[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

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was king of the forest, & 70 ft. from the ground. I could see for a great many miles in all directions. It was worth the trouble in climbing to the top. I soon returned to camp where a good dinner was about ready. I say good, because it was not touched by me in preparing it. It does not look like we were going to stay here long.

Thurs., Aug. 11, 1898.

These days are un-eventful as nothing but rain, eating, roll call, & trying to keep dry, is in order.

We now have orders to move to Middleton, Pa. & will start in a few days. Rumors of all kinds go through the camp but none believe them but the credulous.

Friday, Aug., 12, 1898.

I never have had such a cold & sore throat as I have had in the last few days, but it is due to exposure in rain, getting feet wet because of no shoes & constantly sleeping in wet blankets on the ground.

We are now fareing better as the cook is here & is doing his duty having some one to help him.

Sat. Aug. 13 1898.

This is the first clear day we have had since we have been on the grounds.

All the other Regiments have been paid except us, but we will be in a few days.

Our camp does not bear the look of a place where we will camp long, as the streets are full of stones & do not pretend to police them.

Sun., Aug. 14, 1898.

We have had no drill yet & is very pleasing to us all as the war is over & one does not care to exercise himself.

From Mon. Aug. 15 to Wed. 17.

Monday we did nothing but clean up the streets & will stay here for a few days. All are getting anxious to hunt a new camp, but not until they are paid.

Tues. I took a walk to-wards the mts. where Thorough Gap is but had not time to go all the way. The streams in the Mts. are fine & if we had had such a place to bathe when at Alger we would not have not been so much sickness.

A casual glance at the people here still says we are still in Va.

Wed. [August 17, 1898]

We were paid to-day & it was welcome to most of us as it had been 6 weeks since last pay day. Some had all their money spent long before pay-day. Some borrow money of a Shylock on the grounds & pay him 25 c. for the use of $1. till pay-day. Some buy every-thing that comes along; it makes no difference where it is needed or not.

We drilled some to-day but the ground is so rough & rocky & the men so in-different that they don't care. It is just to keep health in the army, or some would not take exercise if they were not made to do so.

All received shoes, & other wearing material this evening & it was not too soon as some were nearly naked & many were barefooted.

All the straw was burned in the streets to-day to prevent fever.

Thurs., Aug. 18th 1898.

I was put on guard this morning the first for quite a while.

It was reported that we leave to-day, but reports are many, & very untrue.

The camp is getting to be very monotonous.

Fri. Sat. [August 19–20] went by with the usual routine of tin-soldier business.

Sunday morning [August 21] we re'd orders to move closer to the Mts. And in the p.m. all packed his belongings for a move. It was only a mile, but the warmest, dryest, hotest one of all our marches. We were lucky in getting next to the timber where shade & water is more plentiful. It shows the usual lack of fore sight in the officers, in not placing us here in the first place. The air is much purer here than in our last camp, where we were in low muddy ground.

It was announced that one Reg't would leave per day till all were transferred to Middletown Pa. that will make the Kans. move about next Sun.

Mon., Tues., Wed. [August 22, 23, 24], moved by with nothing except the officers most all were drunk; in fact they (most of them) have been drunk ever since we have been to this camp.

A petition has been circulated for the last few days to have our Regt. disbanded & sent home but the officers have fought it all the time because of their salary.

I would either go home or stay in the army, it makes little difference to me. I will never sign a petition to go home.

Thurs. Aug. 25th 1898.

I went to the top of the mts. again today & took a view of Thoroughfare Gap. Most of the co. is absent from drill & it takes great effort to get them out.

Friday Aug. 26

Today I was on guard & I had a good post where I had nothing to do but sit down & keep my eyes open. But when night came so many of the men & officers were drunk that instead of sleep we were compelled to parade the streets for 3 hours. Many were arrested & thrown into the guard house, but it was as much fault of drunk officers as men. One man from Co. "E" was stabbed with a bayonet & hurt quite badly. All are glad that we are going to leave this camp tomorrow.

Sat. Aug. 27th 1898.

All were awakened by the bugle at half past 3 for an early start to Middletown Pa. All were glad to arise so early in order to leave.

After breakfast we bundled up our articles & marched to the R.R., mounted the train & soon were steaming back the same way we had come afoot a few weeks before. Many times I saw the places we had camped, marched, & rested, & fasted. It was much easier than when we trudged through the rain, the boiling hot sun, & took us so long to go a little way.

We came by the way of Alexander, Manassis, Wash. City, Baltimore, York, Harrisburg, then to Middletown.

At Wash. D.C. we were well fed by the Red Cross & it was the first square meal that we had had since we left camp Alger Aug. 3d. After we had crossed into Md. things bore a different look. We saw no foolish looking women, kids, men & other animals that, so often met our eyes in Va. The country was fine, the farmers prosperous, factories going, & all busy. The farther we came north, the better were the improvements, both of people & country. Pa. is much ahead of Md., as Md. is ahead of Va. All express themselves as tired of Va, & would not stay there for the state. For my-self, I have enough of the dry, hot, sandy, d— old state.

This evening at 9 o'clock we came into Middletown, but did not leave the cars for camp till morning. It was somewhat tough sleeping, but it was better than marching a mile in the dark to camp.

Sun. Aug. 28, 1898.

This is a beautiful morning, a beautiful country, a beautiful camping ground, & a fine lot of people. We see no virginian here, but well dressed & intelligent looking people.

With no breakfast we was led to our new camp ground where tents were pitched, fine water from a tank on the hill is run to the head of every Co. St. & every thing is an ideal model for a good healthy camp. The finest thing is the Susquehanna river which is within a mile of camp & that is something we did not have at Camp Alger. Why they did not have sense enough to get a place like this in the first place is more than I can tell. The weather is much cooler here than in Va. & the ground much higher ground. We still have little to eat & what it is, is mostly hard tack & bacon with some black coffee.

Mon. Aug 29

All are well pleased with our camp; as our first good bath was in the Sus. River the first good one the boys have had since last summer.

Our orders are to move to Kans. as soon as the business is straightened up; & that will be about Sunday next. We are to have a furlough for 30 days but have to report back to Topeka or Leavenworth at the expiration of that time.

Tues. Aug. 30

We have nothing to do now, but to sit around & eat sow belly & caned beans. We drill some every day just to keep up tin soldier business.

Wed. Aug. 31st 1898.

All are busy fixing up his clothing acct & other things for the trip to Kans.

This evening I failed to go on dress parade & will likely be punished for it.

Lots of new clothes, shoes, hats, blankets, & other things came in for the soldiers this evening & will be fitted out tomorrow. Some are in much need of clothes, as they want to go back respectible looking.

Thurs. Sep. 1st 1898.

I was taken before the col. this morning for not being on dress parade last night. I fixed it up all right & he said I was in the right so he let me off without punishment.

All are busy getting Clothing & fixing their acct. We had little to eat this morning as usual

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Kansas State Historical Society Presidential Address 1998

Chautauqua: Then and Now

by W. Stitt Robinson

Have you attended a Chautauqua program recently? The Kansas State Historical Society sponsored one on August 30 at the grand opening of the Adair Cabin–John Brown Museum State Historic Site in Osawatomie. With this revival of interest in the Chautauqua, let us look first at the "then" of this movement with its beginning in the nineteenth century. One significant antecedent to the emphasis on adult education was the American Lyceum organized by Josiah Holbrook in Millbury, Massachusetts, in 1826. Sponsoring lectures and discussion, it attracted many of the leading intellectual figures of its day with Ralph Waldo Emerson, for example, speaking at least one hundred times. James Redpath, an abolitionist who had spoken in Lawrence in the territorial crisis of 1856, continued the lyceum tradition by organizing the Boston Lyceum in 1868.[1]

Six years later in 1874 two Methodist men, interested in promoting more effective Sunday schools, were the co-founders of the Chautauqua as a training seminar for their teachers. Lewis Miller, father-in-law of Thomas A. Edison and an inventor with several improvements in the manufacture of mowing machines and binders, was influential in locating the program in the picturesque setting of the shores of Lake Chautauqua in southwestern New York. Miller issued a universal appeal as he stated: "WE ARE ALL ONE on these Grounds! No matter to what denomination you belong; no matter what creed, no matter to what political party of the coun-

W. Stitt Robinson was *the 1998 president of the Kansas State Historical Society. He is an emeritus professor of history at the University of Kansas, where he taught for thirty-eight years. His research and publication interests have focused on the history of the American frontier and Native Americans.*

1. Carl Bode, *The American Lyceum. Town Meeting of the Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); Charles F. Horner, *The Life of James Redpath and the Development of the Modern Lyceum* (New York: Barse and Hopkins, 1926), 76.

Children and adults alike loved the Chautauqua. These youngsters pause for a photograph while wading in rain puddles at the 1897 Chautauqua in Ottawa.

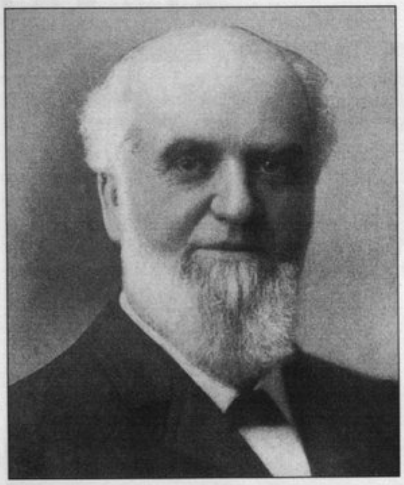
try. You are welcome here, whether high or low." John Heyl Vincent, a Methodist clergyman and later Methodist bishop who served in Topeka from 1888 to 1900, was the other founder. Using the term "man" in its generic sense of relating to all humankind, Reverend Vincent proclaimed: "The doctrine which Chautauqua teaches is this, that every man has a right to be all that he can be, to know all that he can know, to do all that he pleases to do—so long as knowing what he can know and being what he can be, and doing what he pleases to do, does not keep another man from knowing all that he can know, being all that he can be and doing all that he pleases to do. And the Christian idea of the Chautauqua movement sees that the Christian element enters into it as one of its essential features. . . . That is Chautauqua!"[2]

In its second year Chautauqua leaders invited President Ulysses S. Grant to speak, the first of seven presidents who would later visit. The meeting was successful with attendance estimated as high as thirty thousand as the idea began to expand. "Mother Chautauqua," as the New York Assembly became known, introduced new activities and constructed several architectural buildings, which became the model for many Chautauquas throughout the nation.[3] These included especially the Hall of Philosophy and the tabernacles or pavilions used for lectures, religious services, reading groups, and musical programs. Mother Chautauqua was even

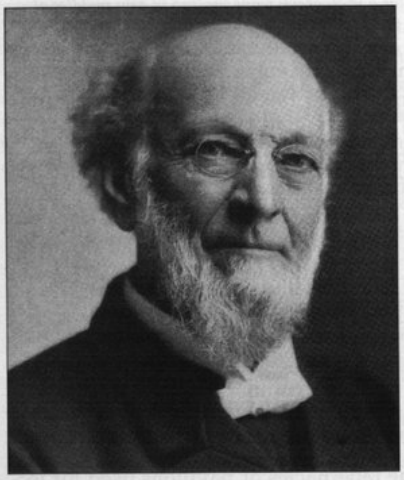
2. Alfreda L. Irwin, *Three Taps of the Gavel: Pledge to the Future. The Chautauqua Story*, 3d ed. (Chautauqua, N.Y.: Chautauqua Institution, 1987), ix.

3. Theodore Morrison, *Chautauqua: A Center for Education, Religion, and the Arts in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 41–42. The Franklin County Historical Society, Ottawa, Kansas, with assistance from the University of Kansas School of Architecture and Urban Design, has produced a model of the Ottawa Chautauqua at Forest Park.

authorized to grant university credit for some of its reading programs, but this activity was soon passed after twelve years to private or public colleges and universities in the state.



Lewis Miller (above) and John Heyl Vincent, co-founders of the Chautauqua movement.



In 1878 Reverend Vincent introduced a new four-year reading plan in the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, commonly referred to as the CLSC. Its comprehensive purpose, Vincent stated, was to be

> a school at home, a school after school, a 'college' for one's own house. It is for busy people who left school years ago, and who desire to pursue some systematic course of instruction. It is for high-school and college graduates, for people who never entered either high school or college, for merchants, mechanics, apprentices, mothers, busy house-keepers, farmer-boys, shop-girls, and for people of leisure and wealth who do not know what to do with their time.[4]

This program involved reading selected books on such subjects as history, religion, science, and literature that were either published by the Chautauqua Institution or obtained from scholars in these respective fields. Upon completion of the four-year program, successful participants received certificates or diplomas with seals in a graduation ceremony that resembled the collegiate tradition. The Chautauqua, however, did not pretend to be offering college degrees. This reading program proved to be very successful and extended beyond the United States to claim one million participants by 1924.[5]

Kansas responded immediately to this new program as both Oswego and Ottawa formed reading circles in 1878 and witnessed the graduation of the first national class four years later. By 1886 Kansas could claim that it carried "the banner for the largest number of new circles in any state west of the Mississippi."[6] By 1900 about two hundred Kansas communities participated with at least one circle, and

4. John Heyl Vincent, *The Chautauqua Movement* (Boston: Chautauqua Press, 1886), 75.

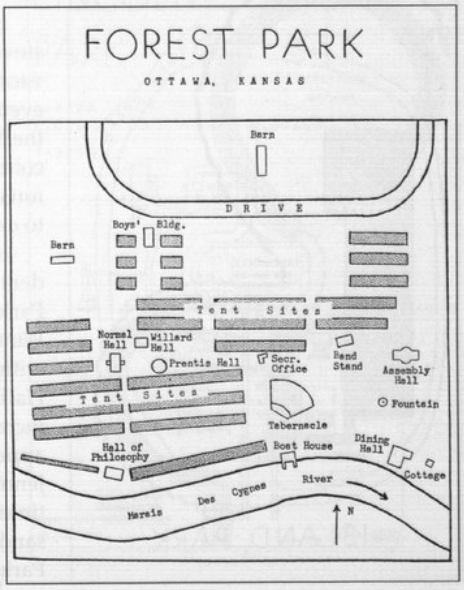
5. Samples of the institute's books may be found in the Library and Archives Division of the Kansas State Historical Society or in the collections of local historical societies such as the Franklin County Historical Society. Several examples of Chatitauqua diplomas are in the Cowley County Historical Society, Winfield, Kansas. The most comprehensive examination of the Chautauqua in Kansas is Roland M. Mueller, "Tents and Tabernacles: The Chautauqua Movement in Kansas," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1978), 1:61.

