

## AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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### **From Campaigning in the Army of the Frontier to Conquering the Indian Frontier: Pioneering with Albert Robinson Greene**

Abstract approved: Patrick H. O'Brien

Henry David Thoreau, that pre-modern lover of individualism, noted, "Eastward I go only by force. But westward I go free." This statement is truly symbolic of the life of Kansan Albert Robinson Greene, who, along with his abolitionist parents, followed the western migration of Americans beginning in 1822. The independence Greene envisioned came in the form of settlement in the Kansas Territory, but the Civil War interrupted his plans and permanently reshaped his ideals. Although the myth continues to exist that pre-Civil War Kansas was primarily settled by anti-slavery groups, a different image of the pioneer emerges when studying the motivations of younger settlers like Greene.

This thesis, therefore, analyzes the perspective of Albert Robinson Greene, who came to Kansas in 1857 at the age of fifteen, and his life and career span the duration of the frontier from beginning to end. Although the abolitionist influence was not as strong in Kansas as once popularly believed, historians now acknowledge that abolitionists, irrespective of ideology, made decisions in the same manner as other groups. Greene's experience, therefore, dispels pre-Civil War mythology concerning the abolitionist influence in Kansas. Greene's biography, when superimposed on a Plains background, emphasizes this pattern. He came from an anti-slavery background, but he based his decisions on survival and self-interested behavior. While keeping in mind early influences on Greene, this thesis will also specifically address his ideas concerning pre-Civil War

conflict in Kansas, his service in the Ninth Volunteer Kansas Cavalry during the war, and his role in the settling of Indian Territory.

Greene never became famous, never achieved any great feat, nor was he involved in any world swaying decisions. His life, however, reflects a unique mentality concerning nineteenth and twentieth century settlement and life on the frontier. Greene, like many others, made important decisions based on self-interest and the availability of accurate information. Greene, therefore, makes a superb specimen for study by examining his diaries, manuscripts, and the events and influences which had an impact on his life.

**FROM CAMPAIGNING IN THE ARMY OF THE FRONTIER TO  
CONQUERING THE INDIAN FRONTIER:  
PIONEERING WITH ALBERT ROBINSON GREENE**

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*Patrick H. O'Brien*

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Approved for the Major Division

*J. Schuman*

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Approved for the Graduate Council

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## INTRODUCTION

Upon entering the Kansas Museum of History, sightseers encounter artistic murals that come to life. Walking by the displays, visitors become time travelers through a Kansas history diorama. Paintings of Native Americans, farmers breaking virgin soil, and saber-wielding soldiers on horseback provide passers-by with an intense abbreviated course on the evolution of the frontier.

Probably the most emotional painting is of John Brown, the controversial abolitionist. He stands ominously displaying a Bible in each hand, Beecher in the right, and Judao-Christian in the left. Instantly, the image evokes a likeness to Moses overlooking the Promised Land. Although abolitionism in Kansas is now viewed to be not as strong as once thought, a problem remains. Upon seeing this visually appealing history, these images are permanently etched into peoples' minds, and legends live on. Scratching beneath the surface, however, a distinctly different picture emerges that more accurately reflects the Kansas frontier experience.

No one doubts that the New England Emigrant Aid Company funded the entry of abolitionists into the state. This was true. Albert Robinson Greene's parents, who came to Kansas in 1857 at the height of the conflicts between pro and anti-slavery groups, followed this pattern. They worked all their lives to end slavery, admired Abraham Lincoln, and raised their five children according to Christian beliefs. Then why is it upon the outbreak of the Civil War, that their nineteen-year-old son Albert did not run immediately to the recruiting office and enlist in the Union army to defend "God and Country?" He did not enlist until one year after the conflict began, and then only reluctantly. The answer is that persons have many beliefs of varying intensity ranging from altruism to self-interest. In this respect, Albert was more typical of anti-slavery Kansans than his idealistic parents.

Greene's life is a biographical study in the context of Kansas and Plains history. Consequently, an examination of his adult life illustrates several points. His involvement with the Ninth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry emphasizes that a lack of training, inadequate

Kansas recruitment, and political in-fighting among army generals reveal the Union army's inability to wage a successful war in the border region. Greene, although a tepid volunteer in the beginning, became extremely militant concerning southern sympathizers after the war. Greene used his Civil War service to make the transition into public office, like many other veterans, and was a principal participant in the opening of Indian Territory. Greene failed to emulate his parents' abolitionist zeal, but he was a far more realistic example of the evolution of the frontier.



## CHAPTER I

### Ridgeway Township in pre-Civil War Kansas

Albert Robinson Greene's parents followed the typical migrant pattern between 1812 and 1850 when they left Saco, Maine in 1822 in the hope of prospering from new land openings in the Old Northwest.<sup>1</sup> Settling near the forts and outposts located behind the western frontier, they came less to master the wilderness than to seek new opportunities in a new civilization, and a homestead was the most expedient way to succeed. After the family had settled in Mt. Hope, Illinois, an event occurred that would markedly influence Albert's life.

In 1855, an old man knocked on the door of the Greene's farmhouse on a summer evening to inquire if any work was available. Elisha Harris Greene, Albert's father, invited the visitor for dinner and discussed the details of the man's employment. Elisha learned, through the stranger's broken English and pantomime, that the man was Francis Veardott, a recent French immigrant. Elisha introduced Francis to Lucy, his wife of twenty-three years, and his children. The fifth child, thirteen-year-old Albert, was particularly taken with the stranger, and paid close attention to his face. Albert described it in his diary as "a strong one; the lines indicating care and suffering and in several places were deep scars where the wounds had left ugly welts in healing."<sup>2</sup> Because of his background, Veardiott was able to provide the Greene family with some interesting insights concerning French history during his brief stay.

Albert's childhood was a typical one on the frontier, as he and his family were not immune from the trials of life. He performed the customary chores on the farm and received a rudimentary education in district school until he reached the age of fifteen.<sup>3</sup> Frontier life was hard, and nearly every family dealt with illness and premature death. Daniel E. Sutherland noted that, "ninety percent of America's youth lost a direct family

member, either sibling or parent, by the time he or she reached fifteen years of age."<sup>4</sup> Albert's younger sister, for example, died in early infancy.

Albert considered himself fortunate to know an Old World immigrant who could help with daily chores while discussing events in Europe. Many times after a day of clearing land the family gathered around an evening brush fire where the principal conversation related to Vearidott's life as a soldier. Francis quickly gained a better command of English by reading a small primer of French-English idioms, and with the communication barrier lowered, the immigrant and Albert engaged in long discourse on life in Europe.

Albert learned Vearidott was born in Paris in 1797, and that his parents accumulated a small fortune as shop keepers in the Latin Quarter. They bore two children, Antoine and Francis. Antoine received military training, and proved proficient in arms by the age of sixteen. Francis was chosen for the priesthood by his parents. By the age of fourteen, however, Francis developed "an unconquerable dislike for clerical honors and ran away from priestly authority to enter a polytechnic school where the social atmosphere and the duties were more to his liking."<sup>5</sup>

Francis and Albert also discussed the French scene and history. By 1808, Napoleon was the master of Europe, but nationalism swept across France's neighbors. Napoleon's empire was "hastening to a crisis," and Francis told Albert that "the exigencies of war had called repeatedly for new levies to fill up the depleted ranks of the army."<sup>6</sup> The French Senate, therefore, recruited 350,000 troops on January 10, 1813.<sup>7</sup>

Antoine joined the army in 1812, and after the Battle of the Nations on October 16, 1813, Prussia and its allies went on the offensive. Antoine was killed at Leipzig. When France's enemies assaulted Paris, Francis manned the barricades and his father was mortally wounded defending his business. Francis' mother, upon hearing of the deaths of her husband and eldest son, had to be institutionalized. Francis swore an oath to avenge his father, brother, and the family's misfortune, and enlisted in the army. When Napoleon

was exiled, Francis gave up the profession of arms and devoted his time to caring for his mother. She soon died, which left him without any close family, and he left for America. Albert learned about the nature of war when Vearidott described the violent world that existed outside the safer atmosphere of the Illinois farm.

Europe alone did not experience turmoil. While Albert was learning of the past violence in France, his brother, who was ten years older, returned from Wisconsin in the fall of 1855 with reports of border ruffian outrages in Kansas. He had left a surveying job to come home and join a company of Free State emigrants to that Territory."<sup>8</sup> Conversations with Albert's brother about Kansas impressed Francis, who announced he was going there. "They were fighting for freedom there," he said, and "wanted a hand in it." Francis "packed his few belongings," of which his most important possession was a fiddle, and bade his hosts good-bye. Albert never saw him again alive.<sup>9</sup>

The controversial Kansas-Nebraska Act opened Native American country to white settlement, and facilitated a northern rather than southern transcontinental railroad route. Removal of antislavery restrictions by the U.S. Congress had ensured southern support for the bill, which President Franklin Pierce signed into law on May 30, 1854. Passage and subsequent stormy implementation of the bill split the Democratic Party and destroyed the Whigs. Whig opposition to the proslavery provisions practically eliminated the party in the South, and northern Whigs joined antislavery Democrats and Know-Nothings to form the Republican Party in July 1854. Conflict soon spread to Kansas as proslavery settlers from Missouri and antislavery newcomers moved into the territory. Many settlers, like the Greene family, were originally from Old Northwest states. Fighting between the two groups earned the territory the nickname Bleeding Kansas, a term coined in the East.

Entering Kansas in April of 1857, the Greene family settled the next month on a claim in formerly Wakarusa Township, now Ridgeway, along Elk Creek, a tributary of the Wakarusa River, in what is now Osage County.<sup>10\*</sup> They named the homestead Valley Farm "in honor of a popular novel of the time and by this name it was known up and down

the settlement."<sup>12</sup> The Township possessed 291 registered voters. Elisha registered to vote in May, thereby increasing the ranks of antislavery voters in the district to twenty.<sup>13</sup> He then went to work organizing Sunday schools near land he purchased situated on the northern edge of Osage County.<sup>14</sup> Albert considered his father an antislavery worker all his life," but he viewed Kansas settlement as an intense localized conflict where pro and antislavery factions competed for prime agricultural and commercial sites near established trade routes.

Slavery related clashes around Lawrence and Lecompton before the Civil War are common knowledge, but the Greene family settled in an area that was also particularly violent. Border outrages in Ridgeway were common. "110" Mile Creek, which crossed the Santa Fe Trail and flows through Ridgeway Township, was sparsely settled at first because of its upland prairie stretches, but it became the center of border troubles that began with the early settlement in Kansas.<sup>15</sup> Controversy enveloped Ridgeway Township, not because of its superior land, but because of its location along the Santa Fe Trail.

In 1847, Father J. B. Roeken of the Catholic Church established an Indian mission for the Pottawatomie Indians to the south of "110" Mile Creek. Approximately twenty log cabins were constructed and missionary work began. Informed the next year that the mission was on Shawnee lands, Roeken had to abandon the cabins. Roeken and the Pottawatomies moved to the north side of the Kaw River, and from that time it was known as St. Mary's Mission.

In 1856, Fry P. McGee purchased the site from the Shawnees, and set up headquarters for a stage line. He then formed a partnership with William Harris, a Missouri gambler. The two amassed land holdings of over 1,000 acres around the enterprise. Both were avid proslavery advocates, and they used the location as a base to consolidate proslavery support in the area. McGee and Harris stated that no Free State man would be allowed to settle on "110" Mile Creek. Their alliance with Missouri border

ruffians was also common knowledge. McGee died in 1861, and his holdings dissolved at the hands pro-Unionists, the gambler, and his daughter.<sup>16</sup>

Politics in Ridgeway Township followed the same pattern as land acquisition. In the first Kansas gubernatorial election of November 29, 1854, the Seventh District (which included Ridgeway) was overrun by Missourians. Legally, Ridgeway Township had 20 registered voters, but the district's election tally revealed that 580 fraudulent votes had been cast for the pro-slavery candidate. That was only the beginning, as settlers entered Kansas on the Santa Fe Trail, Ridgeway Township's population increased to a total of 1,113 by 1860.<sup>17</sup> As pro and anti-slavery factions competed for prime business sites along Santa Fe Trail, Ridgeway Township's agricultural sectors also began to show signs of expansion. The 1860 federal census provides visible evidence. Although initially labeled as agriculturally inferior, Ridgeway Township's soil supported cotton crops that increased from 758 bales to 4,092 between 1850 and 1860. Seeking high prices during the 1850s, cotton farmers sought to thrive despite possible soil depletion in later years. Ridgeway Township contained only two slaves in 1860, therefore, an increase in cotton production should not be viewed as a sign of southern expansion in the area.<sup>18</sup>

An examination of Greene's experiences in Ridgeway Township help to define the milieu in the Civil War border lands, and his life was as varied as the Kansas political and social landscape. Arriving in Kansas at fifteen, Albert considered his education complete and never returned to school. Thus, he began the rite of passage to adulthood. His interest in the developing national conflict as it pertained to his future affected his decisions more than his parents' abolitionist ideals. Albert viewed the family farm as the avenue to secure his future, therefore, protection of the family's land became his primary goal.

Albert watched as the Civil War unfolded in the east. The Union defeat at Bull Run on July 21, 1861, first sparked the grim realization in the North of the need for a more determined effort and more troops. In 1861, Union propaganda effectively rallied thousands of recruits around the Stars and Stripes. The tactic failed in 1862, however, and

the Union army needed troops to renew its offensives. President Abraham Lincoln knew how to read public opinion, and thought the North would view a call for more recruits as a possible sign of panic after the loss at Bull Run. Consequently, Lincoln arranged to have northern governors "request" that he call upon the states for 300,000 new three-year volunteers so that recent Union successes could be followed up. On July 2, Lincoln assigned each state a quota based on population.<sup>19</sup> As the fighting spread so did Albert's awareness of his possible future role in the conflict.

