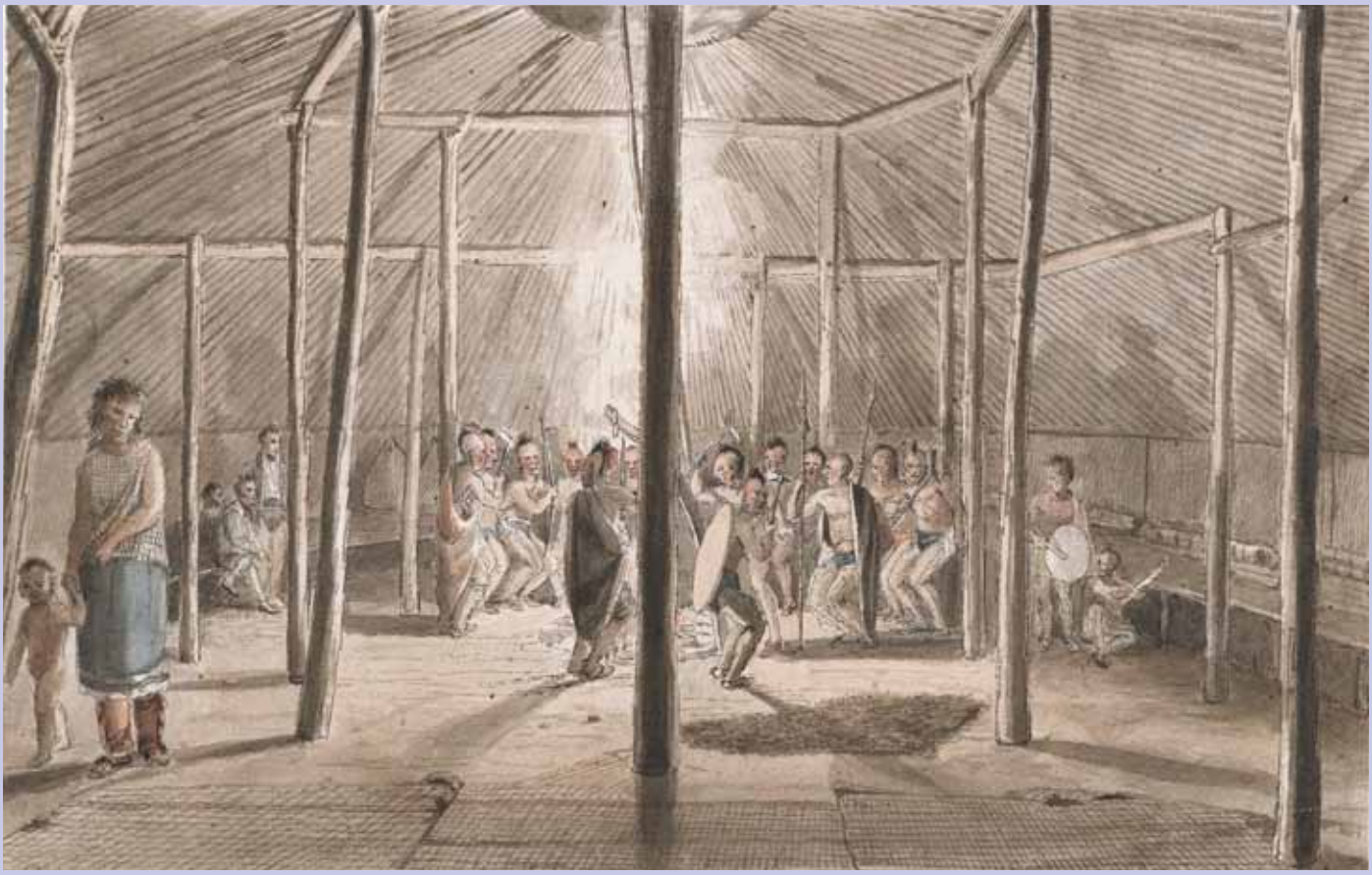
Kansas History

A Journal of the Central Plains

Volume 38, Number 1 | Spring 2015



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and the Department of History at Kansas State University

The Kansas Row by Thomas Nast



Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

German-born artist Thomas Nast rose to national fame in the Civil War era as a cartoonist for popular publications including Harper's Weekly *and* Frank Leslie's Illustrated News. *Because of Nast's drawings, an elephant became the symbol of the Republican Party and children began to think of Santa Claus as a jolly, bearded man. As a staunch Republican and supporter of granting African Americans civil rights, Nast drew cartoons that swayed voters in addition to leaving a lasting impression on American art and culture.*

In 1867 Nast developed a new project, the Grand Caricaturama, based on a successful exhibit of paintings in New York City. He painted thirty-three canvases nearly eight by twelve feet each that combined his skill for caricature with bright colors and grand historical themes. For an admission fee of fifty cents, audiences watched the panoramic paintings move across a stage as an actor told stories that combined history with fairytales, and a pianist accompanied him. The show delighted spectators and generally met with critical acclaim, with the exception of Northern Democratic newspapers that complained about Nast's brutal treatment of President Andrew Johnson. However, the Grand Caricaturama lasted for only a few weeks in New York City and then moved to Boston before financial difficulties forced its closure.

One of the five surviving paintings, The Kansas Row, *rediscovered in 1950 and pictured above, appeared fifth in the Grand Caricaturama and incorporated images that Nast used throughout the performance—a Pilgrim to represent the North and a Cavalier for the South. The Cavalier, painted to resemble Stephen Douglas, Democrat and creator of the Kansas–Nebraska Act, booted enslaved African Americans escaping from Missouri over a fence out of Kansas Territory while the Pilgrim prepared to defend them. This allegory assured audiences that Northern men protected freedom in Kansas and was accompanied by the popular minstrel show tune "Jordan is a Hard Road to Travel," suggesting Kansas represented the Promised Land. Historian Brie Swenson Arnold explores the gendered rhetoric and violence of the nation's clash over slavery in "'To Inflame the Mind of the North': Slavery Politics and the Sexualized Violence of Bleeding Kansas," a featured article in the spring issue.*

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Cover: War Dance in the Interior of the Konza Lodge *by Samuel Seymour. Courtesy of the Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Back cover: Untitled watercolor of Platte Bridge Station by Jesse J. Playford.*

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Illustration of the Kanza Blue Earth village in 1819 from the sketchbook of Titian Ramsay Peale. Courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery.

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Visit to Blue Earth Village

by Lauren W. Ritterbush

After two weeks of grueling overland travel during the hot month of August, thirteen exhausted Americans espied their destination, the village of the Kanza Indian tribe near the Big Blue and Kansas Rivers.[1] Not knowing whether they would be received as friends or foes, they stopped to hoist a flag and prepare themselves by "arrang[ing] their dress, and inspect[ing] their firearms." Once they were sighted, "the [Kanza] Women & Children went to the tops of their Houses with bits of Looking Glass and tin to reflect the light on the Party approaching." In turn, a mob of "chiefs and warriors came rushing out on horseback, painted and decorated, and followed by great numbers on foot." This was the point at which their fate among the Kanzas would be known. "The chief who was in advance, halted his horse when within a few paces of us; surveyed us sternly and attentively for some moments, and then offered his hand." Only then could the Americans breathe a sigh of relief and accept the many greetings that followed. Despite the friendly welcome, the party of weary travelers undoubtedly felt overwhelmed as they were engulfed by a throng of Indians. Under the influence of prominent Kanza men, the crowd parted, allowing the visitors to enter the village and the home of a principal leader of the tribe. The mob followed filling it "completely and most densely," leaving only a small area towards the back of the lodge for the guests to sit.[2] Thus began the 1819 stopover at Blue Earth village, home of the Kanza Indians.

Lauren W. Ritterbush *is an associate professor of anthropology at Kansas State University. She specializes in archaeology and ethnohistory of the Great Plains–Midwest region.*

This article would not have developed without the enthusiasm and commitment of those individuals involved with the Kanza Language and Landscape working group and others who graciously shared their knowledge. Dave Kaufman, former Kanza Language Project director for the Kaw Nation, repeatedly tolerated my inquiries into the Kanza language, and Jacque Staats shared data on Kanza leaders from her personal research. Others, including J. Rob Bozell, Brad Logan, Ron Parks, Pauline Sharp, Jacque Staats, and anonymous Kansas History *reviewers, provided insightful comments for which the author is grateful.*

1. Many different spellings and pronunciations have been given for the name of the Kanza Indians in written records dating from the late seventeenth century to today. Modern references commonly include Kansa, Kaw, and Kanza. I have chosen the term most widely used by the Kanza people and their language *(Kaáⁿze Íe)*. "Kanza Language," The Official Site Kaw Nation, http://kawnation.com/?page_id=76. A popular overview of Kanza history is William E. Unrau's *The Kansa Indians: A History of the Wind People, 1673–1873* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971). The most recent publication on the Kanza details their latest period of settlement in present-day Kansas: Ronald D. Parks, *The Darkest Period: The Kanza Indians and Their Last Homeland,* 1846–1873 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014).

2. Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819, 1820, Volume 1* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1823), 110, online facsimile edition at http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-144a/index.asp; Lillian B. Miller, ed., *The Selected*

The visiting travelers were part of a much larger, multifaceted government expedition begun in 1818. Its original mission was to establish a United States presence in the northern plains. Later that ambitious goal was abandoned, but not until two military units had ascended the lower Missouri River. The first halted at Isle au Vache or Cow Island between present-day Atchison and Leavenworth, Kansas, where they passed the fall, winter, and spring of 1818–1819, until their replacements arrived in August 1819. Traveling alongside this second contingent was a scientific party under the leadership of Major Stephen H. Long of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. The previous year Long had convinced Secretary of War John C. Calhoun of the utility of a scientific, exploratory mission up the Missouri in a steamboat specially designed for western travel. The steamship, the *Western Engineer,* would not only serve as transport but also impress American Indians with American technology and power. Long's party started its expedition in Pittsburgh in spring 1819 and by June was testing the vessel on the waters of the Missouri. It was in the context of their ascent up the Missouri that Long's scientists were sent on a side-trip to explore lands between the Kansas and Platte Rivers, including a visit to the Kanza village.[3]

The scientific party traveled overland from Fort Osage near modern Independence, Missouri, while Long continued up the lower Missouri, arranging to meet the explorers at the mouth of the Platte River south of present-day Omaha, Nebraska. Fort Osage was located roughly thirty miles downstream from the mouth of the Kansas River. It was attached to Osage Factory, a federal trading post established in 1808. The fort and factory were the westernmost government establishments along the Missouri River, other than the temporary military cantonment on Isle au Vache. The Long Expedition stopped at Fort Osage briefly while the scientists were outfitted for their western trek. They were to visit the Kanzas on the Kansas River, then travel north towards the Platte. This plan changed after a hostile encounter with some Pawnees a short distance north of the Kanza settlement forced them to return to the Missouri. Although the scientists were unable to complete most of their explorations, they gained direct knowledge of the Kanzas at their village.

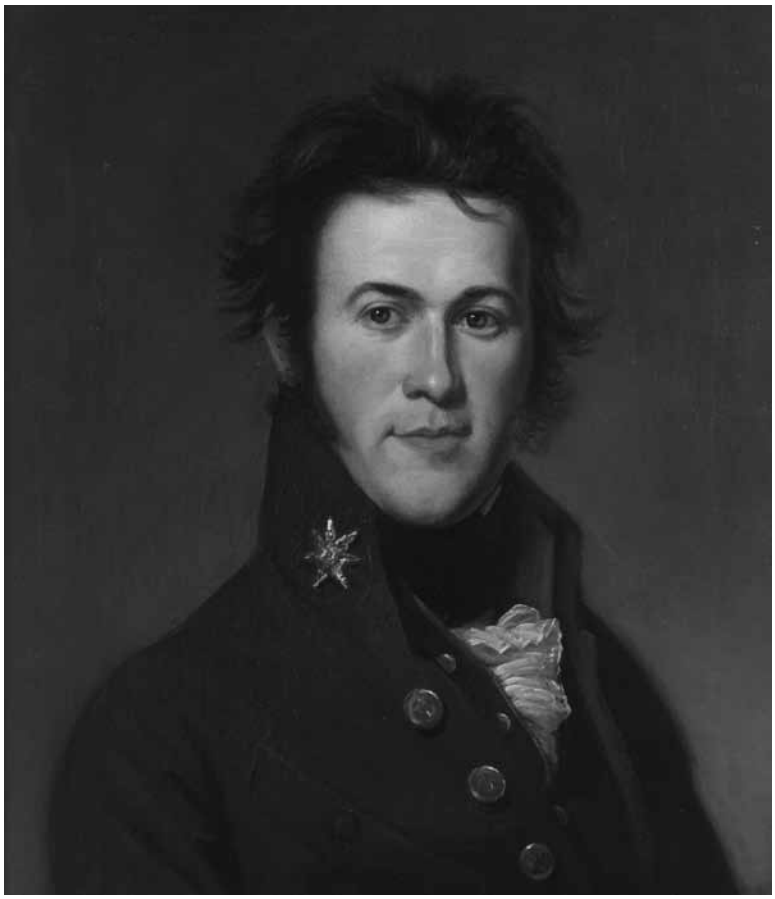
The exploratory team consisted of three scientists, an artist, a journalist and his servant, a topographical assistant, five soldiers, and an interpreter. Thomas Say was given command of the party, but his broader role with the Long Expedition was as a zoologist. He was a self-taught naturalist recognized as one of the founders of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Augustus E. Jessup, another member of the academy, accompanied the expedition as a geologist. Though a prominent businessman, he was also a trained and active mineralogist. The youngest of the scientists was nineteen-year-old Titian Ramsay Peale, who served as assistant naturalist. Peale was well known to Say, having previously illustrated Say's first volume of *American Entomology* and having accompanied him on an excursion to Georgia and Florida. He not only brought knowledge of animal and insect life and artistic talent, but also skills as a taxidermist and hunter. Many of these abilities he gained growing up the son of noted American artist and early museum curator Charles Willson Peale, who lobbied for his son's inclusion on Long's team. Samuel Seymour, a Philadelphia engraver and landscape artist, was formally assigned the task of producing visual images of the land and resident Indians. Few of his more than 125 sketches made over the course of the entire Long Expedition are extant. However, an engraving of his illustration of a dance inside a Kanza lodge was included in the final *Account of an Expedition* compiled by Dr. Edwin James after completion of the

Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family; Volume 3, The Belfield Farm Years, 1810–1820 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1991), 805; [Thomas Biddle] A Military Gentleman Attached to the Yellow Stone Expedition of 1819, "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," *Analectic Magazine* I, n.s., nos. 4 & 5 (1820): 303–4. The author of the latter account is simply listed as a "Military Gentleman attached to the Yellow Stone Expedition in 1819," but internal clues strongly suggest the author was Thomas Biddle, who served as expedition journalist until early September then transferred to the military unit stationed on the Missouri River.

3. The original goal of reaching the northern plains was abandoned in 1820. After exploring the lower Missouri River and visiting the Kanza village in 1819, the scientists over-wintered along the Missouri River in present-day Nebraska. During that time their orders changed. Instead of continuing up the Missouri, they were sent westward to the Rocky Mountains and back, a trip they completed in 1820. William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803–1863,* Yale Publications in American Studies 4 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959); Cardinal Goodwin, "A Larger View of the Yellowstone Expedition, 1819–1820," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 4 (December 1917): 299–313; Roger L. Nichols and Patrick L. Halley, *Stephen Long and American Frontier Exploration* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); William E. Lass, *A History of Steamboating on the Upper Missouri River* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962); William E. Lass, *Navigating the Missouri: Steamboating on Nature's Highway, 1819–1935* (Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark, 2008); James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains.*

entire Long Expedition. Major Thomas Biddle, who was employed as journalist, accompanied the scientists along with a boy employed as his servant. Soon after they returned to the Missouri, Biddle left Long's service to join the loosely associated military unit. He published his observations from 1819, including ethnographic details about the Kanzas, in 1820 (while the rest of the expedition continued). Others on this journey were young Lieutenant William Swift, a recent West Point graduate appointed as a topographical assistant; five soldiers; and John Dougherty. Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon (who was on the Missouri River at the time) hired Dougherty to serve as an interpreter. He was later formally approved as a subagent to O'Fallon. Dougherty was the only individual who had prior experience in the region, but apparently he had not visited the Kanza village previously.[4]

The scientific party left Fort Osage on August 5, 1819, with three pack horses carrying provisions for ten days. Indian trails extended from Fort Osage, but a description of the men's march suggests that they often traveled without the benefit of a well-marked path. In the final account of the Long Expedition, compiler Edwin James related, "The high and coarse grasses, which now covered the plains, greatly impeded their progress, and very rapidly destroyed their clothing and mockasins [*sic*]." Exposure to the sun, excessive heat, flies and other insects, combined with limited food, led to illness.[5] At one point the team feared they were lost, eventually discerning a path along the Kansas River. On August 20, after wandering well



Self-taught naturalist Thomas Say, a founder of the Academy of Natural Sciences, led the party of scientists to Blue Earth in August 1819. Charles Willson Peale painted portraits of Say, Titian Ramsay Peale, and three others on the Long Expedition before their departure from Philadelphia in March 1819. Courtesy of the Academy of Natural Sciences Archive Collection 2011-025.

4. Patricia Tyson Stroud, *Thomas Say: New World Naturalist* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992); Kenneth Haltman, "Titian Ramsay Peale's Specimen Portraiture; Or, Natural History as Family History," in *The Peale Family: Creation of a Legacy, 1770–1870,* ed. Lillian B. Miller (Washington D.C.: Abbeville Press in association with The Trust for Museum Exhibitions and the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 186–201; Kenneth Haltman, *Looking Close and Seeing Far: Samuel Seymour, Titian Ramsay Peale, and the Art of the Long Expedition, 1818–1823* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008); John Francis McDermott, "Samuel Seymour: Pioneer Artist of the Plains and the Rockies," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1950* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951): 497–509; Nichols and Halley, *Stephen Long and American Frontier Exploration;* Howard Ensign Evans, *The Natural History of the Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1819–1820* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood"; James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*; George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., from Its Establishment, in 1802,* 3rd ed. (West Point, N.Y.: Association of Graduates & The Alumni Foundation, 1891), 236–44, http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/America/United_States/Army/USMA/Cullums_Register/; Mark William Kelly, *Lost Voices on the Missouri: John Dougherty and the Indian Frontier* (Leavenworth, Kans.: Sam Clark Publishing, 2013).

5. Members of the Long Expedition, especially Say, were sick at various times during their travels. The earliest reference to illness was noted by Peale on June 27, when Say was said to be unwell as they traveled through what is now central Missouri. Say continued to suffer during their August excursion to the Kanza village and beyond. Although no diagnosis is given, it appears that Say may have contracted malaria, a parasitic infection spread by certain mosquitoes. Peale noted several places along their route where mosquitoes were especially abundant and bothersome, including in late May and early June near the mouth of the Ohio and up the Mississippi River past Cape Girardeau (where Say and others suffered from a bout of "intermittent fevers" suggested



Nineteen-year-old Titian Ramsay Peale (II) previously had traveled with Thomas Say and illustrated Say's first volume of American Entomology. *Peale's sketchbooks from the Long Expedition include the earliest known illustration of a plains earthlodge village, the Kanza village of Blue Earth. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.*

over 140 miles, the travelers were glad, albeit nervous, to see the Kanza village. Their concern was raised by a series of events along the Missouri River the previous November. During that month, several Kanzas had been severely punished for stealing from military hunters, firing on the Indian agent, and other offenses. The American visitors did not know whether the Kanzas would retaliate for those reprimands.[6]

Animosity aside, Say and his men were treated as honored guests by the Kanzas during their roughly four-day visit. Say tried to recover from illness but also managed to make observations of the Indians, their village, and the natural history of the region. He and Biddle left the most complete records of Kanza society and culture during this early historic period. Peale, no doubt, kept busy studying the natural world around the village and made his own observations of the Indians. Both Peale and Seymour did some sketching, providing the earliest known images of the Kanzas and an earthlodge village. Information gained by these men was incorporated into the final report prepared by James and published in 1823, three years after Biddle had published his own observations in the April and May 1820 issues of *The Analectic Magazine*.[7]

The Kanza village they visited in 1819 is known today as Blue Earth. It was located on a terrace north of the Kansas River near the lower reach of the Big Blue River.[8] According to notes by Bureau of American Ethnology linguist and ethnologist James Owen Dorsey, late nineteenth-century Kanzas called the Blue River *Nitó*. The phrase *ígama*^{n} *sábe*, meaning "black paint" also has been applied to the Blue River and Kanza village. The lower portion of the Blue was called *ma*^{n}*yi*^{n}*ka toho uje*, which translates as "lower Blue Earth."[9] Both Say and Biddle used the

to be malaria at the end of the Long Expedition). Interestingly, as an accomplished entomologist, Say identified and described two species of mosquitoes that have since been shown to be vectors of malaria (and another species responsible for spreading West Nile and encephalitic viruses). Miller, *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family,* 739, 742, 750; James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 109; Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Ziegler, *Thomas Say, Early American Naturalist* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1931), 69–79; Evans, *The Natural History of the Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1819–1820*, 215–16; Stroud, *Thomas Say: New World Naturalist,* 124, 279; Clark Kimberling, "Thomas Say (1787–1834): Father of American Entomology," http://faculty.evansville.edu/ck6/bstud/say.html.

6. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 107–11; Roger L. Nichols, ed., *The Missouri Expedition, 1818–1820: The Journal of Surgeon John Gale, with Related Documents* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 32–40.

7. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*; [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood."

8. The location of Blue Earth village, known to archaeologists as 14PO24, has experienced much erosion and development over the past 150 years. Although once located east of the modern city of Manhattan, Kansas, the area is now within a heavily developed portion of the Manhattan Urban Area. Lauren W. Ritterbush, *Manhattan Archaeological Survey, Phase I* (City of Manhattan, Kansas, 2009).

9. James Owen Dorsey, "Kansa Local (place) Names 1883?" Manuscript 4800: Dorsey Papers, Kansa (3.2.2) [252] (National Anthropological

term "Blue Earth" in reference to the stream that entered the Kansas River near the village. Likewise, Titian Peale must have used this name in reporting the events of their excursion in a letter home that autumn. Although this document does not survive, his father's reply in late 1819 and early 1820 made reference to the party's "situation near the blue earth river," likely repeating the name used by the younger Peale in his correspondence.[10]

What the scientists found when they arrived at Blue Earth was a large settlement shared by the entire Kanza tribe. It was composed of 120 lodges, most of which, according to Biddle, were occupied by two families or about ten people, although there was a wide variety of family arrangements. Using these figures, the entire population was about 1,200 people. A general census of tribes in Missouri Territory two years earlier (1817) estimated that 1,800 Kanzas lived in a single earthlodge village along the Kansas River, undoubtedly the same settlement. Both population approximations are within the general range of 1,000 to 2,000 given by others during the eighteenth and first quarter of the nineteenth century. As early as 1702, a French official listed the Kanza population at 1,500. French trader and ambassador Étienne de Veniard, Sieur de Bourgmont ascended the Missouri in 1724 and visited the tribe in present northeastern Kansas.[11] He indicated a population of about 1,100 (300 men, 300 women, and 500 children). William Clark, who obtained indirect information about the Kanzas in 1804, reported a "probable Number of Souls" of 1,300. By that time they had moved from the Missouri to the Kansas River. In Zebulon Pike's report of his travels across the plains in 1806, he estimated the Kanza population at 1,565 living in one village, as also reported by Clark.[12]

When the scientists spied the Kanza village on August 20, they saw for the first time a form of shelter unlike any they had previously encountered. These were not unique to the Kanzas, but a form of housing used by several village groups on the central and northern plains. Intrigued by what they saw, the American visitors described and sketched the earthlodges in some detail, providing the earliest images of Great Plains earthlodges. Say and Biddle explained that the plan of each lodge was circular, and "the general form of the exterior may be denominated hemispheric." This is best shown in a drawing by Peale that presents an oblique bird's-eye view of part of the Kanza village and its setting. Each of the six lodges portrayed is circular and "hemispheric" with the rectangular entrances of four facing into the village. Smoke issues from a central opening atop one lodge. Beyond the village lies an open expanse before a line of trees and the distant bluffs of the Flint Hills.[13]

The lodges were substantial structures. This was evident to the arriving Americans when they saw crowds of people on top of the houses, providing a scale for their size and sturdiness. Biddle recorded that they ranged 30–60 feet in diameter.[14] Anyone encountering these lodges

Archives, Smithsonian Institution, 1883), http://anthropology.si.edu/media/NMNH-NAA_MS_4800_252.pdf; Linda A. Cumberland and Robert L. Rankin, *Kaánze Íe Wayáje: An Annotated Dictionary of Kaw (Kanza)* (Kaw City, Okla.: Kanza Language Project of the Kaw Nation, 2012).

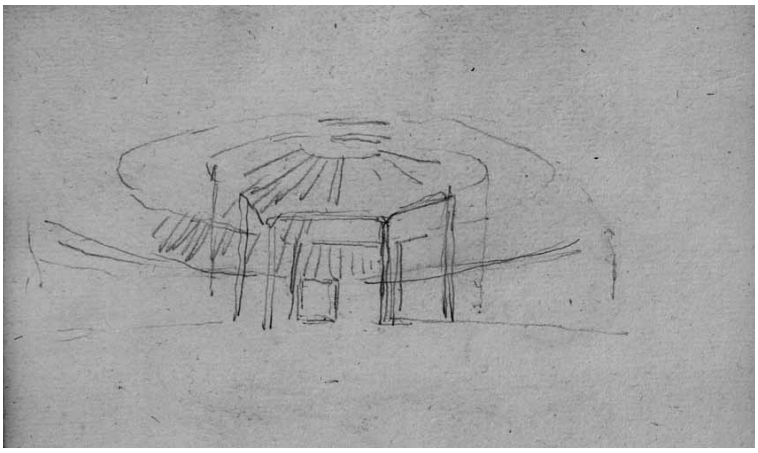
10. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 123; Miller, *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family,* 789.

11. Today this is referred to as the Doniphan site, 14DP2, near the mouth of Independence Creek. Waldo R. Wedel, "The Kansa Indians," *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* 49 (June 1946): 1–35; Waldo R. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology,* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 174 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959), 98–130.

12. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 112; [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 306; Anonymous, "Indian Census, Missouri Territory," (The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1817), http://shs.umsystem.edu/manuscripts/invent/1628.pdf; A. P. Nasatir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785–1804,* vol. 1 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 8; Frank Norall, Bourgmont: *Explorer of the Missouri, 1698–1725* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988); William Clark, "Fort Mandan Miscellany: Part 2: Estimate of the Eastern Indians," in *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition,* ed. Gary E. Moulton, vol. 3, *Up the Missouri to Fort Mandan* (University of Nebraska Press / University of Nebraska-Lincoln Libraries-Electronic Text Center, 1987), http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/read/?_xmlsrc=1804-1805.winter.part2.xml&_xslsrc=LCstyles.xsl; Elliott Coues, ed., *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Ross & Haines, 1965), 590–91; Unrau, *The Kansa Indians,* 25–26.

13. No doubt Dougherty had encountered earthlodges in his earlier far-ranging travels as a trader. The others had not; however, some may have read about those of the Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas on the middle reach of the Missouri River in present-day South and North Dakota in travel accounts, such as those of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Peale would have been familiar with that journey, because some of the items collected by Lewis and Clark were sent to his father's museum in Philadelphia. Among the supplies Long provided for the scientists were various books that may have included descriptions of Great Plains earthlodges. They saw similar lodges among the Pawnees the following year. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 112; [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 305; Titian Ramsay Peale, "Sketchbook from the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains," 14b, 1819, Yale University Art Gallery, http://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/sketchbook-stephen-h-long-expedition-rocky-mountains; Nichols and Halley, *Stephen Long and American Frontier Exploration,* 77.

14. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 110; [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 303, 305–6.



This rough drawing of the framework of a Kanza earthlodge from Peale's expedition sketchbooks in 1819 offers insight into how the Kanzas designed the structure. Courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery.

for the first time would be impressed by their ingenious construction and suitability to the hot, cold, and windy environment of the Great Plains. The internal framework consisted of posts, beams, and rafters overlain with mats, then earth. Say described the structure of the chief's lodge:

> The roof is supported by two series of pillars, or rough vertical posts, forked at top for the reception of the transverse connecting pieces of each series; twelve of these pillars form the outer series, placed in a circle; and eight longer ones the inner series, also describing a circle; the outer wall, of rude frame-work, placed at a proper distance from the exterior series of pillars, is five or six feet high. Poles, as thick as the leg at base, rest with their butts upon the wall, extending on the cross-pieces, which are upheld by the pillars of the two series, and are of sufficient length to reach nearly to the summit. These poles are very numerous, and, agreeably to the position which we have indicated, they are placed all round in a radiating manner, and support the roof like rafters. Across these are laid long and slender sticks or twigs, attached parallel to each other by means of bark cord; these are covered by mats made of long grass, or reeds, or with the bark of trees; the whole is then covered completely over with earth, which, near the ground, is banked up to the eaves. A hole is permitted to remain in the middle of the roof to give exit to the smoke.[15]

Titian Peale's father provided a secondhand description of Kanza lodges to one of his daughters in a letter dated February 22, 1820. His portrayal was based on an image (now lost) prepared by Seymour and perhaps a written description by his son: "Their Houses are a sort of frame work within, and covered with dirt on the outside, with a hole on the uppermost part for smoke to pass out, a door & a covered way to enter level with the ground." He noted features inside the lodge based on another drawing by Seymour (also lost), remarking on a "sunken circle to make thier [*sic*] fire" at the center of the floor below the smoke hole. The entrances as shown in Titian Peale's sketch of the village were further described by Biddle as "protected by a projection through which you stoop to pass."[16]

As indicated, Seymour and Peale prepared images of both the exterior and interior of the Kanza lodges. A rough sketch of the structural supports of the lodge in one of Peale's expedition sketchbooks provides visual clues to the lodge construction described by Say and Biddle.[17] At least two depictions of the lodge interior were prepared by Seymour with one surviving as an etching in the final account of the Long Expedition. This shows the inside of the large lodge where the scientists stayed. The arrangement of interior posts is visible along with the raised platforms that lined most of the walls. These wooden stages served as shelves, seating, or beds covered with bison hides. Woven reed and bark mats formed walls when privacy was desired and carpet over parts of the floor.[18]

One of Seymour's interior views as well as a drawing of the village have been lost, but Peale's father, Charles Willson Peale, noted their existence. The senior Peale

15. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 110, 112–13. Biddle's description adds complementary information: "the village itself is a confused assemblage of lodges covered with dirt; their figures are circular, and their diameter from thirty to sixty feet; piles are driven into the ground in the form of a circle, which are elevated four or five feet from the earth, on these rest rafters which meet in the centre at an elevation of six or seven degrees, forming for the roof a conical figure with an aperture in the centre, to permit the smoke to escape. The lodge is covered with earth and mats on the roof and sides, and forms a comfortable habitation." [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 305.

16. Miller, *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family,* 805, 806; [Biddle] "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 305.

17. Peale, "Sketchbook from the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains," 14a.

18. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 112–13, 126a; [Biddle] "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 305–6.

started the Philadelphia Museum, among the first in the United States, in the late eighteenth century. In early 1819, he arranged for his institution to serve as the repository for natural history objects collected as part of the Long Expedition.[19] The museum's first items likely arrived in December 1819, when Long returned to Philadelphia while the other explorers wintered near Council Bluff, north of modern Omaha, Nebraska.[20] Among these were three illustrations by Seymour. Charles Peale described them as "A View of a Town of the Arcansa [Kanza] Indians, a view of the inside of one of the Houses, and a view of the falls of the Ohio, in the distance the Town of St. Louis [Louisville]."[21]

The senior Peale was fascinated by the first two images, both from Blue Earth, and mentioned them in letters to family members in early 1820. In return correspondence to Titian on February 21, 1820, he wrote:

> I have made a Coppy [*sic*] in oil Colours of the arcansa [*sic*] Village in my last size choosen [*sic*] for Landscapes. It is a pleasing picture, the perspective excellent, and I have begun that Representing the interior of one of their habitations, the Indian Character is well drawn, and Mr. Semor [*sic*] does him credit by these sketches—[22]

Some idea of what was shown in the second of these illustrations can be gleaned from the description he penned to his daughter Angelica Peale Robinson the next day:

> I have also on hand a view of the Interior of one of the buildings, with Indean [*sic*] Men, Women, & children, in faithful character, our Indian Agent smoking the Calmut [*sic*] & conversing with the chief. There is [*sic*] mats against some parts of the side walls & a sort of raised floor for some perhaps sick to lay on. others [*sic*] on Skins or Matts [*sic*] on the floor.[23]

Archaeological evidence confirms the form of the lodges at Blue Earth. Circular depressions with raised edges were visible at the former location of this village half a century after it was abandoned. This was documented in 1880 when Manhattan attorney Henry W. Stackpole mapped the site at the request of Franklin G. Adams, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. He plotted more than 160 circular features, most of which were believed to be eroded remains of collapsed earthlodges.[24] The seemingly haphazard arrangement of these depressions matches reports that the village layout was "a confused assemblage of lodges" or lodges "placed as closely together as convenient, and destitute of any regularity of arrangement."[25]

19. Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum: Charles Willson Peale and the First Popular Museum of Natural Science and Art* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980).

