Trading Post in Linn County was particularly hard hit by the retreating forces.

The Civil War in the East ground to a halt during the spring of 1865 but continued in the West until late summer. The slow death of the western Confederacy left open the possibility of renewed guerrilla activity in Kansas during the summer of 1865. Kansans braced themselves for a continuation of this conflict when reports spread that the guerrillas were planning operations in the state. The location of eastern Kansas as the focal point of these operations during much of the war had shifted away from the Missouri border and moved toward central Kansas. The loss of organized elements in Missouri meant that any renewed guerrilla threat to Kansas in 1865 would come from Indian Territory and Texas. This became evident when, as late as June 1865, "rebel Osage Indians" were reportedly still active along the southern Kansas border, east of the Arkansas River.⁸¹

74. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, April 30, 1864.
75. *Council Grove Press*, June 4, 1864; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 15, 22, 1864; *Western Journal of Commerce*, October 29, 1864; *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, v. 41, pt. 1 (1893), 6.

76. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, v. 41, pt. 2 (1893), 753; *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, July 29, 1864.

77. Wilfred Knight, *Red Fox: Stand Watie and the Confederate Indian Nations During the Civil War Years in Indian Territory* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1988), 212.

78. Richard S. Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 206, 209.

79. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, v. 41, pt. 1 (1893), 442; Carl W. Breihan, *Quantrill and His Civil War Guerrillas* (New York: Promontory Press, 1959), 162; Richard Cordley, *Pioneer Days in Kansas* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1903), 254.

80. *Western Journal of Commerce*, November 5, 1864.

81. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 262-63.



The Confederate threat to central Kansas had become apparent by March 1865, when Union army scout Sam Peppard reported from Fort Riley: "In obedience to orders I proceeded to the counties of Chase, Butler, and Irving, and investigated, as near as possible, concerning the report that came to these headquarters in regard to the Texans and Indians on the border. . . . There are Texans coming and going from the Indians who are in this State. . . ." Peppard also wrote that a "band of eight Texans" had visited Emporia in preparation for a guerrilla raid in the area.⁸²

One whom Peppard connected with Confederate recruiting efforts in south central Kansas was Jesse Chisholm. The actual role that Chisholm played on behalf of the Confederacy remains shrouded. Records suggest that he periodically represented the Confederacy to Indians in Indian

Territory as early as 1861 or 1862. By 1864, Chisholm was established in south central Kansas when he built a home at the site of present Wichita. In his March 1865 report, Peppard warned that Chisholm "is not a loyal man."⁸³ The war ended, however, before Chisholm's loyalties in Kansas were fully known.

The collapse of the western Confederacy in 1865 was not the end of the fear of guerrillas in Kansas. The presence of former guerrillas in the state plagued communities for as much as a year following the end of the Civil War. Many former raiders found a peaceful existence too difficult to adopt and became horse thieves and robbers. In September 1865, the *Council Grove Press* reported: "Horse stealing and robbery seem to be the most respectable mode of

making a living just at the present time."⁸⁴

The guerrilla conflict in Kansas had more impact on the state than has often been accounted for in history. Many Kansans lost their lives and much property was destroyed during the war. The amount of lost property was great enough that for years after the war's end the state of Kansas was petitioning the federal government for reimbursement.⁸⁵ As a young and progressive state, however, the wounds received from the Civil War experience began healing with increased settlement and economic development. The era known as Bleeding Kansas had finally released its grip on the state. KH

84. Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War*, 235; *Council Grove Press*, September 22, 1865.

85. U.S. Congress. Senate. *Resolutions of the Legislature of Kansas*, Misc. Doc. No. 35, 40th Cong., 2d sess., February 24, 1868; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Resolutions of the Legislature of Kansas*, Misc. Doc. No. 39, 40th Cong., 3d sess., February 3, 1869.

83. Ibid.; Albert T. Page to Charles B. Johnson, May 6, 1862, Charles B. Johnson Papers, 1859-1865, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville; *Daily Oklahoman*, Oklahoma City, November 17, 1907; July 13, 1930.

82. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, v. 48, pt. 1 (1896), 1096-97.