On July 24, just three days after Bull Run, the federal government began to muster Kansas regiments into service by special order of the Secretary of War.<sup>20</sup> Like many states, Kansas desperately searched for new troops. General James G. Blunt, Commander of the Army of the Frontier, maintained that Kansas units were raised with a "full complement of officers," but conceded that "none of the companies were recruited to the minimum required by law." Laws enacted by the Kansas legislature proved to be inadequate. Blunt, therefore, assumed an active role in luring prospective recruits.<sup>21</sup>

The tactic widely employed by the Union army, according to historian James McPherson, was to send "would-be colonels and captains" traveling through their counties urging men "to sign up to fight for God and country."<sup>22</sup> This was done in Kansas. Blunt claimed that he tried to select those noncommissioned officers and privates from the old regiments who had proved themselves worthy soldiers as recruiting officers. As pressure mounted for more troops, however, Blunt had to rely upon "recommendations of other parties," and admitted to "have made, in some instances, poor selections."<sup>23</sup>

By this time Greene was nineteen and a prime target for recruitment. A captain on a recruiting trip through Ridgeway Township told Greene, either due to ignorance or dubious salesmanship, that he stood in more danger of being killed by lightning if he stayed home than by the enemy if he joined his company.<sup>24</sup> Greene waited longer than a year after the war started to enlist, which he admitted was a sign of reluctance. But Greene received his parents' consent, and volunteered for service in the Union Army on August 20,

1862. He also reluctantly obtained his own consent, for he "wasn't ready to die" and was sure he would as soon as the Confederacy heard he was in the war.<sup>25</sup> Greene joined his unit, however, which was the newly reorganized Company "A" 9th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, at Big Springs near Lawrence.<sup>26</sup>

The war's pace accelerated once again after Greene enlisted, and so did efforts to raise additional Kansas troops. Greene was not the only one with misgivings about military service. Although local politicians insisted quotas were being met across the state, military officials contended that recruitment efforts fell short. Avoiding service was a trend that started in 1862 and continued for the rest of the war. In 1863, Kansas proposed to induct more men, but many Kansans eligible for the draft went to Colorado, Nebraska, and other territories to escape.<sup>27</sup> In January 1864, the Union army recruited 1,420 men in Kansas, but 419 failed to report, 616 were found unfit, and 208 supplied substitutes, which left only 327 to enter the ranks. Later in 1864, many of the men assigned draft numbers were elderly, blind, cripples, idiots, or invalids. The draft took such a heavy toll on the Kansas male population, according to Sol Miller, editor of the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, that "in some areas . . . the state had reached the bottom of the manpower barrel by the spring of 1865."<sup>28</sup>

Despite inadequate recruiting efforts and manpower, Kansas provided more Union cavalry units than any other state during the Civil War. In 1861, the First and Second Kansas Regiments and the Kansas Brigade, the state's only cavalry units, participated in three Missouri battles, Wilson's Creek on August 10, Drywood Creek on September 2, and Morristown on September 17. In these battles, eighty-six Kansans lost their lives. To fill the ranks of newly formed cavalry units, the state government pushed for Kansas men to join.

Kansas public officials used propaganda to fill the ranks of the new units. Printed in the 1861 public records, Governor Thomas Carney wrote of the bravery exemplified by Kansas units during the first year of the conflict. "Kansas soldiers," the Governor stated,

"possess a 'National' reputation," and in defense of the Union, "they have fallen . . . or hurled back the traitors with bloody hands."<sup>29</sup> Under pressure to provide Union recruits, officials probably believed "flag waving" created a better atmosphere for luring would-be recruits, and the policy worked to some degree. Out of a population of 140,179, Kansas furnished the Union 20,097 soldiers. Nearly one of seven Kansans was a soldier, and the proportion of Kansas combat deaths was slightly higher than any other of the twenty-four loyal states.<sup>30</sup>

Greene's new unit received orders in September 1862 to report for basic training at Fort Scott. They forded the Kansas River at Topeka and camped for the night near Indianola next to the local stage station and close to St. Mary's Mission.<sup>31</sup> The Indian mission initially served as a reservation for tribes from the northeast United States, but by this time it was a refuge for Native Americans displaced by the June 1862 Union army expeditions into Indian Territory. Greene noticed "there was not a white inhabitant in the entire valley."<sup>32</sup> To relieve boredom, he and other soldiers used their free time to make hard tack as prizes for the Indians in bow and arrow contests. Greene noticed the Indians developed quite a taste for the flour and water crackers.

At Fort Scott, authorities fitted Greene with cavalry equipment, introduced him to military tradition, and began training him for war. Greene was given a horse that had belonged to a soldier who was recently deceased. The troops nicknamed the horse "Lots of Water," which Greene shortly learned to be most appropriate. Although Greene received an older mount, he later realized that the experienced quartermaster sergeant did him a favor. Greene recalled that the horse taught him more than any drillmaster and that it had a better knowledge of drill and ceremony than its rider.<sup>33</sup>

Greene had bigger problems with military etiquette. Before he had learned military courtesy, Greene was "roundly cursed" for being too friendly with an officer during mail call. This led him to reflect, "Two neighbors of yesterday, of equal social status find themselves separated by an impassable gulf when two-bits worth of tinsel is tacked on the



shoulders of one and the other is not thus arrayed." He wrote, "A volunteer soldier serving under volunteer officers, has a lot to learn about army etiquette before he has been long in the army."<sup>34</sup>

Greene found the town of Fort Scott "alive with soldiers." Company "A" camped "at the brink of the Marmaton bluff to the west of town near a large spring where a regiment of regular army infantry were camped." Greene went over to ask "how they liked it and so forth," and they "just stared and never said a word." Greene remarked, "I never liked the regular army since."<sup>35</sup> His dislike increased after cavalry training at Fort Scott.

Before sending new cavalry recruits into combat, soldiers were provided with a short course of saber and rifle instruction. Greene, however, "never liked the saber particularly" and considered it "an unhandy thing to walk with or along side of if any man has any respect for his legs, and on a horse, it is positively dangerous." When orders came, the unit mustered onto the mile-long parade ground to drill. Greene quickly mastered basic maneuvers such as "right cut against infantry" and "left cut against infantry." He did not do so well when it came to the "rear moulinet," rapidly spinning the saber over the head. On the first pass of the weapon behind his back he ripped the overcoat that was rolled up across the back of his saddle. His next attempt almost caused his mount to leap out of its hide. The "front moulinet" drill proved no better.

Greene sat on his mount and watched the officers in awe, "They could make that old cheese knife spin like a circular saw all around them, but it was no go with me." The officers said the drills were to limber up the wrist. Greene noted, he never got that far. He was quite satisfied to limber up his horse, and observed, "the horse also seemed to consider it quite sufficient." Although Greene felt vulnerable with his rudimentary combat training, the Union army considered it sufficient to send the men into battle.

The military has had many functions in American society. Of the secondary roles played by the army during the frontier period in U.S. history, one was to stimulate local economies and extend lines of communication. During the Civil War, however, the

military also entertained local settlers. Greene explained, "To adequately comprehend the situation, one should remember that the assembling of several thousand soldiers at a small town is an event for the whole community." Local farmers and merchants came in wagons and buggies, on horseback and foot, and in any way possible to view the military training exercises. Greene observed, "that the farmers for miles around Fort Scott neglected their hauling and other farm work just to come to town and watch." The entertainment must have been quite good for the farm families to watch the soldiers drill when they should have been gathering crops in the harvest season. The parade ground became the primary civilian rendezvous in town "from early till late." When the unit mastered a new maneuver, the civilian audience of "friends and their kindred" showed their pleasure with applause.

Entertainment sometimes turned to panic when the company practiced their mounted drills. On one occasion the unit assumed the formation position. When it was ordered to "trot," some spectators began to turn their vehicles to widen the space for the oncoming soldiers. They had hardly done this when the order "gallop" was heard, and was followed almost instantly with "charge." "My what a mix-up it was," Greene wrote, as the cavalry charged, farmers were "flailing their plow horses with hickory gads," women screamed, and "children spilled out of the rigs and ran for dear life." No casualties resulted, but Greene reflected, "one might as well be killed as scared to death."<sup>36</sup>

The Union army could provide its cavalry troops with the most accurate rifles, the sharpest swords, and the fastest horses, but it could not supply fortitude. Greene emphatically disliked army life, and his lack of training did not foster any grandiose dreams. This was war, however, and Greene was in it. Although he had entered the conflict with less than adequate preparation, he was committed to being a good soldier. Some training was better than none, however, and Greene thought, if lucky, he might survive the conflict. He learned that enduring the training was easy once compared to enduring and surviving the war.

## CHAPTER II

### ALBERT ROBINSON GREENE AND THE BORDER WAR

On May 6, 1861, Arkansas seceded from the Union. On May 25, an article in the *Van Buren Press* stated that "Over the whole country from the sandy shores of Carolina to the grassy plains of Texas the hearts of Southern people now beat in unison."<sup>37</sup> The border conflict subsequently erupted following seizure of Little Rock's United States Arsenal and U.S. Army stores and supplies at Napoleon by Arkansas secessionists. Hostilities spread when Texas troops moved north into western Indian Territory and forced Federal troops to withdraw to Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott. After Arkansas seceded from the Union, President Jefferson Davis appointed Albert Pike as special representative to Indian Territory to entice the slaveowning tribes, such as Stand Watie's Cherokees, to join the Confederacy.<sup>38</sup>

In response, in June, 1862, the Union army launched a six-thousand man expedition into Indian Territory. Commanded by Colonel William Weer, the expedition consisted of soldiers from the Second and Sixth Cavalry, the Tenth Kansas Infantry, the Ninth Wisconsin Infantry, the Second Ohio Cavalry, the First and Second Indiana batteries, and two Indian regiments. After taking Tahlequah, the capital of the Cherokee Nation, Weer proposed to attack Fort Gibson, but the war weary soldiers mutinied. Colonel Frederick Salomon of the Ninth Wisconsin usurped command, left the two Indian regiments to maintain order, and led all of the white units back to Fort Scott. Weer explained the events in an official letter to Blunt, who ordered Salomon to send two units back to Indian Territory. The message reached Salomon at Baxter Springs, a Union outpost in the extreme southeastern corner of Kansas, but he ignored the order and continued on to Fort Scott with all of the units.<sup>39</sup>

On August 10, "threatened by the rebel forces under General Sterling Price," Blunt called for more troops. whereby the Ninth Cavalry and other units were sent to Fort Scott

to assist the Sixth Cavalry's operations.<sup>40</sup> Launching another expedition into northern Indian Territory, Union troops were told to pack one day's rations and all the ammunition they could carry. The Ninth struck out across the prairie to the southwest in search of the Cherokee Confederate Colonel Stand Watie whose Indian regiments were raiding settlements along the Neosho Valley.<sup>41</sup>

Watie used his troops as advance guards and efficiently set up scouting lines to keep information flowing to his Choctaw allies further south. The Union force left to deal with Watie on the Missouri and Kansas borders was largely comprised of the small and inexperienced cavalry units at Fort Scott. Watie, aware of this fact, wanted to meet them on every occasion possible, and stationed his soldiers along Indian Territory's northern line. Lacking experience and support, the Ninth Kansas cavalry was to provide a show of force in the region and re-establish Union authority.

With the main body of both Union and Confederate armies in Missouri, Company "A" was left to its own devices to track down the elusive Watie. As the unit searched for the Cherokee regiment a fierce storm gathered and rendered the soldiers helpless. "It was impossible to see your hand before you," according to Greene, and he became so flustered that at one point he tried to dodge the thunder. In all of the confusion the unit became lost in the woods, and, after a lot of aimless wandering, happened upon a clearing and bivouacked for the night. They no sooner picketed their horses when the storm again broke with a "tremendous fury." The captain then commanded the troops to fall in and a line grew longer one by one until all were present. A former sailor, the captain consulted his compass by the light of a match and they were again on their way.<sup>42</sup> Had a large part of Watie's force not been detached to the Missouri theater, he could have wiped out Company "A" while it was in panic. Moreover, Greene's unit stood little chance of defeating an opponent who, according to Hindman, resisted the Union army "with a courage never surpassed," and on more than one occasion, "repulsed Federal" advances of "fivefold in strength."<sup>43</sup> Company "A" was never able to pin down their enemy, however,

and emerged from the expedition unsuccessful, but lucky. Necessitated by events in Missouri, Greene's unit rejoined Blunt's main body of troops near Fort Scott.

Earlier in March 1861, Missouri Governor Claiborne F. Jackson sided with secessionists. To keep Missouri in the Union, President Lincoln sent eastern armies to St. Louis quell unrest. The U.S. government also supplied \$200,000 to equip state troops with arms and enforce martial law under the guise of preserving the state constitution.<sup>44</sup> Later in 1862, Union troops from Kansas prepared to enter the Missouri-Arkansas region.

By September 1862, forces began pouring into the border region to forestall a possible Arkansas invasion by Major General Thomas C. Hindman's Confederate troops.<sup>45</sup> U.S. General Samuel R. Curtis moved east to head off a threatened offensive by the Confederate General Earl Van Dorn who had left the state after his defeat at Pea Ridge in March.<sup>46</sup> Curtis eased the worries of the Commander of the Missouri, General John M. Schofield, by saying that, he did not "see how Hindman could raise so large a force and subsist it" when he had already "stripped the country."<sup>47</sup>

Schofield, fearing that an open flank would be left to the Confederacy resulting in the loss of St. Louis, went into action. To the east, the Union army controlled everything from Batesville to Helena, and plans were made for the Army of the Frontier to seize the northwestern portion of the state. Capturing Arkansas, and perhaps the trans-Mississippi, remained the ultimate goal for the Union army, and prompted an all-out offensive.<sup>48</sup> The war in the west had reached a decisive stage. (See Appendix I, Map A)

As the Union army turned its attention to Arkansas and Missouri, Greene remarked that "great undertakings were in progress" at Fort Scott. Teams of ten-yoke oxen from Leavenworth hauled immense siege guns up Wall Street to positions on the hill. Hundreds of men tore up sod and piled up earth to accommodate the heavy guns.<sup>49</sup> Following the build up of troops and equipment, Fort Scott units were then transferred to the Arkansas-Missouri border by September's end, leaving only a few companies to man the garrison.