20. The Long Expedition crew constructed Engineer Cantonment on a low terrace along the west side of the Missouri River in the fall of 1819. Say, Seymour, Peale, and others spent the winter here, roughly five miles below the accompanying military unit (Cantonment Missouri). The site of this winter camp has been identified and investigated by archaeologists with the Nebraska State Historical Society. John R. Bozell, Robert E. Pepperl, and Gayle F. Carlson, eds., *Archeological Investigations at Engineer Cantonment: Winter Quarters of the 1819–1820 Long Expedition, Washington County, Nebraska*, Publications in Anthropology 12 (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, in press); Gayle F. Carlson, John R. Bozell, and Robert Pepperl, *The Search for Engineer Cantonment*, Explore Nebraska Archeology 8 (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 2004), 1–28; John R. Bozell, "Discovering Engineer Cantonment, 1819–1820" (video lecture, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, June 17, 2004), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kUVW59iAaJw&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

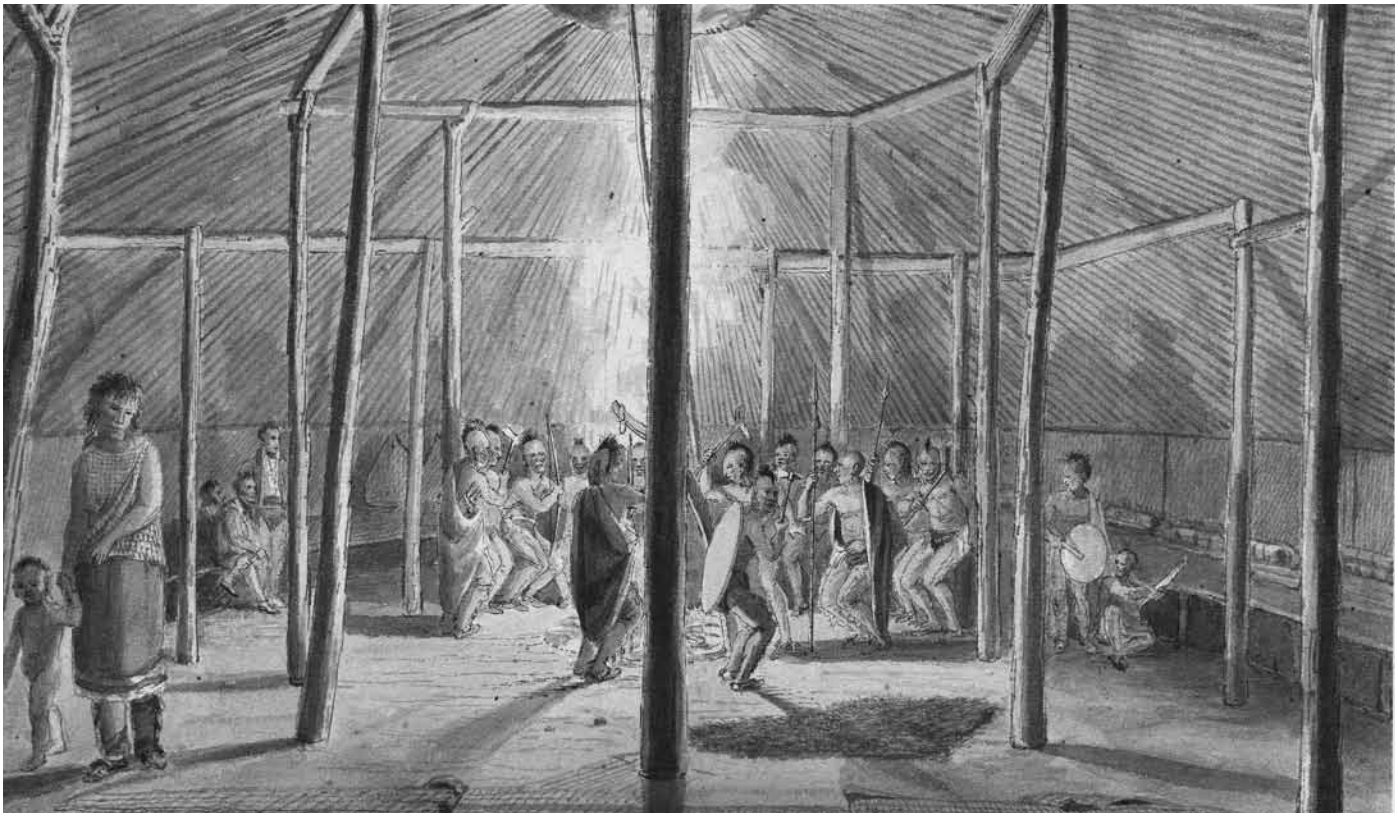
21. Miller, *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family,* 816; Charles Coleman Sellers, "Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* n.s., 42, no. 1 (1952): 1–369; Charles Coleman Sellers, "Charles Willson Peale with Patron and Populace: A Supplement to 'Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale' with a Survey of His Work in Other Genres," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* n.s., 59, no. 3 (1969): 1–146.

22. Miller, *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family,* 798.

23. Ibid., 805–6; see also pp. 813, 816 for other references to the images by Seymour. Based on the description of this illustration, it does not appear to be the same sketch of the interior of a Kanza lodge included in the London edition of the final report of the expedition. There is no mention of dancing (as shown in the published image). Also, the existing image does not depict smoking a "calumet." The missing illustration likely portrayed the scientific party's first meeting with the Kanzas inside the chief's lodge where they smoked the "calumet" with leaders of the village. The reference to an Indian agent is likely in error and may refer to Say (the leader of the expedition), Dougherty (the interpreter and later an Indian agent), or even Biddle (a military officer).

24. Anonymous, "The Kansa Indians," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1875–1880* 1–2 (1881): 287; H. W. Stackpole, "Kansas Indian Village," 1880, *Kansas Memory,* Kansas Historical Society, http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/224981; John Tomasic, "The Rediscovery of Lost Maps of Manhattan's Blue Earth Kansa Indian Village," *Kansas Preservation* 33, no. 3 (2011): 19–21; John Tomasic, "The Rediscovery of the Blue Earth Site Maps: Reassessing the Status of 14PO24," *Current Archaeology in Kansas* 9 (2011): 20–25; Chapman Brothers, *Portrait and Biographical Album of Washington, Clay and Riley Counties* (Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1890), web edition by Sheryl McClure (2003), http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~ksclay/1890bios/1890henstackpolebio.html.

25. [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 305; James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 112.

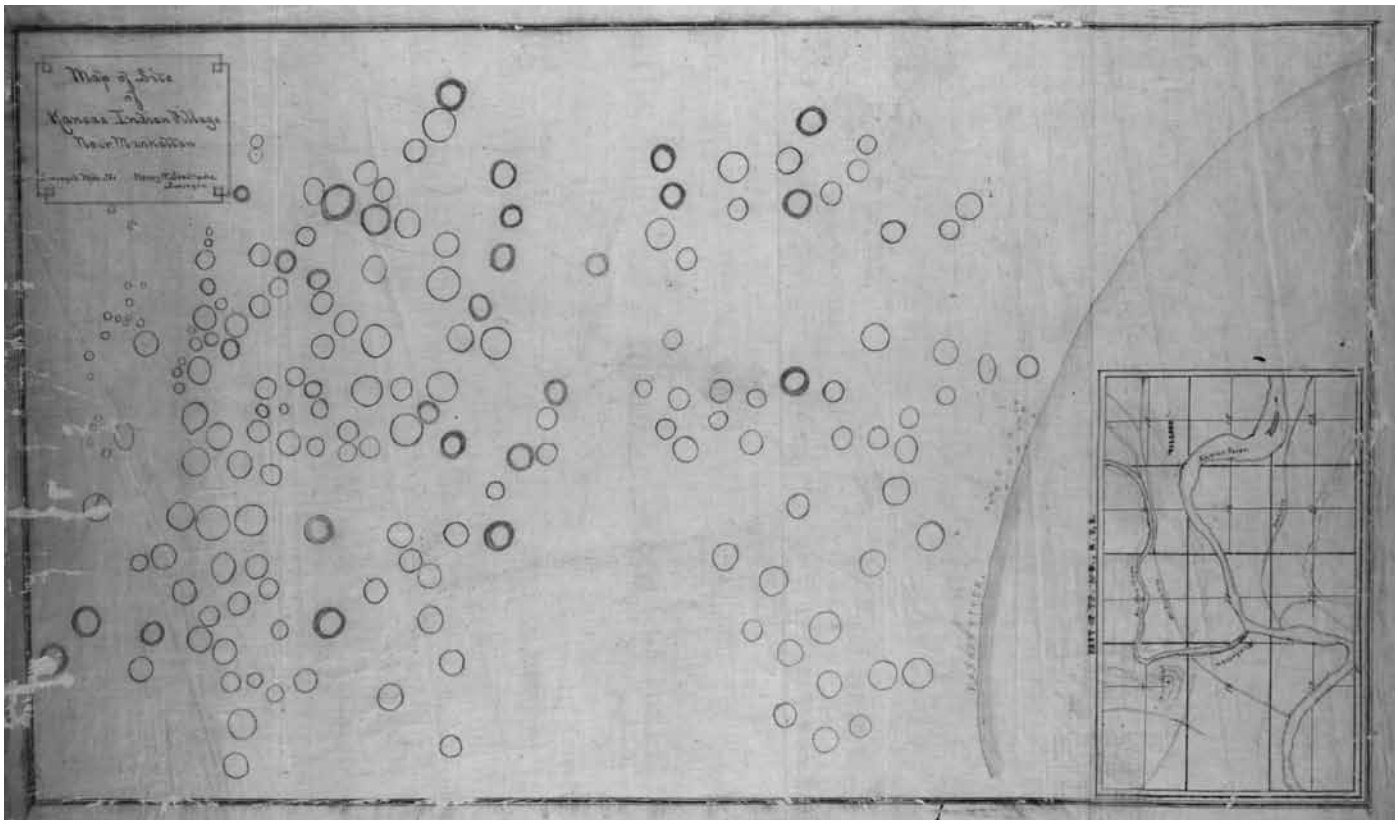


Samuel Seymour sketched this interior of a Kanza lodge at Blue Earth village in late August 1819, while Kanza warriors performed the Dog Dance. Note the post, beam and rafter framework; central hearth; floor mats in the foreground; a bison robe on the floor; and the Kanza warriors or dancers, musicians, woman, and child, with the American visitors in the background. Samuel Seymour, War Dance in the Interior of a Konza Lodge, *from* The Original Views: Drawn by the Artist S. Seymour during the Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains under the Command of Major Stephen A. Long. *Courtesy of the Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.*

Stackpole's map was used by (Kansas-born) Smithsonian Institution archaeologist Waldo R. Wedel to locate the site of Blue Earth village for archaeological study in 1937. By that time, not only had the Union Pacific Railroad cut across the former village, but the southern portion had eroded into the Kansas River. Parts of the old village site were farmed by Euroamerican settlers as early as 1856 and expanded over the next eighty-three years.[26] Cultivation and a tree nursery had by 1937 obliterated surface remnants of the once-thriving earthlodge village. Despite these disturbances, Wedel uncovered the floor of one circular lodge. This house was relatively small with a diameter of 28–29 feet and supported by four central support posts (rather than the eight shown in Seymour's extant illustration of the interior of the chief's lodge). The central posts were 10–12 inches in diameter and sunk to a depth of 21–24 inches. They formed a square area in the center of the lodge measuring 8 by 9 feet around a central hearth. The hearth was an unlined basin about 30 inches in diameter packed with ash underneath which the earth was fire-reddened to a depth of 9 inches indicative of extensive use. Lying above the floor were pieces of fired clay impressed with grass from the roof. Evidence of an entryway extended 12 feet from the east side of the structure. Its inner conjunction with the interior space was marked by two posts along the interior portion of the entry. At its outer end Wedel found a 12-inch deep deposit of mixed sediments. This likely represented sweepings from the lodge, dung of valued horses tethered near the door at night, and disturbances that occurred outside the well-traveled lodge entrance.[27] Overall, the archaeological

26. United States General Land Office map and field notes for public land survey, T10S R8E (1856).

27. Anonymous, "The Kansa Indians"; Stackpole, "Kansas Indian Village"; Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology,* 187–91; [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 310.



Manhattan attorney Henry W. Stackpole created this map of Blue Earth village for the Kansas State Historical Society in 1880, fifty years after its abandonment. The large circles represent depressions with raised edges left by collapsed earthlodges. The structures were laid out in an irregular arrangement, possibly to hinder potential attackers.

evidence fits well with that described by Say and Biddle 118 years earlier.

Village or lodge features not well-described by Say or Biddle were storage areas. Some possessions of the lodge inhabitants, such as the "medicine or mystic bags," hung from the interior posts, mats, and rafters. Other items, such as saddles, skins, and food were stored on (or below) the platforms along the walls or elsewhere on the floor. The archaeological evidence shows that pits were also used for storage. In the northern portion of the village site, Wedel excavated two pits. The largest of these was 4 feet deep with an opening equally wide but with an expanded base 69 inches in diameter, giving the pit a distinctive bell-shaped or undercut profile. These would have been suitable for storing dried foodstuffs for several years (if kept clean and dry), although their final use appears to have been for trash disposal.[28]

Pits of this size and form were not found in the floor of the excavated lodge, but a couple of other features were present. One was a smaller pit measuring 10–16 inches in diameter and 10 inches deep. It was located along the northwest wall and contained fragments of burned corn cobs and other organic materials (bark and grass). Interestingly, excavation of the two postholes immediately to the south and outlining the back or west part of the lodge uncovered similar materials.[29] It is unknown whether the area of the lodge opposite the entrance had a special function or significance to the Kanzas.

Two other floor or subfloor disturbances were uncovered in the excavated lodge. One was a second fireplace 8 feet north of the central hearth and a foot smaller in diameter. Perhaps this was used to warm those who slept on a bed along the adjacent (north) wall or served as the hearth of a second family. The other feature,

28. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology,* 191; James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 113; [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 305.

29. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology,* 191.



Smithsonian archaeologist Waldo Wedel excavated the floor of one of the earthlodges at Blue Earth in 1937. His findings resembled the descriptions and drawings of the Long Expedition from over one hundred years earlier. Waldo R. Wedel, An Introduction to Kansas Archeology, *Plate 16a. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.*

also located in this north-central sector, appears to predate the lodge. This was a broad pit measuring 7.5 by 4 feet (its depth was not recorded, but a photograph implies that it was probably less than about 2 feet) and unlike the previously described storage pits so it may have had a different function, as yet unknown. Importantly, this feature appeared buried below the lodge floor, suggesting its construction and use before the earthlodge was built.[30]

Prior use of the Blue Earth site by the Kanzas (or earlier Native peoples) is certainly possible given the suitability of the location for occupation and the long history of activity in this region. Historical maps of the lower Missouri and surrounding areas associate the Kanzas with the Kansas River at least by the early eighteenth century. However, archaeological and historical evidence place their villages of the late seventeenth and well into the eighteenth centuries near the Missouri River in present-day northwestern Missouri and northeastern Kansas. Their initial link to the Kansas River may have been through annual bison hunts along its western tributaries. Biddle estimates that the Kanzas moved away from the Missouri River around the beginning of the nineteenth century due to threats by the Ioways and Sacs. Other documents indicate the move may have occurred slightly earlier. During the winter of 1790–1791, fur trader Pierre Chouteau reportedly stayed with the Kanzas on the Kansas River. Although the location of this village is not specified, it may have been Blue Earth. Maps made by Pierre Antoine Soulard for the Spanish and Georges-Henri-Victor Collot for the French based on information gathered in the mid-1790s clearly show a Kanza ("Can") village just below the mouth of the Blue or Blue Water

30. Ibid., 190–91.

River. These and other references indicate a relatively permanent Kanza presence along this river, including at Blue Earth, by the late eighteenth century.[31] Still, it is unclear whether the Blue Earth site was used continuously as their primary home.

Eight years prior to the Long Expedition, George C. Sibley, United States trader at Osage Factory, stopped at a Kanza village on the north side of the Kansas River during a trip through the region. Although this is often assumed to be Blue Earth, various clues indicate otherwise.[32] Sibley left Fort Osage on May 11, 1811, following a circuitous route, first to the southwest to visit an Osage camp before turning northward to the Kansas River. As he traveled, Sibley recorded general compass readings and estimated distances navigated, but the latter were rough approximations based on an inaccurate rate of travel. Problems with these measures make it impossible to locate precisely the village he visited based on these data. However, indicators of its location lie in Sibley's description: it was "seated in a beautiful prairie of moderate extent, which is encircled very nearly by the main [Kansas] river on one side, small creek westerly, the north fork just above and a chain of romantic prairie hills northerly, which last give a very pleasing effect to the whole of this beautiful location."[33] This description might be interpreted to fit several locations along the Kansas River, but Wedel interprets the "north fork" as the Republican (rather than the Big Blue) River. This presents a more western location for the 1811 village.[34] Other references to the "north fork" of the Kansas River in Sibley's journal support that suggestion. In his account of travel from the Pawnee villages along the Loup River to a Kanza hunting camp south of the Smoky Hill (Kansas) River, Sibley's group (guided by Kanzas who would have had extensive knowledge of the region) crossed, in sequence, the Platte, a day's travel south of the Loup, the "north fork," then "two other considerable branches of the Konsee [*sic*] river" before reaching the Kansas or Smoky Hill River. Sibley appears to have been following a well-known Indian trace called the Pawnee Trail.[35] His narrative of the route correlates well with this trail, which crossed from north to south, the Republican River, followed by the Solomon and Saline Rivers, before reaching the Smoky Hill (or Kansas) River.[36] In brief, the reference to the "north fork" of the Kansas River by Sibley best fits the Republican, not the Blue River.

Sibley's description of the village's location fits well with the valley of the Kansas River just below the mouth of the Republican. Bottomlands "of moderate extent" exist in this area bounded south and east by the Kansas River and "a small creek westerly," today likely Pumphouse Canyon. The lowest reach of the Republican River is immediately above (upstream on the Kansas River from) this creek. This area is bounded on the northwest by the valley bluffs or the "chain of romantic prairie hills northerly." No archaeological evidence of a Kanza village has been confirmed here, but this is not surprising given the perishable and temporary nature of the structures described by Sibley, the difficulty of identifying Kanza objects from this time period, and extensive modification of this area related to the growth of Fort Riley, an active military post established in the mid-nineteenth century.[37] These clues suggest that the Kanza village visited by Sibley in 1811 was not Blue Earth, but rather another below the mouth of the Republican.

31. [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 306–7; William E. Foley and C. Davis Rice, *The First Chouteaus: River Barons of Early St. Louis* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 49; W. Raymond Wood, "The Missouri River Basin on the 1795 Soulard Map: A Cartographic Landmark," *Great Plains Quarterly* 16 (Summer 1996): 183–98; Georges-Henri-Victor Collot, *Journey in North America, Containing a Survey of the countries Watered by the Mississippi, Ohio, Misouri, and other Affluing Rivers,* vol. 1 (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1826), online facsimile edition at http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-088a/summary/; Wedel, "The Kansa Indians," 1–35; Unrau, *The Kansa Indians,* 21–24.

32. George R. Brooks, ed., "George C. Sibley's Journal of a Trip to the Salines in 1811," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* 21, no. 3 (1965): 174; Unrau, *The Kansa Indians,* 37, 89–92; Donna C. Roper, "The Status of the Blue Earth Kansa Site (14PO24)," *Current Archaeology in Kansas,* no. 8 (2009): 10; Benjamin Y. Dixon, "Furthering Their Own Demise: How Kansa Indian Death Customs Accelerated Their Depopulation," *Ethnohistory* 54, no. 3 (2007): 475–77; Kelly, *Lost Voices on the Missouri,* 181.

33. Brooks, "George C. Sibley's Journal of a Trip to the Salines in 1811," 174.

34. Wedel, "The Kansa Indians," 13; James O. Marshall, "The Kansa," in *Kansas Archaeology,* ed. Robert J. Hoard and William E. Banks (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 123–25.

35. Donald J. Blakeslee, *Along Ancient Trails: The Mallet Expedition of 1739* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1995), 35. *St. Marys* (Kans.) *Times,* May 11, 1877.

36. The Kanzas considered the Smoky Hill part of the Kansas River and called it by the same name *(Dópik'è gaxá).* The Republican, on the other hand, was considered a tributary of the Kansas and designated as the "Republican Fork" on early historical maps post-dating Sibley's travels.

37. Fiona K. Price, Archaeologist and Collections Manager, Cultural Resources Office, Directorate of Public Works, Fort Riley, Kansas, July 31, 2014. Geomorphic studies of extant historic maps show that only minor changes have occurred to the Kansas River channel and surrounding lands just below the mouth of the Republican River over the past 150 years. Wakefield Dort Jr., *Historical Channel Changes of the Kansas River and Its Major Tributaries* Special Publication no. 42 (New York: The American Geographical Society, 2009), 41, 48.

The village of 1811 shared some similarities with Blue Earth, but also important differences. Both were located on the north side of the Kansas River on broad prairies with gardens nearby (suggesting some permanence). The size of each village was similar, with Sibley reporting 128 lodges, while Say and Biddle counted 120 at Blue Earth.[38] Despite these similarities, their houses differed significantly. Unlike the circular earthlodges at Blue Earth, those described by Sibley were temporary skin-, bark-, and mat-covered longhouses:

> These are generally about sixty feet long and twenty five feet wide, constructed of stout saplings and poles, arranged in form of a common garden arbour [*sic*] and covered with skins, bark and mats. They are commodious and comfortable. The place for fire and cooking, is simply a hole dug in the earth right under the ridge pole of the roof, where a small opening is left to let out the smoke. All the larger lodges (some of them are *80 or 100* ft. long) have two, three or four fire places, one for each family dwelling in it. Such dwellings are of course incapable of any long duration. The skeletons are left entirely naked when the Indians go off on their great hunts, the covering being needed for their hunting camps, which are built very much like the village as to size & comfort, tho' with much less strength. These lodges (the best of them in the town) are to some extent carpeted with mats and skins, and as already remarked are quite comfortable, and commodious.

Elsewhere in his discussion Sibley refers to the "combustible nature of the materials of which it [the lodge] is built" and if burned could be easily rebuilt or repaired, attesting to their different construction and more temporary nature than earthlodges. Not surprisingly, given the close relationship between the Kanzas and Osages, these lodges are comparable to those used by the latter during the early historic period (and with which Sibley was familiar).[39] This similarity, combined with the contrast in house form less than a decade later at Blue Earth, demonstrates the knowledge, skills, and flexibility of the Kanzas.[40]

During their four-day stay at Blue Earth, the Americans experienced Kanza village life and gained first-hand knowledge of the people and their ways of living. Observations recorded by Say, Biddle, Peale, and Seymour (the latter two through images), as well as those by Sibley while at the 1811 village, allow us to understand certain aspects of Kanza culture during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. This was an important time for the Kanzas as they experienced dramatic changes in the years that followed.

The Kanzas had long practiced a pattern of gardening, hunting, and trade. In mid-May 1811, Sibley found that the Kanza women had just finished planting their gardens. He saw "little garden patches . . . in all directions, at convenient distances around the village. The whole together would not be equal to one hundred acres."[41] In these plots Kanza women raised corn, beans, pumpkins, and melons.[42] Once seeds were planted and started to germinate the entire tribe moved to the western plains to pursue bison. This annual hunt restocked supplies of meat, as well as hides for clothing, bedding, tent covers, bags and trunks, rawhide straps, sinew for sewing, horn and bones for tools, internal organs for containers, and

38. Brooks, "George C. Sibley's Journal of a Trip to the Salines in 1811," 174; James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 112; [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 305–6.

39. Brooks, "George C. Sibley's Journal of a Trip to the Salines in 1811," 174–75; Willard H. Rollings, *The Osage: An Ethnohistorical Study of Hegemony on the Prairie-Plains* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 18–22.

40. Archaeological evidence from the Fanning site in northeastern Kansas, believed to be an early Kanza village, suggests that the Kanzas were building earthlodges as early as the latter portion of the seventeenth century. Bark lodges continued to be used in later times, not only at temporary camps but also in certain villages. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology,* 131–36; Lela Barnes, ed., "Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1828," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 5 (August 1936): 254.

41. Brooks, "George C. Sibley's Journal of a Trip to the Salines in 1811," 176.

42. Corn, beans, and pumpkins or squashes were native to North America and had been cultivated for more than a thousand years in the American Midwest and Great Plains. Melons, on the other hand, were introduced by Europeans to the Americas. This probably occurred when the Spanish settled parts of Central and North America in the sixteenth century. Melons were quickly adopted by many Native groups, perhaps because of their easy cultivation; similarity to squashes, with which they were familiar; and the sweet taste of watermelons and other varieties. Watermelon seeds have been recovered from at least two protohistoric sites along the lower Missouri River. One of these, the King Hill site, is believed to have been home for the Kanzas during part of the late seventeenth century. Thus watermelons had likely been a common cultigen of the Kanzas for at least a century before Blue Earth became their home. Leonard W. Blake, "Early Acceptance of Watermelon by Indians of the United States," *Journal of Ethnobiology* 1 (December 1981): 193–99.

other miscellaneous items. The summer excursion was also a social affair for the community, an activity that had been followed for many decades. In July 1724, de Bourgmont observed the Kanzas (300 men, 300 women, 500 children, 300 dogs, and a number of horses) travel from their village along the Missouri River in present-day northeastern Kansas to the western plains to hunt bison.[43] Later in summer, they returned with the fruits of their success. In 1819 they returned in mid-August.[44] By that time, corn was ripening, signaling the beginning of harvest. What followed was a time of abundance and feasting.

The scientists of the Long Expedition experienced this through the lavish hospitality of their Native hosts. After being welcomed into the village, they shared a pipe with the tribal leaders and discussed their visit. The chief then hosted the first of a succession of feasts. Biddle described these (perhaps exaggerating their number):

> [After the first meal] we were invited to a feast by one of the head men; we accompanied him to his lodge and were invited to seat ourselves on a mat; two wooden bowls, filled with Buffaloe [*sic*] meat, soup and corn were placed before us, with spoons made of the Buffaloe [*sic*] horn; we found the dish very palatable, and although we had just risen from eating, we ate heartily again. As soon as we had finished, we arose and left the lodge; we were immediately, however, invited to another feast, and conducted to another lodge; we seated ourselves again on the mat; and corn, prepared in a manner new to us, was again set before us; we thought it good, and took our leave in the same unceremonious manner as before; we were invited again to a feast, that consisted of water melons; during the course of the day, we were invited to partake of nine or ten feasts.

During the remainder of their visit, food was prepared for the scientists by one of the wives of the chief and others in the village and included as many as four to six meals each day. Even during regular meals the Kanzas were "invariably supplying us with the best pieces, or choice parts, before they attempted to taste the food themselves."[45]

Meals commonly included fresh or dried meat, vegetables, and fruit prepared in a variety of ways. The guests savored the bison meat that accompanied most repasts. It was jerked or dried and sometimes cooked in water with vegetables to make soup. One such potage consisted of fresh sweet corn, bison meat, fat, and beans. Salt from saline flats in present northern Oklahoma also provided seasoning, although the Kanzas were said not to favor it.[46] Melons and corn were eaten fresh, the latter roasted on the ear. If dried corn or pumpkins were available, they were boiled and served with meat. Corn was pounded and bison fat prepared like sausages, easy to transport while traveling. The Kanzas also made hominy or "leyed corn" by boiling the dried kernels with wood ashes, allowing the grains to expand and shed their skins, then rinsing before boiling again to further soften the seeds. Biddle especially liked the tasty mush made this way with bison fat.[47]

Whereas the visitors only noted eating bison meat and garden produce while at Blue Earth, the Kanzas also hunted and trapped other animals and harvested wild plants. Clues to this variety can be gleaned from archaeological remains from Blue Earth recovered by Wedel in 1937 and Frederick H. Sterns of Harvard University in 1914. Because modern systematic recovery techniques were not used, the inventory of animals hunted and their relative importance may be incomplete. However, the arbitrary sample of bones provides some insights. For example, elk (wapiti) and white-tailed and mule deer were important supplements to the Kanza diet. Other fauna included turkey, black bear, raccoon, beaver,

43. Norall, *Bourgmont.*

44. The bison were said to be relatively near Blue Earth that summer. This may have made it possible for the Kanzas to return to the village on short notice when Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon requested their presence at a council on Isle au Vache on the Missouri River. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 111; [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 304.

45. [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 305; James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, 113–14.

46. One of the main goals of Sibley's 1811 travels was to see the Rock Saline ("Jefferson's Salt Mountain") and Grand Saline of which the Osages and others often spoke. The Great Salt Plains of northern Oklahoma are the largest saline flat in the Kansas–Oklahoma region. Salt from ancient marine sands below the surface of this flat plain is moved to the surface by groundwater and deposited when the water evaporates. Sibley's description of the salines in the account of his trip provides the first written description of this natural source of salt. Brooks, "George C. Sibley's Journal of a Trip to the Salines in 1811."

47. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 114; [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 305, 311–12.

cougar, pocket gopher, horse, and dog. Horses, and perhaps dogs, were not common food sources especially given their utility for transportation, hunting, trade, gift-giving, and companionship. Historical documents for the first quarter of the nineteenth century do not reference the consumption of dog meat, but this practice was known in later times; cut marks on one canid bone from the Blue Earth site suggest it too may have been butchered for food. The pocket gopher probably died naturally at the site. Many of the other animals provided valuable hides, skins, or pelts and may have been selected primarily for those or other useful body parts (e.g., teeth, claws, bones). Freshwater mussel shells indicate they were also gathered, probably for added variety to the Kanza diet. It is unclear if fish were eaten.[48]

Various wild plants were collected as sources of food, medicine, and herbs for smoking. Prairie or Indian turnips (potatoes), *Psoralea esculenta,* were an important food for the Kanzas as they were for many Plains Indians. The tuber of this low-growing prairie plant was dug, sometimes in large numbers, in early summer and eaten fresh, boiled, or dried and pounded. The significance of this plant in particular to the Kanzas is suggested by their name for the Kansas River, *Dópik'è gaxá.* The Dheghian (Siouan) word *dópik'è* translates as "good place to dig potatoes." Indeed the prairie turnip was once common in the prairies and plains along the Kansas River.[49] Other wild plants did not serve solely as sources of food, but as medicines and to modify the tobacco they smoked. The American visitors discovered this when invited upon their arrival to smoke the "calumet." Biddle observed that

> They are excessively fond of smoking the pipe; they do not make use of the tobacco alone, but mix it in the proportion of about half with the leaves of the sumach-tree scorched before the fire, and pulverized; or the inner bark of the red willow, dried and cut into small pieces; the smoke of this mixture has an agreeable smell, and communicates a more pleasant taste than the tobacco does without it.[50]

Because the 1819 trip to Blue Earth occurred in August and Sibley's 1811 visit in May, the travelers did not experience the activities of the Kanzas during other parts of the year. References in various historical documents indicate that by late fall and into winter, hunting, trapping, and trade were the major activities. Around October, Kanza families left the village again and moved individually or as groups to areas near the Missouri River. Here they found abundant deer, elk, turkeys, and bears as well as fur-bearing animals such as beaver, otter, and raccoons. This also put them closer to traders along the Missouri River.[51] Included among these were Sibley at Osage Factory. This installation about thirty river miles below the mouth of the Kansas River was supported by the federal government nearly continuously between 1808 and 1822.[52] In October 1808, soon after the factory had opened, Sibley recorded that "the whole of the Kansas arrived this day (to the number of about 1,000 Souls) their object is to Trade, and to Settle their differences with the Whites." Trade appears to have been brisk despite the fact that the Kanzas' major winter hunt did not start until late November, continuing into the spring. Despite some misgivings about having Indians close to the factory, Sibley reported in his early years at this post that he hoped to convince the Kanzas to settle nearby. He was unable to entice them to leave their home along the Kansas River (which was farther from their enemies, the Ioways, Sacs, and Otos), but the Kanzas visited and traded there occasionally. Sibley boasted that he offered

48. Paula Molloy, "Hunting Practices at an Historic Plains Indian Village: Kansa Ethnoarchaeology and Faunal Analysis," *Plains Anthropologist* 38, no. 143 (1993): 187–97; Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology,* 192; Unrau, *The Kansa Indians,* 39.

49. Dorsey, "Dorsey Papers"; Cumberland and Rankin, *Kaánze Íe Wayáje,* 52; Kenneth C. Reid, "*Psoralea esculenta* as a Prairie Resource: An Ethnographic Appraisal," *Plains Anthropologist* 22, no. 78, Part I (1977): 322–24; Waldo R. Wedel, *Notes on the Prairie Turnip (Psoralea esculenta) Among the Plains Indians* ([Lincoln]: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1978); Kelly Kindscher, *Edible Wild Plants of the Prairie: An Ethnobotanical Guide* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 183–89.

50. [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 312. Mixing tobacco with leaves or bark of native trees may have not only altered the flavor but also stretched the Kanzas' supply of tobacco, which was not grown locally, but only available as gifts or through trade with Euroamericans.

