

Shared Stories of the Civil War Reader's Theater Project

Skirmish at Island Mound

Today, servicemen and women of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds serve our country at home and abroad, as they have done for decades. It may be difficult, then, for us to realize, as the historian Dudley Cornish has remarked, "how revolutionary the experiment of permitting Negroes to bear arms was considered" in the first years of the Civil War.

The First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry began to form in August 1862, and they were first in history on many counts. "They would be the first African-Americans recruited in the Northern states for service in the Civil War. They would...be the first to see battle, and the first to die in action." This daring experiment was first attempted here in the Battle of Island Mound, Missouri.

Please Note: Regional historians have reviewed the source materials used, the script, and the list of citations for accuracy.



Skirmish at Island Mound is part of the Shared Stories of the Civil War Reader's Theater project, a partnership between the **Freedom's Frontier National Heritage Area** and the **Kansas Humanities Council**.



FFNHA is a partnership of 41 counties in eastern Kansas and western Missouri dedicated to connecting the stories of settlement, the Border War and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom in this area. KHC is a non-profit organization promoting understanding of the history and ideas that shape our lives and strengthen our sense of community.

For More Information:

Freedom's Frontier National Heritage Area
Kansas Humanities Council

www.freedomsfrontier.org
www.kansashumanities.org

Introduction

Instructions: The facilitator can either read the entire introduction out loud or summarize key points.

This introduction is intended to provide context to the reader's theater script. It is not a comprehensive examination of events leading up to and including the Civil War. It has been developed to remind us to consider the violence and complexities of the time period as we commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Civil War in 2011.

It is likely that none of us gathered here remembers a time when our military forces were not integrated. President Harry S. Truman ordered the desegregation of American armed forces in 1948. Today, servicemen and women of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds serve our country at home and abroad, as they have done for decades. It may be difficult, then, for us to realize, as the historian Dudley Cornish has remarked, "how revolutionary the experiment of permitting Negroes to bear arms was considered" in the first years of the Civil War — "how fraught with imagined dangers to the Union cause, how galling to white pride." The historian Herman Hattaway informs us, "The idea of using black troops was a daring one at the time."¹

We may be most familiar with the story of the black troops in the 54th Massachusetts Colored Infantry from the Hollywood movie, *Glory*. But the daring experiment, the service of African-American troops fighting for the North in the Civil War, was first attempted here. The first Northern black soldiers to see action were members of the First Kansas Colored Infantry in the Battle of Island Mound, Missouri.

President Abraham Lincoln was initially opposed to the idea of arming black soldiers. The War of Rebellion, as many Northerners saw it, began when Confederate forces fired upon Fort Sumter, a United States arsenal off the coast of South Carolina, in April 1861. Less than two months later, 11 slave-holding states had seceded from the Union to form their own separate nation. President Lincoln was determined to reunite the United States of America. Lincoln dared not risk proposing that slavery be abolished, and he refused to risk offending white troops by enlisting free blacks in the North or arming runaway slaves, considered contraband property of war.

However, some Westerners had no difficulty with this notion. Since territorial days in Kansas, abolitionists on the Underground Railroad and on the "Bleeding Kansas" side of the border wars had fought for — and alongside — African-Americans. Several of these veterans from the mid-1850s, white and black, had risen to late-night warfare from pallets side-by-side on a cabin floor, to shoot side-by-side against proslavery forces: one of these men, Underground Railroad operative Joseph Gardner (who is wounded in action as a lieutenant in Missouri in our story to come), dodged several bullets fired into his Kansas cabin in 1860; one of his African-American lodgers, Napoleon Simpson, lost his life defending the Gardner family from a midnight attack by proslavery guerillas. Abolitionists fighting in Kansas did not shrink from arming African-Americans. Border warriors, like Kansan James Lane, understood first-hand how fiercely, and how capably, African-Americans would fight against proslavery forces.

After Confederate forces captured Fort Sumter, President Lincoln called for Union recruits. He knew of the military prowess of some of Kansas's leading Republicans, and "reflecting upon" Senator James Lane of Kansas, he wrote, "[I] have concluded that we need the services of

such a man out there at once; that we better appoint him a brigadier-general of volunteers today, and send him off with such authority to raise a force..."²

Raise a force Lane did, though not what President Lincoln expected, or authorized. Lane's Kansas cavalry in October 1861 included white and black troops. A Leavenworth newspaper reported: "By the side of one...white cavalier rode an erect, well-armed and very black man...It is well known that negroes and Indians serve in the rebel army but this is the first instance which has come to our personal knowledge...of a contraband serving as a Union soldier."³

Lane, assisted by abolitionist veterans, energetically recruited and trained volunteers of any color willing to "destroy slavery," as the historian Dudley Cornish expressed it. "From the beginning of the Civil War, they displayed an easy disregard for the feelings and property rights of their neighbors across the Missouri border. Not only were fugitive slaves encouraged to seek sanctuary in the free state of Kansas; the Jayhawkers took peculiar delight in expeditions of liberation into the slaveholding state lying conveniently along the eastern flank. To them the Civil War was only a continuation of their earlier battles. Their theater of war was so far removed from the center of government that they could disregard administration policy and War Department orders with impunity...That Negroes should have been openly enrolled as Union soldiers in Kansas in the fall of 1861 was entirely consonant with the logic of radical abolitionism and Kansas territorial history."⁴

In this effort, Lane received indirect assistance from John C. Frémont, the Union commander of the Western Department. Frémont had command of "all the loyal territories and states, including Missouri, that were west of the Mississippi River and east of the Rocky Mountains..." In the fall of 1861, after a Union defeat in southwestern Missouri at the battle of Wilson's Creek, "fuss and feathers" Frémont made himself unpopular by declaring martial law over the entire state of Missouri. He further proclaimed that the enslaved "property...of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field...are hereby declared freemen." When Frémont freed two St. Louis slaves under this proclaimed military authority, he lost the support of loyal Missourians as well as Union officials. Frémont had overzealously overstepped the authority given him by a White House and a War Department unwilling, in the first year of the Civil War, to emancipate slaves.