On September 27, Blunt and his troops (redesignated as the 1st Division of the Army of the Frontier) left Fort Scott to forestall a possible invasion from Arkansas and link up in Fayetteville with General F. J. Herron's 2nd Division located at Springfield.<sup>50</sup> Blunt's mission was to gather information on Confederate troop movements while marching through Missouri.

When these orders came for Greene's unit to move, he was not concerned about becoming a hero. He noted, "After a few days of drilling and drilling and then more drilling," troops began hurrying about the quarters. Soldiers in the lower echelons, including Greene, "generally supposed that some stage station along the Pike's Peak route had been attacked by Indians" thereby leading the troops to believe a battle was close at hand. Greene recalled "the hardened and callused men who had been long enough in the army pretended that they were aching for a fight, shouted and embraced each other and went on at a great rate." He "didn't feel that way about it," and "supposed there would be a garrison left to care for the fort and property and made an early application for the detail. Strange as it may seem . . . that application was disregarded." On the contrary, he was told to pack his saddle and "throw away all extra belongings." Greene learned the hard and fast military rule, volunteering for the rear often results in being sent to the front.

On Blunt's march through Missouri an incident occurred near Sarcoxie that reflected the ambiguities on the border during the Civil War and a soldier's ability to correctly ascertain the identity of the enemy. On many occasions men's consciences served as the only checks against atrocities of war. Enroute to Sarcoxie, General Blunt inquired of a woman as to her husband's whereabouts. She said he had joined the Confederate army. Blunt then said, "I am glad to hear you say that." The lady then responded, "Why, I thought you-all were Federals." Blunt replied in the affirmative, but added, "I am glad to find an honest woman--so many lie about their men folk." Blunt informed the woman that a sick soldier in his regiment required care and must be left with strangers, pro-Union or not. Blunt ordered the woman to provide the soldier with the best of care and to give him

a proper burial if he did not survive. Blunt gave the woman a choice to either "discharge this duty well" and "be amply paid," or have her house burned should she "neglect or mistreat this man in any way." "Bring him in," the woman responded, "I never mistreated a sick person in my life, no matter who it was." The corporal died two weeks later, and was buried in the yard of the house where the unit left him.<sup>51</sup> This encounter between Blunt and the Missouri woman represents the peculiar nature of the Civil War.

Also, and even more important, it is a commentary on Blunt's well publicized harsh attempts to maintain order in the west that began in March 1862, while imposing martial law in Atchison, Kansas. The Weer mutiny in June also added to Blunt's problems. These excesses led to his relief as head of the Army of the Frontier after only one month in command. Blunt's misfortune was not in his inability to lead, for he was a brave leader who took chances, and was generally well-liked by his men. His undoing rested primarily in the political nature of military appointments during the war.

Before Blunt's appointment to Commander of the Army of the Frontier in September 1862, he and Schofield became involved in a controversy over earlier events in Atchison. Blunt had authorized the sheriff to organize a citizen's court to try and punish several villains charged with murder, robbery, and every other type of crime. Blunt did this to reinstate civil law, which had gone unenforced, and thereby "protect life and property." The perpetrators were efficiently tried and hanged. Afterward, Schofield and Kansas Governor Thomas Carney implored President Lincoln to revoke Blunt's commission. Blunt used his ally, Senator James H. Lane, to ease Lincoln's worries. Schofield then directed his efforts on Blunt's command. Schofield claimed that the Army of the Frontier had been "demoralized and its efficiency destroyed," and that all of Blunt's operations "were a series of stupid blunders."<sup>52</sup> The politically shrewd Schofield managed to reduce Blunt's command to southern Kansas and the Indian Territory. Fighting between the two continued throughout the course of the war, which only worsened the already grave inefficiency in the Army of the Frontier.

Blunt, who was out to salvage his military career, learned of the presence of Generals D. H. Cooper and Joseph O. Shelby's rebel forces in southwestern Missouri, and sent the brigades of newly appointed General Salomon and Weer to investigate. On September 28, a small reconnoitering detachment sent out by General Salomon collided with the Confederates near Newtonia. Salomon and Weer committed the rest of their men, and the two sides engaged in sharp skirmishing until sunset. Mounted 1st Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiments, led by Lieutenant Colonel Tandy Walker, played a pivotal role in the fighting. Racing into Newtonia "at full gallop," the mounted Confederate Indians "passed through without halting, singing their war-songs and giving the war-whoop," and engaged the enemy "under a heavy fire from artillery and infantry." At the same time, Shelby's Missouri cavalymen swept along the Union's left flank. The flanking movement along with the charge of the Indians, quickly drove the Union soldiers from the town and "put them to flight." Outnumbered by the Confederates, Salomon retreated and was saved by the arrival of some Missouri state militia, whose cavalry and artillery checked the pursuing Southerners and covered the retreat.<sup>53</sup>

Blunt's troops arrived in Sarcoxie to find a small army consisting of one or two brigades "terribly excited over the defeat" of Salomon's reconnoitering force two days earlier at Newtonia, fifteen miles south of Sarcoxie.<sup>54</sup> In addition to the forces of Shelby and Cooper, Blunt learned from Union scouts that Hindman had mobilized Arkansas conscripts, newly recruited Texas volunteer units, and Confederate Indians in northwestern Arkansas. Colonel Watie's mixed-blood Cherokee regiment and 200 Texas cavalry men made up the rest of Hindman's two thousand member fighting force. Confederate mounted Missourians, also numbering two thousand, crossed over into Newtonia ahead of Hindman's main force of artillery and infantry. Hindman's troops requisitioned wheat and corn from the surrounding mills to prepare for the coming army.<sup>55</sup>

At Sarcoxie, Greene recouped after being "in the saddle for thirty hours," but had "little inclination to sleep." He spent the rest of the night cooking, eating, and discussing



the impending battle "now that the commanding general was on hand to direct the forces." Greene realized he was in the middle of the battle when he heard "the screams of men on the operating tables," and at the field hospital received his "first glimpse of the horrors of war in a pile of arms and legs, stark and bloody, at the back of the tent."<sup>56</sup>

Although Greene had yet to see the enemy, the sight of wounded comrades impressed the realities of war to him, and with wounded men at hand the enemy must be close as well. He took his horse out to graze on the prairie south of town, and spotting some horsemen a few miles still further to the south, went out to the Union army's picket line to inquire who they were. The men told him that they were Confederate troops, the first Greene had seen. The Confederates taunted Greene and his comrades by riding "back and forth along the edge of the woods bordering Shoal Creek, north of Granby," about eight miles from the Union line.<sup>57</sup>

The Battle of Newtonia was fought on September 30, 1862, and its preliminaries provide an accurate picture of war in the border territory. In Greene's first test as a soldier, his unit served as pawns for Blunt's daring-do on the battlefield. Leaving Sarcoxie, Blunt pushed ahead with his division and came upon the Confederates at Newtonia. With 1,000 men far in advance of the rest of the army, he attacked in a desperate gamble to win the sole glory of victory. Shelby led a Confederate counter-attack that soon placed Blunt's men in peril. Blunt's troops held on until brigades arrived from the Army of the Frontier. The combined Union forces then turned their attention on Sterling Price's army in Newtonia. Mounting an attack against Price, who was forced to retreat, Blunt's Army of the Border occupied the town that evening. Greene had survived his first true battle.

After entering town, Company "A" halted for an hour and regrouped, "during which time the inhabitants peered . . . from half-open doors and at the edges of curtains." Once the confusion subsided, some civilians came out to inquire if Blunt intended to "hold the country by an army of occupation." "A few of the Secessionists," Greene noted, "mostly women and old men, appeared on their porches to taunt us with the licken our

forces got."<sup>58</sup> The townspeople were referring to the earlier defeat of the Salomon's reconnoitering force.

The townspeople of Newtonia provide an excellent example of the divided loyalties that existed in the border region. After only one hour in Newtonia, Greene and the rest of Company "A" had encountered numerous groups of people subscribing to one wartime mentality or another. Some, primarily the elderly and women, fell into a class of bystanders who timidly watched as the war unfolded, and only exited their dwellings to inquire about their immediate future. Perhaps they were also aware that the Union troops commanded by Blunt might apply the Atchison precedent.<sup>59</sup>

After the Ninth Cavalry helped secure the town, Company "A" then received the not so glorious job of escorting much needed supply trains. Greene complained that "Some men think that the cavalry arm of the service had a snap, while the infantry and artillery did all the fighting and performed all the valuable service." Rough, wooded country like Arkansas and Missouri were not conducive to the use of cavalry in large pitched battles, but that did not excuse troopers from hard work and long hours of service. The chances of being killed by an enemy guerrilla unit or sniper fire without warning also made the duty unappealing.

Greene remembered the trips between Forts Scott and Leavenworth were particularly grueling. The convoys generally consisted of "two hundred slow-moving loaded wagons on a single road and a bad road at that." Soldiers could spot and easily avoid trouble on open prairie, and the supply trains could make the expected ten miles a day with relative ease. Wooded country, cut up by streams and featured by canyons, passes, and rocky gulches, posed great difficulty. All roads and passes had to be scouted, inspected, and combed for a lurking enemy. Bridges could easily be destroyed by the enemy, and troopers often had to be repair structures under the fire of snipers, who could fire and disappear into the wilderness. Supply convoys required flankers stationed along the route before the first wagon was allowed to pass. Greene viewed it as "hard service" with

"precious little of the pomp and circumstance of war about it, but it's the only way to get food and supplies to an army with a base several hundred miles in the rear."<sup>60</sup>

Sparse pre-Civil War settlement in southeast Kansas greatly contributed to the ineffectiveness of both armies to wage war along the border. The Fort Scott area was representative. The entire state averaged slightly more than one person for each of its 82,158 square miles and most of these pioneers chose to locate in the northeast third of the state.<sup>61</sup> Deeply nestled below this population concentration, Fort Scott lacked population, communications, and transportation routes, which further hindered the efforts of the Union and Confederate armies to relay supplies, troops, and information. The role of the cavalry, therefore, was to supply the army throughout the theater with goods and equipment from Leavenworth. The primary convoy routes paralleled the "Wire Road." This was cavalry terminology for the roads that developed along the telegraph lines that were used to repair the lines and haul supplies to the army.

Convoy escort was hard work, but it provided Greene with a valuable learning experience on the nature of war. Although he had not participated in the earlier Missouri battles, Greene's travels through the war ravaged countryside showed him the destructiveness of modern warfare. He described one expedition from Fort Scott to Camp Bowen, Missouri, where the convoy took the Sugar Creek route, via Pineville, to the Pea Ridge Battle ground. It marched along Sugar Creek for several miles through log blockades constructed by the Rebels to delay General Samuel R. Curtis. They had felled one tree every yard across the road to slow the pursuing Union army. Union troops sawed the logs into ten foot sections and laid them aside to open the road to reach Pea Ridge. The Union army forged ahead and engaged Price and Van Dorn on March 6-8, 1862, and drove them to east side of the Mississippi River.

After unloading the supplies at Camp Bowen, Company "A" rested few days, and returned to meet the train at Fort Scott. Company "A" followed a mail route established in January 1858, which ran between Leavenworth and Humbolt via Cofachiqui. The unit

returned through Cofachiqui, one of the earliest settlements in Allen County. Named after an Indian princess, a group of Fort Scott pro-slavery men laid out the town on the east side of the Neosho River after receiving a charter from the territorial legislature in July 1855. Cofachiqui was also named the permanent county seat of Allen County. Benefiting from thriving trade with the Osage Indians and completion of the sawmill by 1856, the settlement grew, into "the largest and most impressive city in the great Neosho Valley."<sup>62</sup>

When surveying Cofachiqui as a place to settle before the war, S. H. West was questioned by some men sitting in front of the hotel. When West announced where he had stayed the previous night, they at once concluded that he was a "spy from the enemy's side."<sup>63</sup> On January 7, 1857, the Kansas territorial legislature rescinded authority to construct a courthouse and revoked the county seat charter. Most of the townspeople had moved to Iola by year's end due to Cofachiqui's hilly terrain, lack of drinking water, and its pro-slavery city fathers.

As Company "A" passed through the ghost town, Greene noticed "a rude enclosure of logs in the corner of an old clearing, and a rough stone slab with the inscription *F. Vardo*." He insisted that it was the grave of the French immigrant Francis Vearidott, who left the Greene's Illinois farm in 1857 to join the fight against slavery in Kansas. Although Vearidott had survived turmoil in Europe during the reign of Napoleon, he died of either natural causes or at the hands of the town's pro-slavery citizens because of his anti-slavery beliefs.<sup>64</sup>

Company "A" had to wait at Fort Scott for the supply trains from Fort Leavenworth, and camped a mile to the southeast of town beside the Eleventh and Twelfth Kansas Infantry regiments composed of new recruits on their way to Arkansas. The expected trains arrived from Leavenworth, and as both armies had stripped the region of grain, the convoy also carried an extra two tons of oats for each anticipated day on the trail for the mule teams and nine hundred cavalry horses. Ruffage for the animals, however, had to be secured by foraging for corn fodder, straw, and hay. When these rations were

scarce, the men cut down cottonwood and aspen trees for the mules and horses to browse, a trick learned from Native Americans.