51. Ibid., 307.

52. The federal factory (trade) system was organized in 1795, originally administered by the secretary of war, and after 1806 by the superintendent of Indian trade under the secretary of war. Its most overt function was Indian trade, but the primary goal was to build friendly relations between the United States and Indian tribes. As in the case of Osage Factory, military posts were often built nearby for protection. The secretary of war also allowed private trade through the award of trade licenses. The factory system did not make a profit, although George Sibley declared the success of Fort Osage in terms of returns, primarily from the Osages, but also through trade with the Kanzas and others. Osage Factory was closed during the War of 1812; during part of that time, Sibley maintained a post downstream. The post was re-established in 1815. The factory system ended in 1822 in part due to the strong political influence of private traders.

the fairest "prices" for skins and hides at his federally supported trade outlet, but the Kanzas had access to other traders with whom they could conduct business, looking for the best selection and returns for their hides and furs.[53]

Among the others were licensed and unlicensed company and independent traders. Given that the earliest and most extensive trade in North America was by the French, even after the transfer of Louisiana Territory to the United States, many of the traders in the Missouri River region were of French descent. Among these in 1807 were Francis Dorion and Pierre Montardy, who were granted American licenses to trade with the Kanzas, and B. and J. Vallett, Lebeech, Derchette, and Louis Gonville, who were awarded hunting licenses along the Kansas River. Three years before the Long Expedition, Francis Chouteau of the influential St. Louis Chouteau family, obtained permission to trade with the Kanzas and Little Osages (who resided southwest of the Kanzas). Perhaps soon after the Say expedition to Blue Earth, Francis and his cousin Gabriel (Cerre) Chouteau established the "Four Houses" trading post on the lower Kansas River and employed Gonville in their trade with the Kanzas and Osages. This trading house stayed active for about a decade.[54] Other outlets for Kanza furs and stores of manufactured goods existed, especially along the Missouri River. For example, during the fall, winter, and spring of 1818–1819, John O'Fallon, sutler on Isle au Vache, which the Kanzas visited that season, stocked goods for the Indian trade (although it is not clear whether he was licensed for commerce with the Indians).[55]

Some traders conducted business with the Kanzas while they resided in their camps and village. Pierre Chouteau, for instance, spent the winter of 1790–1791 with them on the Kansas River. Louis Gonville was present at Blue Earth when the American scientists arrived in 1819. He lived there for at least three years, although he hunted in the area a dozen years before. He married two Kanza women in succession, both daughters of White Plume, a man of growing influence. Marriages between non-Native traders and Indian women were common during the fur trade era, serving in part as a means of building alliances with obligations for both sides of the union.[56]

Many changes occurred in Kanza culture and society over the long period of involvement with the fur trade.[57] Adjustments started as early as the seventeenth century and continued through at least the first half of the eighteenth. Among the most noticeable was the transformation of their material culture. The earliest sites in the region believed to have been occupied by the Kanzas date to the late seventeenth century and are located near the Missouri River in present-day northwestern Missouri and northeastern Kansas. Among artifacts at these sites are an abundance of chipped stone tools (e.g., stone arrow points, knives, and hide scrapers) and pottery of Native manufacture in addition to ground or pecked stone and bone tools. Also present are a small number of metal and glass objects demonstrating that the site's occupants were already receiving goods from European traders or their intermediaries.[58] Trade increased into the eighteenth century, especially while the French maintained Fort Cavagnial in Kanza territory between 1744 and 1764. It was during this period that Native production of stone tools and pottery diminished as items of European and American manufacture such as metal knives, pots or kettles, arrow points, awls, axes, and hoes became readily available. Woven goods such as blankets and

53. Anonymous, "Invoice of Furs, Peltries &c . . . Osage Factory," n.d., 2–4, microfilm, M856 roll 2, Records of the St. Louis Superintendency, 1813–1850, Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Mo.; Jeffrey E. Smith, "Introduction: George Sibley and the Opening of the Trans-Mississippi West," in *Seeking a Newer World: The Fort Osage Journals and Letters of George Sibley, 1808–1811* (St. Charles, Mo.: Lindenwood University Press, 2003), 12–43, 85, 132, 139, 143.

54. Charles E. Hoffhaus, *Chez Les Canses: Three Centuries at Kawsmouth: The French Foundations of Metropolitan Kansas City* (Kansas City, Mo.: Lowell Press, 1984); Abraham Phineas Nasatir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri River, 1785–1804*, vol. 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 706–8; Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540–1854* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), 59, 78, 87–88; William E. Unrau, *Mixed-Bloods and Tribal Dissolution: Charles Curtis and the Quest for Indian Identity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989), 16; Shirley Christian, *Before Lewis and Clark: The Story of the Chouteaus, the French Dynasty That Ruled America's Frontier* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004), 343, 349.

55. Nichols, *The Missouri Expedition, 1818–1820: The Journal of Surgeon John Gale, with Related Documents.*

56. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 128; Foley and Rice, *The First Chouteaus: River Barons of Early St. Louis,* 49; [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 307; Unrau, *The Kansa Indians,* 33–35; Unrau, *Mixed Bloods and Tribal Dissolution,* 15–16; Barry, *The Beginning of the West,* 59, 258; Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri River, 1785–1804,* 2:708.

57. For the context of the fur trade with the Kanzas, see Unrau, *The Kansa Indians,* 54–79.

58. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology,* 98–171; Wedel, "The Kansa Indians"; Scott F. Anfinson, "Early Historic Material from the King Hill Site (23BN1)" (unpublished paper, Anthropology Department, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1975), St. Joseph Museum, http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/kinghillHistoric%20Text.html.

cloth supplemented bison robes and leather clothing. New objects such as guns and various ornaments were also obtained from traders and government officials. This substitution, modification, and addition of non-Native goods occurred alongside other adjustments in the lives of the Kanzas through the eighteenth century. By the start of the nineteenth century many skills associated with making tools of stone, clay, and bone were no longer maintained.

By 1819 objects of American and European manufacture were common alongside certain hand-made objects. Of the latter, Say and Biddle noted mats made of cattail leaves, reeds, or bark; wooden bowls carved from tree knots; and large bison horn spoons. They listened to music produced on flutes and drums, as well as rattles made from deer hooves and stones inside inflated animal intestines. Added to this were metal bells obtained through trade. A specific type of whistle used to signal war or attack was made from certain bird bones. Biddle and others stated that the Kanzas continued to use the bow-and-arrow, especially for bison hunting. These were likely made as in earlier times with locally available wood, sinew, and feathers; however, points were commonly made of metal. These were purchased from traders, but also made from metal scraps (e.g., worn brass kettles or iron pots) using files obtained through trade. Among the objects recovered through limited archaeological investigations at Blue Earth are metal knife blades, arrow points, files, trap parts, axes, hoes, tinklers (cone-shaped ornaments), gun parts, musket balls, Jew's harps, brass buttons, a brass buckle, kettle parts, scraps of iron, lead, copper or brass, imported gun flints, glazed ceramic sherds, glass and shell beads, tinseled lace, scraps of woolen cloth, sharpening stones, bone knife handles, stone pipe fragments, and bone piercing implements. No Native ceramics and extremely little chipped stone were found, reflecting the abandonment or decline of pottery making and flintknapping.[59]

In exchange for manufactured goods, the Kanzas provided skins and furs in demand on world markets. The pelts of fur-bearing animals were of greatest value. The Kanzas provided beaver, otter, raccoon, and other furs, but their greatest contribution was deer hides. They and others such as the Osages supplied so many deer skins that by spring 1810 the market was saturated.[60] Despite this situation, Osage Factory and other traders continued to purchase deer skins and furs from the Kanzas through the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

In addition to obtaining hides for trade, the Kanzas procured them for their own use, although trade cloth was commonly used for clothing. Bison hides, not yet in high demand by Americans and too bulky and heavy for easy transport, were used for bedding, tent covers, and some clothing, especially untailored "robes." Visitors to Blue Earth saw men dressed simply with a breechclout of blue or red cloth and moccasins made from deer, elk, or bison skin. They sometimes wore deerskin leggings and a bison robe or trade blanket over their shoulder. On special occasions, the robe might be painted or decorated with dyed porcupine quills. Men might also paint parts of their body. They wore ornaments such as necklaces, gorgets, or pendants and frequently shell, bead, silver or other metal earbobs suspended from cuts along the edges of the ears.[61]

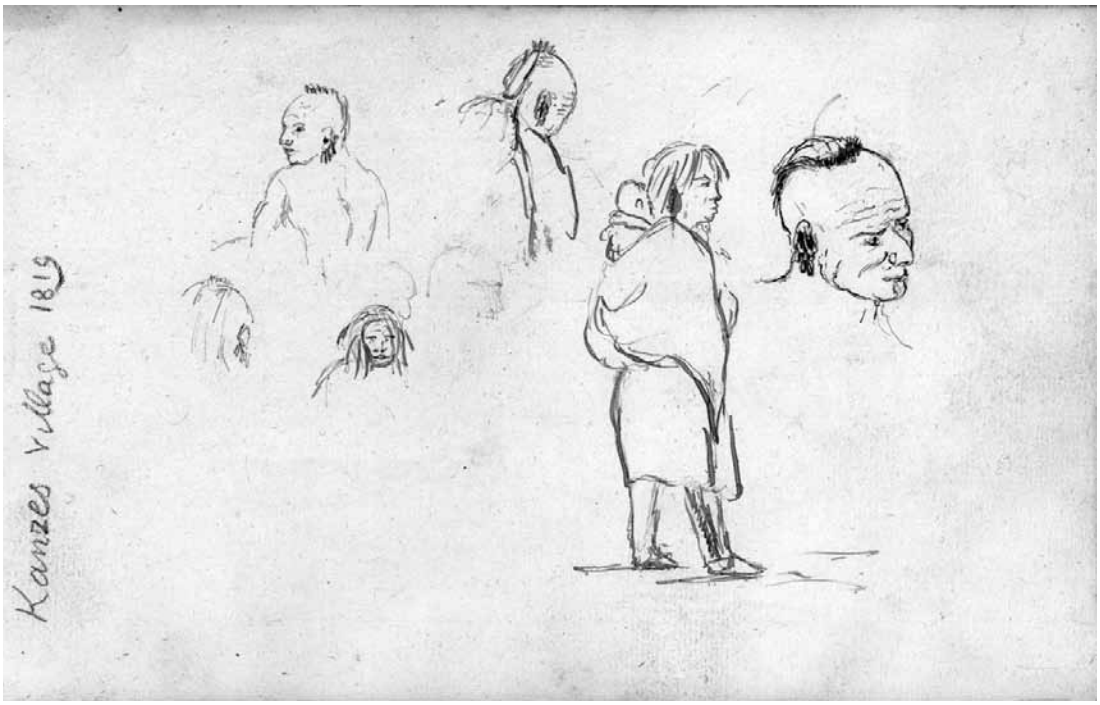
Fashionable men exhibited tattoos and, importantly, plucked hair from their face and head using a spiral wire, which was carried as ornamentation on their clothing. They allowed only one patch of hair to remain on the back of their head, sometimes supplementing it with a deer-tail roach in a manner well-described by Say:

> The hair of most of their chiefs and warriors is scrupulously removed from the head; being careful, however, to leave enough, as in honour they are bound to do, to supply their enemy with a scalp, in case they should be vanquished. This residuum consists of a portion on the back of the head, of about the breadth of the hand, rounded at its upper termination near the top of the head, the

59. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 113–14; [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 305–6; Barnes, "Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1828," 255; Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology,* 193–97; John J. Tomasic, Donna C. Roper, and Lauren W. Ritterbush, "Metal Detector Survey and Test Excavations at the Blue Earth Village Site (14PO24)," *Current Archaeology in Kansas* 9 (2012): 27–29.

60. Anonymous, "Invoice of Furs, Peltries &c . . . Osage Factory"; John Mason, "Letters Sent by the Superintendent of Indian Trade, 1807–1823," 1811, 177–78, 309–10, M16 roll 2, National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Mo.

61. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 118; [Biddle] "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 310; Peale, "Sketchbook from the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains," 13; Unrau, *The Kansa Indians,* 28.



These study sketches made by Titian Ramsay Peale while at Blue Earth village in August 1819 illustrate some of the hairstyles, ornamentation, and dress of Kanza men and women. Courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery.

sides rectilinear, and nearly parallel, though slightly approaching each other towards the origin of the neck, where it abruptly terminates; on the exterior margin, the hair is somewhat longer and erect; this strip of hair is variously decorated; it is sometimes coloured on the margin with vermilion, sometimes a tail feather of the war eagle is attached transversely with respect to the head; this feature is white at base, and black at tip; but the principal ornament, which appears to be worn by some of their chief warriors, and which is, at the same time, by far the most handsome, is the tail of the common deer; this is attached by the base near to the top of the patch of hair, the back of it resting on the hair, and the tip secured near the termination of the patch; the bristly hair of the tail is dyed red by a beautiful permanent colour, and parted longitudinally in the middle by a broad silver plate, which is attached at top, and suffered to hang loose.[62]

Kanza women appeared less vain about their hair and general appearance. They typically wore their hair long, divided in the middle, with the part colored red. Most of their clothing was made of blue or red trade cloth. Over her upper body a woman wore a waist-length shawl that she could easily remove in hot weather. She draped it over the left shoulder, fastening one corner to another under the right arm. Around her middle she wrapped a piece of cloth to form a skirt below which she might wear a pair of knee-high leggings, sometimes with excess cloth forming an exterior or outer flap or border. Leather moccasins and sometimes a blanket completed her dress.[63]

Say and his party saw many Kanzas at Blue Earth, but did not spend much time with the village leaders. A "chief" and other influential men welcomed the visitors upon their arrival and provided them with food and lodging before leaving to council with Indian Agent O'Fallon on the Missouri

62. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 118–19, 121; Peale, "Sketchbook from the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains," 13.

63. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 119–20; [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 310; Peale, "Sketchbook from

River. Notwithstanding their absence, Say learned about their role in the tribe. The principal "chief" (a term likely introduced by early European traders) often inherited his position, but was also expected to prove himself as generous and heroic. He and a dozen or more influential men ("minor chiefs" or "chieftains") formed an informal council that debated important issues pertaining to the tribe. These men held diverse views (including who among them deserved the highest rank or exerted the greatest influence over their people or foreigners) and disagreed on various issues.[64] Despite their differences, the chief and leading men managed to unify the Kanzas through the first quarter of the nineteenth century to the extent that they maintained a tribal identity and lived together in a single village.

Several of the primary Kanza leaders of the early nineteenth century can be identified through passing references in historical documents and as signatories of early treaties. Sibley recognized *Sho^{n}ge-na^{n}ge* as one of the most influential Kanzas of the 1810s and early 1820s. He extended hospitality to Sibley in 1811, signed the general peace treaty with the United States at St. Louis in 1815, and was listed as the primary chief during treaty negotiations involving Sibley in fall 1818 and August 1825. Exemplifying the hereditary nature of leadership, *Sho^{n}ge-na^{n}ge*'s eldest son, *Gahíge Wadáyi^{n}ga,* also known as Little or Fool Chief (I), likewise was a respected leader. He too signed the treaties of 1815, 1818, and August 1825. In 1819 Say referred to Fool Chief as the principal leader at Blue Earth village, his father passing on this role to his son. However, while at the council with Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon at Isle au Vache that same month, Fool Chief was reported second in rank to another individual called *Na-he-da-ba* or Long Neck. Many others joined the principal chiefs in signing treaties on behalf of the Kanzas in 1815, 1818, and 1825, demonstrating their standing within the tribe or among American officials. Increasingly, recognition was gained through charismatic leadership and relationships with representatives of the federal government. This is exemplified by White Plume, a Kanza who was among the signatories of these treaties and noted as early as 1819 as "a man rising rapidly in importance." Indeed, White Plume established close ties to Americans who arrived in increasingly large numbers over the next couple decades, eventually becoming recognized by government officials and other Americans as the primary chief of the Kanzas.[65]

The changing path to leadership was simply one of many adjustments the Kanzas made in the nineteenth century. More dramatic changes began in June 1825 with a treaty negotiated between the Kanzas and the federal government in St. Louis. By signing this treaty, White Plume, Fool Chief, and other Kanzas ceded land in western Missouri and eastern Kansas. They were allowed a narrow reservation, which extended west from the middle reach of the Kansas River, and promised annuity payments for twenty years. Certain individuals, namely twenty-three offspring of Kanza women and non-Native men, were each awarded a one-mile-square section of land along the north side of the river at the eastern end of the reservation. The treaty was designed not only to confine the Kanzas to a reservation and gain lands for Euroamerican settlement, but also to change their economy and lifeways. It made provisions for formal education and encouraging the Kanzas to become sedentary farmers. Other obligations included payment of Kanza debts to Francis Chouteau, their primary trader at the time, and compensation for attacks and stealing by Kanzas in previous years, reducing the settlement awarded to the tribe.[66]

One of the most immediate impacts of these negotiations was unresolved differences between leaders who held conflicting views about the treaty and related

the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains," 13; Barnes, "Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1828," 255.

64. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 103–5, 111, 114–15; Barry, *The Beginning of the West,* 85; Nichols, *The Missouri Expedition, 1818–1820,* 61–62; [Biddle], "Notes on the Missouri River, and Some of the Native Tribes in Its Neighbourhood," 303–5; Brooks, "George C. Sibley's Journal of a Trip to the Salines in 1811," 176–77; Unrau, *The Kansa Indians,* 49–50.

65. The treaty of 1815 signed in St. Louis was a general peace treaty between the Kanzas and the United States. In 1818 Sibley negotiated a provisional treaty at Fort Osage that would have ceded Kanza lands in eastern Kansas to the federal government. It was never ratified. Two treaties were signed early and late in the summer of 1825. The latter, signed at Sora Kanza Creek in central Kansas, negotiated a right-of-way for the increasingly busy Santa Fe Trail across Kanza lands. The earlier treaty of June 1825, which was signed in St. Louis, resulted in the cession of Kanza lands, establishment of a Kanza reservation, and other provisions that would have a long-term impact on the tribe. Brooks, "George C. Sibley's Journal of a Trip to the Salines in 1811," 173; Barry, *The Beginning of the West,* 79; Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties,* vol. 2, *Treaties, 1778–1883* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904): 123–24, 222–25, 248–50, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/index.htm; James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains,* 103–5; Unrau, *The Kansa Indians;* Unrau, *Mixed-Bloods and Tribal Dissolution.*

66. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties,* vol. 2, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/treaties/kan0222.htm#mn7; Unrau, *The Kansa Indians*, 106–11.

concerns. As a result, the tribe fissioned for the first time within recorded history. By the end of 1825, the council of influential men no longer attained mutual agreement on issues pertaining to the tribe. Instead, individuals and families chose to follow different leaders. As fissures within the tribe failed to heal, groups of families led by influential men left Blue Earth to establish new communities. In September 1828, Isaac McCoy visited or traveled near four Kanza villages. He provided little information about these communities, but three were "small" (one composed of fifteen bark lodges) and on the south side of the Kansas River upstream from Blue Earth. The fourth, described as the "principal" village, may have been Blue Earth, indicating that despite the split within the tribe, some Kanzas may have remained at Blue Earth three years after signing the treaty of June 1825.[67] Within two years, new settlements were established downstream in the area around modern Topeka. Fool Chief (I), Hard Chief, and American Chief served as leaders of three new communities. White Plume chose to live near his children and grandchildren, who received allotments at the eastern end of the reservation. By 1831 Blue Earth, the thriving earthlodge village visited in 1819 by Say, Jessup, Peale, Seymour, Biddle, and their traveling companions, had been abandoned. Its once sturdy lodges were left to decay and collapse, eventually fading into the landscape leaving few clues to the once active community and many men, women, and children who had called it home.

Understanding Kanza culture and history during the first quarter of the nineteenth century when Blue Earth village served as a primary home for the Kanzas is vital to appreciating the dramatic changes that occurred in the decades to follow.[68] This comprehension would not be possible without the integration of ethnohistoric and archaeological analyses. Other than the very useful written observations by Biddle and Say and the extant images created by Peale and Seymour during their 1819 visit to Blue Earth, written and visual documents from this period are limited, generally providing only passing reference to the Kanzas and often based on secondhand information. Extracting meaning from these records is only possible through careful analysis of each in the context of the broader history and culture of the times and relative to one another, using critical thinking to evaluate possible biases and limitations. This is enhanced with the addition of archaeological data as another set of primary information about the Kanzas. Unfortunately, those data are as limited as the written documents. This is largely due to the very extensive damage to the Blue Earth and other archaeological sites caused by natural processes (namely erosion) and our more recent human actions, especially development unguided by archaeological considerations and evaluations. This article serves as an example of what can be learned through the integration of ethnohistoric research with archaeological investigations. These studies, in turn, are only possible with the preservation and documentation of archaeological remains and their contexts, as well as curation of written, visual, and related historical documents. KH

67. Barnes, "Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1828," 254–56; Roscoe Wilmeth, "Kansa Village Locations in the Light of McCoy's 1828 Journal," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 26 (Summer 1960): 152–57.

68. Unrau, *The Kansa Indians*; Parks, *The Darkest Period.*



Fig. 1. Democratic politicians tormenting Liberty, Lithograph by John L. Magee, Philadelphia, 1856.

"To Inflame the Mind of the North": Slavery Politics and the Sexualized Violence of Bleeding Kansas

by Brie Swenson Arnold

In March 1854, just as debate over the Kansas–Nebraska bill was intensifying in Congress and amongst ordinary Northerners, the popular periodical *Godey's Lady's Book* published a lengthy article describing the rape of Lucretia, a politically motivated sexual assault that led to the founding of the Roman Republic more than a millennium before. *Godey's* explained that Lucretia's story conveyed an important moral, one that transcended time and place and that was relevant to Northerners in the 1850s. Following Lucretia's assault by a political enemy who was a member of Rome's ruling class, her male relatives avenged her honor by attacking and overthrowing the politically and sexually corrupt aristocrats. Lucretia's "sad fate, and the sympathy it awakened, and the indignation it aroused in the hearts of all good citizens . . . proved a death-blow to kingly power," *Godey's* explained. "The story of Lucretia," the article concluded, "illustrates a principle well substantiated by all history and observation, that insults to female virtue and honor do not escape unavenged."[1]

In the same moment in which the *Godey's* article circulated around the North, other accounts of politically motivated sexual assaults that took place much closer to home—in Kansas Territory—proliferated in Northern print culture. As with the rape of Lucretia, in these stories free-soil Northern women in Kansas had been sexually assaulted by their political enemies—men associated with the politically powerful Southern "Slave Oligarchy." And, as with Lucretia, word of rape in Kansas had ignited indignation and a desire for revenge amongst Northerners. "Our men are sometimes terribly inflamed when they hear of such transactions," observed one Northern newspaper.[2] Indeed, other Northerners commented, these outrages had served "to inflame the mind of the North" and to rally more Northerners in defense of the free-soil cause in Kansas.[3]

Brie Swenson Arnold *earned her PhD at the University of Minnesota and is Assistant Professor of History at Coe College in Cedar Rapids, Iowa.*

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1. H. P. Haynes, "Roman Women in the Days of Caesar," *Godey's Lady's Book* (March 1854): 243–47.

2. *Boston Daily Advertiser,* September 10, 1856. Also in *New York Daily Tribune,* September 11, 1856; and *The Reign of Terror in Kanzas* (Boston, Mass.: Charles W. Briggs, 1856).

3. [J. D. Bright], *A Review of the Troubles in Kansas, and of the Senate's Bill for the Admission of Kansas as a State into the Union. By an Indianian* (Washington, D.C.: Union Office, 1856), 5.

Throughout the mid- to late 1850s, Northerners routinely encountered references in popular print culture that framed the political crisis over the extension of slavery into Kansas in terms of sexualized violence. In the thousands of newspaper articles, speeches, songs, pamphlets, political cartoons, plays, and poems produced about Kansas between the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act in 1854 and the eve of the Civil War in 1860, Northerners often expressed concerns over the expansion of slavery and the aggressions of the Slave Power using rhetoric and imagery of sexualized violence.[4] Political cartoons that hung in Northern shop windows and scenes in Northern political parades depicted Kansas Territory as a white woman who had been raped by proslavery men. Political speeches and pamphlets described the expansion of slavery into Kansas as "the rape of a virgin territory." Newspapers published lengthy accounts of the rapes of free-soil white women living in Kansas Territory.

Despite their prevalence, historians have generally overlooked the extent and significance of the representations of rape that surrounded Bleeding Kansas in Northern popular print and political culture.[5] Yet, such gendered and sexualized rhetoric and imagery played an important role in the political crisis over the extension of slavery into Kansas and the political realignments of the 1850s. Representations of rape served a crucial political function, as they connected the North and Northerners in common ways of thinking and talking about Kansas, inflamed white Northern animosity toward the South and proslavery men, and helped fuel greater Northern political commitment to stopping the spread of slavery. Exploring these representations allows historians to understand more fully the complex reasons why white Northerners increasingly came to support free soil, a free Kansas, and the brand-new political party that promised to protect both—the Republican Party. Kansas rape rhetoric brought the crisis over the extension of slavery home to many previously ambivalent Northern whites, as this discourse framed the threat posed by the institution of slavery, proslavery political parties, and proslavery men in terms of the violation of white Northern rights and bodies.[6] Representations of sexualized violence in Kansas expressed such concerns, offered confirmation of the abuses and aggressions of the Slave Power, and even provided the motivation some Northerners needed at long last to oppose the expansion of slavery politically.

From the earliest moments of the Kansas crisis, gendered and sexualized language characterized the ways Northerners perceived the territory and the political issues at stake there.[7] They consistently described Kansas Territory in terms that gendered it female and that depicted the proslavery threat to the territory in sexualized terms. Politicians, poets, newspaper reporters, and songwriters all used *she* and *her* when talking about Kansas. Northern authors referred to "her fair borders," "her beautiful plains," "her beauteous garb," and "her virgin soil." Playwrights created characters like "Little Miss Kansas"—"a discordant element"—who was to be played by a "beautiful young lady." Political parades that took place across the North during the 1856 and 1860 presidential elections featured "young ladies beautifully dressed" who portrayed Kansas Territory.[8]

4. On Kansas print culture, see Craig Miner, *Seeding Civil War: Kansas in the National News, 1854–1858* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008).

5. For works that do reference rape in Bleeding Kansas, see Nicole Etcheson, "'Labouring for the Freedom of This Territory': Free-State Kansas Women in the 1850s," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 21 (Summer 1998): 68–87; Kristen Tegtmeier Oertel, *Bleeding Borders: Race, Gender, and Violence in Pre-Civil War Kansas* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009); Michael D. Pierson, *Free Hearts and Free Homes: Gender and American Antislavery Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

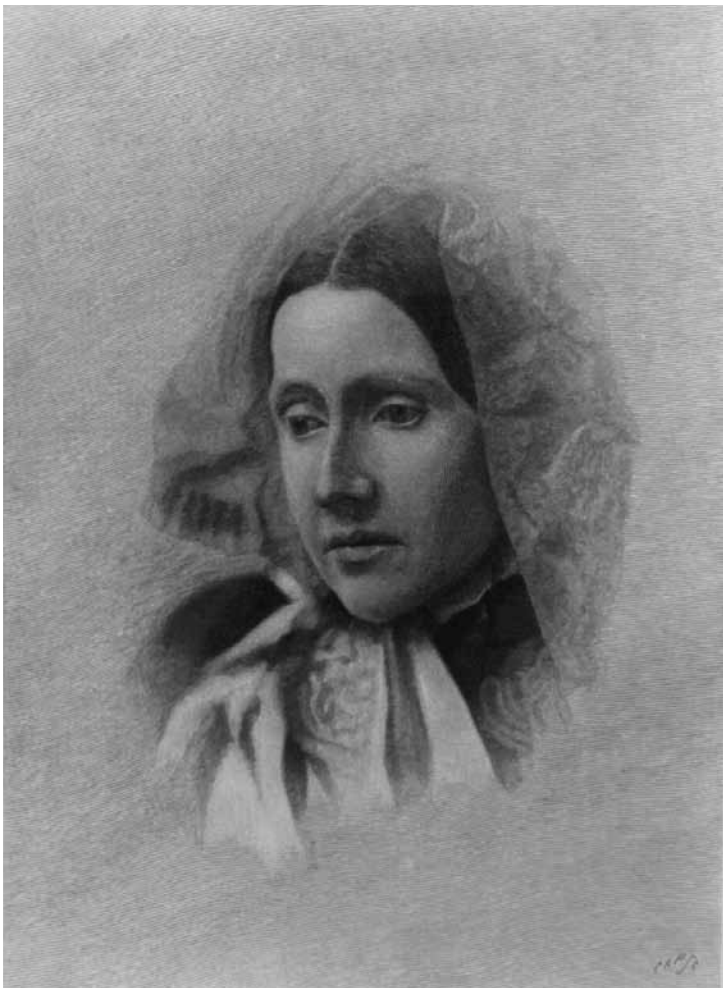
6. On the ways the struggle over the expansion of slavery was seen as a threat to white liberties, see Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004); James Rawley, *Race and Politics: "Bleeding Kansas" and the Coming of the Civil War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969); Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Bill Cecil-Fronsman, "'Advocate the Freedom of White Men, As Well As That of the Negroes': The *Kansas Free State* and Antislavery Westerners in Territorial Kansas," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 20 (Summer 1997): 102–15; Michael F. Holt, "Making and Mobilizing the Republican Party, 1854–1860," in *The Birth of the Grand of Party: The Republicans' First Generation*, ed. Robert Engs and Randall Miller (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002): 29–59.

7. For early examples, see William Seward, *Speech of William H. Seward, on the Kansas and Nebraska Bill. Senate of the United States, May 26, 1854* (Washington, D.C.: Buell & Blanchard, 1854); [George Washington Bungay], *Nebraska: A Poem, Personal and Political* (Boston, Mass.: John P. Jewett & Co., 1854); and [Leonard Marsh], *A Bake-pan for the Dough-faces* (Burlington, Vt.: Charles Goodrich, 1854).

8. Sara T. D. Robinson, *Kansas; Its Interior and Exterior Life* (Boston, Mass.: Crosby, Nichols, and Co., 1856), 8; J. W. White, "Fremont and Victory. Tune—'Banks of Banna'" ([1856]), in J. M. Walden, [Scrapbooks, v. 1, 1850–1856], State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society (hereafter cited as KSHS); John Thompson, *Squatter Sovereignty: Review of the Article of Stephen A. Douglas in Harper's Magazine, September 1859* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: n.p., 1859), 8; John Brougham, *Columbus, El Filibustero!!* (New York: Samuel French, 1858); *New York Daily Times,* June 21, 1856; *New York Herald,* August 4, 1856; *Boston Daily Atlas,* August 5, 1856; *Chicago Daily Tribune,* August 25, 1856.

Just as "she" was always presented as female, Kansas was also always imagined to be white. The political cartoon "Liberty, the Fair Maid of Kansas—In the Hands of the Border Ruffians" visualized this by representing Kansas (conflated with "Liberty") in the form of a young white woman (fig. 1). Descriptions of the women portraying Kansas in the political parades often specifically noted that their skin color was "very fair." In her poem "The Sermon of Spring," abolitionist and popular author Julia Ward Howe described the feminized Kansas Territory by noting that "she" wore "gyves" on "her fair arms." Though shackled, in Howe's imagination and that of other white Northerners, Kansas was an enslaved white rather than black woman.[9]

Depicting Kansas Territory as white and female was culturally familiar to antebellum Northerners as well as a manifestation of their assumptions that white women were "naturally" the objects of white men's attentions and desires. As historians and literary critics have shown, gendering and racializing geographic places in these ways has been a common and important trope across many times and places, and one often used to justify broad processes like colonization, imperialism, and expansionism.[10] For example, early English colonizers often depicted the American continent as an attractive light-skinned woman, which served to make the conquest of this "new" and "virgin" land by English men seem natural and obvious.[11] The notion that white men naturally desired, claimed, and had full authority over places that were personified female also had considerable popular currency during the antebellum age of Manifest Destiny. Nineteenth-century popular images commonly pictured the American West and the process of westward expansion as white and female. During the Texas annexation crisis and war with Mexico in the 1840s—conflicts related to the westward expansion of slavery—political cartoons portrayed Texas as a vulnerable white woman in need of saving by American men.[12]



Like many writers and abolitionists during the 1850s, Julia Ward Howe depicted Kansas as feminine, white, and virginal, drawing on nineteenth-century gender roles that imagined white women as the natural target of men's conquests and the moral center of the civilized world. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

9. [John L. Magee], "Liberty, the Fair Maid of Kansas—In the Hands of the 'Border Ruffians,'" ([Philadelphia, Pa.]: n.p., 1856), KSHS; *New York Daily Times,* July 21, 1856; Julia Ward Howe, "The Sermon of Spring," in *Words for the Hour* (Boston, Mass.: Ticknor & Fields, 1857).

10. Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Jennifer L. Morgan, "'Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500–1770," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (January 1997): 167–92; Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998).

11. Kirsten Fischer, "The Imperial Gaze: Native American, African American, and Colonial Women in European Eyes," in *A Companion to American Women's History,* ed. Nancy A. Hewitt (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2002), 3–19; Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery," *Representations* 33 (Winter 1991): 1–41.

12. Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 23; Shelley Streeby, *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

Many Northerners represented the political struggle over the expansion of slavery into Kansas in similar terms. Political cartoons like "Liberty, the Fair Maid of Kansas" and "Buchaneer Pacification; A True Picture of Politics in the U.S. in 1856" placed allegorical white female figures at the center of the struggle between Northern and Southern white men. Similarly, Northerners described Kansas in terms that likened "her" to a woman that different groups of white men were fighting to win. In an 1854 speech on Kansas, antislavery New York Senator William Seward explained that "gentlemen of the slave States" and men who advocated "the cause of freedom" were engaged in a "competition for the virgin soil of Kansas." Seward's famous description framed the political struggle over slavery in Kansas in terms of a duel between two groups of white men battling for control and possession of the feminized territory.[13]

Other Northerners similarly encouraged free-soil Northern men to compete against proslavery men in order to "conquer" and "possess" "the virgin soil" for themselves.[14] Indeed, Kansas was widely depicted in Northern popular print and political culture as a "virgin land" and "virgin territory."[15] "She" was "pure," "undefiled," "innocent," and as "yet unpossessed"—terms that connoted sexual virginity in mid-nineteenth-century America.[16] Though Kansas's "virgin soil [was] as yet unpolluted with Slavery," popular press sources warned that proslavery men cast a "covetous eye" on the "fair" territory and planned to fold "her" in their "hateful embrace."[17] Such euphemisms relayed the idea that the virgin territory was extremely vulnerable to the advances of slavery and proslavery men. Expanding on decades of abolitionist rhetoric, Northerners represented proslavery men in Kansas as sexually licentious and aggressive. From the 1830s onward, abolitionist speeches and publications had called out the sexual immorality of slavery and Southern white men.[18] The idea that "the South was a society in which [the white] man's sexual nature had no checks put upon it" was firmly entrenched in Northern culture by the 1850s.[19]

Euphemistic terms like *forced, invaded, violated, conquered, abused,* and *outraged* that were widely used to refer to rape and seduction in nineteenth-century culture were also staples of the Northern discourse about the political and physical threats proslavery men posed to Kansas and its free-soil supporters. Popular press sources routinely used sexually euphemistic language when they claimed that proslavery men meant to force slavery into Kansas—against the will of the territory, its free-soil inhabitants,

13. "Liberty, the Fair Maid of Kansas"; "Buchaneer Pacification; A True Picture of Politics in the U.S. in 1856" (New York: E. H. Fletcher, 1856), American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts; Seward, *Speech . . . May 26, 1854,* 4. On competing versions of masculinity in Kansas see Kristen Tegtmeier Oertel, "'The Free Sons of the North' versus 'The Myrmidons of Border-Ruffianism': What Makes a Man in Bleeding Kansas?" *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 25 (Autumn 2002): 174–89.