6. *Chautauquan* 6 (January 1886): 232.

some had as many as seven or eight. The average recommended size for circles was twenty-five, although a few of the larger cities expanded sometimes to as many as sixty. Weekly meetings were recommended, but local groups could set their own schedules, including social outings as desired.

The second agency of the Chautauqua movement, the Independent Assembly, helped promote the reading circles. These independent assemblies spread throughout the nation with the most significant growth from 1880 to 1910. They used models that imitated Mother Chautauqua in New York, but they were independent units and free to organize their own programs and financing as they deemed most advantageous for their own communities. In Kansas from 1880 to 1917, fifteen cities sponsored annual independent assemblies at some time. Ottawa had the largest number with thirty-two years; Winfield a close second with thirty-one; Lincoln Park (Cawker City and Downs) seventeen; Wathena sixteen; Clay Center eleven; Topeka ten; Sterling nine; Beloit, Olathe, and Salina each with six; Lawrence five; Coffeyville four; White Cloud and Emporia each with two; and Pittsburg one.[7] Other cities such as Hiawatha had Chautauqua assemblies, but they were more directly related to the circuits, which will be discussed later in this article.

Ottawa was one of the first Kansas towns to respond to the Chautauqua movement. This 1886 photo was taken in Forest Park, detailed in the map (below).

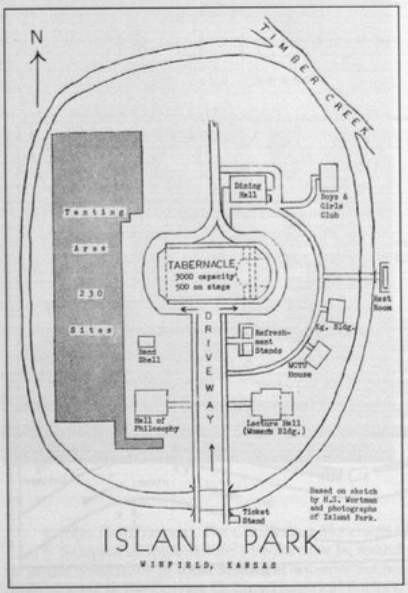


Ottawa began its successful independent assemblies in 1883 at Forest Park along the Marais des Cygnes River just one block west of the Santa Fe railroad station. Following in part the model of Mother Chautauqua, Ottawa built a Hall of Philosophy and a Tabernacle, which was increased in 1886 to seat five thousand visitors. The visit in 1895 of Governor William

7. Mueller, "Tents and Tabernacles," 1:131.

McKinley of Ohio, later United States president, expanded the crowd to a much larger number. Other well-known speakers included William Jennings Bryan appearing at least four times and William Howard Taft in 1907.[8] I found an intriguing note in the Franklin County Historical Society archives from a woman who wrote that when Bryan visited Ottawa, she thought he was a very big man; but when Taft came later, she exclaimed that he was even bigger!

A Chautauqua gathering at Winfield's Island Park in ca. 1890. The map (below) illustrates the park's Chautauqua plan.



Families came to the Chautauqua by wagon, buggy, train, or later by automobile. Many lived in tents rented in Ottawa, for example, for three to five dollars per week with two dollars added if a wood floor was included. In 1887 five hundred of these tents were rented during the summer. Family circles were maintained, and sometimes they brought a wood stove for cooking during the week or two of their vacation stay. Early summer participants may have even witnessed a May Day ceremony complete with the May Pole. The independent assemblies in Ottawa continued successfully until 1915 when river floods forced its cancellation. Subsequent assemblies turned to circuit programming.

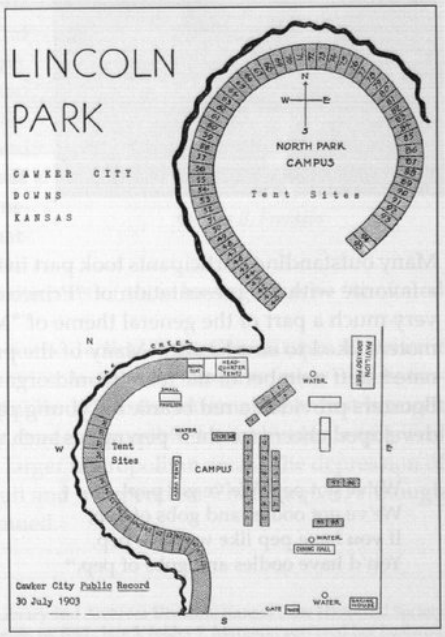
Winfield began its successful series of independent assemblies in 1887 with its location on Island Park, a twenty-five acre plot near the center of Winfield. There the local Chautauqua association with some cooperation from the city built the familiar Hall of Philosophy and a Tabernacle that was increased in 1904 to seat thirty-five hundred. The appearance of the Chautauqua favorite, William Jennings Bryan, who came to Winfield at least four times, expanded the crowd to more than ten thousand visitors.[9] Winfield today still maintains Island Park as a city park.

8. F. W. Brinkerhoff, "The Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 27 (Winter 1961): 463–64.
9. Roland Mueller, "The Chautauqua in Winfield, Kansas," *Kansas Quarterly* 15 (Summer 1983): 15–19.

Lincoln Park serving Cawker City and Downs devoted much of its space to two circles of tents for its seventeen independent assemblies.

While these independent assemblies continued, the Chautauqua movement entered a new phase in 1904 with the introduction of the circuits of traveling tents. These provided set programs of education and entertainment for four to nine days that moved from town to town on a tight schedule. Some independent assemblies gave up their locally organized programs to sign a contract for the circuit. Many other towns were also then able to participate. Keith Vawter of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, was one of the promoters who has received credit for initiating the circuits. As a partner in the Redpath Bureau in Chicago, he organized a nine-day program and later agreed to share responsibility for areas west of the Mississippi River with Charles F. Horner of Nebraska. Kansas thus fell within the area of the Redpath–Horner circuit and enjoyed vigorous summer schedules.[10] The secret of success in this plan was a leap-frog method of moving from town to town. With a seven-day program, the participants in the first day would move on immediately to the next town with extra tents having been set up for their arrival. This schedule would be followed for each of the successive days. Thus for 1921 the Redpath–Horner Premier Circuit entered Kansas on August 5 and continued with its leap-frog programs throughout much of the state until September 6.[11] The circuit

Cawker City's Lincoln Park during a ca. 1900 Chautauqua. The Chautauqua layout is illustrated in the map (below).

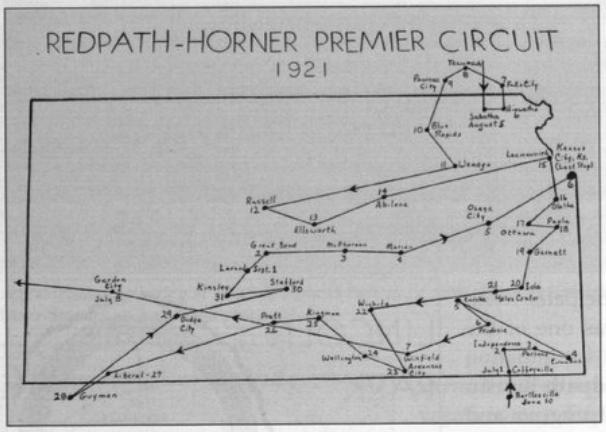


10. Loren E. Pennington, "Chautauqua: An American Tradition," in *The Kansas Chautauqua: Understanding America. Land, People, and Culture* (Emporia, Kans.: Center for Great Plains Studies, 1988), 2–3; Charles F. Horner, *Strike the Tents: The Story of the Chautauqua* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Co., 1954), 49, 55, 62–66.

11. Mueller, "Tents and Tabernacles," 2:468.

started at Sabetha, then moved southwest to Russell by August 12, back to Leavenworth on August 15, down through eastern Kansas to Iola by August 20, west to Liberal on August 27 with a dip into Oklahoma, and finally back to Kansas City on September 6. What an impressive month with seven days of not only education and entertainment in each of the towns but also attractions for interested persons in neighboring areas for each of the locations.

Rain storms may have created problems on these circuits, but hot weather probably was more critical. At least one circuit worker from Mankato, Kansas, thought so. He was employed by the Midland Bureau of Sam Holladay, who also is credited with initiating Chautauqua circuits. The circuit worker complained bitterly about hot weather in the following doggerel:



The Redpath–Horner Chautauqua circuit in Kansas, 1921.

We have the honor to relate
That these hot winds of Kansas
Have burned the corn and scorched the oats
And at last succeeded in getting our goats,
A little breeze . . . ain't so bad,
Or even a cyclone or two, egad;
But when a hot wind starts to blow
And keeps it up for a week or so,
It's torture such as no tongue can tell.
These blasts are blown from the pits of hell
O'er fields that burn for lack of rains
To punish lost souls on the Kansas plains.[12]

Many outstanding participants took part in these circuit programs. William Jennings Bryan was a favorite with his presentation of "Prince of Peace" that included the life of Christ. This was very much a part of the general theme of "Mother, Home, and Heaven," which the circuit promoters liked to emphasize.[13] Many of the programs also gave attention to youth, and a designated staff member of the team would organize special activities for them. The Redpath Junior Boosters provided a red beanie for young participants. With the enthusiasm of youth, they also developed cheers for their pep rallies such as the following:

We've got pep! We've got pep!
We've got oodles and gobs of pep,
If you have pep like we have pep,
You'd have oodles and gobs of pep.[14]

12. Ibid., 2:487.
13. Victoria Case and Robert Ormond Case, *We Called it Culture: The Story of Chautauqua* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1948), chapter 8.
14. Mueller, "Tents and Tabernacles," 2:575.

Charles Benjamin Franklin of Topeka, a graduate of Washburn University, organized the Cadmean Chautauqua in 1916 and continued as one of the last promoters of circuits. These circuits reached their peak year in 1921 with around twelve thousand communities being served by about seventy circuits. As a gradual decline began in the 1920s, Franklin nonetheless continued optimistically in acquiring a series of circuits until he had ten in 1928 that were described as "The Largest Chautauquan Organization in the World." Franklin offered investments in stock in these associated Chautauquas with certificates, and he promised a good rate of return of 8 percent on this speculative investment. He had only limited success in these offerings. In 1940 Franklin married Margaret Barnum who had been a singer in such Chautauqua women's quartets as the Marine Maids. She had also served as a junior supervisor in Chautauquas and as an advance representative.[15]

Charles B. Franklin

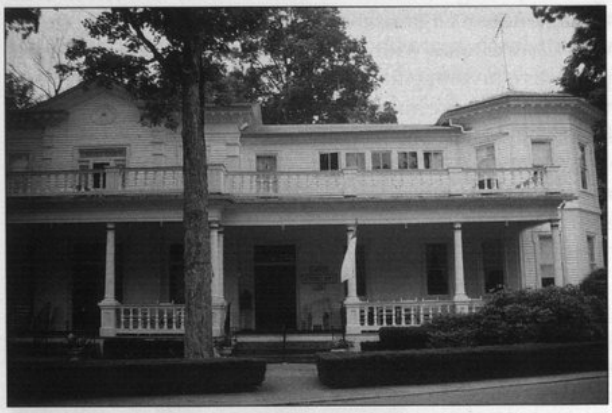
As interest in the Chautauquas waned in the 1920s with competing activities, the circuits increased their advertising appeal with brochures such as the one featuring a "Road Map to the Happiest Week of the Year." They also included more popular programs such as dramatic productions and additional musical numbers. The "Road Map" included the drama entitled *Applesauce*. It was described as "The whole wide world loves applesauce. Here it is—a hilarious drama of American youth, American love, and American homes. Admission 75¢." A second drama, *New Brooms*, also was featured. The brochure stated that "The 'piece de resistance' as the French say is the last night play. Frank Craven's new hit of love and business fresh from Broadway and starring Ernest R. Misner. Admission 75¢." Still another three-act comedy had the intriguing title *Putting Pep in Papa*, whatever that involved. These moves to emphasize entertainment over the education of past years led to criticisms of their having become "sanitated vaudeville" and "a tinselled commercialized show."[16]

The trends of the times continued to contribute to the decline of the Chautauqua movement in the 1920s. The technology of the radio, sound movies, and the increased number of automobiles provided other attractions for the American public. While the automobile at first brought people to the Chautauqua week, they eventually made it possible for individuals to travel greater distances to seek new experiences, often in larger metropolitan areas. The depression of the 1930s further added to the decline of both circuit and independent Chautauquas, although Mother Chautauqua and a few isolated ones continued.

15. Margaret B. Franklin Collection, 1883–1992, box 4, folder 2, Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society. For an example of the certificates, *see* ibid.; for a brochure for investments, *see* ibid., box 3, folder 9. Margaret survived her husband, and before her death in 1997 she donated the extensive and very valuable Chautauqua collection to the Kansas State Historical Society. For a biographical sketch of Margaret B. Franklin, *see* ibid., finding aid.