As the number of soldiers stationed in Kansas and the border regions increased, so did the supply and freighting business. Leavenworth served as the hub of operations, and it shipped 8,000,000 pounds of stores to Forts Scott and Gibson alone by the end of the 1863 fiscal year.<sup>65</sup> The Ninth Kansas transported a majority of these army stores and provisions, and "not one dollar's worth" was "captured or wrenched from it by guerrilla band or rebel force."<sup>66</sup>

By mid-November 1862, Federals in northwestern Arkansas began to make their play. Convoy duty ended for Greene, and Blunt led the Ninth cavalry into Arkansas to forestall an invasion by Hindman's Confederate troops. Blunt assured Schofield that "with a little reinforcement he could crush Hindman and capture both Fort Smith and Van Buren. Little Rock would be next."<sup>67</sup> On November 25, the advance guard of the Ninth engaged in sporadic skirmishing with Hindman's troops on Turkey Creek, a few miles north of the Arkansas border at Neosho, Missouri. The two forces dispersed and the firing subsided after a few shots, but Company "A" retreated as Hindman's I Corps was supported by General John Marmaduke's cavalry and General Nelson's infantry divisions. That night Company "A," along with the balance of the cavalry, remained in position near Cane Hill, to await the approach of the enemy. "Instead of withdrawing northward to gain Herron's support," Castel noted, "Blunt remained at Cane Hill and awaited Herron to join him there, in expectation that Hindman would attack him first."<sup>68</sup>

The Union officers then organized a dance for the men awaiting battle in the newspaper office at Cane Hill. Again, Greene noticed the ambiguous nature of border loyalties as "the 'Sesesh' ladies didn't seem at all averse to having Federals for partners and the fun was fast and furious until a late hour."<sup>69</sup> While the Union troops danced, Hindman sent Marmaduke's cavalry on a diversionary mission to Cane Hill. Hindman's men then daringly maneuvered their way through a mountain pass, which Blunt had failed to patrol

effectively. Using the element of surprise, Hindman thought, the Confederate forces could overwhelm Blunt by front and rear assaults and then quickly turn north to defeat Herron, who would probably be hastening to Blunt's aid.<sup>70</sup> Following the dance, Blunt was either "sound asleep or sitting up with some female hangers-on" when he first heard the sound of firing off to the northeast.<sup>71</sup>

As far as the Confederates were concerned, the campaign was going according to plan. Actually, Blunt had not been fooled. "Having learned of the movements of both Hindman and Marmaduke through scouts and spies," according to Oates, Blunt marched "two of his three brigades at double quick" south of Cane Hill. Blunt's plan was to scatter Marmaduke, and without a cavalry, Hindman's army would be trapped and crushed by Blunt with the support of Herron's division.<sup>72</sup>

Once Hindman made his move, Blunt mounted his horse and rushed well ahead of his troops toward the sound of the guns to aid Herron.<sup>73</sup> Captain Tough, Blunt's chief of scouts, came racing into camp, sounded the General Call, and a few minutes later the troops fell in with their arms. Greene became worried when Tough, while getting a cup of coffee at the mess fire, told him that "he would have all the fight he wanted in a day or two." Greene confessed that the officer greatly mistook the inclination that he "wanted any fight at all." The Orderly Sergeant came around shortly after midnight, awakened the troops by kicking them in the ribs, and gave orders to cook two-days' rations and be ready to march at 3:00 A.M.

According to Greene, "cooking"-an army colloquialism during the Civil War-consisted of laying a side of bacon on the ground and cutting away a slice for each meal. When time to eat, the cavalry soldiers pulled out the slice of raw bacon and ate it. Soldiers' liquid refreshments on the trail proved no better as troops filled their canteens with coffee that had been boiling in the kettle for two to three days rather than water. In case the supply of bacon ran low, Greene would stow hard tack in saddle pockets, blouse pockets,

and boot-legs. This, Greene bemused, "is the actual and literal fulfillment of the injunction to 'cook' rations for a march."<sup>74</sup>

Hard tack was the only alternative to raw bacon and coffee while on march. These flour and water crackers provided soldiers basic sustenance during the war, and it became a popular saying that hard tack and mules put down the rebellion. Soldiers quickly found this food bland, however, and dressed up the crackers with various wild beans and berries they found along the trail to add a small amount of variety to their lives. Greene recalled that hard tack prepared this way was both "delicious" and "fire-proof as well." A person must be careful, Greene added, "or he is likely to develop quite a taste for the substance and eaten with moderation hard tack was just as good . . . as potato parings," another common meal found around the mess fires.<sup>75</sup> After "cooking" his rations, Greene followed his usual pattern of packing for a march and mounted his horse to pursue the Confederate army. He tried to stay awake, but the monotony of the slow march through the dark woods finally overcame him and he fell asleep atop his mount.

Blunt's troops arrived near Cane Hill at dawn on November 28, and Greene woke to see several regiments forming a line in a wheat field. Blunt engaged Marmaduke with five-thousand cavalry and infantry and thirty pieces of artillery, and defeated the Confederates in a nine-hour battle. Marmaduke retreated south to Dripping Springs and went to Van Buren to inform Hindman of the results at Cane Hill. Hindman regrouped, and told Marmaduke to return to Dripping Springs and prepare for an attack on Cane Hill.<sup>76</sup>

On December 3, Hindman started toward Cane Hill with eight-thousand infantry, 2,300 cavalry, and twenty-two pieces of artillery. Aware of the Confederate advance, Blunt ordered Herron to come in from Springfield for support, and sent three brigades to guard the roads to Fayetteville and Van Buren. Hindman, however, was unaware of Herron's movement. About to launch his attack, Hindman learned from Major General Holmes that Herron had forced marched two-thousand cavalry and thirty guns and was

quickly approaching Cane Hill. Revising his plan, Hindman decided to cut off Herron before he reached Blunt. Everything would depend on speed and surprise.<sup>77</sup>

On December 7, Marmaduke engaged the Seventh Missouri and First Arkansas cavalry near the Fayetteville road and put them to flight. Herron met the fleeing Union soldiers and before long his army was in utter confusion. Herron rallied his troops and checked Marmaduke's cavalry. Hindman, however, failed to grasp his tactical advantage. Instead of ordering an infantry attack, he deployed his troops behind the Illinois River, near Prairie Grove, and awaited the advance of Herron.

While Marmaduke skirmished with Herron's advanced cavalry units on the morning of the 7th, Blunt sent orders to his brigades at Cane Hill to be ready for an attack from Hindman. Blunt had been fooled this time, however, as Hindman ordered one of his cavalry units to attack Blunt's flank and rear to deceive the General into thinking that the entire Confederate army was heading toward him.

At 10:00 A.M., Blunt received a report from Colonel Richardson that Hindman's army had been marching toward Fayetteville since midnight. Gathering his brigades, Blunt set out on the road to Fayetteville. Hearing heavy firing to the northeast, the whole brigade instantly moved to open country and turned in the direction of the fighting at Prairie Grove, five miles further east.<sup>78</sup> Herron's artillery held Hindman at bay until Blunt's arrival. Upon engagement, the "Kansas troops aided materially in beating back Hindman's frantic thrusts."<sup>79</sup>

The contending armies advanced and retreated, and the constant sound of cannon fire echoed throughout the valley. The worst fighting was at the peach orchard, which Blunt labeled as the battle's "slaughter point."<sup>80</sup> The Ninth's Orderly Sergeant sent information throughout the column that the Union army was winning up to this point, but that both armies were bivouacked near the battlefield ready to resume the battle at daylight. Greene received instructions "to begin building hundreds of huge camp fires on the hillside" to deceive the enemy into thinking that heavy reinforcements had arrived. "To



show the necessity for this," Greene added, "we were pointed to the sheen of light against the sky which hung over the camp of the enemy at Prairie Grove." Ironically, Hindman ordered his troops to light several campfires to create the illusion that he possessed a superior force.<sup>81</sup> Greene stated, it never occurred "to us that the enemy might be resorting to the same kind of a ruse."<sup>82</sup> The next morning Hindman left a small detail to bury the dead, and quietly retreated to Van Buren, Arkansas, by muffling the cannon wheels. Blunt and Herron never heard him.

With winter setting in, Company "A" evacuated the wounded to Fayetteville. Upon Company "A's" return to Prairie Grove later the same day, it joined the rest of the regiment on the battlefield where the burial details of both armies were gathering up the dead bodies to be placed in trenches. During the ritual soldiers of both armies looked more like comrades than enemies. Greene held the opinion that the Union boys had, in moments of extreme provocation, called "officers about all the bad names in the dictionary, but the 'Johnnies' had a larger vocabulary of epithets." Greene "took this as a fair sample of the sentiments prevailing in the Confederate army," but subsequently learned that burial details were made from the most loyal troops in a command to guard against desertions.

What shocked Greene more than the troops' language was the "indifference displayed toward their late comrades in putting them under the ground." The Confederates dug ditches not more than two feet deep and about six and a half feet wide. They then tossed in the bodies of their fallen comrades like "sacks of potatoes." A second layer of bodies was placed on top of the first and then their coats were wrapped over them. Clay and gravel was shoveled on top and the job was complete. As Greene's company rode by, it was greeted by the sight of uncovered feet protruding from the mass graves. The Union burial detail had a more expedient method of burying their dead. They placed their first line that fell in battle in a deep well on the bank of the river.

The battle produced another scene of particular horror. Union soldiers waiting for medical attention had burrowed for warmth among ricks of straw in a pear and apple

orchard. Federal artillery rounds, falling short, set the straw on fire, sending up clouds of flames and smoke that killed the struggling men. The result was "two hundred human bodies lay half consumed in one vast sepulcher, and in every position of mutilated and horrible contortion." A large drove of hogs, "attracted doubtless by the scent of roasting flesh, came greedily from the apple trees and gorged themselves upon the unholy banquets. Intestines, heads, arms, feet, and even hearts were dragged over the ground and devoured at leisure."<sup>83</sup> Greene was not spared. "In a hazel thicket at the left of Hindman's line," he found a soldier "lying flat on his back, his arms extended their full length on either side. In one was clenched a lot of parched corn and the other was gnawing convulsively into the ground. A shell had torn away a part of his abdomen and his bowels were protruding. At these wild hogs were chewing." He had lain overlooked in this condition for approximately eighteen hours. Greene drove the animals away and called for the guards, who shot the man.<sup>84</sup> Hindman's official battle report stated that he lost 164 killed, 817 wounded and 336 missing, which represented 1,317 total losses out of 10,000 engaged. Greene, however, asserted that his unit buried more than double the number reported killed.<sup>85</sup> Total Union losses amounted to 175 killed, 813 wounded, and 263 missing, for a total of 1,251.<sup>86</sup>

After the Battle of Prairie Grove, Blunt waited approximately three weeks before pursuing Hindman at Van Buren, as winter weather and heavy casualties hindered the Union offensive. The Ninth Cavalry played an active role in the raid on Van Buren on December 28. Blunt set up an observation point at a hamlet called "Logtown" at the top of a high bluff overlooking the Arkansas River, with Van Buren at the foot of the hill. Greene had a clear view from the bluff and watched the events unfold. Blunt and Herron rode up, looked in the direction of the enemy, and then issued instructions to the *aide de camp*, who galloped to the rear and returned with an artillery battery. One of the cannons was placed at the edge of the bluff and carefully sighted, with Blunt supervising the procedure himself. The first shot fell about one hundred yards short of the rebel battery,

but it was on line. Blunt then dismounted and helped to sight the gun, and this shot dropped "in the midst of a group of the enemy around their guns, causing a great tumult." The enemy returned fire, but their shots landed half way up the side of the mountain close to a large white house. Both armies were using solid shot, but Blunt then switched to shells and the Confederate battery "limbered up and got out of range" at the first explosion.

The Ninth pursued the retreating Rebels while the Second Kansas went after three steamboats that were racing down river at full speed to escape confiscation. A Texas regiment put up a good fight against the Ninth at Dripping Springs, a few miles from Van Buren, but then fled as Union howitzers broke their lines and left them demoralized. The Ninth chased the fleeing Texans, but gave up.<sup>87</sup>

Returning to Van Buren, the Ninth occupied the town. Troops were less compassionate after this battle than at Prairie Grove, as "a few dead and dying rebels were seen at the roadside, but they attracted . . . little attention." While the *Star Spangled Banner* played, infantry units formed platoons of twelve and marched through town among the "refugees, black and white, all in hysterics." To avoid further confusion, "orders were passed along the line to brace up . . . and present a soldierly appearance." As Company "A" rode through the town, citizens came out of their houses, some to cheer and some to curse, once again reflecting the divided loyalties on the border. Other regiments arrived later and camped where they could find a place. One infantry regiment had to camp in the cemetery, but most of the units returned back to the top of the bluff.

With an enthusiasm yet to be shown on the battlefield, Blunt's troops looted and pillaged to celebrate the occupation of Van Buren. Most soldiers tried their luck in the three steamboats captured and brought back by the Second Kansas Cavalry. The *Notre*, *Rose Douglas*, and the *Key West* were hauled up to the levee and literally pillaged of anything not nailed down. The *Violet*, a side-wheeler, which Greene had seen before on the Kansas River, lay along side of the bank as well. The soldiers swarmed aboard into the

galleys to loot corn pone, spare ribs, candied sweet jams, peas, pies, chicken and fish, and a wealth of bottled and barreled liquors.

When the confusion died down, Greene returned to camp, where the Orderly Sergeant ordered him to stand guard at the top of the mountain. His instructions were "to allow no man to go to town unless he could show a proper pass," and take those who had passed out into custody. After two hours on duty, the Officer of the Day made rounds and came to Greene's post. Greene was asked to recite his orders. The officer asked how many men had passed by him on the way to town. Greene estimated four thousand. "Did they all have passes?" the officer inquired. Greene replied in the affirmative. When asked if any men returned to camp, Greene estimated the number to be approximately the same. "Were any of them drunk?," the officer inquired sternly. "I had not seen any to say drunk," Greene stated, "but they were all supplied with the necessary goods." Asked how these goods were being transported, Greene answered, "some in bottles, some in kegs, some in buckets and vast quantities in all the vessels known to the crockery trade that would hold liquids, including churns and tubs."

With this information the officer became somewhat more confidential and asked if Greene had a "little something" to spare. "Not a drop," Greene replied correctly, "for I am on duty and not allowed to drink!" "Oh, of course," the officer replied. After a moment's reflection, the officer said, "suppose you get a tub and levy a toll on every one of these men as they pass," then meditatively he rode away.

Greene soon had the opportunity to enforce the new orders. Two men came along carrying a tub between them about half full of liquor and each had a jug in their outside hands. Told that no tubs of liquor were allowed in camp, they made a feeble attempt to talk Greene out of following orders before "they set it down in the fence corner and moved on."