14. William Phillips, *The Conquest of Kansas, By Missouri and her Allies* (Boston, Mass.: Phillips, Sampson & Co., 1856); *The Kansas War; or, the Conquests of Chivalry in the Crusades of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1856); C. B. Boynton and T. B. Mason, *A Journey Through Kansas* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Moore, Wilstach, Keys & Co., 1855).

15. For examples, see Alfred Gibbs Campbell, "Lines" (1855), in *African American Poetry of the Nineteenth Century: An Anthology,* ed. Joan R. Sherman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); J. F. M., "Letter to the editor, for the Rutland Herald. Kansas Correspondence. Topeka, K.T., March 31, 1855," Kansas Territorial Clippings, v. 1, 1854–1856, KSHS, 84; *Chicago Daily Tribune,* April 15, 1858; Thompson, *Squatter Sovereignty;* Seward, *Speech . . . May 26, 1854;* Charles Sumner, *The Crime against Kansas: The Apologies for the Crime. The True Remedy: Speech in the Senate of the United States, 19th and 20th May, 1856* (Washington, D.C.: Buell & Blanchard, 1856).

16. *Nebraska: A Poem Personal and Political;* J. E. Roy, *Kansas—Her Struggle and Her Defense* (Chicago: Wright, Medill, Day & Co., Tribune Office, 1856); Hannah Anderson Ropes, *Six Months in Kansas* (Boston, Mass.: John P. Jewett & Co., 1856). Also see Oertel, *Bleeding Borders,* 124.

17. *New York Daily Times,* February 3, 1855; Robinson, *Kansas,* 7; Sumner, *The Crime against Kansas.*

18. Ronald G. Walters, "The Erotic South: Civilization and Sexuality in American Abolitionism," *American Quarterly* 25 (May 1973): 177–201; Carol Lasser, "Voyeuristic Abolitionism: Sex, Gender, and the Transformation of Antislavery Rhetoric," *Journal of the Early Republic* 28 (Spring 2008): 83–114; Kristin L. Hoganson, "Garrisonian Abolitionists and the Rhetoric of Gender, 1850–1860," *American Quarterly* 45 (December 1993): 558–95. The historiography on actual sexual violence surrounding slavery and African American women is also important here. See Edward E. Baptist, "'Cuffy,' 'Fancy Maids,' and 'One-Eyed Men': Rape, Commodification, and the Domestic Slave Trade in the United States," *American Historical Review* 106 (December 2001): 1619–50; Peter W. Bardaglio, "Rape and the Law in the Old South: 'Calculated to excite indignation in every heart,'" *Journal of Southern History* 60 (November 1994): 749–72; Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Kirsten Fischer, *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002); Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "'The Mind That Burns in Each Body': Women, Rape, and Racial Violence," in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow et al. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983); Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997); Diane Miller Sommerville, *Rape and Race in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Estelle B. Freedman, *Redefining Rape: Sexual Violence in the Era of Suffrage and Segregation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013).

19. Walters, "The Erotic South," 182. For examples of this rhetoric in Kansas newspapers, see (Lawrence, Kans.) *Herald of Freedom,* January 19, 1856; *The* (Emporia) *Kanzas News*, November 7, 1857.

and most Northerners. Chicago-based Reverend J. E. Roy claimed that proslavery men exhibited a "determination to force slavery into a territory against the wishes of actual citizens," while Kansas settler Dr. John Doy commented that proslavery Missouri "Border Ruffians" intended "to force slavery upon us"—the lawful free-soil citizens of Kansas. Free-soil settler Sara Robinson proclaimed in her book *Kansas; Its Interior and Exterior Life* that a "vandal horde" of proslavery men intent on violating Kansas had invaded "her fair borders."[20]

Many Northern commentators were particularly angry that proslavery men "violated" and "outraged" lawful political processes in Kansas. In an 1855 speech about the usurpation of Kansas by "the Slave Oligarchy," antislavery Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner angrily observed that the polls in Kansas had been "violently, ruthlessly" "possessed by these invaders." The *Chicago Daily Tribune* proclaimed that "Men from the South" appeared in Kansas only on "the days of the elections" to "bully the settlers [and] violate the ballot-box." Addressing Kansans, author John McNamara asserted that "Slavery-extensionists" had "outraged [the] ballot-box." W. M. Snow was one of many antebellum readers who took note of such rhetoric in the popular press. Snow clipped and pasted numerous articles in his personal scrapbook that referenced the "outrage on the Ballot Box" and "the abyss of infamy to which her [Kansas's] enemies had consigned her."[21] Describing Kansas Territory and its ballot boxes as "invaded," "outraged," "violated," and "infamous" conjured up lurid images of proslavery men "raping" sacred democratic processes and the rights of Northern citizens.

Northerners often overtly likened the forcible introduction of slavery into Kansas Territory to a sexual assault and symbolic loss of virginity. Sara Robinson used sexual euphemisms to describe the proslavery "sacking" of the free-state stronghold of Lawrence, which occurred in May 1856. Robinson explained that the "despoiled city" lay in "blood-stained ruins," the victim of "rapine"—a term derived from the same Latin root word as *rape* and *ravish*.[22] In his political sermon "Kansas—Her Struggle and Her Defense," Reverend Roy described "the modesty of her [Kansas's] virgin character" as being ruined by proslavery men who had left "her" "all bloody and scarred." In "The Sermon of Spring," Julia Ward Howe evoked an image of Kansas Territory falling into the clutches of proslavery men. Though Kansas had been once "young and a Virgin," "she" now had "blood on



Throughout her 1856 history of the first two tumultuous years of territorial Kansas settlement, Sara Robinson used sexualized language to condemn the acts of proslavery "hordes" who invaded Kansas for "plunder, blood and rapine." "The Missourians," she wrote, "threaten to kill all our men, and save the women for a more bitter fate."

20. Roy, *Kansas—Her Struggle*, 22; John Doy, *The Thrilling Narrative of Dr. John Doy, of Kansas* (Boston, Mass.: Thayer & Eldridge, 1860), 13–14; Robinson, *Kansas*, 15, 8.

21. Charles Sumner, *The Slave Oligarchy and Its Usurpations; Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner, November 2, 1855, in Faneuil Hall, Boston* (Washington, D.C.: Buell & Blanchard, 1855); *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 10, 1856; John McNamara, *Three Years on the Kansas Border* (New York: Miller, Orton, and Mulligan, 1856), 229–30; W. M. Snow, [Scrapbook, containing clippings from contemporary newspapers], KSHS, 31, 35.

22. Robinson, *Kansas*, 298, 348; Jocelyn Catty, *Writing Women, Writing Rape in Early Modern England: Unbridled Speech* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 1–2.



U.S. Senator Charles Sumner used sexualized language in his "Crime against Kansas" speech, including denouncing the possible introduction of slavery into Kansas Territory as the "rape of a virgin territory." On May 22, 1856, two days after his inflammatory address, Sumner was severely injured when Congressman Preston Brooks of South Carolina attacked him with a gold-tipped cane on the floor of the U.S. Senate.

her garments, terror and grief in her features." Political parades and mass meetings also demonstrated that Northerners widely imagined Kansas Territory as a virgin violated by proslavery men. A scene in a parade at an 1856 Republican political gathering of "sixty thousand free men" in Indianapolis featured thirty-one young women wearing white who represented the states of the Union and one "very fair girl" "clothed in black crepe, personifying Kansas, in her troubled condition"—an allusion to a loss of sexual purity. Another Republican procession in Martinsville, (West) Virginia, featured a group of "young ladies" with "sixteen dressed in white" who represented free states, "sixteen in black" who represented slave states, "and one in red, representing 'bleeding Kansas.'" Clothed not in white or even black but rather in a blood-red gown, Kansas Territory was depicted as a despoiled virgin. Antebellum Northerners included a loss of symbolic virginity in their conceptions of the violence and bloodshed that occurred in and over Bleeding Kansas, which must prompt historians to consider whether contemporary references to "bloody" and "bleeding" Kansas may have connoted more to nineteenth-century Americans than we have previously imagined.[23]

Indeed, by mid-1856, Northerners widely referred to the possible introduction of slavery into Kansas as "the rape of a virgin territory." This phrase was popularized following Charles Sumner's "The Crime against Kansas" speech in May 1856. The "crime" referred to in the title of the speech was rape and the rest of the speech was filled with other euphemisms for rape, including "abused," "subdued," "desecrated," "plundered," "depraved longing," "hateful embrace," and "pollution." For anyone who could have possibly missed his meaning, Sumner flatly stated that the introduction of slavery into Kansas would constitute "the rape of a virgin Territory." As historian Michael Pierson observed in his insightful analysis of "The Crime against Kansas," Sumner deliberately used explicitly sexualized language, metaphors, and allusions in order to convince listeners that the extension of slavery into Kansas was both a sexual sin and a political crime.[24] Sumner portrayed both Southern and Northern Democrats who supported the Kansas–Nebraska Act as rapists—of enslaved black women and the virgin territory. Characterizing enemy men as rapists, Sumner well knew, had long rallied individuals

23. Roy, *Kansas—Her Struggle,* 19–20; Howe, "The Sermon of Spring"; *New York Daily Times,* July 21, 1856; *Wheeling* ([West] Virginia) *Daily Intelligencer,* September 1, 1860, as cited in Elizabeth Varon, *We Mean to be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 148–49. In addition to the thousands of Northerners who viewed political parades firsthand, "the scenes and symbols of parades" spread to millions more through daily newspapers, which gave such parades "extralocal meaning." David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 11. On other feminized places being raped by enemy men, see Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Sabine Sielke, *Reading Rape: The Rhetoric of Sexual Violence in American Literature and Culture, 1790–1990* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002); Tim Rohrer, "The Metaphorical Logic of (Political) Rape: The New Wor(l)d Order," *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity* 10, no. 2 (1995): 115–37.

24. Michael D. Pierson, "'All Southern Society Is Assailed by the Foulest Charges': Charles Sumner's 'The Crime against Kansas' and the Escalation of Republican Antislavery Rhetoric," *New England Quarterly* 68 (December 1995): 550.



This 1856 political cartoon is a partisan depiction of James Buchanan's platform and the Democratic Party. The cartoon shows the caning of Charles Sumner at left; violence between proslavery and antislavery factions in Kansas in the background at left; and an enslaved man and woman at right whose pleas for democracy are met with threats of violence from a Southern overseer. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

around common moral and political condemnation of a perceived enemy.[25] As historian Sharon Block explained in her study of rape rhetoric in the American Revolutionary era, such characterizations "marked the British as enemies by commenting on their unrestrained and inappropriate sexual appetites" and used the "adversary's illegitimate sexual attempts . . . to condemn his [political] cause." Rape "was particularly poised to serve as a signifier of [political] power wrongly claimed."[26] Sumner clearly understood this, as in his speech he accused specific proslavery senators of "choosing the mistress Slavery," which alluded both to illicit sexual relationships with enslaved women as well as to political support for slavery.

While Sumner was not the first or only Northerner to describe Kansas in these gendered and sexualized terms, his speech was uniquely influential in spreading Kansas rape rhetoric to the Northern masses during the months preceding the transformative presidential election of 1856—an election that pivoted on Kansas. "The Crime against Kansas" was widely read following the infamous caning attack perpetrated against Sumner by South Carolina Representative Preston Brooks on the floor of the U.S. Senate. Within weeks of the caning, "The

25. Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America,* 212.

26. Sharon Block, "Rape without Women: Print Culture and the Politicization of Rape, 1765–1815," *Journal of American History* 89 (December 2002): 860, 858, 862.

Crime against Kansas" had been "read by millions" of Northerners, bringing Kansas rape rhetoric to its widest audience yet.[27]

In addition, Sumner's speech and caning created a powerful linkage for Northerners between metaphorical representations of sexualized violence in Kansas and actual physical assaults perpetrated by proslavery men on the bodies of Northern whites. Northerners referred to the caning as "the outrage on Sumner" and commented that Sumner's body had been "abused" and "violated" by proslavery men—just as they had violated, outraged, abused, and "raped" Kansas Territory. The "outrages in Kansas" and the "outrage on Sumner" demonstrated to Northerners like Massachusetts Reverend Eden Foster that Southerners meant to "subdue" and put Northerners "in their place." "The Slave Power have already made a great advance towards the accomplishment of their designs," Foster asserted. As with Sumner, "women [in Kansas had been] subjected to unheard of outrages and abuses" at the hands of proslavery men. For Foster and millions of Northerners, Sumner's speech and caning made it clear that proslavery men intended not only to subdue the "as yet undefiled" free soil of Kansas but also to violate the rights and bodies of white Northerners.[28]

Political cartoons also expressed this message. Republican images like "The Cincinnati Platform, or the New Way to Make a State" and "Liberty, the Fair Maid of Kansas" unambiguously connected the metaphorical violation of Kansas Territory with the real sexual threat proslavery men purportedly posed to free-soil white women in the territory. "The Cincinnati Platform" depicted a large group of proslavery men invading Kansas Territory and driving a group of shackled black slaves into Kansas.[29] In addition, these men were depicted as having invaded the body of a free-soil white woman living in the territory. The woman, featured prominently at the forefront of the image, was slumped on the ground with her dress torn and breasts revealed. Her closed eyes conveyed that she had either fainted or been killed. Those cues—the signs of a struggle, the exposed breasts, and the unconscious victim—would have signaled to antebellum viewers that the woman had been raped by the slave-owning men storming into Kansas. The cartoon's message was that the introduction of slavery would result in the violation of Kansas Territory and free-soil white women.

"Liberty, the Fair Maid of Kansas" took this message even further, asserting that Kansas and free-soil women needed to be protected from all proslavery men—Northern as well as Southern. In the background scene of this cartoon, a group of proslavery "border ruffians" from the neighboring slave state of Missouri threatened a free-soil woman in Kansas. After killing her husband, the ruffians taunted the woman with sexual innuendoes, ultimately stating that they planned "to go to heaven with her." In the central scene in foreground of the cartoon, the personified Kansas Territory was in danger of being assaulted by a different group of proslavery "ruffians"—Northern Democrats who supported the Kansas–Nebraska Act and the possible introduction of slavery into the territory. These Northern Democrats—Senators Stephen Douglas and Lewis Cass, sitting president Franklin Pierce, and 1856 presidential nominee James Buchanan—were depicted as just as sexually threatening as the Southern proslavery men. Wide-eyed and licking their lips, the Northern Democrats leered at the "fair maid" and peppered her with sexual innuendoes while "she" pleaded with them to "spare me!!" The cartoon argued that all Democratic men endangered the territory and its women. Indeed, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* asserted, Stephen Douglas—author of the Kansas–Nebraska Act—was "the most guilty offender of the lot." Douglas and other proslavery Democrats, the article explained, "encouraged violence, and applauded rape and murder" in Kansas. The popular periodical *Life Illustrated* claimed that ruffians in Kansas were "acting under the concurrence if not the direct orders, of the [Pierce] administration," "roving about the territory, killing those who oppose them, despoiling all who are only supposed to be in favor of freedom, and even insulting their wives and daughters." Another *Life Illustrated* article plainly stated that "the Pierce dynasty in Kanzas . . . *kills, burns, and ravishes*." Instead of continuing to elect these Democratic "debauchee[s]" who were intent on "polluting the domestic hearth or ruining

27. Anson Burlingame, "Massachusetts and the Sumner Assault," speech given June 21, 1856, accessed via *LitFinder* (Detroit, Mich.: Gale Group, 2007). Also see "Sumner's Speech," *Life Illustrated,* June 7, 1856.

28. Eden B. Foster, *A North-side View of Slavery. A Sermon on the Crime against Freedom, in Kansas and Washington* (Concord, N.H.: Jones & Cogswell, 1856), 18–19, 16. On the political connections between events in Kansas and the caning of Sumner, see William Gienapp, "The Crime against Sumner: The Caning of Charles Sumner and the Rise of the Republican Party," *Civil War History* 25 (September 1979): 218–45. For a reading of the caning as embodying racial anxieties and opposing definitions of manhood, see Kristen Oertel, "'Nigger-Worshipping Fanatics' and 'Villain[s] of the Blackest Dye': Racialized Manhoods and the Sectional Debates," in *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri: The Long Civil War on the Border,* ed. Jonathan Earle and Diane Mutti Burke (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2013), 65–80.

29. "The Cincinnati Platform, or the way to make a new State in 1856," (Philadelphia, Pa.: I. Childs, 1856), American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

innocence," the *New York Daily Times* argued, Northern men needed to vote for the Republicans—the only party that unequivocally supported free soil in Kansas.[30]

This message pervaded Northern print culture in the months immediately preceding the 1856 presidential election, when metaphorical representations of rape were increasingly joined by references to real assaults on free-soil women in the territory. Throughout the summer and fall of 1856, news of free-soil women being "outraged and insulted by brutal deeds" was "announced . . . by telegraph" and published in all manner of Northern print sources.[31] Allusions to these assaults most often appeared as part of longer litanies of proslavery "outrages" in Kansas. The *Herald of Freedom*, for example, noted that Kansas was "infested with a gang of outlaws" whose "chief business is to harass and persecute Free State settlers." These "outlaws" had committed murders and "destroyed a printing press, driven families from claims, and insulted and abused women." The *New York Daily Tribune* reported that one group of Border Ruffians "captured a Free-State man . . . and made some insulting propositions to his wife." Sara Robinson repeatedly accused proslavery men of "insult[ing] women in their own dwellings." She expressed particular outrage that on one occasion a "Missourian" man had entered her home and stolen things while rummaging through her bureau drawers, thus "pillaging a lady's drawers!"—a sexual double entendre that would not have been lost on Robinson's antebellum readers. Other sources similarly declared that proslavery men first invaded and robbed free-soil homes "of everything of value" and then assaulted free-soil women. One pamphlet proclaimed that a "Reign of Terror" had been initiated in Kansas Territory, as free-soil "Citizens" had been "robbed and driven from [their] Homes!" and "women dragged from their Homes and Violated!" (fig. 2) Hannah Anderson Ropes observed in her 1856 memoir *Six Months in Kansas*

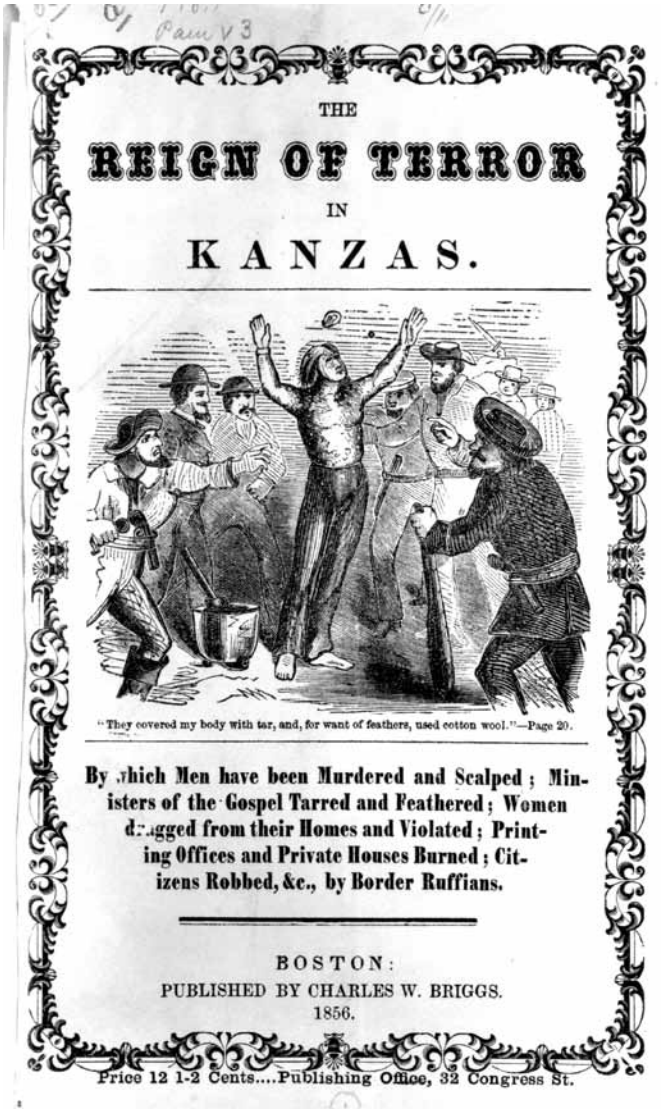


Fig. 2. Accounts of rape and violence in territorial Kansas spread to Northerners through newspapers and other media like The Reign of Terror in Kanzas *pamphlet. Such reports referenced violence against free-soil white women by Border Ruffians as a way to discredit Democrats.*

that there was "not . . . a single cabin *safe* from outrage *anywhere* in the territory." "Outrage and violence have been the rule rather than the exception," the *Herald of Freedom* asserted; "American citizens have been pillaged at home" and "women and children were flying over the prairies to escape injuries worse than death." Reports of the depredations in Kansas were so widespread that Northerners founded aid societies to relieve the sufferings of "our distressed sisters in Kansas." The Illinois Woman's

30. "Liberty, the Fair Maid of Kansas"; *Chicago Daily Tribune,* November 30, 1857; *Life Illustrated,* June 14, 1856; *Life Illustrated,* August 23, 1856; *New York Daily Times,* February 3, 1855. On the ways free-soil advocates drew on gender ideology to "provoke free-state men into honoring the women in their own households," see Marilyn S. Blackwell, "'Nobody out here knows anything about *wimin's* rights': Clarina Howard Nichols, Woman's Rights, and Abolitionism in Kansas Territory," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 33 (Autumn 2010): 147. Also see Oertel, *Bleeding Borders,* 89–90.

31. John Jay, "America Free—Or America Slave. An Address on the State of the Country. Delivered by John Jay, esq., At Bedford, Westchester County, New York. October 8, 1856," *LitFinder* (Detroit, Mich.: Gale Group, 2007).

Kansas Aid and Liberty Association, for example, decried the fact that "bands of heartless desperadoes . . . plunder our sisters" by "desecrating the sanctity of their homes."[32]

By August 1856, longer and more explicit accounts of rape in the territory began to surface in Northern print culture. These accounts described two instances of politically motivated rape in Kansas—the rape of a free-soil mother and daughter and the rape of a free-soil widow—and they appeared widely in Northern newspapers, pamphlets, and books published and circulated around the North between August and November 1856. Though the details of these assaults sometimes varied from source to source, the moral of the stories was always the same: free-soil women in Kansas had been raped by proslavery men and all Northerners needed to avenge the assaults by overthrowing the political domination of the Slave Power. The timing and proliferation of the accounts, as well as their clear political messages, indicates that they were intended to politicize the Northern masses and push them into the Republican fold on the eve of the presidential election.

The first detailed account of rape in Kansas Territory involved an attack perpetrated by Border Ruffian men on a free-soil mother and her daughter. The incident was first reported in the *Daily* (St. Louis) *Missouri Democrat* on Monday, August 25, 1856. In less than a week, the story spread across the North, appearing in papers from St. Louis to New York.[33] The version published in the *Freeport* (Ill.) *Daily Journal* relayed explicit details of a violent rape, explaining that

> The greatest and most shocking excesses had been committed a few days ago, within five miles of Leavenworth [Kansas]. A party of men called at a house, and inquired for the head of the family. They were told he was absent. They at first affected to discredit this frequently repeated asservation, but finally said to the females of the family, "D—n your souls, then, come out here yourselves—we want you." A mother and daughter were then taken out into the bushes, where they were kept all night, being subjected to the most foul indignities. In the morning they crawled back home, more dead than alive.[34]

Similar accounts of the assault soon appeared in other Northern newspapers, bringing this "shocking" account of the "foul indignities" perpetrated by proslavery men in Kansas home to at least a half a million Northern readers within the space of a few days.

About a week after accounts of the mother and daughter's assault first appeared, a second and even more detailed account of politically motivated rape in Kansas surfaced in the Northern popular press. The "fiendish outrage" upon a young widow quickly became the most widely circulated story of rape in Bleeding Kansas. The story first appeared in the *New York Daily Times* on September 3, and within days it had traveled as far west as Chicago. Within a few weeks, the story had bounced back and forth across the North, being read by well over one million Northerners. By Election Day in November, millions more had encountered the story through additional articles, pamphlets, and books.[35]

The widow's assault was described in these publications as "one of the most hellish outrages which ever disgraced any age or country," albeit "not an isolated one in our beautiful Territory."[36] In one of the longest and most detailed descriptions of the widow's rape, a correspondent for the *New York Daily Tribune* explained what had happened. A free-soil man named Henry Hyatt and his wife, along with "a young widow lady [who was] a friend of the family," had emigrated to Kansas in 1855. The "feelings and sympathies" of the Hyatts and the widow were openly "with the cause of Freedom";

32. *Herald of Freedom,* May 10, 1856; *New York Daily Tribune,* September 26, 1856; Robinson, *Kansas*, 258, 248; John H. Gihon, *Geary and Kansas: Governor Geary's Administration in Kansas* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Chas. C. Rhodes, 1857), 91; *The Reign of Terror in Kanzas,* title page; Ropes, *Six Months in Kansas*, 209; *Herald of Freedom,* November 1, 1856; *Constitution and By-Laws of the Illinois Woman's Kansas Aid and Liberty Association* (Chicago: Daily Tribune Book and Job Office, 1856), 3, 9, 8.

33. For examples, see *Freeport* (Ill.) *Daily Journal,* August 28, 1856; *Springfield* (Mass.) *Daily Republican*, August 29, 1856; *New York Daily Tribune,* August 30, 1856.

34. *Freeport Daily Journal,* August 28, 1856.

35. *New York Daily Times,* September 3, 1856; *New York Daily Tribune,* September 6, 1856; *Chicago Daily Tribune,* September 9, 1856; *Boston Daily Advertiser,* September 10, 1856; *New York Daily Tribune,* September 11, 1856; *Reign of Terror in Kanzas,* 30–32; Robinson, *Kansas*, 328; *Northwestern Christian Advocate,* September 17, 1856; *Freeport Daily Journal,* October 7, 13, 14, 1856; Thermuthera Sutherland, [Thermuthera Sutherland clippings], 345–49, KSHS. Readership figures based on daily circulation rates for newspapers and the number of printed copies for each book and pamphlet. In addition, multiple readers would have read a single purchased copy of each newspaper, book, or pamphlet. Shared subscriptions, private reading rooms and clubs, and free libraries meant that dozens of Northerners read each purchased copy of a publication. Ronald J. Zboray, *A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

36. *New York Daily Tribune,* September 6, 1856.

the young widow particularly "desired to emigrate to Kansas" to help make it a free state. Once in Kansas, Hyatt hired a few men, including "a Pro-Slavery man," to help construct a mill on his property. Over the course of a few months, Hyatt, his wife, and the widow noticed that "when any news of the movements of the Free-State or Pro-Slavery parties reached Hyatt's," the proslavery man "would go off to . . . the house of a Pro-Slavery neighbor close by." Eventually, Hyatt and the women charged the hired man with being a proslavery "spy." The young widow's "earnestness" in reciting the man's proslavery activities was particularly "distasteful to the Ruffian" and he "left Mr. Hyatt's employment," only to return on the "night of Wednesday, Aug. 20, when all the family had gone to rest." At that time,

> the young lady left her room and went to one of the outbuildings in the rear of the house. On her return she was seized by four masked ruffians, and so overcome was she by terror that before she could scream her tongue was choked out of her mouth and tied with a string behind her head and around her neck. She was then told that if she made the least noise she would immediately be shot; and a revolver was held to her head while they tied her hands behind her back. They then carried her a few hundred yards from the house into a patch of long prairie grass, and commenced their hellish deeds—three standing guard while they each in turn violated her person. She had swooned from fear, and had not returned to a state of entire consciousness when this inhuman assault was made upon her person. After completing their infamy, they kicked her in the side and abdomen, and left her, it is supposed, to die.

But the young widow eventually regained consciousness and

> was enabled to stagger in the direction of the house. On reaching it she was unable to open the door, her hands being tied behind her back, and she was also unable to speak, her tongue being tied with a string and now swollen to an alarming size. She was too weak to shout, and in the effort to do so she fainted. In falling she overturned an empty churn which stood near the door, and the noise . . . awoke Mr. Hyatt and his family, who found her in the condition described.

Though the story made it clear, the article overtly pointed out that "the Pro-Slavery hired man and three of his associates were the perpetrators of this villainy."[37]

All versions of the "fiendish outrage upon the young [widow] lady" and the assault on the mother and daughter emphasized three main morals to the stories. First and foremost, the rapes showed that proslavery men posed a real and immediate threat to Kansas Territory and its free-soil settlers. Proslavery men were "fiends"—violent, immoral, sexually corrupt men who would stop at nothing to gain the political upper hand in Kansas. Northern familiarity with abolitionist depictions of proslavery men as sexual "fiends," as well as the countless references to all manner of proslavery outrages in Kansas during the mid-1850s, set the stage for the reception of the Kansas rape accounts. As Sharon Block explained, "placing rape in the setting of other visible offenses was a way . . . to provide believable grounds for condemnation of an enemy."[38] The accounts of the mother, daughter, and widow's rapes emerged in a Northern print culture landscape already saturated with tales of political and personal strife in Kansas. For years, Northerners had encountered headlines and articles that told of "murders, arsons, rapes, thefts, and all the innumerable crimes . . . perpetrated by ruffian hands, upon the people of this infant State."[39] By the fall of 1856, many Northern readers would have found it plausible, if not entirely believable, that proslavery men in Kansas had resorted to rape.

Secondly, the accounts asserted that proslavery men would use physical force to silence dissenting political opinions on slavery. That accounts specified that the widow's tongue was tied during the attack was especially telling. For decades prior to the mid-1850s, Northerners faced repeated proslavery attempts to suppress Northern opposition to slavery and its expansion, including a Congressional "gag rule" on slavery and numerous physical assaults on abolitionists who spoke out against slavery. Kansas sources often referred to proslavery men's attempts to silence free-soil sentiment, with some commentators even directly connecting this to sexual violence in the territory. In the same breath in which he railed against physical "outrages and abuses" on both Senator Sumner and free-soil women

37. *New York Daily Tribune,* September 6, 1856.
38. Block, "Rape without Women," 861.
39. *Herald of Freedom,* November 1, 1856.