16. Ibid., box 2, folder 13; ibid., box 7, folder 6; Harvey Wish, *Society and Thought in Modern America* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), 114–16.

My wife and I visited the Chautauqua Institution in New York in 1997 for three days and were surprised to observe the vigorous programs still being conducted. For nine and one-half weeks from June 21 to August 24, thirty or more daily activities were available from which to choose. The summer programs were organized with different themes each week as follows:



The Presbyterian House in 1997 at the Chautauqua Institution in New York.

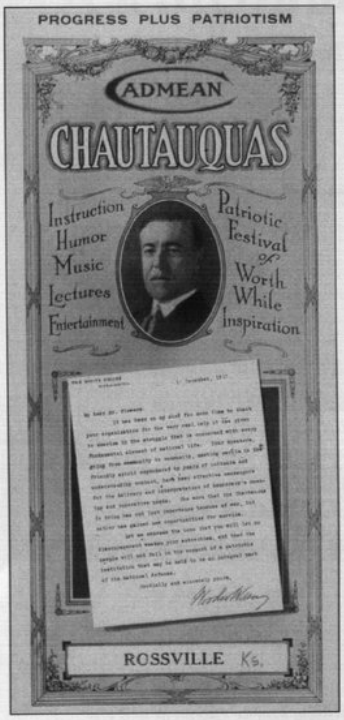
1997 Overarching Theme
Toward 2000: The American Agenda
Vertical Theme: Women in America
WEEK ONE Leadership in America June 23–27
WEEK TWO The Politics of the Environment June 30–July 4
WEEK THREE Voices of African American Community July 7–11
WEEK FOUR Business and Ethics July 14–18
WEEK FIVE Regaining Community in America July 21–25
WEEK SIX Science Education and Invention July 28–August 1
WEEK SEVEN The Mystery of Good and Evil August 4–8
WEEK EIGHT Arts and Humanities: Documenting our History August 11–15
WEEK NINE Health and Wellness in America August 18–22[17]

Religion still played an important role with a sermon each day open to all. A series of religious services was offered in the separate Protestant chapels, a Catholic mass, a Unitarian seminar, and a Jewish service. There were lectures on public affairs, and special interest groups included nature studies, golf, duplicate bridge, writers' workshops, and bowling on the green. Drama and music featured almost daily presentations of Shakespearean plays, a symphony orchestra, a ballet, and opera including Verdi's *Rigoletto*. Reading groups of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circles continue with meetings in its headquarters at Mother Chautauqua. A recent article in the *New York Times* stated that 127 persons completed the graduation requirements in 1998.[18] The grounds hold the familiar architectural buildings of the Hall of Philosophy and the Tabernacle or Pavilion as well as the refurbished Athenaeum Hotel with 158 rooms and the Smith Library in the center mall.

Kansas also has participated in the revival of Chautauqua programs. In addition to the individual portrayals sponsored by a variety of groups, two systematic plans have been available throughout the state. The Kansas Chautauqua, initiated by Professor Loren Pennington of Emporia State University, offered programs from 1985 to 1990 with support from the Kansas

17. "Highlights, 1997. Summer Season, Chautauqua Institution," 8, private collection of W. Stitt Robinson, Lawrence, Kans.
18. Dinitia Smith, "A Utopia Awakens and Shakes Itself: Chautauqua, Once a Cultural Haven for Religion Teachers, Survives," *New York Times*, August 17, 1998, B1, B3.

Humanities Council. These included presentations of leading Kansas figures such as William Allen White, Alf Landon, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Carry Nation, and John Brown. The Kansas Humanities Council also joined the Great Plains Chautauqua that now includes, in addition to Kansas, Oklahoma, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Iowa.[19] Since 1983 this group has provided one or two summer programs of five or six days in each of the participating states. In Kansas, Hiawatha was selected in 1994, Fredonia and Larned in 1995, Arkansas City and Colby in 1996, Garden City in 1997, Hutchinson in 1998, and Meade and Clay Center in 1999. I had the pleasure of visiting Hiawatha twice in 1994 to discuss the history and significance of the Chautauqua prior to the scheduled week for the city. It was impressive to observe how many of its citizens were reading the books of the writers who were to be portrayed. Past programs have featured "Writers of the Gilded Age" including Mark Twain, Jack London, and Stephen Crane; and "Writers of the American Renaissance" with Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, and Louisa May Alcott.



President Woodrow Wilson endorsed the importance of the Chautauqua, proclaiming it "a patriotic institution."

In retrospect, it is evident that the original Chautauqua movement made a significant impact on the social and cultural life of Kansas communities. Programs were most successful in towns and communities with populations of six thousand or fewer, although the reading circles also thrived in larger cosmopolitan areas. Adult education was the key to the reading circles, and other programs provided for the participation of youth. Religion received important attention as evidenced by the fact that Reverend Vincent copyrighted for all vesper use the hymn "Day is Dying in the West" with its refrain "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts." Public lectures provided opportunities for discussion of the political, economic, and social issues of the time. Theodore Roosevelt called the Chautauqua "the most American place in America" and also stated it was "A gathering that is typically American in that it is typical of America at its best." Even in war time the Chautauqua continued. President Woodrow Wilson in a Patriotic Festival of Worth While Inspiration in World War I proclaimed it as "a patriotic institution that may be said to be an integral part of the national defense."[20]

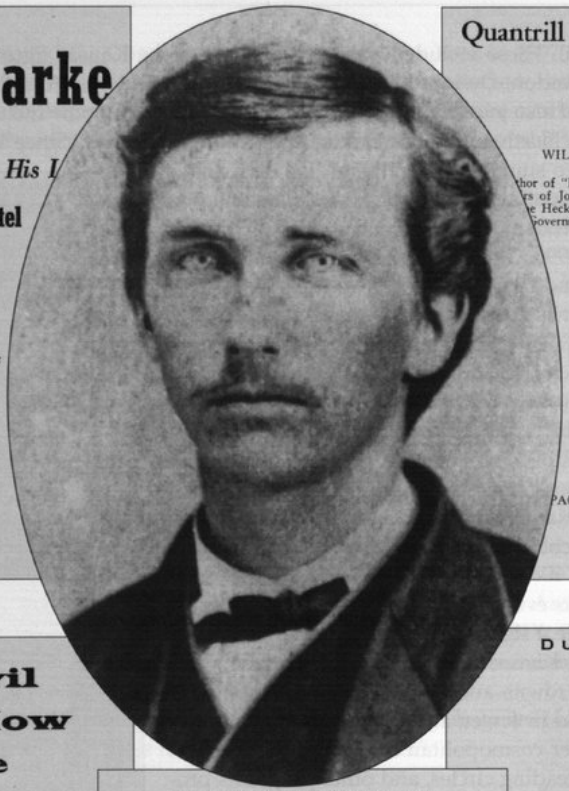
The significant role of the Chautauqua in Kansas from the 1870s to the 1930s deserves more attention in the printed histories of the state. And today we can still enjoy Chautauqua programs and benefit from them in the revival of interest that has occurred. KH

19. *See*, for example, the brochure "Chautauqua 98: Behold Our New Century," Kansas Humanities Council, Topeka, Kans.
20. Franklin Papers, box 8, folder 1. For a copy of Vincent's song, *see* ibid., box 3, folder 5. For Roosevelt's comments, *see* Morrison, *Chautauqua*, 235; Irwin, *Three Taps of the Gavel*, 11.

William Clarke Quantrill: *His L*

and Times by **Albert Castel**

Frederick Fell, Inc., Publishers



Quantrill and the Border Wars

By
WILLIAM ELSEY CONNELLEY

thor of "Doniphan's Expedition, Mexican War,"
rs of John James Ingalls," "Wyandot Folk-Lore,"
e Heckewelder Narrative," "The Provisional
overnment of Nebraska Territory," etc.

Introduction
by
HOMER CROY

PAGEANT BOOK COMPANY
NEW YORK
1956

The Devil Knows How to Ride

The True Story of William Clarke Quantrill and His Confederate Raiders

Edward E. Leslie

Random House
New York

NOTED GUERRILLAS,

OR THE

WARFARE OF THE BORDER.

BEING A HISTORY OF THE LIVES AND ADVENTURES OF

QUANTRELL, BILL ANDERSON, GEORGE TODD, DAVE POOLE, FLETCHER TAYLOR, PEYTON LONG, GLL SHEPHERD, ARCH CLEMENTS, JOHN MAUPIN, TUCK AND WOOT HILL, WM. GREGG, THOMAS MAUPIN, THE JAMES BROTHERS, THE YOUNGER BROTHERS, ARTHUR McCOY,

AND NUMEROUS OTHER WELL KNOWN

GUERRILLAS OF THE WEST.

BY

JOHN N. EDWARDS,

Author of "Shelby and His Men," "Shelby's Expedition to Mexico," Etc.

ILLUSTRATED.

ST. LOUIS, MO.:
BRYAN, BRAND & COMPANY.
CHICAGO, ILL., THOMPSON & WAKEFIELD.
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., A. L. BANCROFT & CO.
1877.

DUANE SCHULTZ

QUANTRILL'S WAR

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
WILLIAM CLARKE QUANTRILL
1837–1865

ST. MARTIN'S PRESS NEW YORK

[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

A "Fiend in Human Shape"?

William Clarke Quantrill and His Biographers

by Barry A. Crouch

On Friday morning, August 21, 1863, a band of 440 men, comprising William C. Quantrill's 150 man contingent, 40 men under William T. "Bloody Bill" Anderson, Andy Blunt with 100, another 100 or so recruits commanded by Confederate Colonel John Holt, and 50 locals from Bates and Cass Counties (Missouri), entered Lawrence, Kansas. This group, the "largest such force ever assembled under one command during the entire Civil War" according to Albert Castel, demolished Lawrence, a town of three thousand to four thousand residents (second in size to Leavenworth). Edward E. Leslie estimates 200 killed, which left behind 85 widows, 250 orphans, and two million dollars worth of destroyed property, including 182 buildings and 100 residences.[1]

The leader of the raid, William Clarke Quantrill, has been the scourge of writers on Kansas–Missouri history and has fascinated a whole host of historians. A tantalizing and elusive character, Quantrill has hypnotized investigators for the past century or so. Born in 1837 as Andrew Jackson left the presidency and dead shortly

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Barry A. Crouch *is a professor of history at Gallaudet University, Washington, D.C. The author of various books and articles on Texas during Reconstruction, his most recent publication, co-authored with Donaly E. Brice, is* Cullen Montgomery Baker: Reconstruction Desperado *(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997).*

The author expresses his thanks to his son "Bear" for his editorial expertise and to the reviewers of *Kansas History* for their timely comments.

1. Albert Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill: His Life and Times* (New York: Frederick Fell, 1962), 124–25; Edward L. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride: The True Story of William Clarke Quantrill and His Confederate Raiders* (New York: Random House, 1996), 199–200, 237. The most complete and thorough account of the Lawrence raid is Thomas Goodrich, *Bloody Dawn: The Story of the Lawrence Massacre* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1991); *see also* Goodrich, *Black Flag: Guerrilla Warfare on the Western Border, 1861–1865* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995). Richard S. Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861–1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), 121, 124, confirmed the death and property statistics of Goodrich and Leslie but claimed that Holt had 104 recruits and "took no part in the massacre and protected several men." Most writers agree with this assertion. *See also* William Elsey Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (1910; reprint, New York: Pageant Book Co., 1956), 308–95; Burton J. Williams, "Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence: A Question of Complicity," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 34 (Summer 1968), 143–49; Duane Schultz, *Quantrill's War: The Life and Times of William Clarke Quantrill, 1837–1865* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 144–213; Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 25–26, 206–7. The folklore surrounding this event is dealt with in Thomas D. Isern and Mark D. Weeks, "'Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence:' From Disaster Song to Outlaw Ballad," *Mid-America Folklore* 14 (Fall 1986): 1–14. For sources on Anderson *see* Elmer L. Pigg, "Belated Funeral of 'Bloody Bill' Anderson," *Frontier Times* 30 (January 1953): 48–49; Pigg, "Bloody Bill, Noted Guerrilla of the Civil War," *Trail Guide* 1 (December 1956): 17–28; Castel, "They Called Him 'Bloody Bill,'" *Journal of the West* 3 (April 1964): 233–42; Donald R. Hale, *They Called Him Bloody Bill: The Life of William Anderson, Missouri Guerrilla* (N.P.: privately printed, 1998). The Hale publication has gone through various editions and titles and generally is only available from the author. The most recent study on Anderson is Castel and Goodrich, *Bloody Bill Anderson: The Short, Savage Life of a Civil War Guerrilla* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1998), who do not cite any of the current Quantrill secondary material but have based the book upon new primary sources. It probably is as close to a definitive biography as we are likely to find of this notorious guerrilla. Quantrill and Anderson intensely disliked each other.

after Lincoln's assassination in 1865, Quantrill blazed a trail across the inner section of the nation, causing death, destitution, and depression. Many amateurs and professionals have written about Quantrill from a variety of circumstances, opinions, and perspectives, all controversial. The appearance of two relatively new biographies provides an opportunity to reassess the role of this most famous of American guerrillas.[2]

Five major biographies focus upon William Clarke Quantrill. John N. Edwards published the first in 1877 followed by William Elsey Connelley (1910, 1956), Albert Castel (1962, 1992, 1999), Duane Schultz (1996), and Edward E. Leslie (1996).[3] In addition, Quantrill figures prominently in writings about the Lawrence raid, guerrilla warfare, and those individuals who associated with him by such writers as Richard S. Brownlee, Michael Fellman, Carl W. Breihan, Donald R. Hale, and Thomas Goodrich. Moreover, accounts are written by (or for) guerrillas who served under Quantrill. Also, a plethora of articles and essays has been published in various state and local historical journals and in popular magazines concerning his exploits.[4]

The first major chronicler of the Quantrill phenomenon was Virginia-born journalist John N. Edwards, who later moved to Missouri. Edwards became the "best known newspaperman west of the Mississippi." During the Civil War Edwards served as adjutant to General Joseph (Jo) O. Shelby and knew personally many of the guerrillas whose lives he chronicled. In *Noted Guerrillas, or the Warfare of the Border*, he has Quantrill's name, birth date, and place of birth wrong, and exaggerates Quantrill's feats in a way that demonstrates how brilliantly and fearlessly he performed individually. His work often is factually inaccurate and rampantly biased, but, according to Castel, Edwards's Hugo-like style and Dumas-like felicity popularized his writings.[5]

Thirty-five years later, in 1910, William Elsey Connelley portrayed Quantrill as the exact opposite of the Edwards legend. Connelley was Kentucky born but eventually became secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society where he acquired much Quantrill material from William W. Scott, a Quantrill schoolmate. Although Connelley was more careful than Edwards in using primary evidence and sorting out the conflicting stories, he nonetheless was avidly pro-Union, pro-Kansan, and brought a moralistic fervor to his interpretation that made his objectivity

2. Virgil C. Jones, "The Problem of Writing About the Guerrillas," *Military Affairs* 21 (Spring 1957): 21–25; *see also* Jones, "William Clarke Quantrill," in *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, ed. Patricia L. Faust (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 606.