Thereafter, as men came by with various spirits they were required dump a portion into the large tub. Greene quickly possessed a "mixture of all known alcoholic beverages

the country afforded--- whiskey, brandy, rum, gin, [and] wines." In addition to spirits, the wooden wash tub also "contained the plebeian home-made beer of the town and the patrician champagne with the unbroken seals of sunny France, which had braved the perils of the blockade." If any man came along who was "devoid of an adequate jag," Greene "pointed him to the tub and its contents." Relieved of duty at 1:00 A.M., Greene relayed the standing order to levy a toll on all passers-by. The next guard, however, arrived on duty with a tin cup in his hand. The Orderly Sergeant, aware of the new orders as well, also came with a tin cup not long afterward.<sup>88</sup> Although Van Buren was considered a military success, Blunt's troops proved to be better at pillaging than fighting.

Promised rest on December 29, the unit instead "marched and countermarched through the streets of the town." The whole populace again came out to observe the soldiers in platoon formation. Greene stated, "the bands played patriotic airs and a few of the spectators cheered, but when they struck up *Dixie* they shouted themselves hoarse." The column halted at one point during the march to let a train of Confederate ambulances loaded with wounded to pass through from Prairie Grove. Showing the attrition of war by this point, the Rebels were using Union vehicles and mules captured from the First Federal Arkansas Cavalry at the Prairie Grove campaign. The Confederates could keep the horses and equipment according to the rules of war as long as they flew the flag of the hospital corps. Passing drivers and passengers joked, laughed, and inquired how much further it was to the "Lincoln coffee," apparently they had heard of the previous night's activities.<sup>89</sup>

After the parade, the infantry moved out of Van Buren on the road back to Cane Hill. Greene assumed that "the Confederate army was thoroughly demoralized and could offer but slight resistance" as the opposing sides retired to winter quarters. He was placed on guard at the foot of the mountain near the plantation that had received damage from Confederate cannon fire. When he protested at being placed on guard duty two nights in a row, the corporal gave him the choice of standing guard at the mansion or the picket line staring at the enemy. He chose the first. He became bored with the assignment and

meandered over by the fire to warm his hands, and eventually "the slaves came around and talked with the boys." They said the mansion belonged to a very wealthy planter and Southern sympathizer. One old slave declared his "Master done gave to Mr. Davis more than half a bushel of gold and silver." He also told Greene that Colonel Scott, who earned his title in the Mexican War, owned fifteen hundred acres of "powerful" rich Arkansas bottom land, six hundred head of livestock, and three hundred slaves. During the discussion they let the camp fire burn out only to notice the flames from the burning boats at the levee grow larger.

The Sergeant of the Guard woke Greene the next morning with the news that Colonel Scott had invited some troops to breakfast at his house. They were ushered into a large elegant dining room, presented to the Colonel's wife and two daughters, and seated next to Scott. The Colonel's wife apologized for burning the biscuits, and explained it "was her first attempt to cook a meal in her life." She said, "we people of the South are so dependent upon our servants as to be positively helpless without them." The meal, however, was a banquet compared to army cooking. Although the Southern madam was in dire straits, she continued to believe "there could be but one result of the war" and notified her guests that the Union army was "not going to remain and occupy the country."

The meal finished, Greene and his comrades thanked their hostess and the Colonel bid them farewell with a message that differed from his wife's proclamation. "Gentlemen," he said, "I am glad to have met you even under such circumstances. I am a Southerner, born and educated under her institutions, and have always believed our system was the best for all concerned." Unlike the woman, however, the Colonel proved a realist. He admitted that "we are waging a losing fight, it can have but one result. For one I have staked all and lost. I shall be a good loser."<sup>90</sup> The planter bowed gracefully and was allowed to seek refuge in Little Rock.

The Confederate invasion of Arkansas had failed. Although the Cane Hill-Prairie Grove campaigns were stalemates, inevitably the Union army prevailed. The Confederates

retreated to Little Rock, and the Union army controlled northern Arkansas from Van Buren to Carrollton. The Confederates failed due to a lack of supplies and ammunition, and the onset of winter. Blunt re-established himself as a worthy commander, but soldiers in the lower echelons of the Union army paid the price for his achievements.

The experience of Greene and Company "A" shows that most Civil War soldiers were not out to be heroes, they did what soldiers were expected to do, obey orders. That seemed easy to Greene as Company "A" continued escorting supply trains behind the lines for the remainder of the war, however, the infantry continued to fight the battles. The cavalry certainly could not expect equal glory as the infantry, but it can claim a share.<sup>91</sup> Greene's indirect role in escorting convoys proved to be a more significant wartime contribution. The Ninth Cavalry's escort duties stimulated the Kansas economy and established trade routes and communications. Although Greene survived the war, his attitudes about the South changed greatly. Greene was mustered-out of the army on July 17, 1865, in De Vall's Bluff, Arkansas with the rest of the unit.<sup>92</sup> Returning to the family farm in the Wakarusa Valley, he found that the war settled nothing in Ridgeway Township concerning conflicting North-South ideologies.

## CHAPTER III

### THE UNION HOME GUARDS

Greene applied a common strategy prevalent in Kansas' post-war period upon his return home. Little is known about his work immediately following his release from the army, except that he procured a job as the first Postmaster in Richland in 1870. What is known, however, is that his actions provide interesting insights into the motivations of Civil War veterans following the conflict.

The Civil War stimulated the Kansas economy. Despite earlier problems with drought and grasshoppers plagues, Kansas crops fed Union troops and provided farmers with prosperity. Post-war Leavenworth, Atchison, and Fort Scott flourished as trade centers and served as magnets for Civil War veterans seeking economic opportunity. The Kansas population changed dramatically as well. Unemployed, both black and white, poured into Kansas from Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas.<sup>93</sup> This amassing of people from various backgrounds exacerbated pre-war tensions in the counties of Douglas, Shawnee, and Osage. Because many immigrants brought war related hatreds with them, heated conflict was bound to arise. Historian Albert Castel has stated that the "overwhelming majority of Kansans were intensely, even intolerantly, pro-Union."<sup>94</sup> It seemed to Greene and many Kansans that their only recourse was to perpetuate the Jayhawker mentality, and take matters into their own hands when persons expressed sympathy for the South and denounced Union leaders.

Ridgeway Township reflected the same mentality following the war as before. Greene stated, "when the war came on men took sides and talked of nothing else." But after the war, Southern sympathizers were "ugly in their expressions of sympathy for the Secessionists."<sup>95</sup> Antislavery men responded to the proslavery element by forming a secret organization known as the Union Home Guards. This vigilante phenomenon prevailed throughout Kansas counties prior to the war. Following the conflict, however, the



organization sought to rid the area of sympathizers and uphold the Union cause. Little had changed, as pro-slavery men voiced their opinions in local newspapers by blaming their troubles on blacks. The Atchison *Freedom's Champion* reprinted an article by a New York reporter, who wrote that he would not "go into any part of Kansas and advocate the rebel cause. No one dare do it. The mere suspicion that one is disloyal may result in his being shot."<sup>96</sup>

Prior to the war, according to Castel, the "actions of Kansans were as militant as their words," and "they hastily formed military companies and held nightly drills."<sup>97</sup> Greene belonged to the Union Home Guards before enlisting in the Union army and renewed his membership with the secret group following his military service. The Home Guards believed the "grumbling of the Copperheads over the results of the war ought to be stopped." Southern sympathizers denounced "Lincoln as a tyrant, [Ulysses S.] Grant as a butcher, and [William Tecumseh] Sherman and [Philip] Sheridan as vandals." According to Greene, this "was practically a challenge and the ex-soldiers accepted it as such." Greene recalled the unit pledged, "but not oath-bound," to "organize a mounted company to be composed exclusively of ex-soldiers for the purpose of patrolling the neighborhood and compelling respect for the Union and its defenders." The organization became quite popular among the veterans in the Wakarusa Valley, and "about every ex-soldier in the area . . . joined this company" as "drilling extended the length and breadth of the infected territory."

The Home Guards cowed those with "guilty consciences." Greene stated the sound of horses and soldiers outside a certain home in the dark of night "produced a wholesome effect upon the sinful." Southern sympathizers protested that the organization infringed on their right to free speech. Union Home Guard members reaffirmed their stance in that the "terms accepted at Appomattox should also be accepted in the Wakarusa Valley."<sup>98</sup> As Greene was a reluctant volunteer in the Union army, the intense pro-Union energy that characterized pre-war Kansas did not apply to him. Following the war, however, he

viewed southern sympathizers as a nemesis that needed to be eradicated, and he subscribed to the Union Home Guards' use of force.

As tempers flared in the Wakarusa Valley, southern sympathizers appealed to the sheriff to protect their First Amendment rights. The Union Home Guards' practice of secrecy caused the sheriff to abandon a direct investigation of the group. Strongly pressured, local "sesesh" leaders agreed to "undertake to advise all such citizens to desist and so far as possible make amends" if the "wild horsemen could be induced to disband." As the war and Lincoln's death was still fresh in the men's minds, the vigilantes agreed to solve the problem in a "diplomatic manner."

Resolution of the vigilante matter was twofold. First, most men in the area were veterans of the war, and, although militant, they were not prepared to live through another conflict. Second, Kansans turned their attention toward economic matters. Preston Plumb wrote in 1865, "We have had a good time as boys . . . now we are men. There is going to be a chance to make some money in the next five or ten years which neither of us may ever have again."<sup>99</sup> Ridgeway, although not found on any Kansas map, symbolized this maturation process. Located on the road from Lawrence to Emporia the small town soon boasted taverns, a schoolhouse, a church, and a post office. Charles G. Fox, one of Ridgeway's earliest settlers, wrote, "neither border ruffianism, nor war, nor drouth, nor grasshoppers, nor all the trials combined that swept over" the state "could keep Kansas from growing."<sup>100</sup>

When post-Civil War Kansas entered into the Gilded Age, many ex-soldiers like Greene sought to take advantage of economic opportunities. The expansion of towns in the southern tier of the state combined with the rise of the cattle culture fostered the growth of railroads. In 1861, not a mile of railroad existed within Kansas borders. By 1875, there were 2,130 miles of track.<sup>101</sup> Establishing railroads became the primary focus of Kansans. Albert Castel believed, "the coming of the railroads meant the conveniences of commerce," and Kansans "were willing to do or promise anything to assist the railroad promoters and to

secure lines to their communities or through their farming regions."<sup>102</sup> This expansion also meant acquiring more land.

The last public appearance by the Union Home Guards was during the Topeka Fourth of July celebration in Topeka in 1866, and was led by Major L. J. Beam of Richland, who was mounted on a "dancing horse he secured from a stranded circus somewhere in the South." Fifty other ex-soldiers marched in a column up and down the main streets and to the park near the Kansas River. Following the parade, thousands of soldiers gathered together to relive what they remembered as a glorious past that had persisted in the Union Home Guards.<sup>103</sup>

Civil War military service created avenues into public office for ex-soldiers. Greene followed this pattern. Elected State Senator of Douglas County in 1881, he served until 1885. During part of his term in office he also served as the Inspector General for the Land Office. From 1887 to 1893, he was the State Railroad Commissioner and then worked for the Department of the Interior until his retirement in 1908. His involvement in the land lottery of the Kiowa-Comanche reservation in 1901 alludes to the similar nature of speculation and settlement that existed in Kansas. In addition, his role in subduing the last fierce tribes put an end to Kansan fears of Indian raids.

## CHAPTER IV

### INDIAN TERRITORY, THE FINAL FRONTIER

In the 1850s, Kansas was settled by antislavery groups, but young enterprising individuals of the period became the most conspicuous group in post-Civil War Kansas. In 1860, white males between the age of 18 to 60 comprised fifty-four percent of Kansas' total population.<sup>104</sup> Youthful Civil War veterans among Greene's age group, therefore, easily made the transition from military service to governmental positions. Moreover, Greene's experience in frontier Ridgeway and the Civil War further molded his outlook concerning Indian Territory's remaining frontier.

By the late nineteenth century, western settlement created territories and states that soon encircled Indian Territory, fostered settlers' desire for more land, and exacerbated Native American absorption. (See Appendix II, Map A) Remaining hostile tribes, such as the Kiowas and Comanches retaliated with Indian depredations following the Civil War and generated a lingering fear among Kansans. The solution was to quell Indian uprisings and bring peace to the region.

The Indian problem in the South represented a constant thorn in the side of Kansas. During the Civil War the tribes failed to present a united front against a small number of soldiers in the border region. The Ninth Cavalry would have served as protectors against an organized Indian attack. As Albert Castel stated, "Fortunately for Kansas the western Plains Indians did not go on the warpath in 1861, when they could have caused tremendous difficulty owing to the lack of troops, the drought, and the menace of Confederate invasion." The Kiowas, and Comanches, however, made minor raids into the Kansas region in the early 1860s, but "by 1864 a full-scale Indian war broke out."<sup>105</sup> The federal government intervened by restructuring and transferring Civil War cavalry units, like the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry or "Buffalo Soldiers," to the Plains to stop uprisings. By 1867, the Kiowas and Comanches signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge and

were removed to the southwest tier of Indian Territory so as not to be bothered by white encroachment. During the 1880s, a "great and continuous agitation [erupted] in the adjacent country to have the Kiowa-Comanche Indian reservation opened to settlement." Would-be settlers argued that on the three million acres on which these Indians roamed, they could "support the growing population of the United States." "All along the border were thousands of people," according to Plains historian Wilbur S. Nye, "gazing greedily at this land of Canaan and yearning for the time when it would be opened to settlement."<sup>106</sup>

The Cherokee Commission, which negotiated earlier with the Five Civilized Tribes to reduce their land holdings, visited the Kiowas and Comanches in 1892, and "through some means not fully understood, an agreement was drawn up and signed, whereby the Indians relinquished their land at \$1.25 an acre." Known as the Jerome Agreement, it was not in fact an actual treaty and Indians immediately began to protest. The commissioners, rather than argue, considered the matter closed and returned to Washington, D.C. The Jerome Agreement was then presented to the United States Senate for approval, but U. S. Army Captain H. L. Scott and three prominent Indians, with the support of Senator Matt Quay of Pennsylvania, blocked its passage. The bill sat idle for a number of years, but eventually Quay died, Captain Scott was in Cuba, and it "slipped through the Senate" in June 1900. A presidential proclamation dated July 4, 1901, announced the opening of the reservation of the Kiowas, Comanches, Kiowa-Apaches, Wichitas, and Caddoes. The reservation was divided into two districts of 6,500 homesteads each of 160 acres.<sup>107</sup> (See Appendix II, Map B)

This land opening, however, was to be different than the previous "runs" or races to stake a claim. The Kiowa-Comanche land opening was to take place by registering and drawing the claims at random, and the town lots in the three county seat towns, Hobart, Anadarko, and Lawton, were to be sold at auction. The lottery was significant because the land run process was discarded due in part to chaotic conditions that occurred during Oklahoma's previous five land runs. In September 1889, for example, officials opened a

majority of the Cherokee reservation to a series of land runs. Following the races, most settlers deserted their claims as winter quickly approached leaving them without a crop in the ground or a roof over their heads.