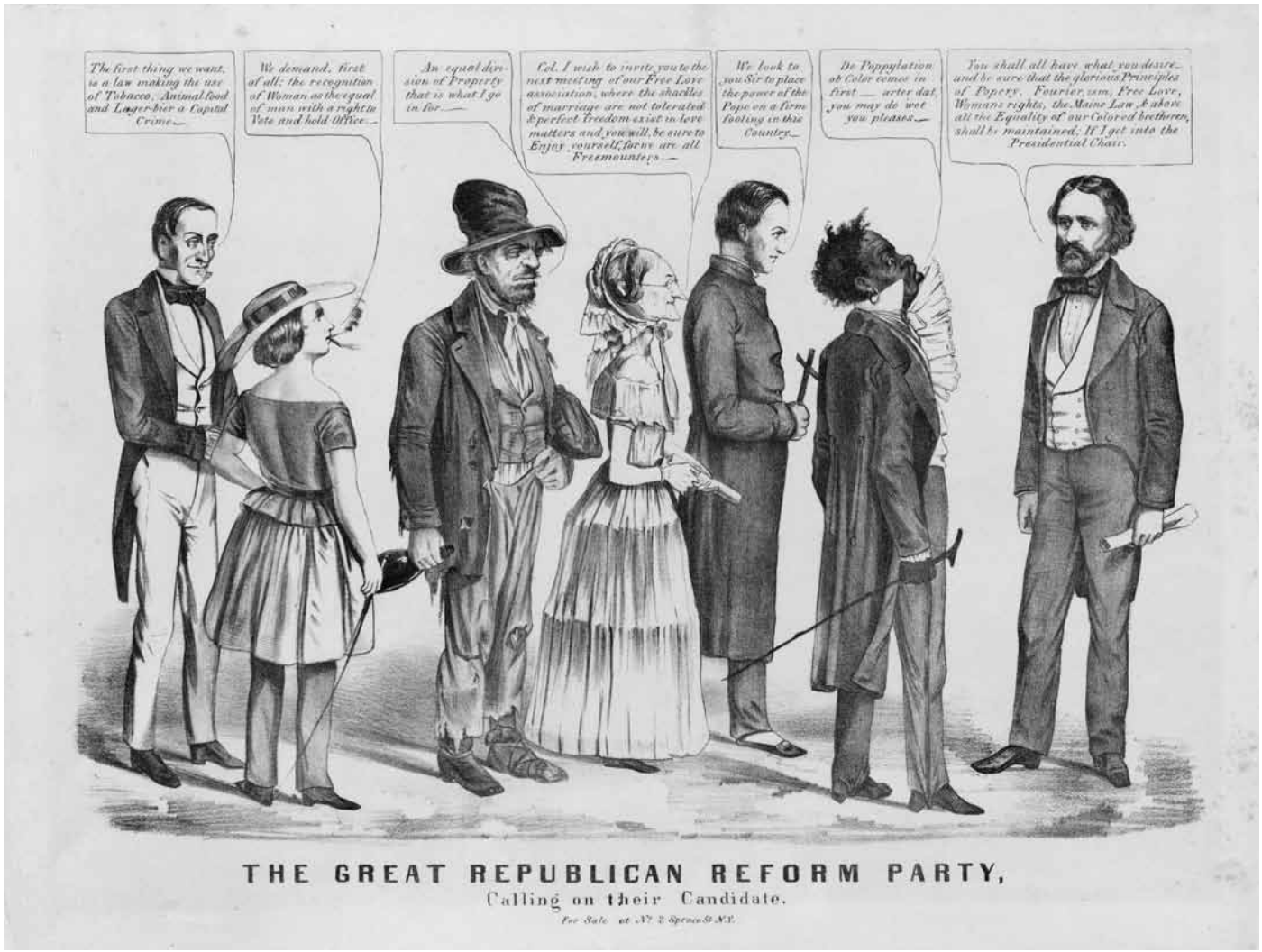


Fig. 3. John C. Frémont, 1856 Republican presidential candidate, appears at right in this cartoon trying to reassure his many, diverse reform-minded supporters: "You shall all have what you desire, and be sure that the glorious Principles of Popery, Fourierism, Free Love, Woman's Rights, the Maine Law, & above all the Equality of our Colored brethren, shall be maintained; If I get into the Presidential Chair." New York: Currier & Ives, 1856. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

in Kansas, Reverend Eden Foster also proclaimed that the Northern "press has been shackled and the tongue has been padlocked" by proslavery forces.[40]

The widow's tongue-tying was also a commentary on the political outspokenness and involvement of Northern women in the territorial crisis. To a greater degree than the accounts about the mother and daughter, stories about the widow always emphasized that she was an "active free-state lady."[41] In Kansas, Northern women were often politically active, promoting not only free soil but also abolition and even woman suffrage.[42] In the widow's case, she felt so strongly about stopping the spread of slavery she had moved to Kansas, spoken openly about her free-soil views in the presence of a known proslavery man, and turned in a proslavery man for spying on free-soilers. In many ways, the widow exemplified the many antebellum Northern women who had publicly involved themselves in the politics of slavery. Indeed, by the mid-1850s, politically active women were most commonly

40. Foster, *A North-side View of Slavery,* 15–16.
41. *Boston Daily Advertiser,* September 10, 1856.
42. Marilyn S. Blackwell and Kristen T. Oertel, *Frontier Feminist: Clarina Howard Nichols and the Politics of Motherhood* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010).

perceived to be associated with the Republican Party, as illustrated in cartoons such as "The Great Republican Reform Party, Calling on their Candidate" (fig. 3).[43]

Yet, as that cartoon also shows, there was ambivalence about and hostility towards political women. Historian Elizabeth Varon has observed that backlash against women's increasing political involvement set in by the 1850s.[44] Varon particularly points out that "backlash against female 'stump speakers'"—that is, women who spoke in public about their political views—took hold by the mid-1850s, just the moment in which more women than ever before became involved in the politics of slavery's expansion into Kansas.[45] The Democratic newspaper the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* commented that "strong-minded women" found "delivering a stump speech on Kansas" encouraged male retaliation and had "in too many instances [become] the victim of man's passions and brutality."[46] Thus, on the one hand, Kansas rape accounts applauded the political convictions of avowedly free-soil women like the widow; on the other hand, they implied that her outspokenness and intrusion into the public world of politics had invited the assault. Details like the tongue-tying and the public setting of the rape warned against stepping outside woman's "proper" sphere. Significantly, all accounts of the mother, daughter, and widow's rapes specifically noted that the women returned to their homes after the assaults, indicating they once again found refuge from the violent, masculine world of politics within the private sphere.

The third main moral of the Kansas rape accounts was that all Northern men needed to avenge these transgressions against "their" women. The outdoor setting of the assaults symbolized the fact that these assaults were public, political matters. Indeed, such accounts presented a "challenge to the entire country's masculine ability to protect its women."[47] Northern men, the stories asserted, had been remiss in protecting their women. Notably, the stories always emphasized that the assaults were perpetrated by gangs of proslavery men while the Northern man of the house was away or asleep. This aspect of the stories underscored the point that proslavery men were outnumbering free-soil proponents and that Northern men needed to wake up and avenge the outrages by standing up to proslavery men and the Slave Power.

Republicans openly utilized reports of rape and "outrages" in Kansas to confirm their truth about the aggressions of proslavery Democrats to a wide Northern audience. Republican campaign materials in 1856—including political cartoons, songs, pamphlets, and speeches—often included representations of sexualized violence in Kansas, which Republicans clearly believed had the power to sway votes and allegiances. As we have seen, Republican parades and cartoons often played on these themes. So too did campaign ballads for the 1856 Republican presidential candidate, John C. Frémont, which urged Northern men to "save her [Kansas] from the curse and shame" of slavery. Kansas resident J. M. Walden admired these widely reproduced songs so much he pasted a copy of one of them in a scrapbook compiled during the 1856 election (fig. 4). The lyrics of these "rallying songs" were also printed on Republican campaign bandanas and handkerchiefs, including one that explained that only a "vote for Fremont the brave" could answer "the outraged maiden's wail" from the West.[48]

Some commentators specifically noted that Northern political allegiances had shifted in favor of the Republicans in light of the information coming out of Kansas. The outrages in Kansas and the outrage on Sumner, one article concluded, "have combined to inflame the people of the North in a degree unexampled. Truly said one of our city papers, of Southern sympathies, 'Where there was one freesoiler in the North yesterday, there are a hundred to-day.'"[49] Author John Gihon told readers that when he first arrived in Kansas, he was a Democrat who wrote "letters to the eastern papers . . . [that] were severely condemnatory of the free-state party of

43. On public, political women and the antislavery movement, see such works as Julie Roy Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Jean Fagan Yellin and John Van Horne, eds., *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994); Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Abolition,* 2nd. ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Susan Zaeske, *Signatures of Citizenship: Petitioning, Antislavery, and Women's Political Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). On the Republican Party embracing and being associated with women, see Pierson, *Free Hearts and Free Homes.*

44. Varon, *We Mean to be Counted,* 100–101.

45. Varon, *We Mean to be Counted,* 101.

46. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* October 11, 1859.

47. Block, "Rape without Women," 860.

48. "Fremont and Victory; A Rallying Song—Tune of the Marseilles Hymn" (New York: Andrews, Printer, [1856]); "Fremont and Victory; A Rallying Song," in Walden, Scrapbooks, v. 1, KSHS; "Freeman's Rallying Song," printed on Frémont campaign bandanna, Collections of the Smithsonian Institution, reprinted in Roger A. Fischer, *Tippecanoe and Trinkets Too: The Material Culture of American Presidential Campaigns, 1828–1984* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 78.

49. *Life Illustrated,* May 31, 1856.



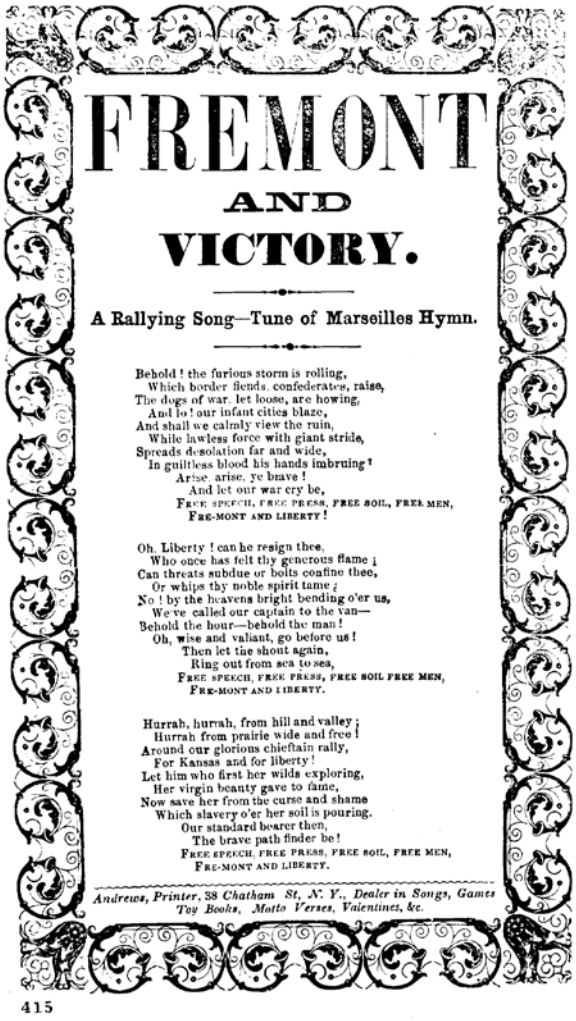


Fig. 4. Many Kansans believed voting for John C. Frémont was the only way to keep the state out of the hands of slaveholders. Frémont supporters sang rallying songs like the one above, which contains the euphemistic verse, "Let him who first her [Kansas's] wilds exploring, / Her virgin beauty gave to fame, / Now save her from the curse and shame / Which slavery o'er her soil is pouring." New York: J. Andrews, 1856. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Music Division, and the Library of Congress, Rare Books and Special Collections Division, America Singing: Nineteenth-Century Song Sheets, *Washington, D.C.*

Kansas." Yet, after months of witnessing "accumulating evidences" and hearing information "from other reliable sources" about outrages in Kansas, Gihon felt compelled to "repudiate . . . the Democratic platform, that gives to the single idea of slavery extension an ascendancy over every other consideration." Chief among the proslavery offenses Gihon listed was the rape of the widow and other incidents involving "the tears and shrieks of terrified women, folded in [ruffians'] foul embrace."[50]

While Republicans hoped to use references to rape in Kansas to their advantage, Democrats sought to disprove and discount them in order to keep voters from fleeing their party. After first admitting "that there have been wrong and misrule in Kansas, and, in some instances, inhuman outrages," a Democratic senator from Indiana went on to reassure his voters that "the outrages alleged to have been perpetrated in Kansas, and who is responsible for them . . . have been . . . greatly exaggerated, and, in many instances, had no foundation in fact."[51] Such

50. Gihon, *Geary and Kansas,* iv, 91.

51. [Bright], *A Review of the Troubles in Kansas,* 4.

messages were important to voters like P. P. Wilcox, who clipped and pasted into his scrapbook an article from the Democratic *Leavenworth* (Kans.) *Herald* newspaper that emphatically stated, "No outrages have been committed by the pro-slavery party upon any one, and the idea that women and children have been disturbed is so notoriously false, that it shows an utter recklessness of truth in those who give currency to such statements."[52]

Other Democrats claimed the stories were not just untrue; they were Republican fabrications. The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* asserted that the "scenes of violence" in Kansas were "inflammatory appeals of the Black Republican" "only intended to aid in electing their candidate to the Presidency, regardless of the fate of Kansas."[53] In another article, the *Eagle* blasted the *New York Tribune* and its "editorial Munchausens in Kansas" for "manufactur[ing] murders pillages, and robberies." In so doing, the *Tribune* was no better than "the Police *Gazette*"—a sensational popular publication whose content led Northern readers to "imagine that one half the world was engaged in cutting the throats of the other half, robbing from them, committing rapes, arsons, or what not."[54] Democratic pamphlets asserted that the *Tribune* "manufacture[d] 'outrages' having no foundation in point of fact!" "The hue and cry about Kansas was a miserable electioneering hypocrisy, invented and kept alive . . . to inflame and poison the public mind as to secure the election of their *automaton* candidate, John C. Frémont." "The object" of the accounts, another pamphlet stated, was "to inflame the mind of the North." The upstart Republican Party, a Democratic circular concluded, was using the "civil war" in Kansas and references to "the honor of every woman who may be violated" to "influence the results of the presidential election."[55]

While no evidence has been found to confirm whether the Republicans purposefully fabricated the outrages, or indeed to confirm whether any assaults actually took place in Kansas at all, we can say that avowed Republicans were those most often responsible for circulating accounts of rape in Kansas.[56] The accounts most often appeared in Republican newspapers and whenever a correspondent reporting on the rapes was mentioned by name that person was always a known free-soil backer. For example, the version of the widow's rape published in the Republican *Boston Daily Advertiser* contained letters written between "H. M. Simpson" and "A. A. Lawrence." Henry M. Simpson was a banker and free-soil emigrant to Kansas while Amos A. Lawrence was treasurer of the Massachusetts Kansas Emigrant Aid Company and namesake of the free-soil territorial capital in Kansas.[57] One of the letters used to corroborate "The Way Ladies are Treated by the 'Chivalry'" in the *Reign of Terror in Kanzas* was "from Mr. Lines, founder of the New Haven Colony in Kanzas," a free-soil settlement organization.[58] Letters about the widow's rape published in the Republican-leaning *Northwestern Christian Advocate* were written by Levin B. and Baxter C. Dennis, father-and-son Methodist ministers who went to Kansas in 1855 to advocate for free soil.[59] Sara Robinson was the wife of free-state territorial governor Charles Robinson and an advocate for a free Kansas in her own right who corresponded with Amos A. Lawrence. Lawrence was also connected to other Northerners, including Charles Sumner and Julia Ward Howe, who spoke and wrote

52. *Leavenworth* (Kans.) *Herald*, September 6, 1856, in P. P. Wilcox, [Scrapbook of Territorial History, 1855–1858, vol. 2], KSHS.

53. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* June 18, 1856.

54. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* August 9, 1856. During the 1850s, the *New York Herald, Tribune,* and *Times* built their unprecedented readerships on sensational content, a technique pioneered by "flash" or "penny" papers like the *Police Gazette.* Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 125–32.

55. Granite State Club of Washington, *Conspiracy Disclosed!! Kansas Affairs,* pamphlet ([Washington, D.C.]: Granite State Club, 1856), Newberry Library, Chicago; [Bright], *A Review of the Troubles in Kansas,* 5; "Freemen of Connecticut Read and Circulate; The Truth Concerning Kansas," circular (1856), KSHS.

56. In an effort to find references to Republicans purposefully creating or circulating these accounts, I consulted personal papers and the records of printing companies and emigrant organizations. See, for example, Amos A. Lawrence Papers, 1817–1886, Amos A. Lawrence, Diaries and Account Books, 1816–1886, S. G. Howe, Letters Received by Samuel Gridley Howe, 1838–1874, and Patrick T. Jackson, Massachusetts Kansas Aid Committee records, 1856–1857, all at the Massachusetts Historical Society; Private Papers of Charles and Sara T. D. Robinson, 1834–1911, KSHS. After consulting census and territorial court records, I found no evidence of Henry Hyatt or the widow's residency in Kansas and no legal record of rape cases in the territory. However, the absence of evidence does not necessarily prove the Kansas rapes did not take place.

57. *Boston Daily Advertiser,* August 28, 1856; United States Congress, *Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas,* House Report no. 200, 34th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, D.C.: C. Wendell, 1856), 883, 1128–29; "Worcester County Kanzas League Letter," circular (Worcester, Mass., 1855), Newberry Library, Chicago.

58. *Reign of Terror in Kanzas,* 30; "Connecticut Kansas Colony," broadside ([New Haven, Conn.]: 1856), American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

59. William H. Goode, *Outposts of Zion, with Limnings of Mission Life* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Poe & Hitchcock, 1864), 324; *Daily Christian Advocate,* May 2, 1860.

about Kansas in terms of sexualized violence. While they may not have intentionally colluded to invent or circulate the rape accounts, these authors were clearly and openly in favor of free soil in Kansas and—like millions of other Northerners—they explicitly used the power of the popular press to promote their political beliefs.

In the end, the absolute authenticity and veracity of the reports did not seem to matter to many Northerners. As the author of the *Godey's* article about Lucretia observed, the line between "a cunningly-devised fable" and "veritable, sober history" was often blurry and "not material." Symbolically and rhetorically, the discussion of rape in Kansas, as in other historical contexts, had little to do with women and actual assaults.[60] Instead, rape served as a symbol of the power struggles between men vying for political control and masculine authority. In these kinds of characterizations, Sharon Block explained, men could be figured as "saviors" of their women or "victims of the damage done to their dependent women." "Either way," Block concluded, "public discussion of rape that emphasized men's injuries particularly suited war propaganda" and served as "a powerful symbol in a battle for the privileges of political rule."[61] Though rape narratives have been "formed and reformed to serve various interests and needs in different historical moments," observed literary scholar Stephanie Jed, the outlines of the story and its larger political moral have remained the same. "In every age and place," the rape "serves the same function, as a prologue to liberty" and "republican freedom."[62] In Kansas during the 1850s, representations of rape identified proslavery men as the enemies of freedom and white Northerners. They called on Northerners—particularly Northern white men—to avenge the honor of free-soil women by overthrowing the politically and sexually tyrannous Slave Power. The gendered and sexualized ways Northerners discussed Kansas contributed to the rise of the Republican Party in the late 1850s, an event that ultimately played a major role in the "new birth of freedom" that came for slaves and the entire American republic during the Civil War.

Though millions of Northerners abandoned the Democratic Party and although Frémont won the popular vote in the North in 1856, Democrats nonetheless won the presidential election.[63] Following this Republican defeat, references to rape in Kansas dwindled significantly. Some popular press sources continued to refer vaguely to "rape, robbery, murder, and arson in Kansas," but lengthy accounts of the rapes of free-soil women in the territory ceased by 1857.[64] Yet, for months and even years after the 1856 election, free-soil authors continued to resent the Republican defeat and the way, they believed, too many Northern voters had ignored the reports of proslavery assaults on the virgin territory and free-soil women. "There is no portion of the civilized world in which [a man] would not have heard with horror of the inequities perpetrated in Kansas," noted the *New York Daily Times* in December 1856. Now, with the Democrats still in control, "rape, robbery, and murder" would continue "on the soil of a virgin Territory." A *Chicago Daily Tribune* article published almost one year to the day after the 1856 election proclaimed that if more Northerners had heeded stories of "armed invasion, murder, house burning, highway robbery, scalping, rape, and all the desperate deeds known to criminal law [that] came up from the desolated homes of Kansas," there would be "a less number of 'National Democrats'" and no lingering threat that the territory would be "enslaved" under "Democratic auspices." Julia Ward Howe was similarly astonished that Northern

60. On the political symbolism of rape and the history of rape rhetoric, see Sielke, *Reading Rape;* Catty, *Writing Women, Writing Rape;* Stephanie Jed, *Chaste Thinking: The Rape of Lucretia and the Birth of Humanism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); Lynn Hunt, ed., *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 21 (March 1998): 242–69; Sarah L. Henderson and Alana S. Jeydel, "Women, Sexual Violence, and War," in *Participation and Protest: Women and Politics in a Global World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Lynn A. Higgins and Brenda A. Silver, eds., *Rape and Representation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

61. Block, "Rape without Women," 860.

62. Jed, *Chaste Thinking,* 7, 12, 2.

63. Frémont won 45.2 percent of popular vote in the North, compared to Buchanan's 41.4 percent. Buchanan's success in the South and a few key Northern states secured his election. Holt, "Making and Mobilizing the Republican Party," 47; William Freehling, *The Road to Disunion,* vol. 2, *Secessionists Triumphant, 1854–1861* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 104.

64. Linkages between Kansas and sexualized violence continued to appear sporadically. See the *Ohio Repository,* November 26, 1856; *Harper's Weekly,* January 10, 1857 and April 17, 1858; Albert P. Laning, *Outrages in Kansas! Who Instigated Them? Speech of Hon. Albert P. Laning* (Albany, N.Y.: Comstock & Cassidy Printers, 1858); *Chicago Tribune,* November 22, 1859. References to rape during the territorial period also resurfaced later in the century; see Pardee Butler, *Personal Recollections of Pardee Butler* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Standard Publishing Company, 1889), 122; *Philadelphia Times,* March 13, 1884, as cited in Kristen Tegtmeier Oertel, "'The Ladies of Lawrence Are Arming!: The Gendered Nature of Sectional Violence in Early Kansas," in *Antislavery Violence: Sectional, Racial, and Cultural Conflict in Antebellum America,* ed. John R. McKivigan and Stanley Harrold (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

male voters had not "set aside" "the smug [Democratic] President." "Thou hast heard my loud shrieking—hast counted my struggles," Howe's personified Kansas exclaimed. "Oh! she was weary with crying aloud from the Westland, / Faintly and fiercely: "Brothers! will none of you help me?" In the wake of Frémont's defeat, the *Herald of Freedom* asserted, proslavery forces would be free to "*continue* the war of extermination, rapine, and murder which they have already begun." At least now, the paper concluded, Democrats and "Proslavery fanatics . . . alone must be answerable for the consequences" of their actions in Kansas.[65]

By the late 1850s, the wide dissemination of popular print materials that framed the Kansas crisis in terms of sexualized violence had, for millions of Northerners, brought "home to our doors the wrongs and oppressions" of slavery.[66] This contributed to generating widespread attention to the political crisis over the expansion of slavery. The engagement of millions more Northerners in this crisis ultimately proved decisive in the national struggle over slavery, for as one broadside put it, the more Northerners felt compelled to protect and defend "the virgin soil of Kansas," the more they became "resolved to identify their own fate with hers."[67] Accounts and images of sexualized violence expressed why white Northerners needed to be concerned about the extension of slavery and the aggressions of the Slave Power. If something was not done, one newspaper explained, "the South . . . will carry rape, arson and murder into every house."[68] "This prosperous Republic," explained Republican Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio, "has come down to robbery, rape, arson, and murder of its own citizens! Does any man suppose that the people of the North will rest quietly under this?" Echoing the *Godey's* article about Lucretia, Wade and other Northerners asserted that proslavery crimes against Kansas and insults to Northern virtue would not go unavenged. "Gentlemen of the South, do you suppose that you are going to force Slavery into Kansas? . . . When driven to the wall, [Northern men] will rise . . . and prevent those who have committed these deeds of atrocity from taking the benefit of their nefarious acts. . . . You have driven us to the wall; not to turn would be dishonor, shame, slavery, and death."[69] KH

65. *New York Daily Times,* December 5, 1856; *Chicago Daily Tribune,* November 2, 1857; Howe, "The Sermon of Spring"; *Herald of Freedom,* November 15, 1856.

66. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* September 14, 1857.

67. "Connecticut Kansas Colony."

68. *Chicago Press and Tribune,* October 25, 1859.

69. *National Era,* August 7, 1856.



John Benton Hart, ca. 1900.

Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains 38 (Spring 2015): 40–53

A New Account of the Battle of Platte Bridge, July 28, 1865:

The Recollections of John Benton Hart

edited by John Hart

They thought their war was over. In the autumn of 1864, at the end of the long campaign to repel the Confederate invasion of Missouri under General Sterling Price, John Benton Hart and his comrades in the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry had done what they signed up to do in 1862: protect Kansas and help to preserve a Union in peril. But even as they made their way back from Arkansas toward their headquarters in Paola, Kansas, events on the frontier were setting them up to fight another kind of war, which would cost the unit more casualties than all of its Civil War engagements combined.[1]

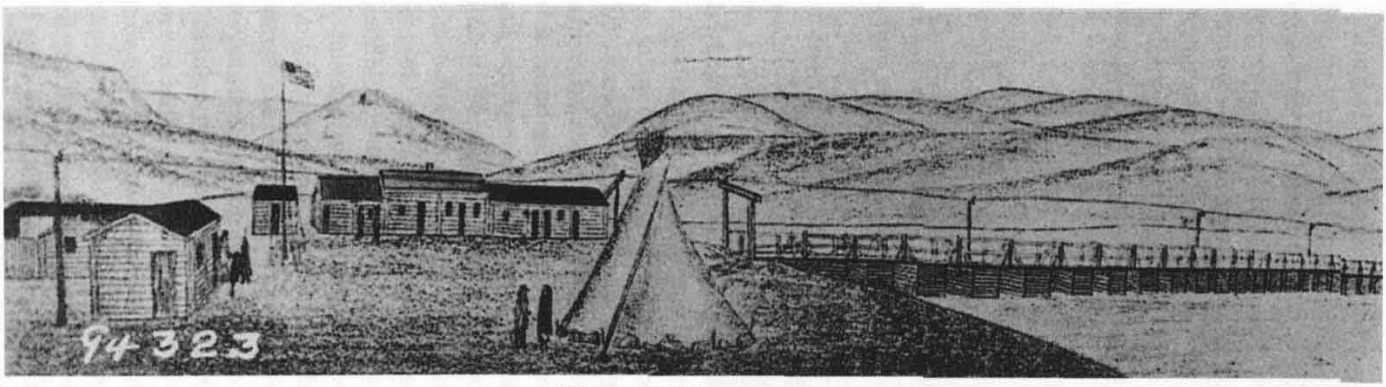
On November 29, 1864, at Sand Creek in Colorado Territory, a detachment of militia under General John Chivington attacked a quiet encampment of Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians: people who, unlike some of their more combative peers, had asked for peace and accepted a promise of federal protection. The Sand Creek Massacre did what had seemed impossible. It brought mutually suspicious tribal groups into alliance against the encroaching whites and unleashed a full-scale Indian war.[2]

John Hart, *the great-grandson of John Benton Hart, is an environmental historian and the author of fifteen books concerning such topics as western water controversies, agricultural land preservation, regional planning, and wilderness preservation. He lives near San Francisco, California.*

The author is grateful for the research assistance of Roger Dudley of the Denver Public Library, David Hart, Darryl Levings of the Kansas City Star, *Sarah Ponce of the Emporia Public Library, and Brenda Tippin, a descendant of Louis P. Guinard, nephew and assistant of Louis Guinard of Platte River Bridge.*

1. "John Hart, ed., "Under Moonlight in Missouri: Private John Benton Hart's Account of Price's Raid, October 1864," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 37 (Autumn 2014): 180–99; "Roster and Descriptive Roll, Eleventh Regiment, Cavalry, Kansas Civil War Volunteers," microfilm AR116, State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, available online at *Kansas Memory,* http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/227699; *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861–1865* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Company, 1896), facsimile available online at https://archive.org/details/reportofadjutant00kans; see especially "Military History of the Kansas Regiments," 207–15; William G. Cutler and Alfred T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1883), 1:195–97, available online at http://www.kancoll.org/books/cutler/sthist/milrec-p12.html; George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), 216–29; Robert Huhn Jones, *Guarding the Overland Trails: The Eleventh Ohio Cavalry in the Civil War* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 2005); Alfred James Mokler, *Fort Caspar (Platte Bridge Station)* (Casper, Wyo.: Prairie Publishing Company, 1939); John D. McDermott, *Frontier Crossroads: The History of Fort Caspar and the Upper Platte Crossing* (Casper, Wyo.: City of Casper, 1997); John D. McDermott, *Circle Of Fire: The Indian War of 1865* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole, 2003); Michael Tatham, "Because They Were Needed: The History of the Eleventh Kansas Volunteer Regiment, 1882–1865" (master's thesis, University of Michigan, 1998), 113–14; J. W. Vaughn, *The Battle of Platte Bridge* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

2. John M. Carroll, ed., *The Sand Creek Massacre: A Documentary History* (New York: Sol Lewis, 1973); Stan Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961); Arik Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggle over the Memory of Sand Creek* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013).



Platte Bridge Station

Located near present-day Casper, Wyoming, Platte Bridge Station guarded the upper crossing of the North Platte River. From a drawing made by Bugler C. Moellman, Co. G, 11th Ohio, in 1863. NATIONAL ARCHIVES

"Platte Bridge" or "Ganard's Bridge," after its builder, Louis Guinard, was located at a strategic point on the Oregon Trail. According to Private Hart, Guinard "was an old-timer, a French Canadian, an Indian trader and used to the wild frontier. He . . . built the bridge across the North Platte River. This bridge was twenty-six spans of thirty-six feet to the span. . . . He charged $2.50 for one wagon and one team to cross the bridge, other teams in proportion." This drawing was reportedly rendered in 1863 by Bugler C. Moellman, Company G, Eleventh Ohio Cavalry. Courtesy of the National Archives and Wikimedia Commons.

The authorities saw what was coming and began moving forces west. On January 4, 1864, the Eleventh Kansas, badly underequipped for such a march, began its trek across the frigid plains.[3] *With it, in Company I, was private soldier John Benton Hart, known to all as "Johnny," whose memoir of the Price campaign was excerpted in the fall 2014 issue of* Kansas History. *Hart also left an account of the climactic days of this new conflict. It is reproduced in full below.*

The aged Hart dictated these memoirs in 1918 and 1919 at his home in Eckert, Colorado, apparently at the urging of his son Harry. The portion treating the events of 1865 was preserved in two typewritten fragments (with some handwritten additions): a brief one titled "Meeting an Indian Half Way" and a longer segment titled "Battle of Ganard's Bridge."[4] *The latter document casts new light on the Battle of Platte Bridge on July 26, the celebrated engagement in which Caspar Collins, namesake of Casper, Wyoming, was killed. Johnny's story joins a short list of eyewitness accounts of the core of this action, taking its place alongside the diary of Sergeant Isaac B. Pennock; the reminiscences of Private Frederick Erhardt; and the letters of George Bent, who fought on the Indian side.*[5] *Bent was the son of trader William Bent and of Owl Woman, the daughter of a Cheyenne chief. Of all these narrators, Johnny provided the most detail.*

On April 18, the Eleventh Kansas set up its headquarters at the strategic point on the Oregon Trail called "Platte Bridge" or "Ganard's Bridge" after its builder, Louis Guinard. After the 1865 events, it would become Fort Caspar, then the town of Casper, Wyoming.[6] *Johnny described the place in "Battle":*

3. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861–1865*, 208–9; Tatham, "Because They Were Needed," 113–15.

4. The manuscripts are in the collection of John Hart, the narrator's great-grandson, in San Rafael, California.

5. "Diary of Isaac B. Pennock, First Sergeant Company 'I', Eleventh Kansas Cavalry," in *Kansas's War: The Civil War in Documents*, ed. Pearl T. Ponce (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011), 197–204; Ferdinand Erhardt, "Reminiscences of Ferdinand Erhardt: A Paper Read Before the Old Settlers Reunion at Lincoln, 1906," Chapter 17 in *Pioneer History of Kansas,* by Adolph Roenigk (Lincoln, Kans.: Adolph Roenigk, 1933); George E. Hyde, *Life of George Bent: Written from His Letters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 217–22. Additional accounts by soldiers not in Collins's party include William Y. Drew, "The Platte Bridge Fight by One Who Was There," *Osage County* (Kans.) *Chronicle,* April 20, April 27, May 11, May 18, and May 25, 1882; Stephen H. Fairfield, "The Eleventh Kansas Regiment at Platte Bridge," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1903–1904* 8 (1904): 352–62; John C. Friend, "Account of the Platte Bridge Fight Written by John C. Friend," William Oliver Collins and Family Papers, folder 18, box 2, WH 73, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library; Henry Lord, "July 26 the Anniversary of Indian Fight in Which 30 Kansans Were Slain," *Kansas City Star,* July 26, 1934; George Morton Walker, "Eleventh Kansas Cavalry, 1865, and Battle of Platte Bridge," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1915–1918* 14 (1918): 335–38; Charles Waring, "The Platte Bridge Battle," *Riley County* (Kans.) *Democrat,* August 26, 1909. To these must be added George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), 216–29. Though not an eyewitness, Grinnell spoke with many unnamed Cheyenne informants and drew on George Bent as well.

6. Isaac Pennock also wrote "Ganard."

All there was at Ganard's Bridge in 1865 were Ganard's double cabin close to the bridge, two squaw-men's tepas, the Telegraph Company's little fort (the Post) with a small stockade; and a small cabin close to the telegraph building.

Ganard was an old-timer, a French Canadian, an Indian trader and used to the wild frontier. He and his oldest son it was that built the bridge across the North Platte River. This bridge was twenty-six spans of thirty-six feet to the span; the timbers of which it was built were hewed out in the mountains [the Laramie Mountains] twelve miles south of where it was built across the river. This bridge must have cost Ganard at least eight thousand dollars completed. He charged $2.50 for one wagon and one team to cross the bridge, other teams in proportion.

There was another bridge about twelve miles further down the river which was built by Reshaw [John Baptiste Richard], a French Canadian too; but all freighters and emigrants were forced to pull through sand requiring two days of the hardest kind of work to make the bridge, and as there was no sand going by way of Ganard's bridge, he had all the trade in the toll bridge business at the time.[7]



Johnny Hart's story, as published here in the pages of Kansas History *for the first time, joins a short list of eyewitness accounts of the core of the action near Platte Bridge Station. It takes its place alongside the diary of Sergeant Isaac B. Pennock; the reminiscences of Private Frederick Erhardt; and the letters of George Bent, who fought on the Indian side. Photographed here in 1906 with his wife Magpie, Bent was the son of trader William Bent and of Owl Woman, the daughter of a Cheyenne chief. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.*

In the late spring of 1865, Cheyenne, Sioux, and Arapaho leaders, encamped in the Powder River country north of the Platte, settled on a plan of campaign. After wearing the federal garrisons down with incessant minor raids, they would mass their forces at a chosen spot and permanently sever the Oregon Trail.[8] The first incident recorded by Johnny, in "Meeting an Indian Half Way," is not datable but seems to belong to the harassment phase of the war.