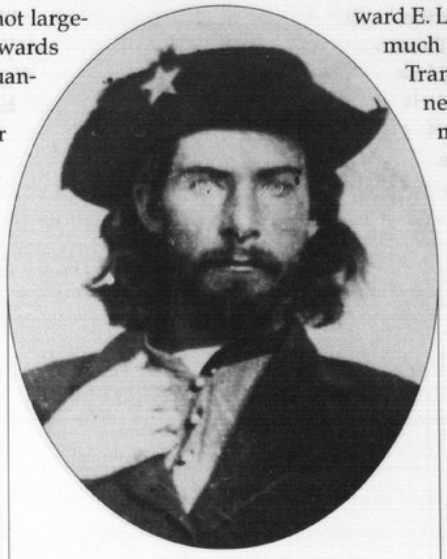
3. John N. Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas, or the Warfare of the Border* (1877; reprint, Dayton, Ohio: Press of Morningside Bookshop, 1976), with a foreword by Castel. *See also* Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*; Shultz, *Quantrill's War*; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*. Castel's biography was reprinted in 1992 by General's Books and in 1999 was issued in paperback format by University of Oklahoma Press, with a new preface by the author.

4. Carl W. Breihan, *Quantrill and His Civil War Guerrillas* (New York: Promontory Press, 1959), and *The Killer Legions of Quantrill* (Seattle: Hangman Press/Superior Publishing Co., 1971), are popular accounts and add little, if anything, new about Quantrill. For Quantrill followers, *see* Marley Brant, *The Youngers* (Los Angeles: Dragon Books, 1990), which delineates the blood relationships among the guerrillas; Donald R. Hale, *We Rode with Quantrill: Quantrill and the Guerrilla War as Told by the Men and Women Who Were with Him, and A True Sketch of Quantrill's Life* (Independence, Mo.: Two Trails Publishing, 1998). This work has various editions. *See also* Hale and Joanne C. Eakin, comps., *Branded as Rebels* (Independence, Mo.: Wee Print, 1993); B. James George, *Captain William Henry Gregg, Confederate and Quantrillian* (n.p.: 1973). Unreliable sources are Kit Dalton, *Under the Black Flag* (Memphis: Lockard Publishing Co. [1914]), and O. S. Barton, *Three Years With Quantrill: A True Story Told By His Scout John McCorkle* (1914; reprint, 1966; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), with commentary by Herman Hattaway and notes by Albert Castel. The Hattaway and Castel addition to the 1992 edition is well done and provides excellent information on Quantrill, Barton, and McCorkle. It is interesting to note that both Dalton and McCorkle misspelled Quantrill's last name "Quantrell." Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 121, states that "Many of the men who fought on the border before and during the war displayed a marked tendency in their later years to exaggerate their own importance." Three local journals, the *Jackson County Historical Society Journal*, *Westport Historical Quarterly*, and *Quarterly of the National Association for Outlaw and Lawman History*, have considerable information about individuals involved with Quantrill and the guerrilla war in Missouri.

5. Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, foreword. For information on Edwards's life, *see* Jennie Edwards, comp., *John N. Edwards, Biography, Memoirs, Reminiscences, and Recollections* (Kansas City, Mo.: 1889); Marley Brant, "Jesse James Defender: John Newman Edwards," *Wild West* 11 (December 1998): 34–40; *see also* Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 31. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 32–33, declared that "steeped in classical mythology and the novels of Alexandre Dumas and Sir Walter Scott, mixing fact with considerable fancy," Edwards "depicted Quantrill and his men as blood-drenched heroes, gallant as musketeers and as implacably violent as Ulysses and Achilles." Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 41, 214, concluded that "there are few books on the Civil War more exciting than [Edwards]—or less reliable." Edwards had earlier published *Shelby and His Men: or, The War in the West* (Cincinnati: Miami Printing and Publishing Co., 1867) and *Shelby's Expedition to Mexico* (Kansas City, Mo.: Kansas City Times Steam Book and Job Printing House, 1872). For information on Shelby, *see* David O'Flaherty, *General Jo Shelby: Undefeated Rebel* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954). Quantrill was Edwards's "ultimate hero." *See* Fellman, *Inside War*, 249–52.

about Quantrill questionable, if not largely distorted. Connelley and Edwards are at polar extremes where Quantrill is concerned.

"In cruelty and a thirst for blood," Connelley wrote, Quantrill "towered above the men of his time. Somewhere of old his ancestors ate the sour grapes which set his teeth on edge." Connelley declared that Quantrill "grew into the gory monster whose baleful shadow falls upon all who share the kindred blood." In Connelley's eyes, Quantrill had no redeeming social attributes, being variously described as a degenerate, depraved, motivated by "blood madness," with a lust for plunder and fallen women. Although Connelley's tome contains extensive original sources and long quotations from primary material, his tirade against Quantrill and his family makes no attempt to understand the conditions that brought Quantrill to the fore.[6]



Bloody Bill Anderson

A half-century later Albert Castel published his take on the Quantrill phenomenon. A careful and judicious historian, Castel attempted to be fair and impartial about a highly charged subject, and in some ways his is still the best biography of the well-known Civil War guerrilla. Castel, thoroughly familiar with the literature on the Kansas–Missouri imbroglio, along with his writings on the Kansas conflict, produced a succinct and quite readable biography of the life and times of Quantrill. His discussion of previous writings about the Ohioan provides a benchmark from which to evaluate both the older and newer publications concerning Quantrill and those who became involved with him.

The publication of Quantrill biographies by Duane Schultz, a psychology professor, and Edward E. Leslie, a "professional writer," says much about how historians ignore the Trans-Mississippi West.[7] Although neither book is properly documented, it is not difficult to determine the genesis of their interpretations. Schultz relies upon secondary sources and follows the Connelley line. Leslie labels his Quantrill effort an "anecdotal history," enlarges upon Castel, and includes much extraneous material, especially about the controversy surrounding Quantrill's bones. Of all Quantrill biographers, Leslie has been the most thorough in his research and attempts to be completely objective, but clearly he is sympathetic to Quantrill.[8]

Born in Canal Dover, Ohio, on July 31, 1837, William Clarke Quantrill was one of eight children, four of whom died in infancy. Of those who survived into adulthood their lives were not particularly rewarding or even interesting. A sister, Mary, endured curvature of the spine until her death in 1863. Brother Franklin suffered from swelling in

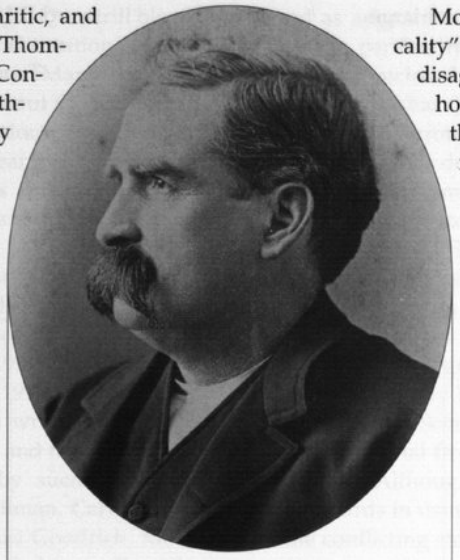
6. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 41. For comments on Connelley and his view of Quantrill, *see* Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 23; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 33–34.

7. The triple themes of slavery, race, and military operations in the West often are neglected. This has been partially rectified with the appearance of Michael A. Morrison, *Slavery and the American West: The Eclipse of Manifest Destiny and the Coming of the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528–1990* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1998); William C. Davis, *The Cause Lost: Myths and Realities of the Confederacy* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996), 71–108. A popular account is Alvin M. Josephy Jr., *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

8. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, xxii, 406–40. Schultz's book is marred by innumerable mistakes. His perception of history is that it "is, ultimately and intimately, interpretative and subjective. It does not—indeed, cannot—provide as objective a record of an event as, for example, a photograph. Writing about history is more like offering a painting—an impression, not a reproduction; a likeness, not a replica." *See* Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 312. For sources on Quantrill's bones, *see* Edward Knowles, "The Bartered Bones of William Quantrill," *True West* 15 (September–October 1967): 20–21, 48; George Hart, "The Quest for Quantrill's Bones," *Real West* 15 (May 1972): 2–26; Carl W. Breihan, "Quantrill's Bones Are Moving," *Westerner* 5 (January–February 1973): 40–41, 62, 64; Samuel C. Ream and Marian E. Karpisek, "Quantrill's Skull," *Old West* 17 (Summer 1981): 36–38.

one of his knees, probably arthritic, and basically was a cripple. Another, Thomson, was a ne'er-do-well who Connelley described as a "vile, worthless, despicable but petty scoundrel," a "scurvy cur." Today the Quantrill family would be labeled dysfunctional and except for the eldest son's infamy would probably have been forgotten to history.[9]

Some members of the Quantrill family evinced a "dubious character." William's great uncle, Thomas, was a pirate along the Louisiana–Texas coast. Another uncle, Jesse Duncan (originally named William), his father's eldest brother, can only be described as a rogue and a scoundrel. A bigamist (he married and abandoned at least six women), a swindler, and a forger, he served considerable time in prison. Leslie concludes that the Quantrill males were "blessed with manipulative, charming personalities." Connelley found them "deficient in sound moral fiber." Castel writes that "we no longer believe in the hereditary transfer of character traits. But if we did, we could make much out of Quantrill's immediate ancestors."[10]



William W. Scott

Most writers agree about the "rascality" of Quantrill's heritage, but they disagree about some of his childhood exploits. Connelley asserts that he "maimed domestic animals for amusement" and Schultz agrees, contending that he was "a monster, as cruel and merciless with animals as he would later be with people, and equally without pity or remorse." Castel is skeptical about such accounts. Leslie insists they came from Harmon V. Beeson, whom Quantrill's father attempted to kill for revealing his embezzlement of school funds, and considers them nonsensical. The boy occasionally may have shot a pig through the tip of the ear to make it squeal but "many an intelligent, normal farm boy has taken mean delight in making pigs run frantically."[11]

Quantrill's father was strange. Born in Hagerstown, Maryland, during the War of 1812, Thomas Henry became a tinker and a tinsmith. In 1836 he married Caroline Cornelia Clarke (or Clark) and eventually became principal of Canal Dover Union School. Apparently, father and son did not get along because, according to Leslie, "even as a teenager" the youngster "had often been beaten by his father, sometimes, most humiliatingly, in public." Castel and Connelley agree with this perception, but Schultz makes no comment. The death of Quantrill's father in 1854 left the family in dire financial straits that forced mother Quantrill to convert her home into a boardinghouse and Quantrill's sister to become a seamstress.[12]

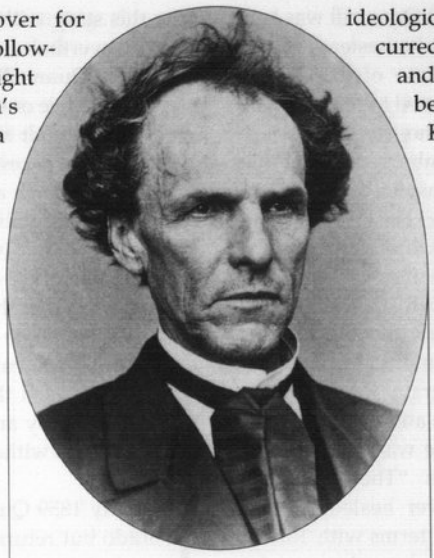
9. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 406–7; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 30; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 8; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 23–24. Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 32, has Quantrill born in Hagerstown, Maryland (the birthplace of Quantrill's father), on July 20, 1836. Although not of paramount importance, there is some dispute about Quantrill's middle name, Clarke, which was his mother's maiden moniker. She spelled the name without the "e," but her husband included the additional vowel. Although not illiterate, Caroline Clarke Quantrill was a terrible speller who, according to Leslie, could not even spell "cat" correctly. Sarah "Kate" King, William Quantrill's mistress, included the "e," and Connelley adopted this spelling. Since 1910 writers generally have followed his lead, and the addition of the "e" has become conventional practice in all Quantrill literature. *See* Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 442; *see also* the incomprehensible statement by Homer Croy about the name Clarke in his introduction to the 1956 edition of Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, viii. For information on Quantrill's mistress, *see* Adrienne Tinker Christopher, "Kate King Clarke—Quantrill's Forgotten Girl Bride," *Westport Historical Quarterly* 4 (June 1968): 21–22.

10. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 37; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 18–21, 40; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 6–7; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 23.

11. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 41, 44; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 3; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 24; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 43. Connelley remarked that Quantrill "had to be punished often." One classmate observed that when he returned to the schoolroom after a sound whipping, he was "pale, tearless, trembling, and with the look of a demon. There was murder in every gleam of his strange glittering eyes."

12. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 23–29; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 37–44; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 23–24.

Quantrill left Canal Dover for Mendota, Illinois, the following year, where he taught school, sold his father's "Tinman's Guide," and also worked as a bookkeeper for a lumberyard. Here may have occurred the first major crisis in the young man's life. Castel writes that "according to a totally unsubstantiated historical rumor," Quantrill killed a man who attempted to rob him. Schultz remarked that the story is "a vague one, without substantiation, but enough people told tales of a killing by the Quantrill boy to take it beyond the realm of gossip and rumor." Connelley wrote that "there is nothing positive to be had on the subject, however." Leslie, without any comment, suggested that if he did slay a man it was in self-defense.[13]



James H. Lane

Through his mother's efforts, in February 1857 Quantrill accompanied Henry Torrey, Harmon Beeson, and Beeson's son Richard to buy a farm in Kansas. Nineteen years old, Quantrill was five feet nine inches tall, weighed 150–160 pounds, had a "Roman nose" and sandy or yellowish-brown hair. Torrey and Beeson agreed to pay his passage and buy a claim for him if he would work for them until he was twenty-one at which time he would receive the deed. Settling on the banks of the Marais des Cygnes River in Franklin County, Torrey and Beeson contributed $250 apiece for Quantrill's share when they purchased land from a resident squatter; Quantrill received $60 to hold the claim for the two men.[14]

Before Quantrill and his three companions ventured to Kansas, many of the economic, political, and ideological confrontations already had occurred. Organized as a territory in 1854 and soon to be a major battleground between the North and South, Kansas suffered indignities from an inept president, zealous politicians, and a vicious war over slavery and freedom. Along with John Brown and the numerous Missouri slave proponents and extensionists, ambitious and largely unscrupulous individuals attempted to further political, religious, and entrepreneurial careers upon the carnage. When the four Ohioans arrived, Kansas was at peace but retained a significant infestation of an unsavory element interested only in enhancing its wealth.[15]

Trouble soon ensued between Quantrill, Torrey, and Beeson. Leslie stated that Quantrill began to "harbor suspicions" whether he would ever receive the promised land even though he worked long hours. Connelley, whom Schultz fol-

13. Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 25; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 9; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 51–52; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 46.

14. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 31; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 25–26; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 54–58; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 11–12.

15. The older works on the Kansas conflict (before 1990) are all cited in the writings of two historians who have recently begun to investigate anew the controversy. *See* Gunja SenGupta, "'A Model New England State': Northeastern Antislavery in Territorial Kansas, 1854–1860," *Civil War History* 39 (March 1993): 31–46; SenGupta, "Servants for Freedom: Christian Abolitionist in Territorial Kansas, 1854–1858," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 16 (Autumn 1993): 200–13; SenGupta, *For God and Mammon: Evangelicals and Entrepreneurs, Masters and Slaves in Territorial Kansas, 1854–1860* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996); Bill Cecil-Fronsman, "'Death to All Yankees and Traitors in Kansas': The *Squatter Sovereign* and the Defense of Slavery in Kansas," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 16 (Spring 1993): 24–33; "'Advocate the Freedom of White Men, As Well As That of Negroes': The *Kansas Free State* and Antislavery Westerners in Territorial Kansas," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 20 (Summer 1997): 102–15. An older piece worth consulting is Michael Fellman, "Rehearsal for the Civil War: Antislavery and Proslavery at the Fighting Point in Kansas, 1854–1856," in *Antislavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Abolitionists*, ed. Lewis Perry and Fellman (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 287–307. On the national scene, the problems that the opening of Kansas engendered are recounted in Albert J. von Frank, *The Trials of Anthony Burns: Freedom and Slavery in Emerson's Boston* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998); Thomas Goodrich, *War to the Knife: Bleeding Kansas, 1854–1861* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1998). Bleeding Kansas has become a hot item for novelists. The latest fiction effort on John Brown is Russell Banks, *Cloudsplitter* (New York: HarperCollins, 1998). For a heroine who battles the proslavery forces, *see* Jane Smiley, *The All-True Travels and Adventures of Lidie Newton* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998).

lows in his interpretation, claimed Quantrill was lazy and shirked his duties to build a homestead. Quantrill also came under the influence of a neighbor named John Bennings (Leslie referred to him as a "secret Southern sympathizer"), who convinced him that he had not been properly reimbursed for holding Beeson's and Torrey's claim. Castel thought there was some truth to Quantrill's belief because a "squatter's court" awarded him an additional sixty-three dollars, to be paid in two installments.[16]

Torrey agreed to pay Quantrill because Torrey owed Beeson money. In debt to various other creditors, Torrey missed making the initial payment. Quantrill thought both men ungrateful and stole a yoke of oxen belonging to Beeson and a brace of pistols and blankets from Torrey. He was forced to return everything but the blankets. "The breech between Quantrill and Beeson never healed," wrote Leslie, but he "remained on good terms with Torrey, who allowed him to stay in his cabin whenever he wished." Castel's perspective is somewhat different. He stated that "despite this incident, which is the first authenticated indication of criminal tendencies on Quantrill's part," Torrey and Beeson "remained on generally good terms with him."[17]

In the summer of 1857 Beeson returned to Canal Dover and persuaded several others from the town to migrate to Kansas. They settled near Stanton and named it Tuscarora Lake in honor of their home county in Ohio. Quantrill joined this group as several had been school friends. Various items began to disappear from the settlement and "ultimately they caught [Quantrill] in the act," declared Castel. Connelley first perpetuated this idea but "did not identify the source for these allegations." Leslie averred that given Connelley's "lapses of judgement in evaluating the reliability of sources, it is hard to know how seriously to take this story without being able to evaluate its origins." Nevertheless, Quantrill left the settlement.[18]

Before Quantrill arrived in Kansas nothing in his correspondence or even in other archival records suggests how he felt about the national struggle or the Kansas occurrences. At this point his political stance favored the North although clearly he was no abolitionist. In a rare political outburst, Quantrill wrote his friend W. W. Scott (who was later responsible for collecting much of the archival material on Quantrill) in January 1858 that the Lecompton Constitution was a "swindle," and he characterized Northern sympathizer James H. Lane "as good a man as we have here." He labeled the Democrats as the "worst men we have for they are all rascals, for no one can be a democrat here without being one."[19]

In early 1859 Quantrill traveled to Utah and Colorado but returned to Kansas by mid-year, landing in Lawrence. Castel asserted that "all in all," his letters "convey the impression of a man discontented with his past but unsure about his future—of a man, in short, undergoing a personal crisis and about to make a vital decision." Michael Fellman commented that Quantrill "expressed a deep longing for purposeful action; he had a political sensibility; and he lacked affirmative emotional contact with nature, with his mother, and with other people in general." He was different from other young men "in his contemplativeness and his literateness." Quantrill, in Fellman's psychological profile, had an "inner deadness" and a desire to do something great.[20]

By early 1860 his politics radically shifted and his life was about to. He now believed the proslavery party to be in the right and that those who opposed it had been responsible for most of the troubles. Quan-

16. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 50–51; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 65–67; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 11–12; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 26.

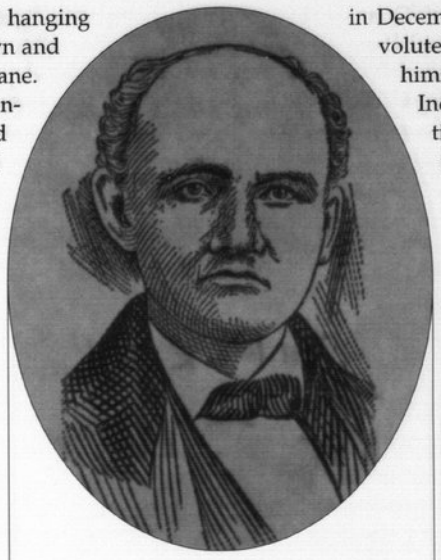
17. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 51; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 26–27; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 13–14; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 62–72. Leslie disagreed with Castel and asserted that Quantrill maintained an amicable relationship with Torrey, but "Long after Quantrill died, Beeson and his family would continue to disparage him, while Torrey and his family remained among the staunchest defenders of his reputation."

18. Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 27; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 71–74; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 52; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 14–15.

19. The letter is quoted in full in Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 72–74; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 51; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 27–28; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 14–15. For information on Lane, *see* Castel, "Jim Lane of Kansas," *Civil War Times Illustrated* 12 (April 1973): 22–29. Quantrill later said that if he had captured Lane in the Lawrence raid, he would have been taken to Missouri and burned at the stake.

20. Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 30; Fellman, *Inside War*, 141; *see also* Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 52–63; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 86–112; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 18–20, 47–50.

trill told his mother he thought hanging had been too good for John Brown and now detested such men as Jim Lane. He did not plan to remain in Kansas as the "devil has got unlimited sway over this territory, and will hold it until we have a better set of men and society generally." Leslie claimed that Quantrill, who regularly called himself Charley Hart, began to associate with "border ruffians—much like the teamsters with whom he had traveled to Utah."[21]



Morgan Walker

It is unlikely, Castel contended, that Quantrill's "political sentiments were ever more than an incidental or supplementary motivation throughout his career." He began returning escaped slaves to their owners in Missouri for a bounty and rustling cattle and horses from both pro- and antislavery settlers; in short, he did anything that had a dollar in it for Quantrill. "In all likelihood," Castel observed, "he became a bandit as much out of deliberate choice as accidental circumstance. The life of a freebooter must have appealed to him as a chance to get out of his dreary rut of failure, to experience a life of pleasure and excitement, to obtain big money easily, and above all to *be* somebody."[22]

Quantrill became more duplicitous in his dealings. Joining a group of three abolitionists, he betrayed them when they accompanied him on the raid of Morgan Walker's farm in Jackson County, Missouri, in December 1860. Quantrill spun a convoluted tale for the Missourians to save himself from being lynched. Jailed in Independence for his own protection, a friend convinced the sheriff to release him. Although Quantrill often has been accused of a particularly cold-blooded execution of a wounded man named Chalkley T. Lipsey in the aftermath of the Walker raid, according to Leslie, Andrew Walker, the son of Morgan, asserted that Quantrill never unholstered his gun.[23]

Quantrill, Castel believed, was "essentially just another border outlaw, only perhaps somewhat more vicious, imaginative, and daring than the average." Leslie admitted that Quantrill behaved unscrupulously before the war, but once the fighting began "he thought of himself as a Confederate soldier" and "adhered strictly and consistently to a personal code of honor": keeping promises, accepting surrender, granting paroles, even trying to exchange prisoners. He also "made certain that none of his men ever raped or assaulted a woman." Leslie implied that no other guerrillas followed these principles. After the federal government issued orders outlawing all partisans and executed his followers without a trial, Quantrill adopted "a merciless policy of no quarter."[24]

When war came Quantrill traveled to Texas with Marcus Gill, a slaveholder, and drifted into the Cherokee Nation where he learned guerrilla tactics from Joel B. Mayes, a Confederate sympathizer who joined General Benjamin

21. Quantrill to "My Dear Mother," January 26, February 8, 1860, in Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 89–91, 94–96; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 62; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 29–31; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 18–20, 47–49. Dale E. Watts, "How Bloody Was Bleeding Kansas?: Political Killings in Kansas Territory, 1854–1861," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 18 (Summer 1995): 116–29, compiled a list of but fifty-six murders for this seven-year period; *see also* A. Theodore Brown, *Frontier Community: Kansas to 1870* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1963).

22. Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 31–32; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 64–70; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 53–55; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 104–39.

23. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 76–77; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 152–65; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 59; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 39. The latter three authors attested to Quantrill's guilt.

24. Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 43; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 97–98.

McCulloch.[25] Edwards wrote of Quantrill's "conspicuous daring" in the battles of Carthage, Wilson's Creek, and Lexington, led by General Sterling Price, but no documentary evidence of this service has been found. Connelley, Castel, and Schultz stated Quantrill deserted from Price's army, but Leslie argued that his "detractors cast him in the worst possible light," as one who "had no stomach for regular army discipline and organized combat." In fact, Leslie said he was a "brave man," no evidence exists he deserted, and Price "encouraged men to go home."[26]

Cole Younger

Quantrill traveled to the Blue Springs area of Jackson County, Missouri. In January 1862, joined by such notables as Cole Younger and the James brothers, the band soon encountered the Union Army.[27] Numbering forty men, they harassed the federals and protected the area against jayhawkers. After a skirmish with a regiment of Ohio cavalry in Independence, they pillaged and plundered Aubry, Kansas, in March, leaving at least five dead. This incursion was the "most brutal and devastating one to date," stated Castel. On March 13 Major General Henry W. Halleck proclaimed all guerrillas to be outlaws who would be hanged if captured. This edict, wrote Leslie, "radically changed his [Quantrill's] attitude toward the war—and thus his conduct."[28]

Before Halleck's promulgation, asserted Leslie, Quantrill "had accepted the surrender of Yankees and then paroled them. He believed himself to be a Confederate officer, and he had expected to be treated as a soldier if taken. However, Halleck disabused him of the no-

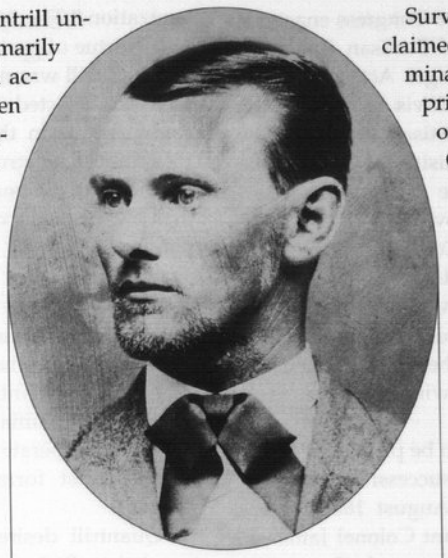
25. Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 51; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 82; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 64–65; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 67–69; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 196–200. After the war Mayes became principal chief of the Cherokee Nation. A detailed account of this phase of Quantrill's life is LeRoy H. Fischer and Lary C. Rampp, "Quantrill's Civil War Operations in Indian Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 46 (Summer 1968): 155–81; Rampp, "William C. Quantrill's Civil War Activities in Texas, 1861–1863," *Texas Military History* 8 (1970): 221–31. For information on McCulloch, *see* Thomas W. Cutrer, *Ben McCulloch and the Frontier Military Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). For background on Missouri, *see* Hildegarde Rose Herklotz, "Jayhawkers in Missouri, 1858–1863," *Missouri Historical Review* 17 (April 1923): 266–84; 17 (July 1923): 505–13; 18 (October 1923): 64–101; Arthur Roy Kirkpatrick, "Missouri in the Early Months of the Civil War," *Missouri Historical Review* 55 (April 1961): 235–66; William E. Parrish, *Turbulent Partnership: Missouri and the Union, 1861–1865* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1963).

26. Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 51; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 94; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 200; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 64–65. Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 69, stated that after the battle of Dry Wood Creek, "Quantrill decided he'd had his fill of soldiering." The Quantrill–Price relationship is probed in Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 58–62. Quantrill definitely did not participate in the battle of Carthage.

27. Contrary to what aficionados, buffs, and professional historians have declared, we still do not have adequate biographies of the Youngers. In fact, we have little reliable information on the Missouri–Kansas guerrillas or even the so-called legitimate citizens such as Jim Lane. *See* Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 99–104; Marley Brant, *The Outlaw Youngers: A Confederate Brotherhood* (Lanham, Md.: Madison Books, 1992); Carl W. Breihan, *Ride the Razor's Edge: The Younger Brothers Story* (Gretna, La.: Pelican Publishing Co., 1992). The James brothers have been the subject of some excellent work. Perhaps the best works on Jesse James are William A. Settle Jr., *Jesse James Was His Name: Or, Fact and Fiction Concerning the Careers of the Notorious James Brothers of Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1966); Brant, *Jesse James, the Man and the Myth* (New York: Berkeley Books, 1998). For a source on Frank James, *see* Gerard S. Petrone, *Judgement At Gallatin: The Trial of Frank James* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1998).

28. Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 72; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 112–13; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 220–39; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 86–95. Background and accounts of the activities of the bushwhackers/jayhawkers/guerrillas is provided in Castel, "The Jayhawkers and Copperheads of Kansas," *Civil War History* 5 (September 1959): 283–93; Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861–1865* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958; reprinted as *Civil War Kansas: Reaping the Whirlwind* [Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997]); Paul W. Burch, "Kansas: Bushwhackers vs. Jayhawkers," *Journal of the West* 14 (January 1975): 83–104; Bonnie Murphy, "Missouri: A State Asunder," ibid., 105–29; Gary L. Cheatham, "'Desperate Characters:' The Development and Impact of the Confederate Guerrillas in Kansas," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 14 (Autumn 1991): 144–61; Stephen Z. Starr, *Jennison's Jayhawkers: A Civil War Cavalry Regiment and Its Commander* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973); Fellman, *Inside War*. According to Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 62–53, jayhawking "was not the sole cause of guerrilla war in Missouri; in fact, it perhaps was not even the main cause." The strife between Missouri unionists and secessionists led to "far more killing of Missourians by Missourians than by Kansans."

tion of honorable treatment. Quantrill understood that he would be summarily executed if captured and reacted accordingly." He felt that he had been "forced" into a "no-quarter manner of fighting." Castel's interpretation was similar; he contends that Quantrill was "infuriated" and "savagely altered his approach to the war." In short, the federals had raised the "black flag."[29]



Jesse James

Castel is closer to the mark in assessing Quantrill's response to Halleck's order than is Leslie, who is somewhat disingenuous. Before Halleck announced his guerrilla policy, Quantrill's band had charged into Aubry, Kansas, on March 7, 1862, shooting everything. Five unarmed men were murdered (Leslie says three; then later five) as they attempted to escape. Both Castel and Leslie agree they plundered all the stores and houses, robbed every male inhabitant, and set fire to one building. Leslie concluded that the "Aubry raid had been particularly shocking because of the cold-blooded murder of civilians, and Unionists on the border were not only outraged but frightened."[30]

Survivors of Quantrill's raiders later claimed that "prior to Halleck's extermination order they usually took prisoners but that after they did so only rarely." Other evidence, Castel observed, "tends to confirm their contention, as instanced by the Manasseth Gap ambush and the Liberty fight (although it is apparent from the Aubry raid that they were not disposed to show much mercy to Kansans even before March 20)." They collectively denied swearing to an "ironclad oath" to dispatch all Union soldiers. This is confirmed by Leslie, who stated that on March 18 Quantrill and his men attacked the Union garrison at Liberty, Missouri. They killed one soldier who refused to disclose information but paroled eight other Yankees whom they captured.[31]

In late March and early April 1862 Quantrill's raiders engaged federal troops at the David Tate, Sam Clark, and Jordan Lowe farms. The "Tate house fight," in Castel's words, "became one of the most famous episodes in bushwhacker annals, increased Quantrill's prestige among the West Missouri guerrillas and strengthened his leadership." Later, in the hardest fight the band ever had, they fought a vicious struggle with the troops of Major James O. Gower near Pleasant Hill, Missouri. They held their own "in an open, stand-up battle against trained and disciplined soldiers, even though heavily outnumbered" but violated a cardinal rule of guerrilla warfare: "never do battle against a superior force on its own terms unless absolutely necessary."[32]

29. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 113; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 94; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 236. Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 93–94, contended that "for Quantrill, this new kind of war was a reversion to his earlier life, little different from torturing animals as a child or thieving and killing as Charley Hart in Lawrence. General Halleck's order had given him an excuse. He no longer felt hindered by any rules of war. All restraints were off." Halleck's directive was renewed by Brigadier General John M. Schofield, who also, in General Order No. 19, required all able bodied men in Missouri to enlist in the Union state militia to exterminate the guerrillas. *See* James L. McDonough, "And All for Nothing—Early Experiences of John M. Schofield in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 64 (April 1970): 306–21; McDonough, *John M. Schofield, Union General in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1972). For another attempted repressive measure, *see* W. Wayne Smith, "An Experiment in Counterinsurgency: The Assessment of Confederate Sympathizers in Missouri," *Journal of Southern History* 35 (August 1969): 361–80.

30. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 106–8, 112; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 70–71.

31. Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 70; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 112–13.

32. Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 76, 83–84; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 113–19, 128; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 242–53; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 98–102. Leslie agreed with Castel about the Pleasant Hill encounter, quoting him at length.

In April 1862 the Confederate Congress enacted a law "to organize bands of Partisan Rangers." Known as the Partisan Ranger Act, the statute permitted President Jefferson Davis to commission officers to organize bands of "partisan rangers." They would be allowed all the perquisites of Confederate regulars and be "subject to the same regulations." Leslie asserted that the law provided a "cloak of legitimacy" over the various Confederate guerrilla groups, but the Union refused to recognize them as soldiers. Nowhere, Leslie believed, was this "more true than in the Transmississippi."[33] Much confusion exists among Quantrill biographers surrounding his status and that of his followers within the Confederate military bureaucracy.

Quantrill certainly wanted to be part of the regular Confederate Army. After the successful raid on Independence, Missouri, in mid-August 1862, where the Union commander Lieutenant Colonel James T. Buell surrendered his entire command, Quantrill's raiders repaired to the Ingraham farm, six miles west of Lone Jack, Missouri. There, Colonel Gideon W. Thompson officially mustered Quantrill and his men into Confederate service and commissioned Quantrill a captain on General Thomas C. Hindman's authority under the auspices of the Partisan Ranger Act. Subsequently, wrote Castel, "Quantrill's band was part of the Confederate military establishment—but the actuality of the matter" was indeed "something quite different."[34]

Connelley suggested that after this date the "Confederate government was responsible for all the acts of Quantrill and his men." They had become "regular Confederate soldiers, properly enrolled, with officers regularly commissioned." Castel, whom Leslie follows, declared that the "organization set up at the Ingraham farm meant little." "Lacking true military discipline, serving with boyhood friends in their own neighborhoods, ever-varying in numbers, frequently operating in small parties, and constantly scattering and regrouping, the bushwhackers found it impossible to maintain a regular, rigid military organization." The "real leaders were whoever became so by virtue of personality, daring, and ability."[35]

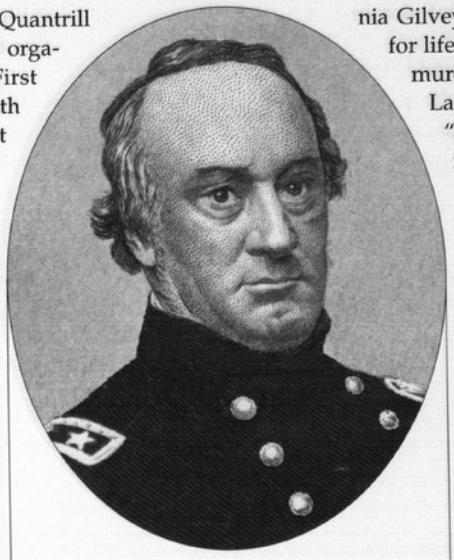
Quantrill was not satisfied, even though his own men had elected him captain. (Leslie extensively comments upon this fact of irregular life). During 1862 they had struck the Kansas towns of Aubry, Olathe, and Shawneetown, each blow "more vicious than the previous one." At Aubry they emphasized plunder; at Olathe they added mass murder; and at Shawneetown they included arson. Quantrill continued to fight the federals, attacked Lamar, Missouri, later in the year, and burned part of the town. Castel summarized the change in deft fashion: in a relatively short time Quantrill "had rocketed from a non-descript Border Ruffian to a captain of partisan rangers in the Confederate Army and the chieftain of the largest, most formidable guerrilla band in Missouri."[36]

Quantrill desired more. In December 1862 he traveled to Richmond, Virginia, seeking a colonel's commission. Edwards, after a wonderful portrayal of a scene where Quantrill confronts the Confederate Secretary of War James A. Seddon, wrote that Quantrill was rejected in his demand for a colonelcy. Of all Quantrill biographers, only Connelley (in what Leslie referred to as a "rare burst of generosity") believed he received the commission from either General Sterling Price or Missouri Confederate governor Thomas C. Reynolds. The guerrillas followed different officer patterns and continued to elect their officers after the custom had been abandoned in the regular army, but Quantrill only received official Confederate papers that listed him as captain.[37]

"The question of whether or not Quantrill was ever commissioned a colonel is one of the thorniest and most controversial concerning his life," stated

33. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 119–20.
34. Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 92.
35. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 269; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 92; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 117; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 137–38.
36. Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 92, 98, 101–3; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 143–59, 294–95; Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 156–58; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 269–77, 281–82; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 120–26.
37. Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, 156–58; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 281–82, 421; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 294–95; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 101–3; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 129–31.

Leslie. In late 1863, just before Quantrill and his men left for Texas, they organized the First Regiment, First Brigade, Army of the South, with Quantrill as captain. Later that year, Quantrill twice referred to himself as a colonel, but by early 1864 he signed his name as a "captain, commanding partisans." Leslie's theory is that the "bushwhackers" continued to elect their officers. Thus, when the First Regiment was formed, Quantrill was elected a colonel. Confederate officials in Texas informed him "that he was a *captain*," not a colonel. He never again referred to himself as such.[38]



General Henry W. Halleck

Quantrill's relations with Confederate military officials aside, his famous raid on Lawrence, described previously, had its origins in a multitude of reasons. In mid-1863, because of the guerrillas success in harassing the federals, the District of the Border commander Thomas Ewing Jr. issued General Order No. 10, which ordered the arrest of men and women who were not heads of families if they aided, abetted, or encouraged the insurgents. Union military authorities imprisoned in Kansas City Charity Kerr and Nannie McCorkle, sister and sister-in-law, respectively, of John McCorkle; Susan Vandiver and Armenia Gilvey, cousins of Cole Younger; and Josephine, Mary, and Jennie Anderson, sisters of Bloody Bill Anderson.[39]

On August 13, 1863, a week before the destruction of Lawrence, the building collapsed killing Josephine Anderson, Susan Vandiver, Charity Kerr, and Armenia Gilvey. Mary Anderson was crippled for life. McCorkle stated that "this foul murder" was the direct cause of the Lawrence raid because of women "foully murdered" by a "set of men to whom the name assassins, murderers and cutthroats would be a compliment." Actually, although the incident may have been partially responsible for the decision to sack Lawrence, the idea grew out of a "festering bitterness" against the Unionists, Quantrill's personal grudge against the town, and a desire to retaliate for the 1861 federal raid on Osceola, Missouri, which left it in ruins.[40]

After the devastation of Lawrence and the subsequent attempt by federal officials to depopulate western Missouri in response to the raid (General Order No. 11), Quantrill and his band killed ninety-eight men of the personal escort and headquarters train of Major General James G. Blunt at Baxter Springs, Kansas, in October 1863. Thus, Lawrence and Baxter Springs became the only major Confederate victories in the West in 1863. The partisans then marched to Texas where numerous problems beset the group, and they became involved in

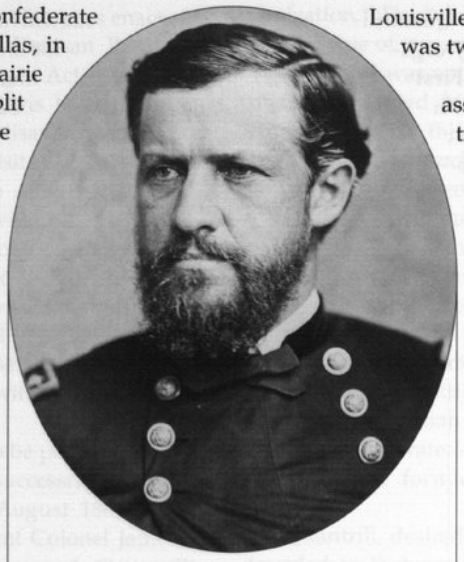
38. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 294–95, 119; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 83; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 106–10; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 254–28. The Partisan Ranger law was in effect until February 1864 when repealed by the Confederate Congress.

39. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 157–99; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 116–21; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 135–43; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 298–307.

40. Barton, *Three Years With Quantrill*, 120–23; Hattaway, "Commentary," in ibid., 14–15. Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 118–20, believed Anderson to be a "demonic leader" and "insane because of the injury to his sisters, and his attitude toward all men who supported or served the Union was that of a homicidal maniac." Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 141, observed that "almost all the other available evidence clearly indicates that Quantrill was planning and preparing for the raid not only prior to the tragic prison collapse, but long before Ewing's removal policy was announced." The two events "merely intensified the desire of the bushwhackers to 'get back' at their enemies by raiding Lawrence, and increased their fury and blood lust when they attacked the town." Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 198, stated that "it is sometimes said that the Lawrence raid was in direct retaliation for the supposed intentional murders of the Southern girls. This is not true, but the extraordinary savagery and wholesale destructiveness of the raid may be attributed in part to the bushwhackers' rage and indignation over the tragic event." A comprehensive account of the fate of the incarcerated women is Charles F. Harris, "Catalyst of Terror: The Collapse of the Women's Prison in Kansas City," *Missouri Historical Review* 89 (April 1995): 290–306.

several controversies with Confederate commanders. Quantrill's guerrillas, in the words of Castel, became "prairie freebooters," and Quantrill split with his major lieutenant, George Todd.[41]

All modern Quantrill biographers agree that his sojourn in Texas in 1864 was a disaster. Replaced as the guerrillas leader, Quantrill led the few who remained with him back to Missouri where they engaged in a few desultory raids. They left Missouri for Kentucky in early 1865 and performed petty robberies. He also briefly joined forces with Sue Mundy (Marcellus Jerome Clark), but Quantrill's days of glory clearly had passed. Hiding out on a farm in May 1865, he and his men were surprised by federal guerrillas. While attempting to escape, he was shot in the spine. Quantrill lingered for almost a month but died at four o'clock on the afternoon of June 6, 1865, in the Louisville military prison hospital. He was twenty-seven years old.[42]



General Thomas Ewing Jr.

Quantrill's character has been assessed through a dual perspective; either a "heroic Confederate knight-errant or a brilliant but brutal psychopath," according to Leslie. Connelley called him a "gory monster" and Schultz said he stood "for no principles" and had no "personal convictions." He loved to kill and fought for "personal vengeance." Castel viewed him as "an incalculable mixture of good and bad, of the admirable and the detestable." Unquestionably, he had "military skill, cool courage, and power to command," but also he was brutal and callous, lacked any scruples, and evinced a "treacherous opportunism." Castel concluded that the latter traits tended to obscure his martial abilities.[43]

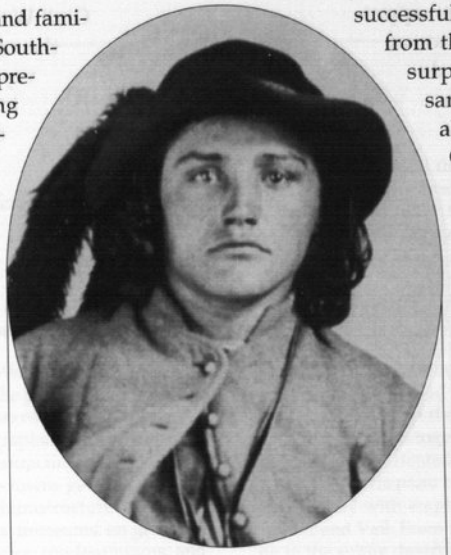
What type of men rode with Quantrill? Paradoxically, observed historian Herman Hattaway, "their experiences during the Civil War seem to have induced them to become more brutal and ferocious personalities than they were either before or after the conflict." They have been characterized as either "murderous thieves, utterly devoid of any social or political ideals, who took advantage of the turmoil of the times to enrich themselves at the expense of their neighbors," or as insurgents who

41. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 267, stated that "ironically, despite all the suffering and economic dislocation Order No. 11 caused, it was negated less than six months after being issued and thus never fulfilled its purpose: to drive the guerrillas permanently from western Missouri." For a dissection of Ewing's order, *see* Albert Castel, "Order No. 11 and the Civil War on the Border," *Missouri Historical Review* 57 (July 1963): 357–68; Charles R. Mink, "General Orders, No. 11: The Forced Evacuation of Civilians During the Civil War," *Military Affairs* 34 (December 1970): 132–36; Ann Davis Niepman, "General Orders No. 11 and Border Warfare During the Civil War," *Missouri Historical Review* 66 (January 1972): 185–210; Mark E. Neely Jr., "'Unbeknownst' to Lincoln: A Note on Radical Pacification in Missouri During the Civil War," *Civil War History* 44 (September 1998): 212–16. For information on Ewing, *see* David G. Taylor, "The Business and Political Career of Thomas Ewing Jr.: A Study of Frustrated Ambition" (Ph. D. diss., University of Kansas, 1970). The number of federals killed at Baxter Springs varies somewhat. *See* Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 280; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 151–54; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 421–34; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 258–62. On the Texas problems, which Edwards conveniently ignored, *see* Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 280, 284–302; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 152–54, 170–71; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 443–50; Robert L. Kerby, *Kirby Smith's Confederacy: The Trans-Mississippi South, 1863–1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972); Richard B. McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze: The Great Hanging at Gainesville, Texas, 1862* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), 134, 166; Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West*, 164; Fellman, *Inside War*, 102–7.

42. Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 201–7, 209, 211, 213; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 460–70, 472–83; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 292–309; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 345–69. For information on Mundy, *see* Young E. Allison, "Sue Mundy," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 57 (October 1959): 295–316; L. L. Valentine, "Sue Mundy of Kentucky," ibid. 62 (July 1964): 175–205; (October 1964): 278–306. The idea that Quantrill was not killed is pursued in T. W. Paterson, "'Quantrill Is Not Dead; I Can Prove It' by John Sharp as reported by T. W. Paterson," *Real West* 9 (July 1966): 10–11, 54–56.

43. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 34; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 41; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 4–5; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 215.

"rose in defense of their homes and families as well as in the name of the Southern cause against the savage depredations of an alien, occupying army." Historian James M. McPherson referred to them as "some of the most psychopathic killers in American history."[44]



Sue Mundy

In an often neglected essay, Don R. Bowen sampled 194 of Quantrill's followers. He discovered that, as a group, those who battled the federals tended to be the "elder offspring of well-to-do, slaveholding farmers in rural Jackson County, Missouri, and very likely had familial and cultural ties in the states which had already joined the Confederacy." Indeed, "their families were better-off, more likely to be Southerners by origin, and owners of more slaves than either the population of the entire county" or the parents of other young men who did not join them. In short, they experienced "upward mobility" before the war and constituted a "local rural elite" who feared being deprived of everything they had achieved.[45]

Quantrill had a nucleus of tough, dedicated men, ready to sacrifice their lives. They consisted of "hard-riding, fast-shooting Missouri farmboys in their late teens and early twenties," said Castel. Similar to all successful guerrillas, they seized arms from the enemy and used the tactic of surprise, and they always had a sanctuary in the Sni-A-Bar country along the Jackson–Lafayette County line, a "wild and gloomy region of dense woods, tangled thickets, deep gorges, and narrow, twisting trails which could be defended easily by a few alert sentries." For firepower, they relied upon handguns, carrying several on their persons. They "were probably the most formidable bunch of 'revolver fighters' the West ever knew," wrote Castel.[46]

Kansas governor Thomas Carney declared that "no fiend in human shape could have acted with more savage barbarity" than did Quantrill. Castel referred to him as the "bloodiest man in American History." Unquestionably, Connelley and Schultz agreed with these descriptions. Leslie described Quantrill as a "border ruffian, Confederate soldier, blanket thief, partisan ranger, loving son, cold-eyed killer, schoolteacher, and teamster," but he never quite assesses his personality and/or his role in the conflict that divided a nation. Quantrill's contribution to the Confederate cause, concluded Castel, "did more harm than good." Outfits such as his "were inherently incapable of accomplishing much of military value."[47]

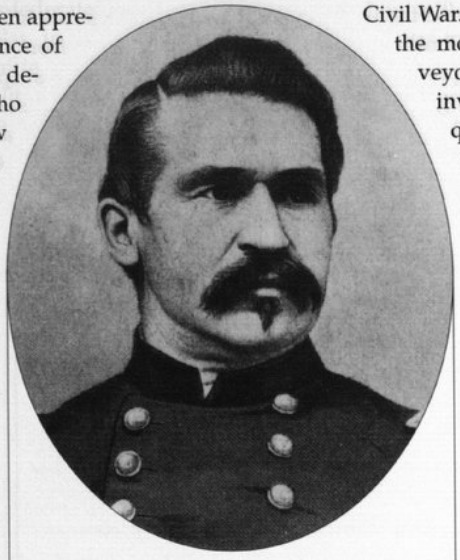
44. Hattaway, "Commentary," 14; Don R. Bowen, "Guerrilla War in Western Missouri, 1862–1865: Historical Extensions of the Relative Deprivation Hypothesis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19 (January 1977): 30–51, quote on 32; Bowen, "Quantrill, James, Younger, et al.: Leadership in a Guerrilla Movement, Missouri, 1861–1865," *Military Affairs* 41 (February 1977): 42–48, listed twenty-six guerrilla leaders and the fate that befell them; James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 785; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 121.

45. Bowen, "Guerrilla War in Western Missouri," 49; Bowen, "Counterrevolutionary Guerrilla War: Missouri, 1861–1865," *Conflict* 8 (1988): 69–78. A list of the known guerrillas of the Quantrill, Anderson, and Todd bands is in Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 253–61. Breihan, *Quantrill and his Civil War Guerrillas*, 166–74, compiled 296 names. Fellman, *Inside War*, missed Bowen's important essay. *See also* Mary Eschelbach Gregson, "Population Dynamics in Rural Missouri, 1860–1880," *Social Science History* 21 (Spring 1997): 85–110.

46. Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 109, 111, 113; Schultz, *Quantrill's War*, 81, 135; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 149–50, 180–81; Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 296, 309; Lloyd Lewis, "Propaganda and the Kansas–Missouri War," *Missouri Historical Review* 34 (October 1939): 11; Castel, "Quantrill's Bushwhackers: A Case Study in Partisan Warfare," *Civil War History* 13 (March 1967): 41, 43; Michael Fellman, "Inside Wars: The Cultural Crisis of Warfare and the Values of Ordinary People," *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 10 (December 1991): 1–9. During Reconstruction the United States Army experienced similar difficulties in capturing desperadoes who inhabited regions with dense terrain. *See* Barry A. Crouch and Donaly E. Brice, *Cullen Montgomery Baker: Reconstruction Desperado* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997).

47. Quote in Hattaway, "Commentary," 6; Jones, "William Clarke Quantrill," 606; Albert Castel, "The Bloodiest Man in American History," *American Heritage* 11 (October 1960): 22–24, 97–99; Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 359; Castel, "The Guerrilla War, 1861–1865," *Civil War Times Illustrated* 13 (October 1974): 50.

Quantrill's image has not been appreciably changed by the appearance of two new biographies, but both deserve consideration. Schultz, who followed Connelley, with no new research, can be ignored as he contributes nothing to what we already know about Quantrill. Leslie's book is extensively researched, often relies on Castel's 1962 interpretative framework, is well written, and has fascinating detail but is overly sympathetic to its subject. And, throughout his exposition of Quantrill's life, Leslie appears to be anti-Union and partial to the Southern cause and Quantrill's method of warfare. Ultimately no definitive interpretation or assessment of the Ohioan emerges. Quantrill remains as elusive as ever.



Major General James G. Blunt

At the close of the twentieth century what is the status of Quantrill historiography? Clearly, his four modern biographers divide into two distinct camps. Connelley and Schultz agree with the characterization of the Kansas governor and classify him as a "fiend," which hampers their efforts to assess his life. Castel and Leslie are more objective. Leslie's book is based upon the most extensive archival research of all the Quantrill biographies, and similar to Castel he weighs the sources carefully before making a judgment. Both Leslie and Castel have few factual mistakes. Overall, Castel has a broader background of the Kansas–Missouri upheaval and the Civil War, thus his interpretations are grounded in a solid historical perspective.

Quantrill, along with other guerrillas, has received much attention from writers who focus upon the Civil War.[48] For most, the Ohioan remains the most prominent example or purveyor of this type of warfare. More investigations, however, are required of his influence upon the course of the conflict not only in Missouri but on the war effort in general. It is essential for some historian who has the interpretive skill of Castel and the willingness to undertake the broad research displayed in Leslie's book to combine the two tasks into a solid biography of William Clarke Quantrill. A future life and times will have to sort out the confusing and conflicting issues that plague his reputation and engender so much emotion in those who write about him.