As A. Emma Estill stated, the Kiowa-Comanche land lottery was to be "the most interesting of all openings, and the most exciting."<sup>108</sup> The plan was untried, therefore, no precedent existed for officials to formulate policy. It was a unique plan, and it involved unique players, one of whom was Albert Robinson Greene, Civil War veteran and Inspector for the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior. Carried out in an orderly fashion, due in part to Greene's efforts, the lottery eliminated many of the hardships and dangers which had surfaced in the previous runs. It was also significant because, as Greene stated, a land opening of this "magnitude will never be possible in this country again, because no such land remains to be played for."

Binger Hermann, Commissioner of the General Land Office, initially claimed credit for devising the scheme, and this is generally believed to be true. Greene insisted, however, that "it is not true and the fact is that he had less to do with devising and elaborating the plan than any one of a dozen other men who were merely clerks in his office." The only official to make a significant contribution to the project was a Kansan, Thomas Ryan, the First Assistant Secretary of the Interior. He gave judicial consideration to every phase, and weighed every point to guard the interests of the settlers. He devoted days and nights to the matter and relied on various clerks to perfect the plan.

In early May 1901, the government began the initial stages of the land opening. Secretary of the Interior, Ethan A. Hitchcock, selected William A. Richards, Assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office, to survey the land. Thirty-three agents, eight of whom went to Lawton and twenty-five to El Reno, were also assigned to the land opening to ascertain the government's preliminary needs to conduct the lottery.<sup>109</sup> On May 21, Greene was one of those ordered to assist Richards in opening the new lands. Hitchcock

told Greene that although much thought had gone into the plan he did not envy Greene, "as there was no precedent to serve as a guide."<sup>110</sup>

On May 24, Greene arrived in El Reno to learn Richards had already gone south on the surveying expedition. Greene continued south to Fort Sill by train, but at that time the tracks of the Rock Island railroad ended a few miles north of the fort. Greene, in the hot afternoon, walked the remaining distance to the Indian agency located at the fort. There he found Richards "dressed in a hickory shirt and tow-cloth trousers . . . hunkered down . . . in the shade of a shanty fanning himself." This is hardly the appearance he expected of the former Governor of Wyoming. The two men shook hands and Richards told Greene to be ready for the hard work that lay ahead. Greene returned to El Reno to work out the surveying plans and awaited word from Richards.

On the morning of June 5, Greene returned to Fort Sill where Richards met him in a carriage and told him to "hop in." They followed the Cache Creek over "undulating prairie country" and stopped in a valley, where Richards informed Greene that he had chosen this spot for the townsite. He explained that this was to be the location of the second land office which was six miles south of Fort Sill. When asked to guess for whom the town would be named, Greene said Funston, in honor of Kansas General Fred Funston, the man famous for capturing Ameliano Aguinaldo, the Filipino freedom fighter during the Spanish-American War.<sup>111</sup> Richards said that Funston's name was under consideration at one time, but it had been decided that it would be better to name the town for a local gallant soldier who had given his life for his country. The name would be Lawton. The two continued their surveying and Greene realized just how far they were from civilization, as the nearest towns were several days journey in any direction. Greene recalled that everywhere he looked "was miles of untrodden prairie," and the silence was "so profound" that he "could hear his heart beat."<sup>112</sup>

Richards and Greene concluded their survey of the new town. The former returned to Washington, but promised to send a "corps of clerks" to assist Greene during

his absence. He left instructions for Greene to complete plans for a registration booth at Lawton and to select a spot for a water well in the town. In addition, he issued orders to construct several makeshift registration booths around El Reno to handle the "expected fifty thousand people" who "would be there to try their luck."<sup>113</sup> Public access to information concerning the lottery came suddenly and unexpectedly, therefore, El Reno, a town of four thousand people, faced trouble accommodating the arrival of thousands of people in town.<sup>114</sup>

Greene completed the plans for a land office in Lawton within five days, and took bids for the construction of a twenty-five by sixty-four foot, single-story building. Rush Springs, thirty miles east and the location of the nearest lumber yard, shipped materials for the structure were brought in from Rush Springs, and the building was completed within thirty days. In the meantime, a crew dug a well ten feet in diameter and forty feet deep. "At the bottom," Greene stated, "the earth was as dry as it was at the top." A drill was sent down another forty feet, but again no water. He then had the well filled with earth to avoid accidents, and the stone, later hauled in to build a wall around the well, was "appropriated by the thrifty settlers."

Logistics at El Reno proved even more difficult. The town's population doubled overnight, and "every lot owner and speculator wanted the registration building on his land or next to it." Greene "intended to rent quarters, but the terms were prohibitory" as "prices advanced five hundred percent overnight." He then contracted for the construction of a brick veneer building, twenty-five by one hundred eighteen feet and two stories in height, to be completed and equipped for occupancy in thirty days. The contractor completed the building complete with water, lights, counters, shelves, desks, and safe within twenty-seven days.<sup>115</sup>

On Monday, July 8, Richards departed Washington and notified Greene by wire that he was enroute to El Reno. By this time there was at least twenty-five thousand visitors in El Reno, and every hour added to that number. In the valley of the North



Canadian River, just outside of the city limits, "there were nearly nine thousand covered wagons." The wagons and tents provided shelter for their owners, and accommodated those who were unable to find quarters in town. Afraid "to leave the vicinity of the fateful registration booths," those without shelter "lay down and slept on the ground in the open air." Necessary items such as food, ice, cots, tents, bread, and saloon supplies had to be rushed in as people flooded into the area. Lunch and drink stands lined sidewalk curbs, but found unsanitary and relocated to the middle of the streets where they could be accessible from all sides.

Within a few days the streets were crowded with booths and stands selling everything imaginable. Gambling booths sprang up on corners and operated every conceivable game of chance. In addition to the crowds, the hot, dry, dusty weather made the experience almost unbearable. Profiteers took advantage of the situation, brought in buckets and tubs, and began selling "ice-cold lemonade" made mostly from cheap acids and a few lemon rinds floating on top for appearance. As the town filled with people from all backgrounds, every vacant lot was covered with sleeping tents. A simple sleeping cot rented for twenty-five cents, while the same cot equipped with a quilt, pillow, and wash basin cost twice as much.

An estimated ten thousand people invaded El Reno on July 8.<sup>116</sup> Following the influx, settlers issued complaints to federal officials that the town was not taking responsible care of the crowds. Mayor Travis F. Hensley received notification that the site of the registration would be moved to another town if safe drinking water was not supplied for free. The mayor heeded the warning, but "as soon as a barrel of water equipped with tin drinking cups was dropped in the business section an enterprising gentlemen would gather up the cups and sell a drink of water for five cents." The men did a profitable business until the authorities became aware of the shady practice.<sup>117</sup>

Extra policemen were placed on duty to keep the middle of the streets open for traffic, but the back streets remained occupied by persons "lying as thick as ties on a

railroad line." Still possessed of the land run mentality, people stood in line at the registration booths day and night until they were assured that everyone had an equal chance whether numbers were high or low. Rumors began circulating through town that the soldiers on hand were showing favoritism and rigging the lottery. Greene wired his superior as soon as he received word of this, whereupon Richards replied with a "250 word proclamation to the people" outlining the lottery procedure. Greene printed the proclamation on five thousand leaflets, "and taking a rig and driver went through the crowds reading the dispatch and handing out the printed copies." Followed by cheers from the crowds wherever he went, the proclamation "was reassuring in tone and promised every man and woman a square deal without fear or favor."<sup>118</sup>

A special meeting of the city council convened to consider the street congestion and, if possible, afford relief. Orders limiting the space for "huckster" stands to twelve feet in the center of each of the principal streets and prohibited at intersections allowed policemen to keep traffic flowing smoothly. To exclude outside competition, local shop keepers set up stalls along the curbs in front of their businesses where the crowds continued to cause traffic congestion. Melon rinds and other waste from the stalls made the streets muddy and the sidewalks slippery and dangerous. Alley ways became quagmires of melon slush, and the odors of lunch stands mixed with the stench of animal waste placed there from the streets. To aggravate the situation, water proved scarce and of inferior quality. Ice, first sold for a cent per pound, steadily advanced past five cents per pound, and eventually rose to unaffordable levels.

None of the thirteen saloons in town closed their doors until the registration was over and the crowds gone. Some of the barkeepers extended their service to the windows and onto sidewalks. Seeing the supply could not meet the demand, beer agents began wiring rush orders, and one St. Louis brewery thought there was a transmission error when they received an order for one hundred cars of beer to be sent to El Reno. The railroads also proved to be as ill-equipped as the businesses. Passenger trains were crowded to the

limit, and many passengers rode on top of the coaches. Eventually people rode in box cars from as far away as Illinois and Iowa, but still they came.

In addition to the building constructed earlier, Greene rented six more buildings to be used for registration, and hired two men as guards for each booth, one in front and one in back. Anticipating Richard's arrival, Greene also rented a suite for Richards and thirty-seven room for clerks. As July 10, the first registration day, grew near, Greene's worry that "something had been overlooked" produced "great mental and physical strain." His fear rested in the notion that if any essential had been overlooked or any if delay occurred, it would be viewed by the masses as a sign of impropriety. He felt it was important to conceal from the crowds any looks of anxiety or misgiving, therefore, "a cheerful and serene demeanor was preserved at all times in public while thousands of questions had to be answered in good spirits."

The return of Richards and his staff by train from Washington only made Greene more nervous. The train was due at 9:30 P.M. on the 9th. First reported one hour late, then two hours, then three, Richard's train was later found between Caldwell, Kansas, and El Reno with ten freight trains blocking the tracks. At 1:30 A.M. the next morning, the train pulled into the El Reno station. Greene met the contingent at the station, rushed them into a carriage and took them to the hotel where he had previously rented rooms. The landlord, however, refused to stand by his agreement and turned most of them away. Richards was allowed to stay, but the rest of his staff had to pay double the regular rate for their rooms. Greene had grown weary "of the bad faith and extortion that characterized the citizens of El Reno in dealing with governmental officials." He had to rely on a bluff, moreover, just to secure the buildings for the registration booths. Because rents were so high, Greene told landlords that the registration would be moved to Oklahoma City if they did not come to terms. They voluntarily lowered their rent from \$75.00 to \$15.00 per month.

As the 9:00 A.M. opening of registration booths approached, El Reno more closely resembled a circus than a town. The crowds milled around aimlessly, staring, bewildered, and dazed. A side show or shell game barker could stampede a crowd of people by using a catchy phrase or a song. No identifiable markings separated the registration booths from other buildings in town, therefore, silly rumors started by pranksters sent people scurrying across town for no reason. Hand organs played, and jugglers tossed balls, knives, canes, and plug hats in the air. "Hucksters" shouted the merits of their wares, and gamblers of all kinds raked in the cash. Pickpockets plied their trade as well. Under large canvas tents, shooting galleries and bowling alleys became the main attractions. Merry-go-rounds reaped a harvest from the youngsters, and crowds served by bootleggers added to the uncontrollable din. "There was nothing still but the air," Greene recalled, "and this, as hot as the breath of an oven, cooked men to a blister while they waited." Thousands of men and women steamed and sweat and swore in temperatures reaching more than a hundred degrees in the shade, but they stayed waiting for their chance to receive a free piece of land.

The registration process was simple. A settler first went to the registration officer and presented an affidavit verifying that he or she was over twenty-one or head of a household and did not own more than one hundred and sixty acres of land in another state. The homeseeker filled out a card with his or her name, date of birth, height, weight, and other vital information. Upon completion of the card, a registration receipt was issued that permitted the settler to study a map of the land and select a desired claim. It was necessary to have registration papers acknowledged by a notary in El Reno. Notaries were in huge demand, therefore, and worked night and day charging fifty cents for each acknowledgment stamp. Profit-gouging soon became a problem, and government officials required the notaries to acknowledge the papers at twenty-five cents each. Some persons used fake notary stamps. One fellow who tried to pass a false acknowledgment fled to his hotel room to avoid possible lynching. Anyone caught using an expired notary seal was

arrested.<sup>119</sup> Despite attempts at cheating, officials processed 4,118 legal claims on the first day.

In an effort to make the lottery equally available to both sexes, Greene established a registration booth for women on July 11. Persistent men, however, pushed the women aside "as if they were dogs." By the end of the second day, however, 6,510 people had registered. By July 12, the supply of registration blanks began to run low and discontent arose among the crowds due to slow processing, yet 5,500 claimants had still filed. Greene then took a train to search for the order of missing claim forms. He found and salvaged 1,500 pounds of usable forms and returned to El Reno at 4:00 A.M., in time for registration on July 13. He promptly placed an order for more forms.

July 14 was a Sunday, therefore, no registering took place. Greene used the day of rest for most people to acquire much needed help and supplies. He went to Rush Springs, where he hired eight more clerks, and procured 1,000 pounds of supplies. He had the water barrels filled and placed on a train, and told the conductor to "make Fort Sill within four hours" or payment for freight charges would be withheld. Greene then raced back to El Reno by horse and carriage to make ready for the next day's registration.