I was stationed at Ganard's Bridge on the North Platte River. The grass was poor, a sort of alkali grass, so we

7. It may have been Louis Guinard's brother who helped build the bridge, while his nephew, Louis Philip, clerked for him. See McDermott, *Frontier Crossroads,* 23; and Tom Rea, *Devil's Gate: Owning the Land, Owning the Story* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 71–72.

8. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes,* 210.

moved up to the foot of the mountains, went in camp on a small creek bottom, which was about twenty-five yards wide and near twenty-five feet deep. We built a fort on each bluff out of boulders. West of this creek was fine bluestem grazing ground and [this] extended down two miles and about one half mile wide sloping up from the creek. We grazed our horses two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon, and on this new grass our horses were doing fine.

I was put on picket on the west side of the grazing ground about three hundred yards from the herd, where I could see all around. I was posted on a high ridge, this gave my horse a chance to eat. In about thirty minutes I thought I saw a wolf pass over a low place and in half a minute another and right along like that. I seen that they were horses, and about a foot of his back was exposed when passing through this low place. I walked to my horses, mounted, gave my hat a wave and started for the herd thoroughly scared. Away the herd ran for camp. Every horse in the herd knew what it meant as well as the herder, as we trained them by always firing a shot and waving our hats when we wanted the herd to go to camp. We wasn't a minute too soon in our run toward camp.

The Indians appeared all around about one hundred a minute. When I got half way to camp, I slowed down to walk and stopped, about one thousand yards from our fort. I seen the Indians couldn't cut me off. A lone Indian rode up to within five hundred yards of me and hallowed to me to come out! come out! I asked him to come over. He gave me a lot of abuse and I fired back the same. Finally the Indian brave dared me to come half way, calling me a coward and a squaw.

John Roderick,[9] my herding partner, was still mounted and was [in] the old boulder fort, like myself waiting for the company to saddle up and come out, and I knew he heard this challenge. I wasn't anxious to battle this Indian, as I thought he was well armed and a half breed, and I did not see any fun in it. But this Indian kept it up, daring me. I thought that if I couldn't fight one Indian to a finish, I was no good, so I yelled to him, all right I'll meet you half way. Then we both started in a walk towards each other. About four [hundred] yards ahead there was a sag just deep enough to hide me and sixty yards wide, across this sag I started in a run, anything is fair in love and war. As I climbed cautiously the opposite bank of this sag, I saw my challenger and a dozen more behind him coming under the whip. I saw the trap at a glance, whirled and put spur to my horse for camp. But where these extra Indians came from, where the place was level, is a puzzle to me today.

On coming out of this sag, I saw a squad of cavalry coming at full speed, as John Roderick told Lieutenant Drew[10] that I had gone out to meet an Indian on the war path, half way. I held up a little, as I wanted to scrap that Indian who had tricked me. I didn't care if he was coming, though I would slow up and dismount and get him standing on the ground. You cannot shoot off-hand from a horse that has been running with accuracy. But that dozen Indians coming further behind would be onto me before Lieutenant Drew and his boys would be up. I watched behind and ahead. Finally [I] thought it safe to stop and fight that lone Indian, as he had shot several arrows at me, and my reinforcements would be up as soon as his would. I shot my carbine and then emptied my revolver at him. I got his horse, it laid down in about two hundred yards, but never knew whether the Indian was hit or not.

I never heard the last of going out to meet an Indian half way, all my pals took great pains to remind me about that every time we made a thrust at the Indians. John Holding was wounded.[11] We moved back to Ganard's Bridge that evening.

This minor affair exemplified a tactic the Indians used incessantly and often with success: use a small force, in this case a single warrior, to lure soldiers out of safety and into ambush.

On July 25, unknown to the garrison (but suspected by Guinard), several thousand Indians had converged north of the river. About a hundred of these showed themselves that day, hoping to draw out a sortie. On this occasion the stratagem did not work. The chiefs sent a respected warrior, High Backed Wolf, to bring in the advance party. Instead, the frustrated decoys decided to take some action on their own—and persuaded the messenger to go with them.[12] *Johnny's account of what ensued was titled "First Day: Cattle Raid."*

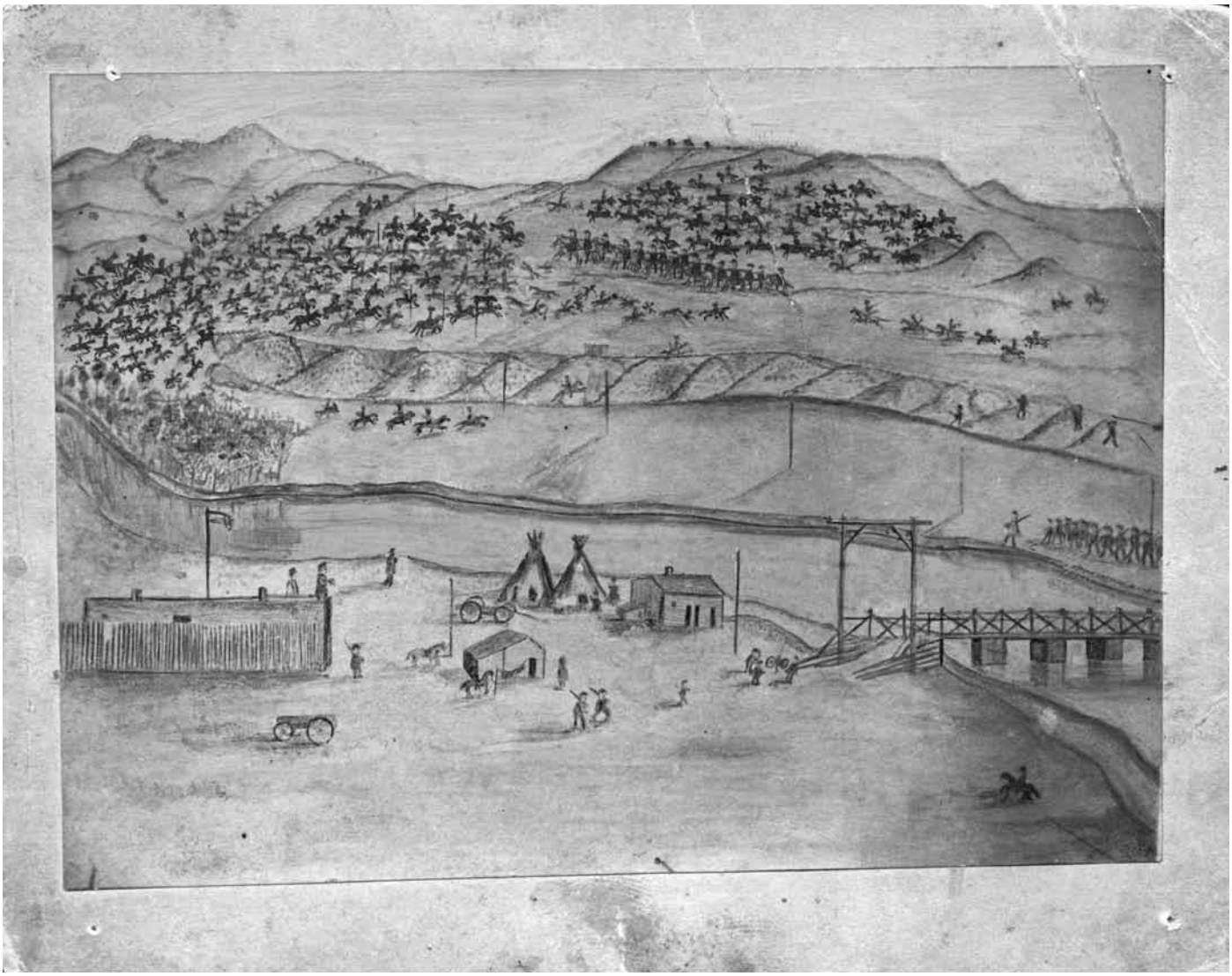
One morning Ganard came to me stating that the Indians were coming and asking me to help him drive his cattle up close to our camp. We were camped close to Ganard's Bridge and so were in a good position to fight away the warlike Indians. Our company was camped at

9. Private John F. Roderick, Grasshopper Falls, in the "Roster and Descriptive Roll"; see also *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861–1865,* 410.

10. Company I First Lieutenant William Y. Drew of Burlingame, in the "Roster and Descriptive Roll."

11. John W. Holding in the "Roster and Descriptive Roll."

12. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes,* 221–22.



Jesse J. Playford, a private in Johnny Hart's Company I, Eleventh Kansas, made this watercolor of the Platte Bridge Station. "All there was at Ganard's Bridge in 1865 were Ganard's double cabin close to the bridge, two squaw-men's tepas, the Telegraph Company's little fort (the Post) with a small stockade; and a small cabin close to the telegraph building," remembered Hart. During the fighting of July 26, Playford, who was from Burlingame, Osage County, was "wounded in neck by an arrow," according to the Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas.

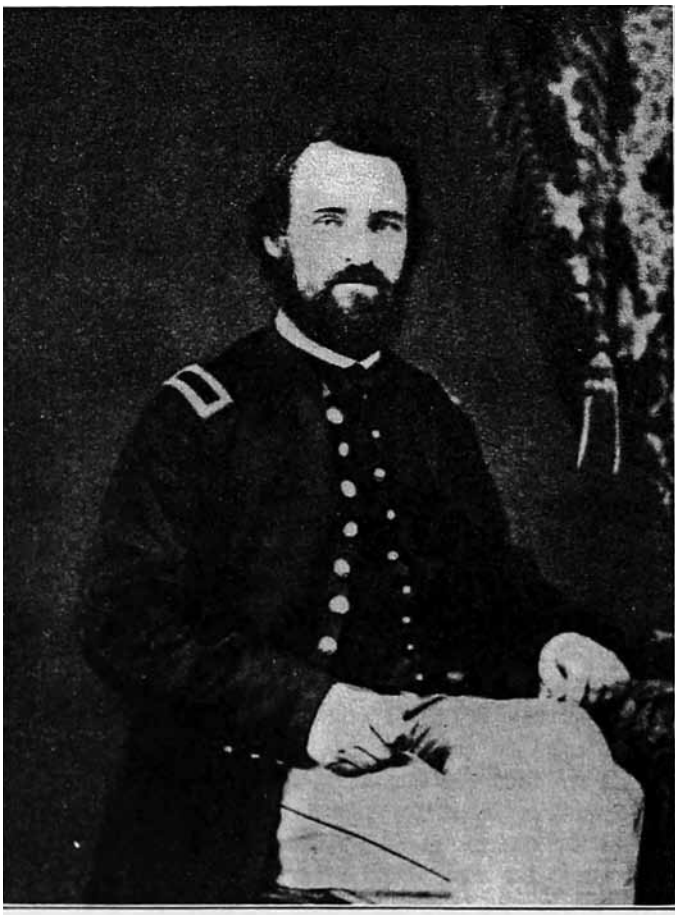
this bridge to aid in keeping the telegraph line open, as the Indians kept taking it down.

Four of my company saddled up and rode down the North Platte about four miles where we found Ganard's cattle and started them up towards the bridge. Ganard's squaw and her mother mounted ponies and accompanied us. We just had the cattle under good way when four Indians showed up some distance away stripped for battle and painted.

Ganard said, "There may be considerable more of these Indians showing up pretty soon." He said that we had better abandon the cattle and make for the post at the bridge. "Things do not look good, I am uneasy. My squaw she sees smoke signals—Indians gathering."

[I] did not like this abandon idea very well, as we had come down there for the cattle and wished to be successful rather than otherwise, so [I] answered Ganard, "No, we will fight the Indians off, and push the cattle as fast as we can, Indian or no Indian."

The four Indians fired at us long distance; this scared the squaws so they commenced to sling the lariat onto the rumps of those cattle. So did Ganard, he was excited as much or more than the squaws.



GEORGE M. WALKER.

George Morton Walker of Emporia, a second lieutenant in Company C, published his account of the "Eleventh Kansas Cavalry, 1865, and Battle of Platte Bridge" in the Kansas Historical Collections *in 1918. He attributed the scalping of High Backed Wolf to Corporal Charles Bates, not to Privates Johnny Hart and Pharus Hammond.*

He then told us there might be a large war party and that we had better see they did not get between us and the Post.

Eleventh Kansas boys from the camp could see us, and kept coming out to us one by one until we had eight in our party of soldiers, but the Indians had increased until there were twelve or more of them. We were keeping the Indians back three or four hundred yards behind the cattle, when we came to a damp place that was covered with water when the Platte overflowed its banks during the very highest water of the year. This place cut the river bottom across from the river to the bluff, and here sand and trash had blown in among the sage and checo shrubby growth, so that after our horses and cattle had scampered across you couldn't see a horse in some places sixty feet. But joining this there was a low bare place about one hundred yards wide, a fine place to fight Indians across.

We soldiers were firing when we could get a chance and the Indians were doing the same. After this firing had been going on a spell, we concluded to all mount and charge back across this bare place and make a cleanup of the Indians at once. But [we] found on the other side a good bunch of Indians on the fight, far too many now for us to give battle to, so we fell back to our former position and the Indians right in our rear, crowding us a terrific pace.

A Cheyenne chief was pounding Noah Coffman on the back with an old blunt sword which made him yell for help. Pharus Hammond and myself wheeled and fired on this chief.[13] One ball slivered the chief's right wrist and another ball lodged in his neck. He fell off his pony, then jumped up and ran into a bunch of willows that grew in the middle of the damp lane. After this all the other Indians fell back to their side of the battleground. Then on closer inspection saw that the chief had fallen just at the edge of the bunch of willows and not clear out of sight as we at first supposed and lay there as if through for this world.

Pharus Hammond and I rode down and around the knobs of willow sand domes opposite where the Cheyenne chief lay, then as the surrounding bushes seemed to be free of Indians, rustled up courage and rode to the chief. Then I dismounted and seized hold of the chief's feet and pulled him out of the willows.

Then [we] turned him over on his back. He lay still. At first [we] thought he was dead or about so, but all at once he jumped up and attacked us like a wild animal and we had to fight for our lives. His right hand being out of commission is probably the thing that saved both our lives, his being mixed up with us in close quarters in a second, and the extra powerful Indian he was; quickness was his principal aid. We had our wits put to a severe test defending ourselves, and both of us were about out of breath, for once entirely surprised and pretty well rattled. He had seized me by the arm and would not let go at the beginning of the trouble, and even as he fell to the ground exhausted, had whirled and tossed until I felt as if my back was about broke. Then as it looked as if one or the other would have to die if he managed to stab us just right

13. Noah Coffman, Grasshopper Falls, is found in the "Roster and Descriptive Roll"; Pharus E. Hammond, a private from Leavenworth, enlisted in Company I in April 1864. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861–1865*, 411.

with his short saber, the chief sank down to the ground dead. We were so crazy mad at the time, did not think out the proper thing to do, so like a couple of fools that should have known better, [we] scalped that Cheyenne chief, and the memory of it makes me feel ashamed to this day.

Several sources agree that the scalping occurred and that the victim was none other than High Backed Wolf. But who killed and scalped him and under what circumstances? Johnny's account strikingly contradicts other versions of this incident.

Private William Henry Lord later claimed that he and his friend Jim Porter "dispatched" the chief. In Lord's telling, the soldiers killed the Indian, found him to be wearing a buckskin shirt "laced with the scalps of white women," and took his own scalp in revenge. The next morning, they tied the trophy to a stick and waved it tauntingly at the warriors across the river.[14]

William Y. Drew, not an eyewitness, told it like this: "Two of the boys rode into the brush to find the chief, and found him lying apparently dead. One man jumped off his horse and stabbed him about the heart. He did not give the least sign of life. Then he commenced to scalp him. As soon as the knife touched his head the Indian commenced to beg, when another man shot him through the brain." Drew did not mention any scalp-ornamented shirt, but added that the men had vowed revenge for the earlier mutilation of one of their own.[15]

George Morton Walker, also at the post, attributed the scalping to Corporal Charles Bates and repeated the scalp shirt story. But historian Robert Huhn Jones names the perpetrator as Mich Lajeunesse, son of Charles Lajeunesse, a trader at the post.[16]

On balance, it seems to come down to Hammond and Hart or Lord and Porter. But would Johnny have laid false claim to an incident that he, alone of all the tellers, found shameful?

Just then Sergeant Old Ike Pennock[17] came with ten more men, and ordered our mob back to the Post. Sergeant Pennock gave us a good dressing down then and there. "Whatever you do from now on, boys," he said, "do not ever scalp another Indian! Don't you know a scalped Indian can never enter the Happy Hunting Ground? That everything is lost to him forever, that he has no recourse, he or his friends?"

We hurried back toward the Post, and had ridden about fifty yards, when the Indians came up to their dead and scalped chief. Then we could hear the real savage yell of a band of Indians maddened almost into blindness rage. To see and witness Indians in a rage like this can never be forgotten, and suggests the idea that man is still the most savage animal of the earth.[18]

At the Post, [we] saw Ganard and the two squaws had driven the cattle into safety, and [we] were feeling good over it. Ganard wanted to see the scalp, said his mother-in-law would tan it, and work it into a fine specimen.

That evening I took the scalp to Ganard's house. His mother-in-law looked the scalp over for quite a while, said it was a Cheyenne chief's scalp, and that he was a member of the council, a big man of importance.

She then looked the scalp over a while longer. Then suddenly [she] commenced to chew that scalp, all the while yelling and singing her inherited war song of hate. She jumped around like a colt and kept it up until she fell down on the earth floor of the cabin exhausted, but kept chewing that scalp in a barbarous manner. She was getting even, eking out the hate of her race on one scalp of the Cheyenne.

Mr. Ganard slapped himself and laughed. It was great fun for him, and his squaw kept singing their scalp song in almost regular measured time. Their song of triumph, and especially so, as both these squaws were Rees [Arikarees], who had always been at war with the Cheyenne, so gloried in the death of their enemies. To me this sort of thing was disgusting. [I] had enough of Indians for one day, so [I] turned and walked away, out of tune with myself and all the wide world.

Here is another knot of mysteries. As we have seen, William H. Lord claimed to have kept the scalp. Robert Huhn Jones had an Indian woman gloating over the scalp, but she was the sister of Mich Lajeunesse. Also, there is a single, though much-cited, report that Louis Guinard had disappeared on June 6. In any

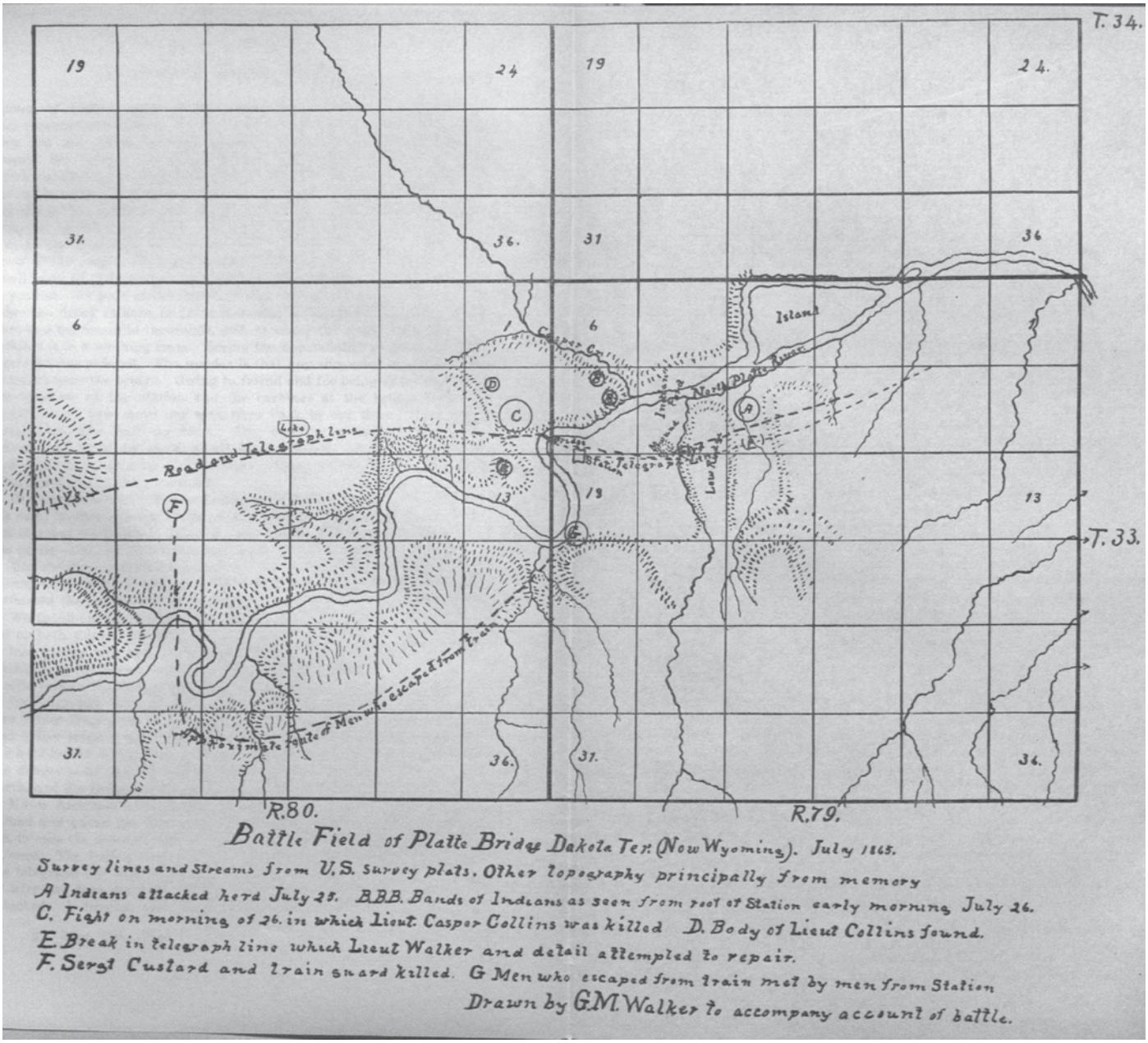
14. "July 26 the Anniversary of Indian Fight in Which 30 Kansans Were Slain," *Kansas City Star,* July 26, 1934. This account lacks a byline and is written in the third person, perhaps by Lord's son Earl.

15. Drew, "The Platte Bridge Fight," April 20, 1882.

16. Walker, "Eleventh Kansas Cavalry," 336; Jones, *Guarding the Overland Trails,* 265n. Corporal Charles Bates, Sr., is listed in the "Roster and Descriptive Roll" and in *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861–1865,* 409.

17. Isaac B. Pennock of Leavenworth. Some older sources give his name as Pennick, but he is Pennock in the "Roster and Descriptive Roll," as well as in the *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861–1865,* 410.

18. After the fighting on the succeeding day, Drew reported finding a note dropped by a captive of the Indians: "You killed one of the principal chiefs of the Cheyennes yesterday, and they swear they will have a fearful revenge on you for it" (Drew, "The Platte Bridge Fight," May 18, 1882). However, it seems unlikely that the fate of High Backed Wolf added much intensity to a long-planned attack.



Lieutenant George Walker drew this map of the Platte Bridge battlefield from memory to accompany his published account. Walker reported hearing that Lieutenant Caspar Collins had been "back at the bridge with his men; he then wheeled his horse and rushed back among the Indians." Walker marked the spot of Collins's death on this map with a "C."

case, both Guinard's relations and Lajeunesse's sister were Shoshonis, not Arikarees.[19]

At this point Johnny's memory turned to tensions among the men along the trail and to the celebrated figure of Caspar Collins, namesake of Casper, Wyoming.

19. Henry Lord, "Henry Lord of Dodge City Tells of the Battle of Platte Bridge," Jones, *Guarding the Overland Trails,* 265; Mokler, *Fort Caspar (Platte Bridge Station)*, 11. Mokler's informant was another Louis Guinard, who said he was the bridge-builder's nephew. However, the June 6 date seems to appear only in John D. McDermott, *Frontier Crossroads,* 50. According to family member Brenda Tippin, it may derive from court papers relating to compensation after the post's abandonment and burning by Indians in 1867 (Brenda Tippin, personal communication, January 25, 2015; see also McDermott, *Frontier Crossroads,* 97).

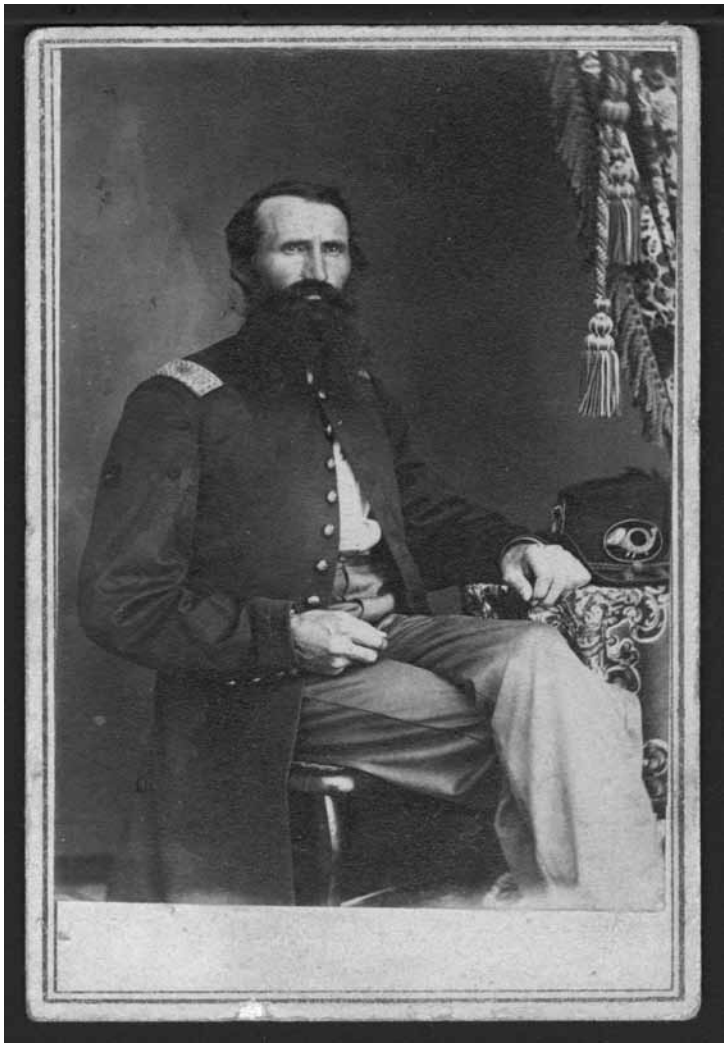
One company at Ganard's Bridge were "fillers in," that is, enlisted men who were filling the places of those who had died of sickness, or in battle with the Indians. And some there were whom we called "galvanized infantry." They had been Confederate soldiers taken prisoners during the Civil War, and who had been in a prison in Chicago. They had been given the opportunity to enlist and fight Indians in Wyoming and Montana.[20]

But to a man they were our bitter enemies. There were fine fellows among them, considerate and sensible, while others were of the worst type, as is the case with all collections of men from over the country. It was understood at the time that the Southern Confederacy had given them permission to enlist to fight Indians in the North, though I have never had this point verified. There was a good full company of them first at Ganard's Bridge, but about half of them deserted.

Lieutenant Caspar Collins was their commander, a fine officer and a splendid man all around. [I] was informed at the time he was the youngest officer in the army.

Johnny was confused here. Caspar Collins, the son of Lieutenant Colonel William O. Collins, was not the "galvanized Yankees'" commander. In fact he arrived at the post only on the eve of the battle and by sheer coincidence, on his way back to his own Eleventh Ohio Cavalry company at Sweet Water Station after receiving his lieutenant's commission at Fort Laramie.[21]

However, this confusion may conceal another story. The main tension among the troops along the Emigrant Trail in Wyoming was not between volunteers and "galvanized" soldiers: it was between the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry and the Eleventh Ohio, who shared trail protection duties. On July 12, for example, when a detachment of Ohio troops under Captain Henry Bretney arrived at Platte Bridge, Bretney and Captain Greer of Johnny's Company I clashed bitterly about who was in charge.[22] *By putting the Ohioan Collins in command of the "galvanized" men, Johnny's memory may have conflated two sets of people he had trouble with.*



Martin Anderson of Circleville, Jackson County, Kansas, was promoted to major of the Eleventh Kansas in November 1863. On July 16, 1865, he arrived at Platte Bridge to take command of this segment of the Oregon Trail. The decisions he made on July 26 drew harsh criticism, especially from officers of Collins's Eleventh Ohio, as well as defense. Anderson returned to civilian life after the war, and served a term as Kansas state treasurer, 1867–1869.

By the time of the July 26 battles, the command issue had been resolved: Major Martin Anderson, Eleventh Kansas, had arrived to take charge of the wide district, with Greer as post commander under him.[23] *(For some reason, Johnny recalled the major's name as Bowen.)*

20. The galvanized Yankees were used up and down the plains, valuably augmenting thin-stretched federal forces on the frontier. See Dee Brown, *The Galvanized Yankees* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); Michelle Tucker Butts, *Galvanized Yankees on the Upper Missouri: The Face of Loyalty* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2003).

21. McDermott, *Frontier Crossroads,* 58; Jones, *Guarding the Overland Trails,* 267.

22. McDermott, *Frontier Crossroads,* 55.

23. The Eleventh Kansas was headed at this time by Major Preston B. Plumb, who had been sent farther west with five companies and did

On the eve of the battle, the garrison included seventy-four officers and men of Company I, Eleventh Kansas; some fourteen "galvanized infantry"; and a handful of stray men from other units. On the afternoon of the twenty-fifth, ten men of Company K, Eleventh Kansas, arrived from the east with the mail—and Caspar Collins. In the small hours of the twenty-sixth, Captain Bretney arrived from the west with ten Ohioans. The total complement was then 119, though woefully undersupplied with arms, ammunition, and horses.[24]

On July 26—"a terrible day for our command," in Sergeant Pennock's words—the Indians got the action they wished for.[25] *A column of twenty-some men—reported numbers differ slightly—issued from the fort, crossed the bridge, and rode straight into the carefully set trap. Hart titled his chapter "Second Day."*

The next morning there were about a dozen Indians riding up and down on the mesa across the river opposite our camp, coaxing and daring us out to fight them. They called us cowards and a few pet names they had learned from the white man. It seems we had orders not to fight the Indians unless they attacked us, so our men were content, remaining in camp. But Lieutenant Caspar Collins was impatient, he wanted to test his fighting ability with the Indians that day. . . . He came to our captain, Captain Greer, and asked for a detail of twenty men to go over the bridge and run those bragging Indians away. Ganard advised Lieutenant Collins and all other men not to go out and fight the Indians. He said by the Indian smokes this was a gathering of tribes.

Captain Greer told Lieutenant Collins he would have to get an order from Major Bowen [Anderson].[26] Then Lieutenant Casper Collins went to see Major Bowen [Anderson], found that Major Bowen [Anderson] could not give an order of that kind under the existing orders from headquarters. But [he] advised if Captain Greer would allow him, Collins, to call for volunteers and could get the men to volunteer he wouldn't say anything. Everything was agreeable after that, for Lieutenant Caspar Collins came and called for volunteers from the Eleventh Kansas. Twenty men and myself volunteered to go out with Lieutenant Collins at once. Soon we were ready.

It is here that Johnny's memories cut most strikingly across other accounts. He did not know, or had in the intervening years forgotten, that the sortie was mounted to bring in a military wagon train coming east from Sweet Water Station. He also apparently erred in stating that the group consisted of volunteers. Confusion surrounded the decision to place Caspar Collins in charge of Kansans unknown to him. Apparently the Eleventh Kansas officers, to a man, had found reasons to excuse themselves. But did Collins actually put himself forward, as Johnny said, or go dutifully and with a sense of doom, as elsewhere reported?[27] *Both might be true. John D. McDermott suggests that Collins initially volunteered on the assumption that he would be given a much larger party.*[28] *Johnny went on to provide a poignant sidelight to the Collins story.*

But Lieutenant Collins was determined to ride a very large grey horse that belonged to our company. He was a splendid horse but would whirl around in the ranks breaking the line. The rider could pull his bits against his neck, it made no difference. If the notion struck this horse at this time, away he would bolt where he pleased, providing he became the least excited. We warned the Lieutenant about the fault of this horse, but our efforts availed us nothing.[29]

I was in the first set of Fours. Across the bridge we marched and out on the mesa following that teasing bunch of Indians back about one half mile where we halted as wished to ascertain the whereabouts of the yelling that sounded overhead, to the sides and everywhere else. In a moment, [I] saw we were in a trap, for two hundred warriors had rushed in behind us cutting our retreat back to the Post out of the question, and another band of Indians came out of the river bottom above the Post and so were between us and the bridge which spanned across the river.

not figure in the Platte Bridge story. Former regimental chief Colonel Thomas B. Moonlight, whom Johnny had so admired in the Missouri campaign, had been promoted to higher positions in the West before proving so hopeless at Indian warfare that he was dismissed from the army. See *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861–1865,* 210–11; Douglas C. McChristian and Paul L. Hedren, *Fort Laramie: Military Bastion of the High Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 236.

24. McDermott, *Frontier Crossroads,* 61.

25. Pennock, "Diary," 200.

26. Records show no Bowen connected with the Eleventh Kansas. This must be a slip for Anderson.

27. Vaughn, *The Battle of Platte Bridge,* 33–34; Mokler, *Fort Caspar (Platte Bridge Station),* 27–29. One officer who knew Collins in 1864 described him as "a young man entirely devoid of fear and with an ambition to have military success and renown" [Eugene F. Ware, *The Indian War of 1864: Being a Fragment of the Early History of Kansas* (Topeka, Kans.: Crane & Co., 1911), Chapter 21, available online at http://www.kancoll.org/books/ware/].

28. McDermott, *Frontier Crossroads,* 62.

29. Johnny was the only source to say that Collins chose the horse for its appearance. George Morton Walker claimed to have given Collins this mount, considering it "the best one of those used by the non-commissioned staff" (Walker, "Eleventh Kansas Cavalry," 336).