KH

48. Castel, "The Guerrilla War," 50; Kevin H. Siepel, *Rebel: The Life and Times of John Singleton Mosby* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983); William E. Sawyer, "Martin Hart, Civil War Guerrilla," *Texas Military History* 3 (Fall 1963): 146–53; Leo E. Huff, "Guerrillas, Jayhawkers and Bushwhackers in Northern Arkansas During the Civil War," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 24 (Summer 1965): 127–48; William L. Shea, "A Semi-Savage State: The Image of Arkansas in the Civil War," ibid. 48 (Winter 1989): 309–28; Daniel E. Sutherland, "Guerrillas: The Real War in Arkansas," ibid. 52 (Autumn 1993): 257–85; Stephen S. Michot, "'War Is Still Raging in This Part of the Country': Oath-Taking, Conscription, and Guerrilla War in Louisiana's Lafourche Region," *Louisiana History* 38 (Spring 1997): 157–84; Stephen V. Ash, "Sharks in an Angry Sea: Civilian Resistance and Guerrilla Warfare in Occupied Middle Tennessee, 1862–1865," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 45 (Fall 1986): 217–29; Richard P. Gildrie, "Guerrilla Warfare in the Lower Cumberland River Valley, 1862–1865," ibid. 49 (Fall 1990): 161–76; Noel C. Fisher, *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerrilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860–1869* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Anne J. Bailey, "The Mississippi Marine Brigade: Fighting Rebel Guerrillas on Western Waters," *Military History of the Southwest* 22 (Spring 1992): 31–42; Virgil C. Jones, *Gray Ghosts and Rebel Raiders* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1956); Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy*; Goodrich, *Guerrilla Warfare on the Western Border*; Richard E. Beringer et al., *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986); Archer Jones, *Civil War Command and Strategy: The Process of Victory and Defeat* (New York: Free Press, 1992); *see also* George M. Fredrickson, *Why the Confederacy Did Not Fight a Guerrilla War After the Fall of Richmond: A Comparative View, "35th Annual Fortenbaugh Memorial Lecture"* (Gettysburg, Pa.: Gettysburg College, 1996).

[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

REVIEWS

Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West

by Hal K. Rothman

xi + 434 pages, photographs, notes, index.
Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998, cloth $34.95.

In many parts of the American West, communities have made deals with the devil of tourism. The pacts have been negotiated amidst differing initial circumstances—busted mining or moribund agricultural economies, geographic isolation, or poorly developed, undercapitalized visitor attractions—but the outcomes have tended to be the same: the towns get rich and lose their souls. The trappings of tourism infrastructure have been the sources of temptation. Railroad lines, museums, art galleries, dude ranches, resort hotels, ski complexes, condominiums, and casinos are among the many rewards of the deal. Tourists, eager to spend their money, arrive en masse to seal the deal.

But, as with any deal with the devil of tourism, there is a price to be paid. This, as University of Nevada–Las Vegas historian Hal K. Rothman elucidates, is the dark side of the bargain. In exchange for a successful tourism industry, communities had to forsake what made them special. Attributes that had evolved over decades—strong social ties, unique architectural styles, seasonal festivals, locally owned businesses sensitive to residents' needs, rustic charm, and/or a sense of cultural distance from the rest of the world—were either reconstituted or destroyed to accommodate mass-market tourism. Also lost was local determination over growth and development. And, once the process was in play, local actors found themselves increasingly powerless to guide or influence the future course of events. As the physical, economic, and cultural transformation became complete, these communities ended up, as Rothman puts it, "extra-specially ordinary" (p. 343) tourist meccas ruled by multinational corporations and filled with franchise chain stores, hotels, and restaurants. Alas, through tourism, many of the communities in the American West have indeed lost their souls.

This theme, the complex process of the "devil's bargain," is what ties together what otherwise could be considered a set of self-standing essays on corporate tourism development in the Rocky Mountain and intermontane regions of the American West. Given the wide-ranging array of topics, it is worth devoting some space here to briefly describe the sequence of and principal subjects included in Rothman's book. After an intriguing prologue that describes the historical geography of Maui's tourism milieu, Rothman presents two introductory chapters in which he establishes the logic of the "devil's bargain" theme and the cultural and technological contexts of pre-twentieth-century American tourism. In the following nine chapters, Rothman offers a series of case studies. The long and bitter struggles over tourism at the Grand Canyon, the cultural reconstruction of Santa Fe, and the development of dude ranching in northwestern Wyoming—stories that mostly unfold in the era before automobiles became the prevalent form of transportation—constitute the first set of subjects. In the middle of the book is a transitional chapter on the interrelationships between the rapidly growing use of the automobile by tourists, road construction programs, and the changing roles of tourist destinations. A brief case study of Carlsbad Caverns (admittedly this reviewer's favorite destination in the West) is offered to illustrate how these three aspects came together to foster the problematic creation of an automobile-oriented national park complex. Rothman then devotes four chapters to the development of ski towns and the ski industry with emphases on Steamboat Springs, Sun Valley, Aspen, and Vail. From the snowy slopes of the Rockies it is then on to the sunny desert city of Las Vegas for two chapters on the investment and financial histories associated with its famed casino-hotels and latter-day extravaganzas. Rothman then concludes with a rather poignant chapter that addresses the social and cultural alienation common to all of the locales examined in the previous case studies.

Each individual chapter of *Devil's Bargains* is a separate and rewarding experience; the book as a whole is a deep, coherent critique of modern tourism. Regarding the former, Rothman skillfully introduces and integrates the settings, personalities, organizations, and cultural trends in relatively short order. This is a critical accomplishment in several respects. First, the various case studies each present different environments, individuals, events, and social forces that are involved in the complex process of the devil's bargain. Rothman efficiently sets up and assembles each scenario without confusion. Second and also related to the latter point, the process of the devil's bargain—played out in very different places, at different times, and with different people and organizations—is clearly revealed each time. Not only does this give the book rhetorical integrity, it leaves the reader convinced of the validity of the theme. As a relatively new and understudied field of scholarly inquiry, tourism research is rather lacking in theory. By revealing the devil's bargain as a process common to a historically and geographically disparate selection of western communities, Rothman just may have managed to elevate this theme to the level of theory.

A couple of other elements are worthy of praise. First, special mention must be made about the set of four chapters on the development of the Rocky Mountain ski towns. As Rothman remarks in an annotated endnote, there is no comprehensive history of the multi-billion-dollar ski industry and the communities that serve it. Rothman's work on this subject, assembled from lit-

erally hundreds of newspaper articles, regional histories, technical reports, brochures, and other documents, is a major contribution. One can only hope that he or another able scholar will continue to explore the fascinating aspects of the ski industry and ski towns. In similar fashion, the other chapters of this book are backed by extensive archival sources. Along with the integrity of the research, *Devil's Bargains* is extremely well written. Rothman's style is nicely balanced between the clean and the complex; the tone is formal but always inviting. Although the book probably targets scholars, it can be understood and enjoyed by laypersons and advanced undergraduates who are reasonably familiar with American history and western geography.

The book's flaws are mostly minor. Rothman sometimes allows his narratives to take distracting tangents, probably in an effort to add facets to the general argument. And occasionally he repeats conclusions a little too often. The greatest deficiency, however, is an almost total absence of maps. Throughout the book, Rothman makes references to locales and infrastructure that have important spatial relationships. Only one map, a somewhat dim postcard of the Harvey hotel chain, is offered. The book's meager selection of photographs is another weakness. Should the opportunity for a second edition arise, Rothman should ask his editor to make room for a series of maps, as well as more and better graphics.

Altogether, *Devil's Bargains* is an outstanding volume. Its thematic concept is intriguing and convincingly supported. The book advances our understanding of individual places in the West, the processes of tourism development, and the consequences of them. It is well crafted, well researched, and well written. For those who are interested in knowing more about how the West was lost through a devil's bargain, this is the book to read.

Reviewed by Jefferson S. Rogers, *assistant professor of geography, Department of Geology, Geography, and Physics, University of Tennessee–Martin.*

The Plains Indians

by Paul H. Carlson

xiv + 254 pages, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998, paper $15.95.

Given the volume of writing on Plains Indians, one may appropriately ask whether a new book on the subject is needed. Paul H. Carlson of Texas Tech University answers the question with a straightforward and useful survey of the wide range of cultures and peoples whose principle connection with each other was their occupation of America's grasslands from Canada to Mexico.

Except for an epilogue that highlights developments among Plains Indians in the twentieth century, Carlson focuses on what he calls the "traditional" period, from the acquisition of horses and other European goods to the reservation period of the late nineteenth century. Indian cultures of the plains and prairies developed out of the changes brought by new technologies, new diseases, and new political realities. These societies, mounted on horseback and armed with guns, expanded throughout the Great Plains quickly, enjoying an almost artificial abundance. This "traditional" period, Carlson argues, was "essentially ephemeral," since many Plains Indians arrived in the grasslands relatively late. Although the point is not new, it is nonetheless important today, most Plains tribes have longer histories as residents of reservations than as mounted buffalo hunters. Cultural memory, though, is tricky, especially juxtaposed on academic research. Carlson's summary, for instance, of how the Black Hills were occupied by one tribe after another, a standard story, does little to support the descendants of those tribes who adamantly insist, supported by the occasional favor-seeking academic, that their people have an absolute aboriginal claim to the region. Cultural memory, real or not, has played a critical role in modern Indian attitudes regarding demands for the return of lands, the definition of sovereignty, and other issues. Greater detail on what the traditional period in Plains Indians history has meant to modern Plains Indians would have been helpful.

Whenever possible, Carlson identifies conditions held in common by the Plains Indians from the Blackfeet in the north to the Comanches in the south. Too often have historians—white and Indian—told individual tribal histories as if other tribes existed only as scenery for the narrative. Considering the Plains Indians as a kind of ecological group, while not understating their individual circumstances, ties them more closely with the common environment of the Great Plains.

Carlson's competence as a historian and a writer leaves little room for any but the most petty criticism. For example, he occasionally refers to white generals by the names the Indians called them: Three Stars Crook, Bad Hand Mackenzie, and so forth. Dee Brown wrote this way because he was trying to write from the Indians' viewpoint. I am not sure, however, why these names are used in this kind of book. Carlson uses an obscure rendering of what the Cheyennes call themselves: "Tsctschastahase," instead of "Tsistsistas," which is the spelling and pronunciation used by most Cheyennes. Still, it is easy to overlook questions like these (plus the occasional typographical error) when the book has so much to offer the reader.

The Plains Indians provides specialists and knowledgeable nonspecialists little in the way of new knowledge and innovative insights. As a quick reference, however, its comprehensive yet succinct presentation is far more accessible than the involved narrative of Robert Utley and other traditional historians (who are a pleasure to read) at one end of the scale of scholarship, and the technical analyses of political economy anthropologists (who are terrifying to read) at the other. For college students and others with little understanding of the subject, *The Plains Indians* would be an ideal introduction. This is the kind of book that will become part of the standard stock found in the museum stores of historical societies and national monuments throughout the West.

Reviewed by David R. Wilson, *instructor, Department of History, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.*

Pioneer Naturalist on the Plains: The Diary of Elam Bartholomew, 1871 to 1934

by David M. Bartholomew

xxii + 338 pages, photographs, bibliography, index. Manhattan: Sunflower University Press, 1998, paper $24.95.

In any competition for "Most Dedicated Diarist," Elam Bartholomew would surely be a contender. He wrote his first entries in 1871 as an eighteen-year-old farmboy in Illinois; he kept it going when he moved as a young man to homestead in Rooks County, Kansas, and built a successful life there; he vowed to stop with his nineteen-thousandth entry in 1923 but continued with summary notes and frequently backslid into daily writings; he finally laid down his pen not long before his death at eighty-two in 1934. The more than fifty-six hundred pages of Bartholomew's diary span a life on the Plains from the administration of Ulysses Grant to Franklin Roosevelt's, from the Indian wars to the Dust Bowl. This document is all the more remarkable because, unlike so many settlers, Bartholomew stayed put once he made his trip west and led a remarkably active public life. The dogged march of his diary thus gives us a rare view from the Plains during sixty years of extraordinary changes.

Elam Bartholomew's grandson David has carefully and lovingly pulled the most revealing entries from the diary and has arranged them to carry us through the panorama of western Kansas history. Each of the ten chapters covers a particular aspect of Elam's life, ranging from farming and the weather to religion, politics, and scientific interests. In each the pertinent entries are arranged chronologically and introduced with brief commentaries and explanations by the editor and compiler. The result is a book that can be read straight through, or taken randomly chapter by chapter, or dipped into at leisure. Anyone with a thirst for the dailiness of Plains life and society will find it a fine treat indeed.

Almost from the start Bartholomew engaged in a variety of activities around his homestead near Stockton, snuggled close to the Nebraska border. He helped survey and assess the land opening to other settlers, and as the years passed he took a prominent hand in public schools, church life, and eventually politics. With his wife, Rachel, he reared several children. He cultivated both the land in the Solomon River valley and the life around the family hearth; a interior photograph of the Bartholomew sod house shows a pump organ and substantial library. Early on, Elam developed an interest in natural history, vigorously collecting plant samples from the area and making frequent observations in his diary, and in maturity he became a well respected specialist, especially on fungi and their agricultural significance.

Elam's many interests allow us to move through many aspects of life as a pioneer settlement enters our contentious and troubled century. There are fascinating details. In a local debate square in the middle of the Gilded Age's political corruptions, the audience endorsed a limited monarchy over republican government. David Bartholomew shrewdly observes the increasing incidence of dust storms—there were none mentioned during Elam's first years—as the country was broken to the plow. He saw the first appearance of electric lights in town, and remarkably early: 1887. As is often the case, Elam the diarist is rarely reflective, but the accumulated notations as the years unroll provide an exceptional, perhaps unique, vision of ordinary life on the farming frontier. This book, a labor of love, should be in the library of anyone drawn to Plains history.

Reviewed by Elliott West, *professor of history, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.*