On July 15, Greene doubled the guards at the women's booth to prevent the men from registering there. Later he removed one small guard at the women's booth as some men had thrown him aside. He solved the problem by hiring a burly blacksmith to replace the guard and left instructions for him to "punch the head of any man who came within reach." Greene also moved one of the booths to another building upon learning that the owner's son was selling spots in line and turning a profit of fifty dollars a day. His efforts to make the registration run more smoothly began to show results, and 10,976 claims were processed by the end of the day.

On July 16, Greene established a booth for old soldiers upon hearing that the younger men were pushing the old veterans aside. Along with force, individuals also tried using influence to register. Greene stated, "a pompous fellow strutted up to the guard" at a

booth "and said he was in a great hurry to register." The man claimed to be from Kansas and eager to return home. He also claimed to be "an ex-member of the Congress-at-large and thought he was entitled to preference." Greene and the man argued, the man then protested and demanded to see Richards. Richards arrived shortly and the man repeated his request for registry based on his history of public service. Richards replied, "Yes? Well, Ex-Congressmen are as thick about here as fiddlers in Hell." The man begrudgingly made his way to the end of the long line.

Despite everything being done by Greene, the registration back log compelled Richards to request forty more clerks. Greene found the request most difficult to fill. Driving past a sewing shop, he found three girls standing in the doorway, and told them to get in his buggy if they wanted to earn \$3.00 a day and double pay for overtime. Within five minutes the girls were working at their stations, but Greene gave up his efforts to find thirty-seven additional literate workers. Claim processing fell further behind, which prompted Richards to order Greene to find "all the clerks you can" and "pay them anything you care to, only get them." Greene then rented a large store room for collecting and organizing the registration paper work. With these problems fixed, the clerks averaged ten thousand applications per day by July 17.

On July 22, Greene had over one hundred clerks working overtime in sweltering 110 degree heat to process claims that had reached a high of over sixteen thousand per day. A merry-go-round inside the boundary ropes of one of the booths had to be removed due to cheating. The intention was to keep the children occupied while their parents stood in line, but the ride was later discovered to be a front for cheaters. Greene learned that the operator was using the ride to camouflage the side window of the booth to allow claimants to sneak ahead of those waiting their turn in line to register. Officials confiscated the merry-go-round owner's illegal proceeds and threw him out of town.

The last day to register, July 26, saw the mercury climb higher and tempers flare to new levels. Greene had to break up several fights. In addition to these problems,

overworked clerks passed out from heat exhaustion and slowed the processing of paperwork. The remaining clerks, nevertheless, completed almost seventeen thousand claims. The town hall bell rang at 6:00 P.M. and clerks closed their books. Richards had taken sick and was confined to his bed, which placed an additional burden on his assistant. In an effort to save time, Greene centralized all of the desks and claims into one building and brought lemonade to the already exhausted clerks. They worked until midnight organizing and alphabetizing the remaining claims. Anyone discovered to have registered twice was subject to arrest.

Greene then made ready for the drawing. He employed several carpenters to build a grandstand on the school house grounds located on the east side of town. Blacksmiths were also contracted to build the bins to hold the claims. The platform was about five feet high and covered with canvas for protection against the sun and rain. An octagonal box measuring ten feet long, two and one-half feet wide, and two and one-half feet tall, equipped with a handle on each end, was placed on the platform so that the numbers inside could be thoroughly mixed after one was drawn out. Three openings in each side of the box covered with slides allowed numbers to be drawn in rotation. The drawing procedure consisted of blindfolding young school children and turning them around several times before they put their hands into the bin to draw a number. Greene also strung a rope at a distance of fifty feet around the grandstand, and policemen were hired to control the anticipated crowds of between thirty and forty thousand.<sup>120</sup>

When the time came for the drawing on July 29, every precaution had been made to avoid any chance for criticism or claim of irregularity. Registration tickets were duplicated and placed in the box so that everyone had an equal chance regardless of when they had registered, and officials mailed post cards each day to those whose numbers had been chosen. There were only thirteen thousand total tracts available in addition to the allotments given to each Indian man, woman, and child. Also, four sections were reserved

in each township; two for school land and two for expected construction projects and improvements. Not surprising, settlers made the first choices near the county seat towns.

Of the 150,523 total claimants, approximately ten thousand were women. The first lottery number drawn from the El Reno wheel belonged to Stephen A. Holcomb from Pauls Valley, Indian Territory. James T. Wood of Weatherford, Indian Territory, was drawn first from the Lawton wheel, and Mattie Beal, a female telephone operator from Wichita, Kansas, was drawn second. Both selected claims adjoining land earmarked for Lawton's business district.<sup>121</sup> Greene bemused that the two should get married and double their land holdings. Despite all of the hoopla surrounding the lottery, within a half-hour interest began to lag and the crowd thinned to a few hundred people.

Violence erupted in El Reno following the drawing. On July 31, several fights broke out. One woman required hospitalization after receiving a face wound from a smashed beer bottle, and "a Negro was killed." One unlucky male claimant chased down one of the clerks and pounded him "into insensibility." Robberies occurred frequently in the town and along the roads. After a few days the violence subsided and the crowds evaporated. Those who chose to settle on claims returned to their wagons and loaded their belongings to make the journey to their new destinations.

After the registration in El Reno, thousands of people who intended to live in the new towns moved to the outskirts and awaited the opening. Surrounding each of the county seat towns were sleeping tents and eating places that had served the crowds at El Reno. Within a short time, doctors, lawyers, painters, mercantilists, and barbers were applying their trades. "Rag Towns," or temporary camps, became central places where people gathered to swap stories and get acquainted. As a result, settlers made many lasting friendships in the "rag town" days.<sup>122</sup>

On August 21, Greene went to Lawton to observe the town lot auction being supervised by Nick O'Brien, Special Agent for the General Land Office. Due to the sweltering heat, O'Brien was dressed in a shirt, tow-cloth trousers, and socks, nothing



more. Despite the 110 degree temperatures, a crowd of approximately five thousand assembled in the middle of the townsite near the platform constructed of rough boards. O'Brien was selling town lots at an average of one every two minutes. As he paced back and forth proclaiming "the beauties of the metropolis that was soon to rise out of the prairie grass on that very spot," sweat streamed down his face and his clothes clung to him "as if they were glued there."

Upon the sale of a town lot the successful bidder made his way to the platform where the sale recorded. An army sergeant "with two revolvers in his hands ready for instant use" sat on the money box. With the cash in hand the sergeant would get up, deposit the money, thus completing the transaction. "Doubtless a large majority of the men in that crowd were honest, law-abiding citizens," Greene recalled that because of the "self-advertised hellions" present at the sale, officials omitted no detail when it came to security. Receipts amounted to over \$57,000 by the end of the day, which was immediately put in a wagon and a full complement of cavalry soldiers escorted it to the railroad station thirty miles away. The money was first shipped to Chickasha, Oklahoma, and then on to St. Louis, Missouri. Combined sale of town lots in Lawton, Anadarko, and Hobart amounted to more than \$750,000.<sup>123</sup>

In anticipation of business expansion, lumber companies began stocking building materials along the rights of way. It was not question of selling lumber in their case, but how to get it into town. Within one year most of the tents gave way to wooden buildings in the business districts. Offered large bonuses, railroad switchmen and freight crews moved cars of merchandise out of the congested side tracks and railroad yards to facilitate town construction, and the "rag towns" gradually faded away. The Rock Island railroad benefited the most from the Kiowa and Comanche opening. The line already ran into Mangum, located in the southwest corner of the territory, from Anadarko and Hobart further north. Lawton, however, was without access. The Rock Island, therefore, did some of the fastest railroad building on record to connect the town with the main railway

artery. This branch was then extended north from Anadarko to Geary where it ran due west and connected with Amarillo, Texas. In addition to the railroads, telephone lines connected the new towns and telephones nailed to posts. That remained the extent of the transportation and communications.

Each of the three new towns consisted of a population of approximately fifteen thousand persons, but not all of them became permanent residents. The townsites of Lawton and Hobart were located on the prairie, while Anadarko transformed from a corn field to a field of ankle-deep dust. The Washita River, an unsanitary water source at best, ran north of Anadarko about two miles and served as the community bath tub for the first few months. The only well in town was at the section house near the depot, and despite the lack of rainfall and dryness of the land, remarkably the supply held out. Despite the odds against them, settlers held out, and still more came once the communities were established.<sup>124</sup>

The once-vast Kiowa-Comanche reservation, much like Kansas following the Civil War, had entered into the Gilded Age. Although the land opening drastically changed the region, the transition was even more acute for the Indians. Within one generation, Nye noted, they "passed from the Stone Age to the era of the eight-cylinder motor car and the low-wing monoplane."<sup>125</sup> They were once warriors who proudly exhibited the scalps of their enemies, and they made up in ferocity for what they lacked in large numbers. The United States Government, therefore, had established Fort Sill to put an end to the atrocities. The memories of the Kiowa-Comanche raids into Kansas and Texas, combined with a hunger for more land, remained fresh in the minds of settlers from those areas, and drove individuals like Albert Robinson Greene to help write the final chapter of the frontier.

## CONCLUSION

This narrative of Albert Robinson Greene's life illustrates several points concerning western migration and settlement. Albert's parents, Elisha and Lucy Greene, chose to settle near the forts and outposts in Illinois rather than "roughing it" on the frontier. His parents believed fervently in Christianity and the abolition of slavery. With the outbreak of the Civil War, however, Albert's reluctant decision to join the Union army was based more on political propaganda and violence in Ridgeway Township than the ideals instilled by his parents. Greene emphatically disliked the army, therefore, survival became his primary goal. He was by no means a warrior, but his role in escorting supply convoys helped to establish a thriving post-Civil War economy in Kansas.

Following the conflict, he helped to quell residual pro-southern sentiment in Kansas, and invoked "his time spent in defense of the Union" to make the transition from soldier to public servant, a trend still popular in the United States. In addition, he had an important role in the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche reservation to settlement in 1901. It was opened by the lottery, and was significantly different in that it ended the land run process and mass migrations, as no more large tracts of land are available to entice settlers.

As a young settler, Greene could not foresee his role in the opening of Indian Territory anymore than his part in the violent Kansas entry into statehood and the Civil War. Although Greene never became famous for his contributions, he was an active participant in Kansas-Oklahoma history. More than likely, his life spent "behind-the-scenes" allowed him to keep a more accurate account of the events around him than many. This thesis, therefore, has relied heavily on his record to provide later generations with a more realist view of the frontier experience.

<sup>1</sup> Ray Allen Billington, Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier (New York: The Macmillan Publishing Co., 1967), 280.

<sup>2</sup> Albert Robinson Greene, "Francis Vearidott, A Veteran of Waterloo" [manuscript], Undated, Albert Robinson Greene Collection, Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS);

Topeka, Kansas. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Albert Robinson Greene, "Biographical Sketch" [manuscript], September 1, 1903, Albert Robinson Greene Collection, KSHS; Topeka, Kansas. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, The Expansion of Everyday Life 1860-1876 (New York: Harper and Row, 1990), 19.

<sup>5</sup> Greene, "Francis Vearidott, A Veteran of Waterloo, A Sketch," Undated, KSHS, 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Chris Cook and John Stevenson, The Longman Handbook of Modern European History 1763-1985 (New York: Longman, 1987), 224.

<sup>8</sup> Greene, "Francis Vearidott, A Veteran of Waterloo, A Sketch," Undated, KSHS, 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>10</sup> Osage County Titles and Deeds Historical Atlas (Lyndon, Kansas: Osage County Historical Society, 1860), Map of Township 14, South Range, 17 East, 56.

\* In 1860, Weller County was renamed Osage County. In addition, Wakarusa Township was added to Osage County and renamed Ridgeway after reforming voting districts.

<sup>12</sup> Greene, "Biographical Sketch," September 1, 1903, KSHS, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Kansas Territorial Census Records: Shawnee County Wakarusa Township, 1857 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1859), 8.

<sup>14</sup> Charles R. Green, Along The Santa Fe And Lawrence Trails. Old Ridgeway, 1855-69 (Lyndon, Kansas: Osage County Historical Society, 1992), 7.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-7.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>17</sup> Horace Greeley, The American Conflict Volume 1 (Chicago: George and B. C. W. Sherwood, 1864), 237.

<sup>18</sup> Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 201.

<sup>19</sup> James McPherson, Ordeal By Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Publishers, 1982), 251.

- <sup>20</sup> James G. Blunt, "James G. Blunt: Civil War Experiences" Kansas Historical Collections 18 (1932): 214.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>22</sup> McPherson, Ordeal By Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction, 251.
- <sup>23</sup> Blunt, "James G. Blunt: Civil War Experiences," 242.
- <sup>24</sup> Albert Robinson Greene, "Campaigning In The Army Of The Frontier" [manuscript], 1862-1865, Albert Robinson Greene Collection, KSHS; Topeka, Kansas. 283.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>26</sup> W. S. Burke, Official Military History of Kansas Regiments (Leavenworth, Kansas: United States Army, 1870), 30.
- <sup>27</sup> Leavenworth Daily Times, Leavenworth, Kansas, 24 February 1865. Kansas State Journal, Lawrence, Kansas, 30 July 1863.
- <sup>28</sup> Albert E. Castel, A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958), 317.
- <sup>29</sup> Public Documents of the State of Kansas, 1863 (Topeka: Kansas State Government, 1863), 26.
- <sup>30</sup> Henry E. Palmer, "The Black-Flag Character of War on the Border" Kansas Historical Collections 9 (1905-1906): 466.
- <sup>31</sup> Greene, "Campaigning In The Army Of The Frontier," 1862-1865, KSHS, 287.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 284.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 290.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 290-292.
- <sup>37</sup> Ted R. Worley, "The Civil War Comes To Van Buren" Arkansas Historical Quarterly XXV no. 2 (Summer, 1966): 150.
- <sup>38</sup> Castel, A Frontier State at War: Kansas 1861-1865, 66.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>40</sup> War of the Rebellion Official Record of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office), Official Report by James G. Blunt to John M. Schofield, August, 10, 1862, XIII Series 19, 138.