Lieutenant Collins looked back behind us, saw both sides of the rear closing in, saw that mob of Indians coming and yelling their curdling war song. He caught his breath with a hurried whisp and exclaimed, "None of us will ever get back to the Post. We are lost! We are doomed! I am to blame for this, and I am the fool! Boys, let's fight a good fight, to the last!"[30]

Every last one of us thought the same as did the Lieutenant. I could see the lips of my comrades closing together tightly and the snapping of eyes suggesting a devout determination to fight out the odds to the last.

A few seconds after this the Indians closed in on us and fired, but mostly with arrows, and when an arrow missed a soldier it hit an Indian. The Indians were so numerous around us, nothing could hit the ground, arrows or bullets. And the terrific din of yelling, commotion, Indians afoot, others mounted, and last, the whirling of ponies and swirling of countless clouds of dust. . . . These Indians were surging around us like an onrushing tide striking against a bluff and rebounding back in a wicked undercurrent across a rocky reef intent in its power of weight and force to snuff out all life.[31] This surging mob of Indians were all stripped to the breechclout, their bodies and faces all painted in ugly grotesque shapes and colors, a hideous looking sight, and one that always rattles those not accustomed to it, be they ever so brave and steady.

It wasn't long until the Indians discovered they were killing more of their own members than of ours with arrows, so they quit and commenced to using spears.[32]

The Lieutenant's large gray mount bolted almost at the first and the last I saw of him was the big gray going over those Indian ponies as if they were so many feeble sheep.[33]

We bunched our men and started for the bridge determined to make the attempt at all hazards. I did not notice what way or route we selected as [I] expected to soon be among the dead, because we were outnumbered by at least twenty five to one.

Soon [I] discovered that to level my revolver on an Indian was about as good as to shoot him, for he would throw himself on the ground or on the side of his pony and dodge out of sight, and to get him I would have to be quick. This method gave me an opportunity to be ready for another Indian, and saved my ammunition, and at the same time [I] believe [this] is what saved me from being scalped by the Indians that day.

These Indians seemed to drive terror among some of our men so that they lost control of themselves, and did not fight the good fight to the last, very good. I know that George McDonald yelled for me to help him, that he was lanced twice, and fell off his horse, and at that, with a loaded revolver in his scabbard. And McDonald was as brave a man as ever wore a uniform, but he lost control. And Jim Porter the same fate as McDonald, good boy that he was. Both of these boys, many's the time, had stood right up to the Johnnies without flinching, and could be moved under the hottest kind of fire anywhere.[34]

Our little band was thinning out fast and the Indians were pushing us harder every second, and in a flash we were thirsty, tired and weary, fighting out a hundred years of life in a few minutes.

All at once Tip Hill[35] yelled out, "Oh, somebody help me!" On looking [I] saw that one determined Indian had seized hold of his bridle rein and was pulling his horse out of our bunch. Tip Hill was knocking off spears with his revolver, every which way, making a heroic effort of his life as I dashed up to him. And just at this instant a Cheyenne charged in between Tip Hill and our little band and made a thrust at Tip Hill with a spear, but missed.

30. This is the only report of "last words" from Caspar Collins. However, they seem both artificial and ill-matched to the situation. Perhaps John Benton Hart, or his amanuensis Harry Hart, embellished a bit. George Bent, watching from the Indian side, did not see an orderly retreat but a wild dash for the bridge (Hyde, *Life of George Bent,* 218).

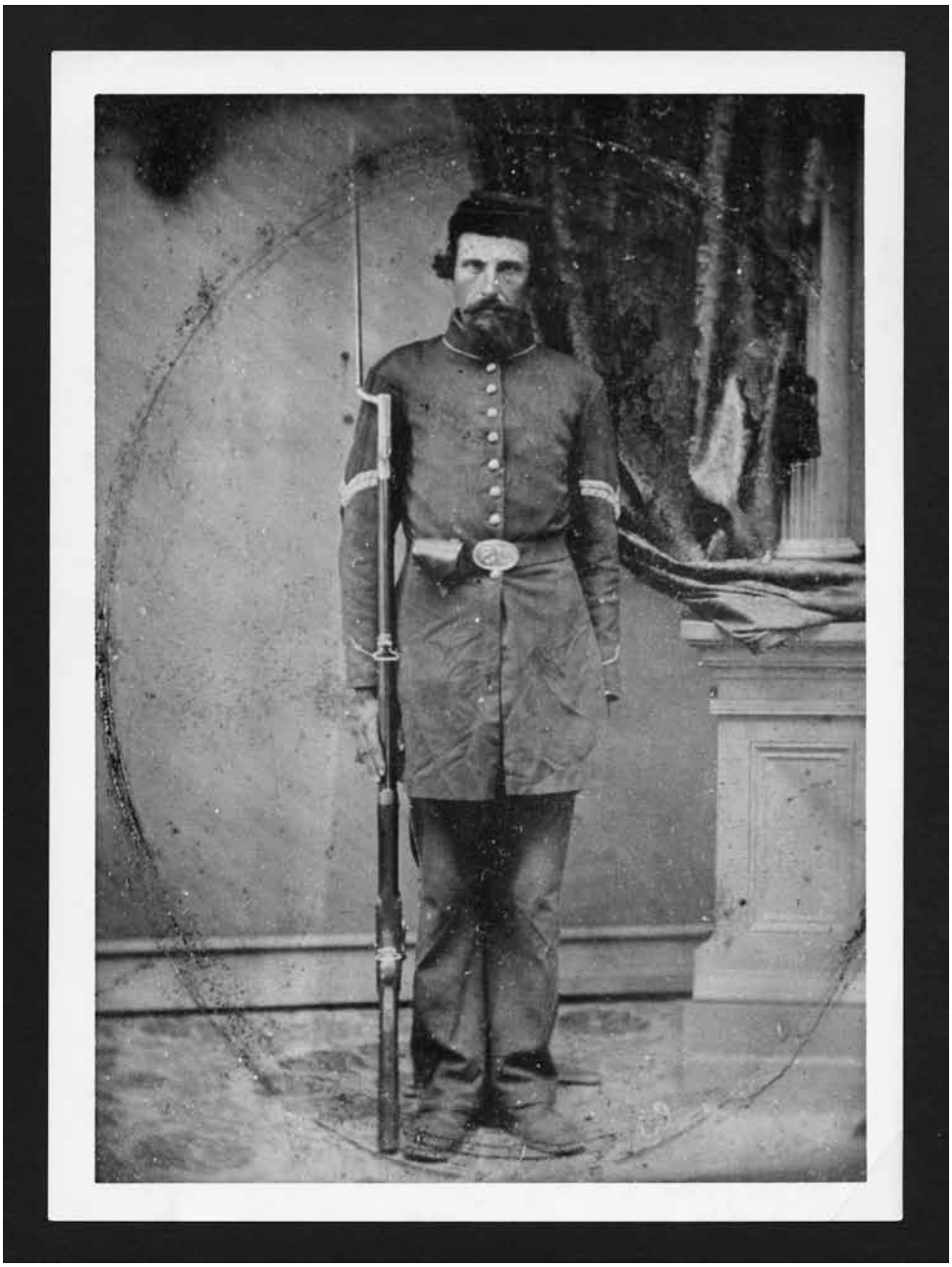
31. This purple patch may be an interpolation by Harry Hart.

32. The attackers were thronging in from three sides and could and did hit each other. See *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861–1865,* 212; Drew, "The Platte Bridge Fight," April 27, 1882; and Hyde, *Life of George Bent,* 218–19.

33. The story of the horse's bolting is repeated by eyewitnesses Bent (Hyde, *Life of George Bent,* 219) and Erhardt ("Reminiscences of Ferdinand Erhardt," 119). Drew reported seeing the Indians dragging the fractious animal along the bluffs after the battle (Drew, "The Platte Bridge Fight," May 11, 1882). Grinnell added that that the horse lived on for many years in a Cheyenne village, always giving trouble (Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes,* 223). Two observers from the post, Stephen H. Fairfield and John C. Friend, told an alternate story: that Collins, still in control of his horse, had almost reached the bridge when he turned back to help a wounded comrade (Fairfield, "The Eleventh Kansas Regiment at Platte Bridge," 358; John C. Friend, "Account of the Platte Bridge Fight Written by John C. Friend," William Oliver Collins and Family Papers, folder 18, box 2, WH 73, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library).

34. George W. McDonald of Burlingame is found in the "Roster and Descriptive Roll"; Porter is listed under "Additional Enlistments—Co. I" in *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861–1865,* 411, and both names are listed as fatalities in Cutler, *History of Kansas.* However, Walker reported that Porter, the friend of Henry Lord and (possibly) his accomplice in the scalping on July 25, was killed later on July 26 (Walker, "Eleventh Kansas Cavalry," 337–38). John Benton Hart called the Confederates "the Johnnies."

35. There is no Tip Hill in the "Roster and Descriptive Roll," though there is a Henry W. Hills.



Amos J. Custard of Big Springs, Douglas County, Kansas, served as commissary sergeant in Company H, Eleventh Kansas Cavalry. On July 26, 1865, he led a three-wagon supply train from the west toward Platte Bridge Station that was attacked by Indians near Red Buttes. The battle raged for several hours within field-glass view of the fort, but curiously Private Johnny Hart did not mention it in his recollections. Sergeant Custard was one of twenty-two troopers killed in that desperate noontime battle—half of the fatalities, according the Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, *belonged to Company H.*

something for Tip Hill then and there, so [I] leveled my revolver on his [the Indian's] hands and shoulder so as to be sure not to make a miss and fired. Instantly that Indian threw up both hands and up went his spear about fifteen feet farther in the air; I rode under it a second before it fell down just missing my horse in the rear. That Cheyenne fell back on his pony, his mouth was open wide enough for me to crowd my doubled-up fist down his throat. . . . Tip Hill managed to get rid of the Indian holding and tugging at the bridle rein of his horse and managed once more [to] regain the thin safety of our little band of men.

All at once I gave a yell as [I] was riding off the mesa and into the bottom some two hundred yards from the bridge, for there were the boys at the Post coming out to help us. In a few seconds after this, I knew I was safe.

Six of our little band arrived at the Post and fifteen were killed out of this twenty-one that volunteered to go out and fight Indians under Lieutenant Casper Collins that day. Tip Hill had three arrows clinging to him, Harley Stoddard three arrows, the Captain's yellow boy two arrows and a bullet, George May three arrows, a fellow we called Strap badly wounded and I without a scratch, excepting a bruise or two.[36] Most of the boys were killed with spears. I was the only one that came out with

Then seeing he had missed, whirled his spear down in front and was going to thrust Tip Hill as he rode by him. This Cheyenne was about six feet ahead of me, I must [do]

36. Harley L. Stoddard of Burlingame is in the "Roster and Descriptive Roll"; George D. May is in the *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861–1865,* 411; the others are unidentifiable. The "yellow boy" is probably a light-skinned African American.

a whole hide although [I] was hit with a spear and a bow. I felt fine riding across Ganard's twenty-six-span bridge and couldn't see how it all happened when by rights [I] should have been among the dead. It was a fairylike feeling that day to be alive.

On arriving in camp I, with others, was detailed to go down the river about a mile and repair the telegraph wire, as the Indians had pulled it down. Out of this party we lost five men. Others were detailed to recover at least some of our dead comrades across the river, so that all in all we lost 26 men that day.[37]

Though Johnny's casualty figure for the day was about right (the official tally was twenty-eight), the Collins party in fact accounted for only five of those deaths and the telegraph line foray for only one. The outgunned Indians of course suffered far more.

If the attackers had known the precarious state of the garrison, desperately short of ammunition, they might have carried through with their plan to storm it. Instead, they turned their attention to the party approaching from the west, destroying it within field-glass view of the fort in the Battle of Red Buttes. Johnny should have been back from downriver in time to witness this, but said nothing about it. Though the soldiers feared an even worse sequel, the day's actions in fact marked the end of the tribes' attempt to sever the Oregon Trail.

The Indians scalped and terribly mutilated eighteen of our boys. We had an old German soldier in our company who was killed when out as a volunteer.[38] He was quite gray, a man of splendid nerve and respected by all. The Indians did not scalp or mutilate his body, but they did fill his body with arrows. I pulled ninety-three arrows out of his body two days afterward when we hauled him into the Post. Lieutenant Caspar Collins was mutilated worse than any of the men, about one half of his body was carried away, his heart was cut into strings and hung on a medicine pole beside what was left of his body.

We threw shells on the mesa with an old howitzer, the shells wouldn't explode, but they would roll a long way on the mesa. The Indians would run after these shells and when they stopped rolling would stand around them and jabber and make signs. Finally we shot one shell that rolled over the mesa and as usual a bunch of Indians ran after it, and after it became still for probably three minutes it exploded killing three Indians. The Indians ran away from it in all directions just like water does when you throw a rock into a pond and the waves go in every direction. After that the Indians chased no more shells, and would not go near them for some time later.

The Eleventh Kansas Cavalry mustered out at Fort Leavenworth in September 1865. After an interlude in Kansas, John Benton Hart would be drawn back to the West. In 1867 he made his way to the new hot spot in the Indian wars, the Bozeman Trail, where he took highly paid but risky jobs including, he reported, carrying the mail between beleaguered Forts Phil Kearny and C. F. Smith. These adventures make up the largest portion of his memoir. KH

37. Major Anderson sent this party out in an attempt to reestablish communications and procure relief. Johnny spent few words on this rather fierce skirmish, described in hyperbolic detail by William H. Lord ("July 26 the Anniversary of Indian Fight in Which 30 Kansans Were Slain," *Kansas City Star,* July 26, 1934) and more soberly by Walker. Apparently only Jim Porter died in this encounter (Walker, "Eleventh Kansas Cavalry," 337–38).

38. Not identifiable.

Joseph G. Rosa, 1932–2015
IN MEMORIAM

About 1968 the late Joseph Snell of the Kansas Historical Society (KSHS) introduced me to a visiting Englishman, Joseph G. Rosa. Snell added, "This man knows more about Wild Bill Hickok than anyone else in the world." In time I learned he did. But now he is gone.

Early in 2014 he accidentally struck his head in a fall at his home near London. Joe—as everyone called him—lingered for a year before dying peacefully on January 17, 2015. He was eighty-two years old having been born on November 20, 1932, in West London. Four years later his family moved to Woodville Gardens, Ruislip, Middlesex, northwest of London, where Joe lived for the rest of his life.

At an early age Joe's father introduced his son to American Western motion pictures and especially to cowboy star Buck Jones. Later in his life Joe wrote a private biography of the cowboy star and presented the only copy to Buck's widow, Odille. They kept in touch until she died in 1996.



After his schooling, Joe found a job as a copywriter. Later he entered military service and served with the Royal Air Force in England and in Malta during the Suez crisis in 1956. After his military life, he worked in communications with Cable & Wireless and retired in 1999 from the well-known Lloyd's Salvage Association in London.

Through the years Joe never lost his interest in the American West. After seeing Cecil B. DeMille's film *The Plainsman*, Joe began mammoth research into the character James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok played in the film by Gary Cooper. His research was still continuing when Joe died.

Beginning in the late 1950s, Joe wrote hundreds of letters to American historical societies, including KSHS, requesting documents and information on Hickok. The KSHS holdings became so important that Joe began making annual trips from London to Topeka to do research. It was there that Nyle Miller and Joe Snell got to know Joe and take him under their wings.

In 1964 Joe's first book on Hickock, *They Called Him Wild Bill*, was published by the University of Oklahoma Press. It received great acclaim as the first real biography of Hickok. Some reviewers called it definitive.

It was only the first of several books Joe would write about Hickok and related aspects of the American West. In chronological order the other books were:

Alias Jack McCall
The Gunfighter—Man or Myth?
The Pleasure of Guns
Wild Bill Hickok: Sharpshooter and U.S. Marshall of the Wild West
They Called Him Wild Bill (revised edition)
Colonel Colt
Gunsmoke (with Robin May)
The West (with William C. Davis)
Cowboy—The Man and the Myth (with Robin May)
The West of Wild Bill Hickok
An Illustrated History of Guns and Small Arms (with Robin May)
With Badges and Bullets (with other authors)
Guns of the American West
Colt and the Tower of London
Rowdy Joe Lowe (with Waldo E. Koop)
Buffalo Bill and His Wild West
Age of the Gunfighter
Wild Bill Hickok, the Man and His Myth
Wild Bill Hickok, Gunfighters
Wild Bill Hickok (for young readers)
The West of Wild Bill Hickok (revised edition)

In addition to his books published in the U.S. and United Kingdom, he contributed countless articles to magazines and journals. Joe also became an expert on photographs of Hickok, identifying and confirming many old photos of Wild Bill. He also became an authority on early firearms.

The Royal Armouries at the Tower of London asked Joe to catalogue all of their firearms. In return he was awarded a fellowship with the Royal Society of Arts, of which he was very proud. Joe was active with the English Arms & Armour Society, the National Small Bore Rifle Association, and the Westerners organization. He not only served as president of the English Westerners Society but as president of Westerners International headquartered at the National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum in Oklahoma City.

Joe was dedicated to researching Hickok and the American West. He was a unique man with a quick wit and sense of humor. He was a scholar who sought every fact, every bit of information he could gather on Hickok. He once told this writer that he was trying to find the soul of the legendary gunfighter. He wanted to know how the man thought. At the time of his death, Rosa was still trying to track Hickok's movements in Missouri in 1864.

The late Joseph Snell was correct when he said Joe knew more about Wild Bill than anyone else. Although Joseph G. Rosa is now gone, his scholarship survives and lives on in his books and articles on Hickok and the West. His writings also reflect an Englishman's love of Kansas, the American West, and our history.

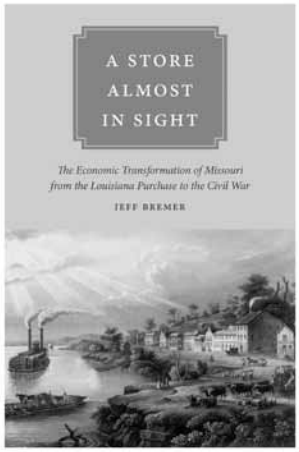
David Dary
Professor Emeritus
University of Oklahoma

REVIEWS

A Store Almost in Sight: The Economic Transformation of Missouri from the Louisiana Purchase to the Civil War

by Jeff Bremer

239 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.
Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2014, paper $39.95.



Was the spread of market exchange in the antebellum era a widely resisted disruptive force, or readily embraced as a path to a better life? Jeff Bremer frames his early history of Missouri in the context of this longstanding debate. He sides with the view that "There was no great disruption in the countryside during this period" and that "Most Americans viewed the spread of commercial markets and the opportunity to participate in them favorably" (p. 3). The time, place, and people at the center of Bremer's book, however, may not provide the best case for examining this question. Bremer's focus is on migrants to Missouri, who often came from parts of the Upper South, where production for the market was already well-established. Much of Bremer's discussion focuses on individuals settled along rivers with near access to trade—a setting in which market exchange would have been an expected and welcomed feature of agricultural life from the very beginning. Even so, Bremer provides a useful, detailed account of how household production, communal support, and market engagement were combined in varying ways over time. He also acknowledges that, even in this commerce-friendly context, some negative consequences of market dependence were evident.

Chapters 1 and 2 lay out the general argument and review the literature dealing with the market engagement and entrepreneurial spirit of early Americans. Chapter 3 examines more closely the experiences of early migrants to Missouri. The diaries and letters of these settlers, even in the 1810s, emphasized opportunities for market engagement, ease of trade along rivers, and chances to make money through land speculation.

As Bremer describes in chapter 4, before the benefits of highly productive land and easy access to trade routes could be realized, substantial hurdles had to be surmounted. Land had to be cleared. Diseases and crop-destroying insects had to be overcome. Simply getting by required extensive collaboration with one's neighbors. Even migrants who had been thoroughly market-engaged in their former homes found themselves relying on a network of mutual, non-cash support in their early years in Missouri. Bremer rounds out his description of this period in chapter 6 by examining how women on early Missouri farms were central to all facets of provisioning—home production, communal support, and formal market exchange.

As farmers brought their operations into full production, and as the trading network was radically extended through canals, steamboats, and railroads, market participation grew in importance and spread geographically. Bremer documents these developments in chapters 7 and 8. The state was transformed by cheaper and more reliable transportation, along with new trading opportunities created by the needs of travelers passing through Missouri on their way west. Old practices were not entirely cast aside, though, as rural Missourians "combined household, neighborhood, and market production to meet changing needs" (p. 149).

While arguing that antebellum Missourians generally embraced these changes, Bremer acknowledges that the quickening of market exchange brought new risks and challenges. In his concluding chapter, he forcefully, if briefly, describes the trade-offs involved in increased reliance on the market after the Civil War: "Growing market dependence left rural families vulnerable to competitive pressures, or crop failures. . . . Younger family members often had to leave rural areas for cities, eroding family and communal bonds. A growing class of wageworkers suffered from competitive pressures to produce cheap goods for distant markets. They had little control over their lives" (p. 162). Although Bremer's citation of the relevant literature is generally thorough, his argument here might have benefited from reference to anthropometric research that documents evidence of negative health consequences of economic development in rural areas in this era.

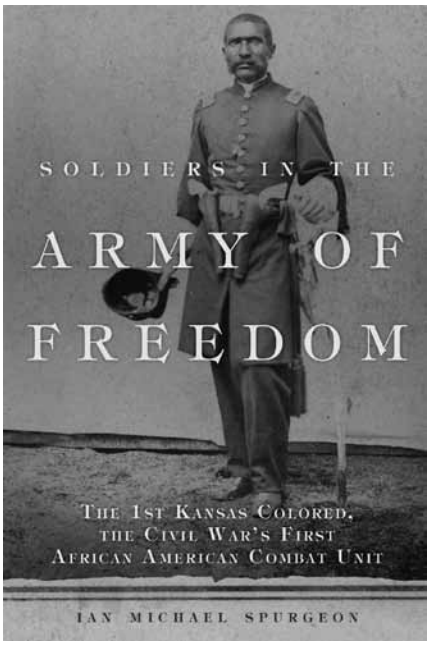
Bremer's narrative, then, describes a community that was generally experienced with some market participation and eager to engage in it after migrating to a new home in Missouri. Through the mid-1800s, these new Missourians integrated market activities with home production and informal networks of mutual support. As reliance on the market became more dominant, the associated vulnerabilities and risks grew in importance. Bremer's account of this evolution provides a readable, concrete picture of the day-to-day practices through which these wider transitions occurred.

Reviewed by Thomas N. Maloney, *professor of economics, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.*

Soldiers in the Army of Freedom: The 1st Kansas Colored, the Civil War's First African American Combat Unit

by Ian Michael Spurgeon

xii + 442 pages, illustrations, notes, index.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014, cloth $29.95.



About 180,000 African American soldiers served the Union during the Civil War, yet much of the memory and recognition of that service remains focused through the prism of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts, immortalized in the film *Glory*. The Fifty-Fourth provides a powerful story of how black soldiers used military service to demand respect, yet it fails to explain how those soldiers found opportunity in the first place. In *Soldiers in the Army of Freedom,* Ian Michael Spurgeon offers the story of the First Kansas Colored, the first African American combat unit of the war, and with it, an explanation of how African Americans proved their ability to serve. Packaged in an engrossing narrative, *Soldiers in the Army of Freedom* is a nuanced look at how black Americans demanded freedom and a place in society, and at the odd alliances and unexpected places from which change emerged—not from the bastions of abolitionism, but the frontier landscapes of necessity.

The unit's home state figured prominently in its formation and character. Achieving statehood at the onset of the war, Kansas faced continued border war with proslavery Missourians with little support from a federal government occupied with the larger war in the East. Shortages in manpower, coupled with droves of escaped slaves from Missouri and Indian Territory, generated calls for black combat units. Most Kansans disapproved, but important officials such as Senator James Lane—no supporter of equal rights—convinced enough that the measure was a strategic necessity. When denied federal support for such units, Lane turned to the networks free-state Kansans had developed through the years of Bleeding Kansas, forming the First Kansas Colored under dubious legal authority by 1863. Underpaid when paid at all, poorly equipped, and with their combat status always in question, the unit quickly outdid its white counterparts in professionalism and battlefield prowess. By 1864, the African American troops from Kansas represented the core of a Union army that swept from southern Kansas through Missouri and Arkansas, nearly to Shreveport, Louisiana.

Spurgeon demonstrates the stakes for these soldiers. Among captured Confederate supplies after one victory they discovered five hundred shackles. In southern Arkansas, Confederate soldiers took few prisoners, murdering the First Kansas wounded they found on the battlefield. Spurgeon notes that while the First Kansas accounted for less than 1 percent of African American soldiers during the war, it suffered 6 percent of the casualties (p. 252). Yet despite official skepticism and slow recognition, the unit earned praise from commanding officers and observers in the field. Their accomplishments, Spurgeon argues, demonstrated that black soldiers were an asset the Union could not afford to ignore, even as the government withheld payment for their early service for twenty-seven years due to the unit's irregular origins.

If there is a complaint to be lodged against Spurgeon's work, it is that his initial thesis is too modest. Far beyond correcting the historical narrative as to which African American combat unit served first, Spurgeon demonstrates how initial opportunities to secure freedom had less to do with abolitionists and more to do with the isolation of "obscure corners of the country" (p. 49). Indeed, the particular situation in Kansas enabled the First Kansas to fight while politicians and generals in the East still debated whether to use black troops even as laborers. Spurgeon's narrative also reveals a radically different theater of the war, where Confederate forces routinely outnumbered Union soldiers, offensive maneuver on the open plains often trumped defensive preparation, and the makeup of the armies was more diverse than perhaps at any other point in American history before World War II. The importance of Native American soldiers and commanders on both sides is as remarkable a part of the narrative as the story of the First Kansas, and the dynamic between Indian and black soldiers is one Spurgeon might have explored more thoroughly.

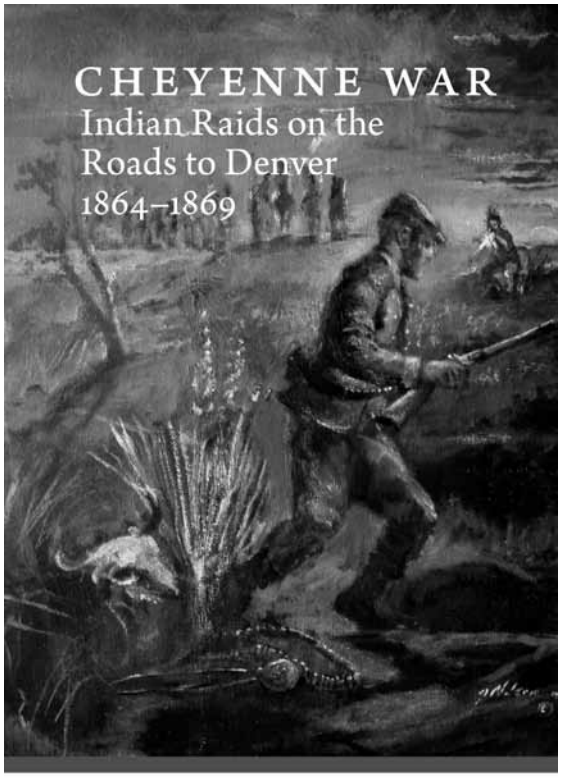
Such small quibbles, however, demonstrate just how nuanced and well-researched *Soldiers in the Army of Freedom* is. Spurgeon has created a compelling portrait of African American agency during the Civil War, and in the process offered a tremendous contribution to the often-overlooked war in the Trans-Mississippi West.

Reviewed by Zach Isenhower, *PhD candidate, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.*

Cheyenne War: Indian Raids on the Roads to Denver, 1864–1869

by Jeff Broome

528 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.
Sheridan, Colo.: Aberdeen Books, 2013, cloth $45.00.



In his latest work, Jeff Broome argues that Indian attacks on settlers migrating west to Denver in the 1860s constituted a war against the United States on behalf of the Cheyenne Nation. Joining the Cheyennes in their assault were various bands of Southern Arapahoes, Kiowas, Apaches, and Comanches. As with his previous works, Broome draws his conclusions from the Indian Depredation Claims housed at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. In doing so, the author frames his story around the experiences of European Americans trekking across the Great Plains. There is little doubt the work is a labor of love for the author; one can only imagine the time he spent navigating the archives. Scholars of the American frontier should be indebted to Broome for illustrating the importance of the Indian Depredation Claims as a focal point. Unfortunately, Broome's narrative never fully ties its supporting evidence to its central thesis that the attacks constituted a singular five-year-long war. Instead, the book provides a useful window into settlers' lives, and often, deaths, on the Great Plains.

Broome's approach is straightforward and makes for an easy read. Mining the Depredation Claims, the author excels in relating the trauma experienced by the continental migrants. The book is especially good at revealing episodes of singular Indian raids against homesteads and caravans that might otherwise go unnoticed. Squeamish readers may struggle with depictions of frontier violence, and Broome pulls no punches. Men, women, and children were all subject to attack, and white captives endured a hellish existence. Sadly, federal policy aimed at curbing the violence between American Indians and American settlers proved to be largely futile.

A bit puzzling, however, is Broome's decision not to devote much attention to the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864, during which nearly two hundred peaceful Cheyenne and Arapaho men, women, and children were butchered by American cavalrymen. Furthermore, the massacre turned many peace chiefs against the United States and resulted in retaliatory strikes against American soldiers and civilians alike. The Sand Creek Massacre is a signal moment in the history of both American Indians and the United States, and failing to analyze it is one of the book's weak points.

Some readers may be surprised by Broome's treatment of Black Kettle and White Antelope, two of the Cheyenne leaders at Sand Creek. By the time of the attack both men were working towards a lasting peace with the United States. However, White Antelope had previously been a member of the fearsome warrior group Dog Soldiers; he died at Sand Creek and was posthumously mutilated. Broome argues that Black Kettle was complicit in White Antelope's former raids into Nebraska, and thus not the peace-seeking Cheyenne elder of modern interpretations (p. 131). However, Broome later notes that Black Kettle's death in Oklahoma at the Washita River in 1868 put his band in a precarious position, having lost the one man "who appeared repeatedly trying to secure peace between the Southern Cheyenne and the military" (pp. 405–6).

Cheyenne War contains several maps that readers may find useful. The appendix is a very personal account of Broome's experiences during his research and contains multiple photographs of artifacts recovered at the sites of raids and stations along the roads to Denver. The bibliography is a little odd, featuring both sources used in the book noted in bold alongside other sources it is supposed that the author consulted at some point.

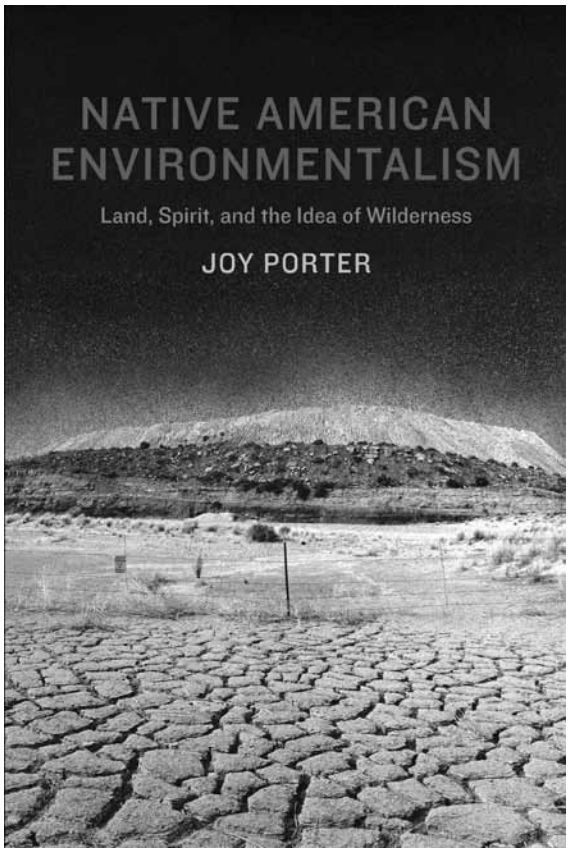
Because of its reluctance to view the conflict through the American Indian lens, *Cheyenne War* never quite sells its point that the raids alongside the roads to Denver were part of a fully-realized war on the part of Cheyennes and other indigenous groups. However, for armchair historians and junior scholars wishing to learn more about the often dangerous path settlers negotiated, *Cheyenne War* offers a solid place to start.

Reviewed by Jason Herbert, *master's candidate, Wichita State University.*

Native American Environmentalism: Land, Spirit, and the Idea of Wilderness

by Joy Porter

224 pages, notes, index.
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014, paper, $24.95.



The assertion at the core of Joy Porter's *Native American Environmentalism* is an important and provocative one. Porter argues that most Americans must fundamentally change their understanding of the environment if they are to prevent future ecological degradation and disaster. Pinpointing and critiquing an anthropocentric model that informs recent popular depictions of nature and wilderness, Porter advocates for a fundamental shift in contemporary Western conceptions of the environment toward one founded in an engagement with American Indian ways of understanding land.

Native American Environmentalism begins from the premise that all Americans must pay attention to long-neglected Indian understandings of the land, but not because of some essential conservationist instinct among American Indians, a stereotype she eschews. Instead, Porter argues that for centuries American Indian communities have faced environmental problems that mainstream Western societies will soon be forced to address if no move is made to correct our contemporary abuse of the environment—problems caused by not only by the despoliation of many environments but also population growth and global capitalism. By considering the varied relationships to land articulated by American Indian communities, Porter maintains, we may realize that contemporary visions of the world centered on humans are preventing a fundamental shift in our consciousness. Without this fundamental shift we will fail to achieve change and fail to recognize the importance of place and animal life, as well as the existence and valuable contribution of indigenous groups.