<sup>41</sup> Greene, "Campaigning In The Army Of The Frontier," 1862-1865, KSHS, 293.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 294.

<sup>43</sup> Official Record of the Union and Confederate Armies XIII Series 19, Official Report of Thomas C. Hindman. May 31, 1862, 14.

<sup>44</sup> J. G. Randal and David Donald, The Civil War and Reconstruction (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1961), 234.

<sup>45</sup> Blunt. James G. Blunt: Civil War Experiences," 214.

<sup>46</sup> Alvin M. Josephy Jr., The Civil War in the American West (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 362.

<sup>47</sup> Official Record of the Union and Confederate Armies XIII Series 19, Report from Major General Samuel R. Curtis to Brigadier General John M. Schofield, September 25, 1862, 13.

<sup>48</sup> Steven B. Oates, "The Prairie Grove Campaign" The Arkansas Historical Quarterly XIX no. 2 (Summer, 1960): 119.

<sup>49</sup> Greene, "Campaigning In The Army Of The Frontier," 1862-1865, KSHS, 292.

<sup>50</sup> Josephy, The Civil War in the American West, 362.

<sup>51</sup> Greene, "Campaigning In The Army Of The Frontier," 1862-1865, KSHS, 296-297.

<sup>52</sup> Blunt, "James G. Blunt: Civil War Experiences," 240.

<sup>53</sup> Greene, "Campaigning In The Army Of The Frontier," 1862-1865, KSHS, 361.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 297.

<sup>55</sup> Josephy, The Civil War in the American West, 360-361.

<sup>56</sup> Greene, "Campaigning In The Army Of The Frontier," 1862-1865, KSHS, 297.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 297-300.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 305-307.

<sup>61</sup> Castel. A Frontier State at War: Kansas 1861-1865, 5.

<sup>62</sup> Daniel E. Fitzgerald, Ghost Towns of Kansas (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 133-134.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>64</sup> Greene. "Francis Vearidott. A Veteran of Waterloo, A Sketch," Undated, KSHS, 9.

<sup>65</sup> Official Record of the Union and Confederate Armies LIII Series 1, 571.

<sup>66</sup> Burke, Military History of Kansas Regiments, 275.

<sup>67</sup> Oates, "The Prairie Grove Campaign," 121.

<sup>68</sup> Castel, A Frontier State at War: Kansas 1861-1865, 99.

<sup>69</sup> Greene, "Campaigning In The Army Of The Frontier," 1862-1865, KSHS, 310.

<sup>70</sup> Oates, "The Prairie Grove Campaign,." 123.

<sup>71</sup> Castel, A Frontier State at War: Kansas 1861-1865, 99.

<sup>72</sup> Oates, "The Prairie Grove Campaign," 123.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>74</sup> Greene, "Campaigning In The Army Of The Frontier," 1862-1865, KSHS, 313-314.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 314-315.

<sup>76</sup> Oates, "The Prairie Grove Campaign," 132.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

<sup>79</sup> Castel, A Frontier State at War: Kansas 1861-1865, 100.

<sup>80</sup> Oates, "The Prairie Grove Campaign," 139.

- <sup>81</sup> Josephy, The Civil War in the American West, 365.
- <sup>82</sup> Greene, "Campaigning In The Army Of The Frontier" 1862-1865, KSHS, 316.
- <sup>83</sup> Josephy, The Civil War in the American West, 366.
- <sup>84</sup> Greene, "Campaigning In The Army Of The Frontier," 1862-1865, KSHS, 318.
- <sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 319-320.
- <sup>86</sup> Oates, "The Prairie Grove Campaign," 141.
- <sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 324-325.
- <sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 331-332.
- <sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 334.
- <sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* 338-339.
- <sup>91</sup> Burke, Military History of Kansas Regiments, 275.
- <sup>92</sup> Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas Volume 1 1861-1865 (Leavenworth, Kansas: Bulletin Co-Operative Printing Co., 1867), 765.
- <sup>93</sup> Castel, A Frontier State at War: Kansas 1861-1865, 206-208.
- <sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.
- <sup>95</sup> Albert Robinson Greene, "The Union Home Guards; A Sketch" [manuscript], Undated, Albert Robinson Greene Collection, KSHS; Topeka, Kansas. 2-3.
- <sup>96</sup> Quoted in Castel. A Frontier State at War: Kansas 1861-1865, 212.
- <sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.
- <sup>98</sup> Greene "The Union Home Guards; A Sketch," Undated, KSHS, 4-5.
- <sup>99</sup> William E. Connelly, The Life of Preston B. Plumb (Chicago, Illinois, 1913), 209-210.
- <sup>100</sup> Charles R. Green, Along the Santa Fe And Lawrence Trails, Old Ridgeway, 1855-69 (Lyndon, Kansas: Osage County Historical Society, 1913), 45.
- <sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.



- <sup>102</sup> Castel, A Frontier State at War: Kansas 1861-1865, 219.
- <sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.
- <sup>104</sup> Kennedy, Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census, 208.
- <sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 216.
- <sup>106</sup> Wilbur Sturtevant Nye, Carbine And Lance, The Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 303-304.
- <sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 306.
- <sup>108</sup> A. Emma Estill, "The Great Lottery," Chronicles of Oklahoma 9: 365.
- <sup>109</sup> Assistant Commissioners Report to the Department of the Interior, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session, Serial 4289, 1901.
- <sup>110</sup> Albert Robinson Greene, "Where Luck Came In" [manuscript], 1901, Albert Robinson Greene Collection, KSHS; Topeka, Kansas. 3.
- <sup>111</sup> Renato Constantino, A History of the Phillipines: From the Spanish Colonization to the Second World War (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975),173.
- <sup>112</sup> Greene, "Where Luck Came In," 1901, KSHS, 5.
- <sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.
- <sup>114</sup> E. H. Linzee, "Registration And Drawing For Opening Of Kiowa And Comanche Country, 1901." Chronicles of Oklahoma 25: 289.
- <sup>115</sup> Greene, "Where Luck Came In," 1901, KSHS, 4-8.
- <sup>116</sup> Daily Oklahoman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 10 July 1901.
- <sup>117</sup> Linzee, "Registration And Drawing," 290.
- <sup>118</sup> Greene, "Where Luck Came In," 1901, KSHS, 9.
- <sup>119</sup> Daily Oklahoman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 12 July 1901.
- <sup>120</sup> Greene, "Where Luck Came In," 1901, KSHS, 18-20.
- <sup>121</sup> Daily Oklahoman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, July 30 1901.
- <sup>122</sup> Linzee, "Registration And Drawing," 292.

<sup>123</sup> Greene, "Where Luck Came In," 1901, KSHS, 20-23.

<sup>124</sup> Linzee, "Registration And Drawing," 292-293.

<sup>125</sup> Nye, Carbine and Lance, The Story of Old Fort Sill, xii.

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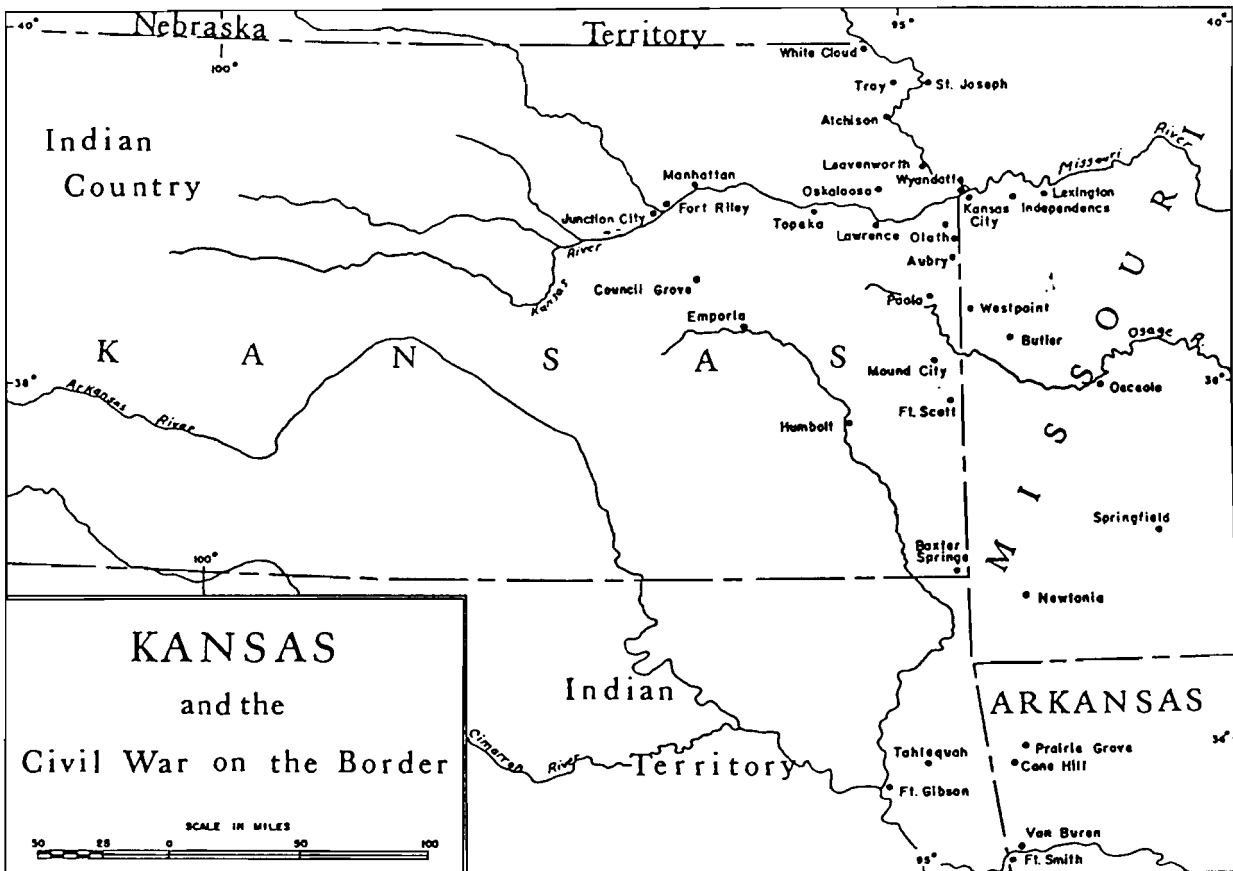
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# APPENDIX I

## Map A

Civil War Kansas and the Border War  
Reprinted from Albert Castel's A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865

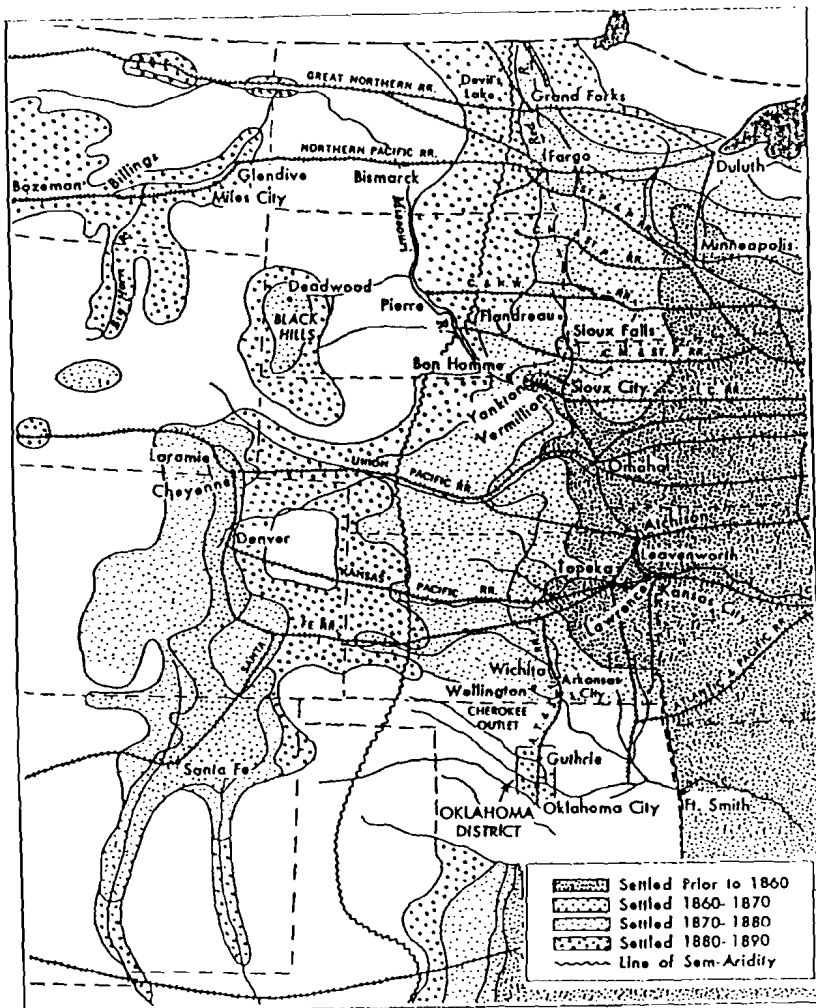


# APPENDIX II

## Map A

Reprinted from Ray Allen Billington's Westward Expansion, A History of the American Frontier

### THE FARMER'S FRONTIER



I, Darin J. Combs, hereby submit this thesis to Emporia State University as partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree. I agree that the Library of the University may make it available for use in accordance with its regulations governing materials of this type. I further agree that quoting, photocopying, or other reproduction of this document is allowed for private study, scholarship (including teaching) and research purposes of a nonprofit nature. No copying which involves potential financial gain will be allowed without written permission of the author.

*Darin Combs*

Signature of Author

*10-31-96*

Date

FROM CAMPAIGNING IN THE ARMY OF THE  
FRONTIER TO CONQUERING THE INDIAN  
FRONTIER: PIONEERING WITH ALBERT  
ROBINSON GREENE

Title of Thesis

*Albert Greene*

Signature of Graduate Office Staff Member

*11-4-96*

Date Received