To buttress these assertions, *Native American Environmentalism* provides a wide-ranging map of topics associated with the environment in American Indian communities, both contemporary and historical. The book ranges widely over time and through topic, reinforcing the idea that land is not only setting, but also spirituality, art, action, and history, and suggesting important avenues for engagement and discussion. Porter's work is most effective when she points to the omissions of contemporary scholarship and popular portrayals of the environment and human relationships to nature. For example, her critique of a *National Geographic* article that highlights Native conservation efforts without acknowledging the non-Native political economy threatening those efforts, and her reading of the alienating implications of the film *Out of the Wild* as a coming-of-age tale, encourage readers to delve deeper into narratives they might otherwise take at face value.

Although Porter's point of departure is a valuable intervention in the assumptions about the character of contemporary environmental movements, *Native American Environmentalism* works best as the beginning of a conversation. At times the research and analysis could use more sustained attention and more careful execution. Porter's discussion of blood quantum, for example, simplifies the historical process of its institution to a point that is counter-productive for future discussions. Readers may also wish for more specificity in the discussion of American Indian perspectives and practices. *Native American Environmentalism* begins from the premise that American Indian cultures should not be stereotyped or essentialized, but more articulation and discussion from particular cultural perspectives are required to prevent this stereotyping and move the encounter to the next level.

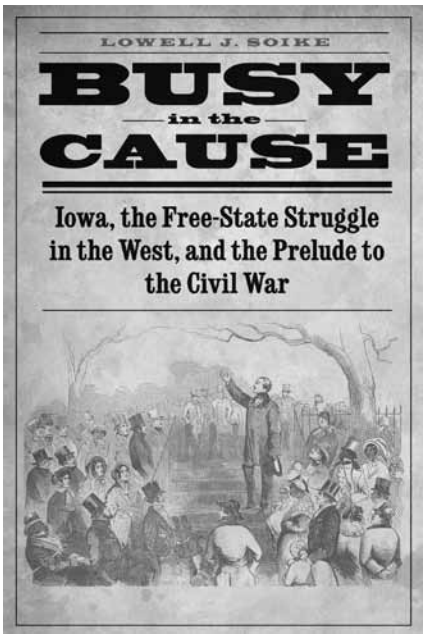
In terms of its importance to Kansas history, the main point of *Native American Environmentalism* is worth greater consideration, as contemporary debates regarding energy policy, pollution, and the depletion of resources are often unlikely to extend beyond the human-centered model that Porter critiques. There is a great opportunity for those studying Kansas and its region to explore Kansas's "wilderness" in greater depth, integrating the much more inclusive approach Porter advocates.

Reviewed by Kerry Wynn, *associate professor of history, Washburn University, Topeka.*

Busy in the Cause: Iowa, the Free-State Struggle in the West, and the Prelude to the Civil War

by Lowell J. Soike

xvi + 288 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014, paper $30.00.



"The Kansas turmoil has been told from many angles," Lowell J. Soike acknowledges right at the outset of his fine study of neighboring Iowa in the 1850s (p. xiii). What, then, does *Busy in the Cause* contribute to our understanding of the pro- and antislavery divide on the frontier and the outbreak of the Civil War? Soike shows how Iowans provided safe passage for free-state settlers going to Kansas, supplied them with munitions to combat hostile Southerners, and assisted runaway slaves on their journey to freedom. Meanwhile, Hawkeye politicians and evangelicals added their voices to the antislavery chorus, and free-state militiamen used Iowa as a recruiting and staging area. In focusing on Iowa, Soike chronicles a locale that proved nearly as crucial in the antislavery struggle as did the Missouri–Kansas border. The author also strengthens the emerging consensus that events west of the Mississippi River played a much larger part in secession and the war than historians previously assumed.

Relying especially on period newspaper accounts, Soike tracks the growth of antislavery sentiment in Iowa during the 1850s. Initially, the young frontier state (it was born in 1846) was a Democratic Party bastion: although slavery was outlawed, white Iowans commonly supported southern interests and detested African Americans. A revolution in sentiment began with the controversy surrounding the Kansas–Nebraska Act of 1854, which nullified the 1820 Missouri Compromise and introduced the possibility of slavery in the new territories west and southwest of Iowa. James W. Grimes, Iowa's dynamic Whig governor, called his state "the only free child of the Missouri Compromise" and vowed to halt the spread of slavery into disputed Kansas (p. 12). Thereafter, Grimes and the freestaters matched southern agitation blow for blow.

Proslavery forces raised the stakes in 1855 by attacking free-state migrants using the Missouri River to reach Kansas. "As frantic western Missourians pressed their proslavery goals by cutting off river migration," Soike notes, "Iowans grew busy in supporting the Free-State cause" (p. 214). Concerned Iowans established the Kansas Central Committee of Iowa to advertise their state as a safe overland route for antislavery emigrants headed to the territory. The Iowa route became the preferred passageway for free-state settlers, and many Iowans joined them; although the emigrant New Englanders have always attracted more attention, they were nearly matched in numbers by Iowans. When the river route reopened in 1856, Iowa freestaters converted their emigrant trail into a leg of the Underground Railroad, and they also provided a haven for John Brown and other antislavery fighters traveling to and from Kansas. It was in Iowa, in fact, that Brown began assembling the band of zealots that would later join him in the doomed attack on Harpers Ferry.

Soike's portraits of the remarkable young men who followed Brown, such as the troubled George Gill and the Coppoc brothers from Springdale, Iowa, constitute a particular strength of the book. The author also excels in recounting numerous small-scale dramas, including chases, kidnappings, and religious disputes, that together illustrate the deadly dangers and heightened emotions of the free-state period. The book's weaknesses are minor. More material might have been included on state politics and on Iowans' reactions to the Harpers Ferry raid (in which several men from Iowa participated). Given how large the Iowa emigrant trail looms in the narrative, a map tracking the full route also would have been more helpful than the small map provided.

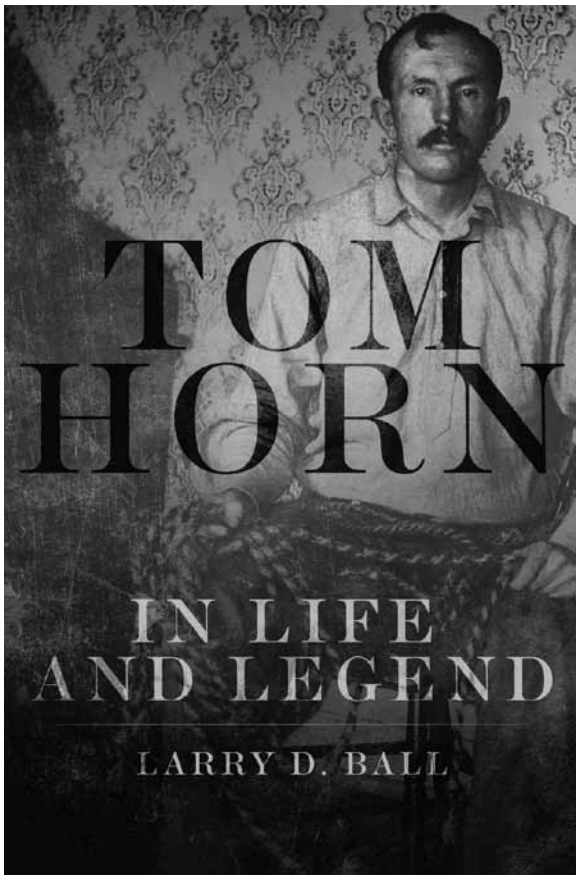
More than a generation ago, works by Eugene H. Berwanger and James A. Rawley moved free-state historiography beyond an incomplete story of Brown and abolitionism, illuminating the considerable influence that both antislavery and proslavery beliefs wrought on events in the antebellum West. In the years since, Robert R. Dykstra has detailed Iowans' convoluted embrace of racism and antislavery during the era, while Nicole Etcheson's updated account of Bleeding Kansas added to our knowledge of the motivations of those on both sides of the controversy. In illuminating the importance of people and events on the edge of the Kansas maelstrom, *Busy in the Cause* is a welcome addition to this literature, and its accessible narrative makes the work handy for undergraduate courses on Civil War and western history.

Reviewed by William D. Hickox, *doctoral candidate, department of history, University of Kansas.*

Tom Horn in Life and Legend

by Larry D. Ball

xii + 554 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014, cloth $29.95.



A friend of mine frequently comments, "Life is a puzzle wrapped in a paradox presented as an enigma." While one could debate whether this saying captures the experience of all human beings, it is certainly true of the central character of Larry Ball's *Tom Horn in Life and Legend*. Professor Ball is no stranger to the hard work facing the scholar who wishes to untangle the twisted intermixing of fact and fantasy, life and legend, of the legendary gunmen and outlaws of the Old West. His previous work includes a study of the desert lawmen of New Mexico and Arizona as well as a full-length monograph on the noted lawman Elfego Baca. In his latest work, Ball brings his considerable talents and skill to dissect the conflicting tale of Tom Horn, one of the most notable frontier personalities in the post–Civil War era. As Ball explains succinctly, "There were at least three Tom Horns . . . first, the Tom Horn in the documents; second, the hero of his own wildly exaggerated autobiography; and finally, the Tom Horn of legend. My aim is to recover the historical Tom Horn" (p. xi).

Ball recounts the early years of Horn's life in the first few chapters. Born near Etna, Missouri (Harrison Township) in 1860, Horn left Missouri to find work on the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad when he was around sixteen. While living in the state of Kansas, Horn also tried his hand at the livery business before leaving to join a trail-herd crew driving cattle from Texas to Dodge City. He participated in two long cattle drives before leaving Kansas for Colorado in 1880. From Colorado he traveled to Arizona Territory, where he worked for the military in the final years of struggle with the Apaches. From Arizona, Horn returned to Colorado, where he found employment as a Pinkerton detective investigating train robberies. From Colorado, Horn traveled to Wyoming, where he left the employ of the Pinkerton Company and hired himself out as a "range detective" to wealthy cattle barons. His job was to monitor the activities of small ranchers and homesteaders for livestock theft. Initially he attempted to bring thieves to justice, but after a jury in Laramie failed to send the (in)famous "Woman Rustler" (remarkably named Eva Longoria!) and her gang to jail for cattle theft, Horn lost faith in the courts and began to implement what Ball calls "more direct means" to suppress rustling, including "the ultimate punishment"—but only "if compensated appropriately" (p. 165). He thus became a "gun for hire," assassinating troublesome homesteaders and cattle thieves alike at the behest of his wealthy patrons. Ball details the extent of Horn's violence in the middle section, substantiating his narrative with a vast array of primary sources. The final third of the study deals with the trial of Horn (convicted of killing a fourteen-year-old boy) and his execution at age forty-two. Although some have called his guilt into question, Ball concludes "that he was capable of such a callous deed" as evidenced by "the tell tale pattern of violence in his many years on the frontier" (p. 434).

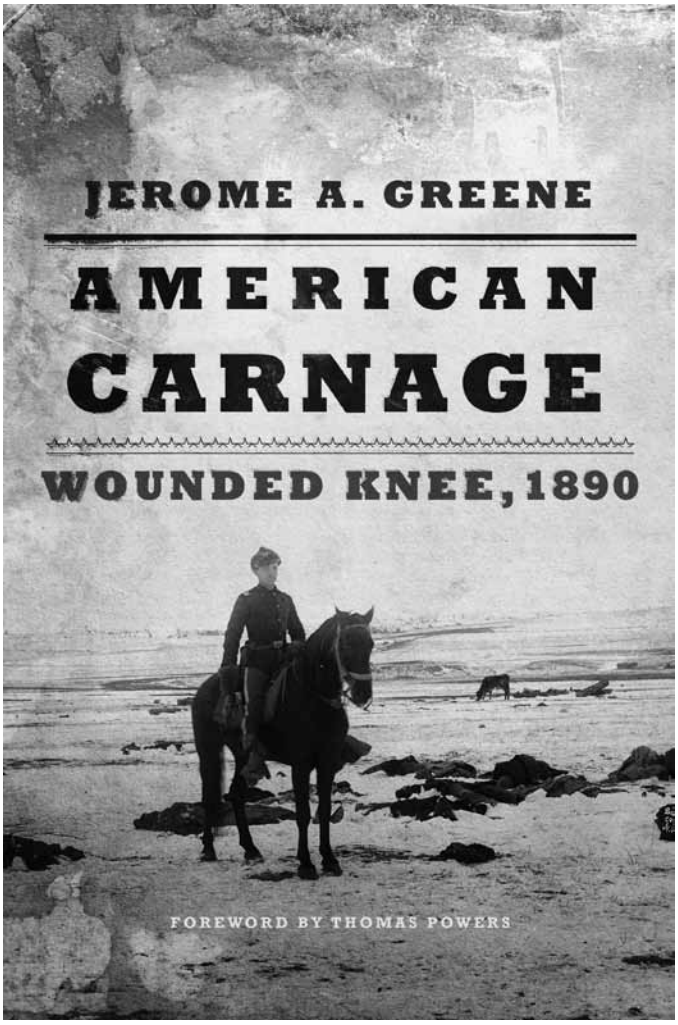
Professor Ball has done a masterful job of working his way through the often conflicting sources to narrate a comprehensive biography of a man who lived through the changes occurring in the American West in the decades following the Civil War. Horn was a first-hand participant in the final struggle between Native peoples and the U.S. military and in what Richard Maxwell Brown has called "the Western Civil War of Incorporation." It can be argued that Horn's significance is found not so much in what he did (or did not do) as a "gun for hire," but more as a symbol of the shifting nature of life in the American West between 1880 and 1903. Unfortunately, at least for this reader, Ball's work lacks this kind of analysis. Substantially researched, written in a fluid and very readable style, *Tom Horn in Life and Legend* successfully introduces the reader to the "historical Tom Horn" but does not explain why this introduction is either necessary or important.

Reviewed by John Mack, *instructor of history, Georgia Perimeter College, Decatur.*

American Carnage: Wounded Knee, 1890

by Jerome A. Greene

xviii + 599 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014, cloth $34.95.



Jerome Greene concludes this impressive study of Wounded Knee, the 1890 massacre of Lakota Indians by U.S. Army troops in the newly created state of South Dakota, by stating that it "was something different" (p. 379). But different from what? Greene's holistic assessment of Wounded Knee is by far the best work to date on this important and dark moment in American history. He clearly and correctly characterizes the tragedy as carnage. Wounded Knee was indeed different from previous massacres perpetrated against American Indians, such as the one at Sand Creek, Colorado Territory, in 1864, or at the Washita River, Indian Territory, in 1868. The Cheyennes at Sand Creek and Washita did not practice the Ghost Dance, and they wore no Ghost Shirts, as some of the Lakotas did at Wounded Knee. Here, the Paiute prophet Wovoka's appeal to American Indians to return to traditional practices and life ways through a spiritual reconnection via the Ghost Dance generated a fear of uprising throughout the Pine Ridge and Standing Rock agencies, and many desperate and disillusioned Lakotas sought comfort in Wovoka's message of hope.

American Carnage offers an extensively researched, in-depth, and comprehensive explanation of what happened at Wounded Knee and why. For example, previously overlooked army participants' letters and diaries provide new insight into how a simple disarmament of Lakota warriors at Pine Ridge led to tragedy. Disarming the Lakotas was supposed to promote security. Unfortunately, poor decision-making and improper troop deployment, coupled with a few highly motivated Lakota Ghost Dancers, contributed to the ill-fated sequence of events that triggered the incident. From survivors' accounts and Lakota efforts to seek compensation and atonement for the wrongs committed against the innocent, Greene weaves a culturally complex story that explains a deep history of mistrust. The legacy of broken federal promises and treaty guarantees, heavy-handed acculturation efforts, and meager food rations set the stage for catastrophe.

Neither side wanted a violent encounter. When the U.S. Army attempted to disarm Chief Big Foot's band, elements of the Seventh Cavalry had hoped to preclude violence by removing the Lakotas' capability to resist. The initial shot that triggered the tragedy likely came from a disgruntled medicine man who refused to surrender his weapon, and he exhorted others to resist. His actions and appeal to his fellow Lakotas was undoubtedly linked with the Ghost Dance phenomenon.

Greene effectively integrates the spiritual aspects of the massacre into the narrative. Historians often overlook or minimize the significance of Lakota spirituality. The Ghost Dance phenomenon certainly made the Wounded Knee affair different from other massacres. White fear and misunderstanding of the Ghost Dance contributed significantly to government decisions that led to the killing of over two hundred Lakota men, women, and children, as well as the deaths of thirty soldiers. General Nelson Miles, the senior commander, effectively summarized the army's role: "I never felt that the action was justified, and believe it could have been avoided" (p. 369). Miles blamed two of his subordinates, Colonel James Forsyth and Lieutenant Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, for poor decisions that ultimately led to one of the most notorious atrocities in American history.

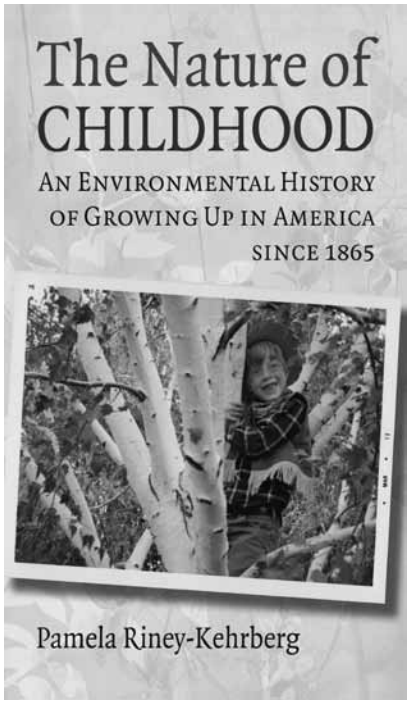
The book's length might intimidate some readers, but it is a journey well worth taking. *American Carnage* is the seminal work on the Wounded Knee massacre and is a must read for those who desire a better and more holistic understanding of this American tragedy.

Reviewed by Tony R. Mullis, *associate professor, Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.*

The Nature of Childhood: An Environmental History of Growing Up in America since 1865

by Pamela Riney-Kehrberg

xiv + 273 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014, cloth $34.95.



The historian of childhood must often contend with blanket, de-historicized statements about the declension of American childhood. A favorite refrain in recent years has been "We used to go outside unsupervised all the time!" Pamela Riney-Kehrberg's *Nature of Childhood,* however, tries to unearth the actual history of American children and the outdoors since the Civil War—no small task, given the paucity of traditional archival material on the subject and the wide diversity of individual experiences. She toggles back and forth between the history of children's experiences in the outdoors (derived from diaries, letters, and other scant archives of children's own making), the record of adult initiatives aimed at getting children outdoors or appreciating nature, and the larger cultural shifts that have determined these changes. Looking at the diversity of childhood experiences across time and American geography, Riney-Kehrberg argues that childhood's recent shift indoors, while undeniable, should be understood as an unevenly distributed phenomenon, happening for different reasons and in different forms in different places.

Much of this study synthesizes recent scholarly works about early twentieth-century nature-study movements, twentieth-century summer camps, and the ecology of city childhoods, as well as broader histories of the evolution of children's play. The chapters cover the environmental history of farm children in the late nineteenth century; the experiences of urban children in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; the nature-study and nature-appreciation movements of the first half of the twentieth century; midcentury suburbia and the proliferation of nature-themed popular entertainments; the history of one specific site of children's outdoor play between 1950 and 1980; and children's move indoors between the 1970s and today. Riney-Kehrberg then offers a conclusion that raises more questions than it answers (as is, perhaps, inevitable when covering such a subject).

Riney-Kehrberg's most interesting and forceful historical point is that the turn toward privatized play space and indoor play began in the postwar era, rather than in recent years, as the conventional wisdom would have it. Baby boomer childhoods are not often perceived as suburban, supervised, and television-oriented (in fact, it is often the boomers who mourn the loss of a perceived carefree childhood), but the author shows that the social roots of many of the structures of today's protected childhoods were already set in the 1950s and 1960s.

The book sometimes does not deliver on stated goals. In the introduction, for example, Riney-Kehrberg writes that the work is about "the Midwest and the Great Plains, with some attention to the major cities of the east" (p. 3), but the actual geographical coverage varies quite a bit, an approach that dilutes the specificity of her findings. Given that a topic like children's affinity for nature is so often naturalized, it is all the more important to show that differences of geography, gender, class, and race have determined children's experiences in the outdoors. The sections that do cover the Midwest—in particular, the chapter on nineteenth-century farm children—show that growing up there, as opposed to elsewhere in the United States, made a difference.

The strongest and most interesting chapter focuses on the environmental history of a single place: the High Line Canal, in metropolitan Denver, where children played between 1950 and 1980 before liability concerns, increased city regulations, and children's changing desires put an end to the tradition. The author once spent long childhood days alongside the canal, and she joins the specificity of her memory with historical evidence of the childhood pastimes once pursued and now outlawed along its banks. A case study such as this one strips the nostalgia from the memories, making sure to note that some adults objected to children's presence along the canals; that the water was polluted; and that some kids did, indeed, get hurt.

In its attention to detail, the canal case study shows that a subject like this one, so prone to generalization, perhaps demands specificity. Nonetheless, *The Nature of Childhood* offers a fine overview of the various and complicated approaches to children's environmental history.

Reviewed by Rebecca Onion, *visiting scholar, department of history, Ohio University, Athens.*

BOOK NOTES

Pioneer Girl: The Annotated Autobiography. By Laura Ingalls Wilder. Edited by Pamela Smith Hill. (Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2014, lxix + 381 pages, cloth $39.95.)

Before she wrote fiction, Laura Ingalls Wilder wrote *Pioneer Girl,* a nonfiction account of her own life "on the great, flat land where no one lived" (p. 1). Her autobiography, recorded at age sixty-three, was never published. Instead, after a lengthy editorial process in which her daughter Rose Wilder Lane had a heavy hand, *Pioneer Girl* became *Little House in the Big Woods.* Editor Pamela Smith Hill's annotated version of Wilder's original draft contradicts critics who allege that Lane was the "creative genius" behind the *Little House* books. Moreover, *Pioneer Girl* reveals the vivid life that Wilder lived, touching upon darker themes only hinted at in her popular series, including stories of poverty, marital strife, mob violence, and even manslaughter. Enhanced by photographs, maps, and Hill's vigilant fact-checking, this popular addition to the Wilder canon is already in its third print run.

Kansas Music: Stories of a Rich Tradition. By Debra Goodrich Bisel. (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2014, 190 pages, paper $19.99.)

Kansas has a rich music tradition that encompasses everything from world-renowned opera, jazz, and pop performers to the widely heralded roots, bluegrass, and folk music enjoyed by thousands every year at the Walnut Valley Festival at Winfield. Music in Kansas is, perhaps, as vibrant today as at any time in the past. "Kansas music begins," according to Debra Goodrich Bisel, "with the elements—earth, wind, water, fire. In Kansas, the greatest of these is wind. . . . It has inspired the Kaw Nation, the European pioneers, American aviators and, finally, songwriters" (p. 15). *Kansas Music* is mostly a personal narrative of the author's experience with diverse genres, various artists, and different venues in her adopted home state during the past twenty-plus years. The volume includes a brief account of folk and bluegrass music on Kansas Public Radio by radio host and music promoter Bob McWilliams, a short history of "Mariachi Estrella De Topeka" by Lisa Sandmeyer, and a lengthy section (nearly a third of the volume) devoted to the Kansas Music Hall of Fame—a brief history and an annual listing of inductees from 2005 (the KMHF was founded in 2004) through 2014.

Laura Ingalls Wilder: American Writer on the Prairie. By Sallie Ketcham. (New York: Routledge, 2015, x + 168 pages, paper $34.95.)

With sources that include personal correspondence, diaries, interviews, laws, census documents, family papers, and even hospital records, Sallie Ketcham clarifies questions of chronology and veracity raised by Laura Ingalls Wilder's popular fictionalization of her life in the West. This slim volume includes both biography and forty pages of primary sources, such as a diary excerpt, a sample of Wilder's newspaper columns, and fan letters that enrich our interpretation of Wilder's life. Ketcham addresses present-day concerns throughout, for example, by describing criticisms of Wilder's portrayal of the removal of the Osage Indians from Dakota Territory from a twenty-first-century perspective. She also explores Wilder's views on the division of labor between married couples and how economic and environmental changes in the late nineteenth century drove the Ingalls family's many decisions to relocate. Ketcham's sources, perspective, and analysis of contemporary criticism make this volume especially appropriate for students and an excellent complement to Wilder's recently published autobiography, also noted in this issue.

A South Dakota Country School Experience. By William E. Lass. (Mankato: Minnesota Heritage Publishing, 2014, viii + 80 pages, cloth $8.00.)

One-room schoolhouse memoirs abound in the genre of midwestern history, but unlike William E. Lass, most memoirists are not also professors of history. Divided thematically, the book covers numerous facets of Lass's rural school experience, from his school's physical facilities, its teachers, and its curriculum to his fellow students and the games they played together. Although Lass's recollections are typical of country-school memoirs in terms of subject matter, what makes his stand out is the attention he pays to both local and global historical context. Lass attended school in Union County, South Dakota, from 1934 to 1942, and he writes about not only his own memories of events during the Great Depression and World War II but also, for example, the low price of imported fruit in 1934 and changes in the state's population between 1930 and 1940. Lass's personal and well-grounded memoir offers a valuable and rare perspective on the history of rural schools.

The Martyrdom of Abolitionist Charles Torrey. By E. Fuller Torrey. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013, xiv + 239 pages, cloth $39.95.)

Charles Torrey may not be as well-known as his chief rival, famed abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, but author E. Fuller Torrey argues that his "distant relative" made a lasting contribution to the antislavery movement, freeing nearly four hundred enslaved African Americans. As a leading member of a faction that opposed Garrison's emphasis on "moral suasion" to end slavery, Charles Torrey promoted greater abolitionist involvement in politics in the 1830s and 1840s, helping to found the Liberty Party. Torrey, who had a conversion experience during the Second Great Awakening and attended seminary, also criticized Garrison's interest in utopian religious reform movements and his support for women's rights. In keeping with "aggressive abolitionism," Torrey began to accept the use of violence when aiding enslaved blacks escaping to freedom on the Underground Railroad. Torrey died of tuberculosis two years into a six-year prison sentence in Maryland, making him a martyr to the abolitionist cause and an inspiration to later, more radical abolitionists, including John Brown.

Seasons of the Tallgrass Prairie: A Nebraska Year. By Paul A. Johnsgard. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014, x + 171 pages, paper $19.95.)

Johnsgard's previously published essays in the monthly newspaper *Prairie Fire* and the magazine *Nebraska Life* are compiled nicely in this volume, which touches upon the landscape and the animals, plants, and people who have shaped, and continue to shape, special places like Pahaku, a once-Pawnee sacred site. Johnsgard explores threats to Platte River and the attempts to mend the river through the Platte River Recovery Implementation Program, and his essays take flight with seasonal appearances of sandhill and whooping cranes in the Platte Valley. In the end, Johnsgard displays a humility borne out of a half century of careful observation and study. "I now know that I will never be able to describe all of the great stories that could be discovered among Nebraska's biological attractions," he writes (p. 152). His is an admonition not to regard our surroundings as infinitely malleable and controllable, for to do so leads to self-destructive hubris.

ERRATUM, VOLUME 37, NUMBER 4

Regrettably, the following three lines at the bottom of column 2, p. 237, were omitted during the design process: *". . . raid claimants died and claims passed to descendants. In 1883, twenty years after the raid, Fred W. Read became chair of a state executive committee on raid claims. Ex- . . ."*



KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY | Department of History

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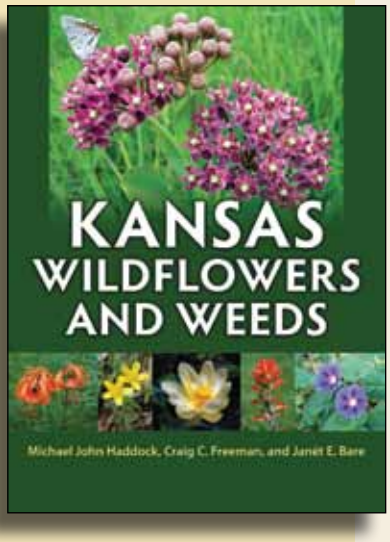
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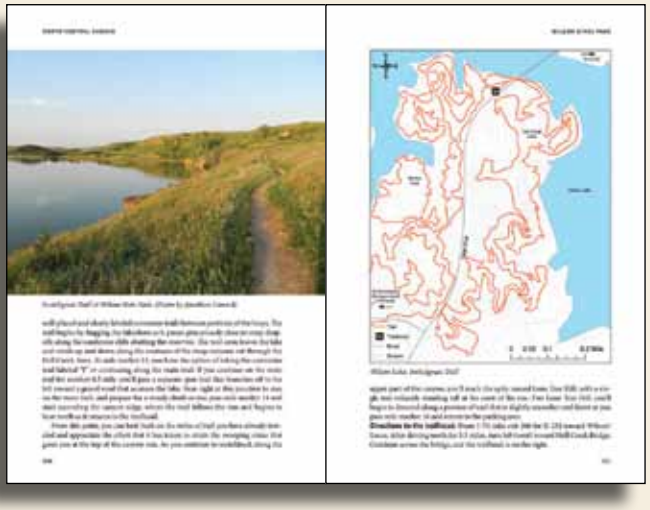
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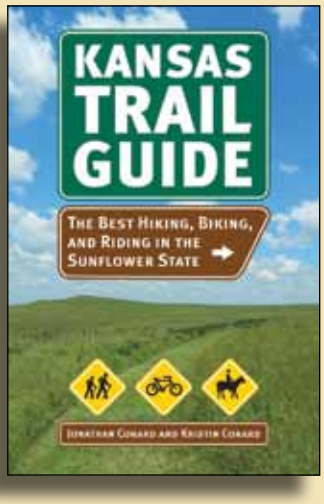
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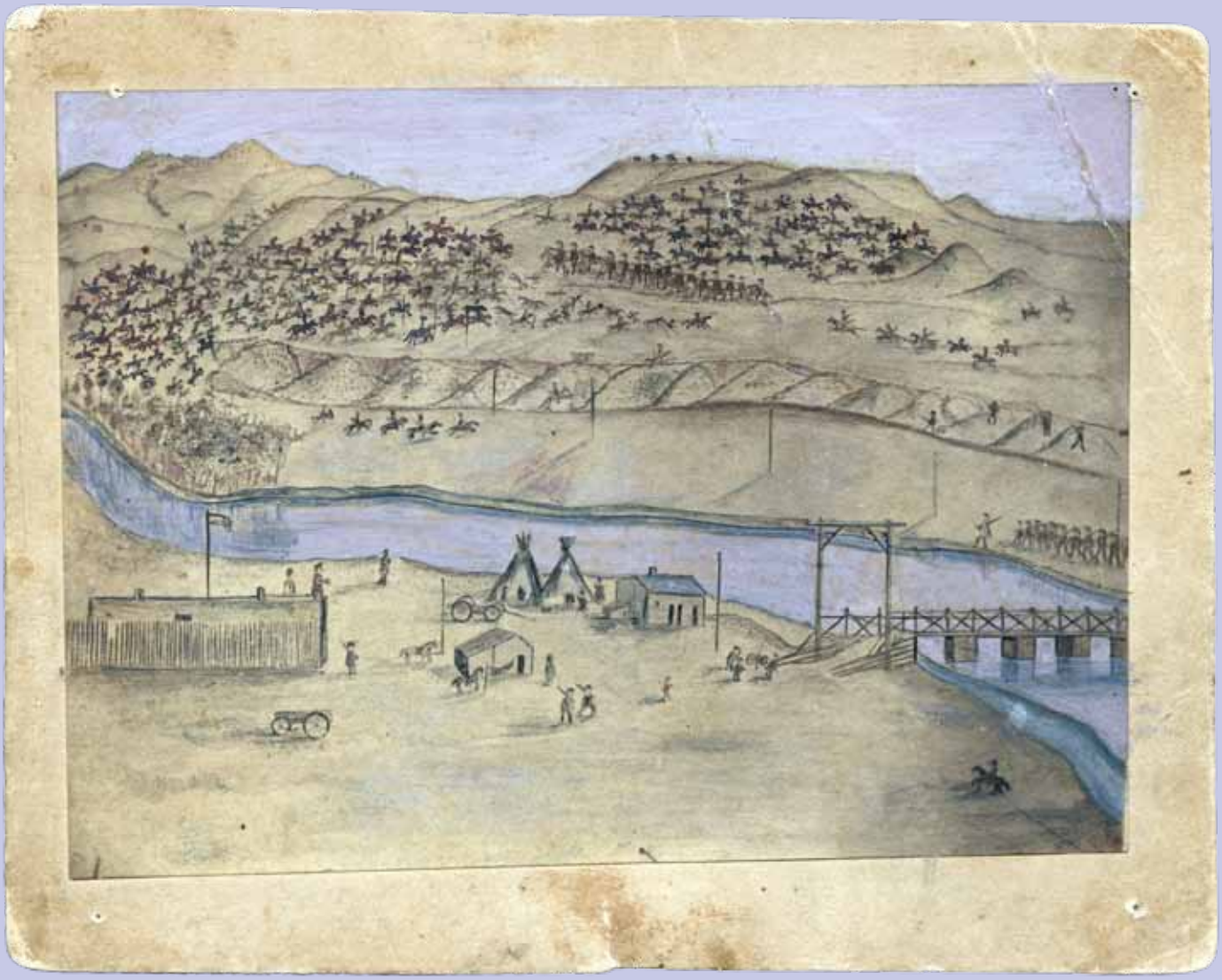
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