Union officials relieved Frémont of his command and withdrew his proclamation—but not before hundreds of enslaved persons in Missouri sought out freedom within Union military encampments. When James Lane invaded Missouri with federal troops, he encouraged former slaves to accompany him back to Kansas. As the historian James Patrick Morgans explained, "[D]espite Lane's looting and murderous intent toward the white citizens of Missouri, the bondspersons in Missouri always found that the Kansas troops welcomed them to their lines. Many Union units would send the bondspersons back to their masters, but not the Kansas boys. In the autumn of 1861, with slaves streaming into their lines in Western Missouri, Lane sent many of these bondspersons to their freedom in Kansas. There was a labor shortage in the state and they were sent to help with the fall harvest of crops."⁵

By the summer of 1862, Brigadier General James Lane began recruiting black volunteers for an African-American infantry regiment, the First Kansas Colored Volunteers. In this work he received assistance from General James G. Blunt, commander of the District of the Frontier. Hundreds of black troops began drilling up and down eastern Kansas. Lane reported, "I have

seen them come into camp...looking down as though slaves. By-and-by they begin to straighten themselves, throw back their shoulders, stand erect, and soon look God straight in the face....After a long day's march, after getting supper for the men, after feeding and cleaning the horses, I have seen them out, just back of the tents, drilling. And they take to drill as a child takes to its mother's milk. They soon learn the step, soon learn the position of the soldier and the manual of arms. You can see that in the innermost recesses of their soul, the 'devil is in them'." General Lane was adamant: "Give them a fair chance, put arms in their hands and they will do the balance of the fighting in this war."⁶

To command companies within the First Kansas Colored Infantry, Lane and Blunt chose abolitionist veterans. Many of these officers, like Colonel James M. Williams, proved to be efficient, industrious, and competent leaders. Under their command, the "daring experiment" begun in Kansas would first be tested in October 1862, on a farm in Missouri, at a battle known as Island Mound. What resulted from this experiment of training African-American troops?

Let us find out from the participants, in their own words.

Group Discussion Questions

Instructions: The facilitator should pose one or more of these questions in advance of the reading of the script. At the conclusion of the reading, participants will return to the questions for consideration.

1. What do you think of President Abraham Lincoln's initial reluctance to allow black men to enlist as Union soldiers? Was his hesitance wise in light of his overriding goal of reuniting the United States? Or was it cowardly of him to cave to Southern slaveholders' fears of armed African-Americans?
2. Colonel James Williams, an abolitionist known to Jim Lane during their "Bleeding Kansas" days, had little formal military training or experience when he was given command of the First Kansas Colored Infantry in the autumn of 1862. What qualities can we identify in Williams that helped him to be an effective leader of this division?
3. Why do you suppose we have such few surviving accounts from Confederate soldiers in the Civil War in Kansas and Missouri?
4. Though the United States military reluctantly accepted them, African-American troops proved to be skillful, courageous, and effective in combat alongside white troops. Are there parallels in more recent history?

Script

Instructions: Each part will be read out loud by an assigned reader. Readers should stand and speak into a microphone when it's their turn. The source of the quote should also be read out loud (this is the information bolded beneath each quote). Because of the length of this script, your group may want to break for a brief intermission following Reader 4 on page 14.

READER 1 Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters, U.S., let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder and bullets in his pocket, there is no power on earth that can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship.

Frederick Douglass.⁷

READER 2 Dear Wife, I have enlisted in the Army... Though great is the present national difficulties, yet I look forward to a brighter day when I shall have the opportunity of seeing you in the full enjoyment of freedom. I would like to know if you are still in slavery. If you are it will not be long before we shall have crushed the system that now oppresses you, for in the course of three months, you shall have your liberty. Great is the outpouring of the colored people that is now rallying with the hearts of lions against that very curse that has separated you and me. Yet we shall meet again, and oh what a happy time that will be, when this ungodly rebellion shall be put down, and the curses of our land is trampled under our feet. I am a soldier now, and I shall use my utmost endeavor to strike at the rebellion and the heart of this system that so long has kept us in chains . . . I remain your own affectionate husband until death.

Private Samuel Cabble, formerly enslaved in Missouri.⁸

READER 3 My great-grandfather, George Washington, [was] born in “Old” Virginia in 1840, [and enslaved in] Platte County, Missouri...George Washington, as was the custom of the era for slaves, never was permitted to learn to read or write but was undoubtedly influenced by rumors that President Lincoln was about to “free the slaves” and that escape to Kansas Territory — “Free Soil” — meant early emancipation....[I]n the Spring of 1862, George Washington escaped by way of Parkville, Missouri, across the Missouri River, and into the river-front abolitionist township of Quindaro, Kansas....

Eventually he made his way to Leavenworth, Kansas where the controversial Kansas senator, James H. Lane, was recruiting troops among free blacks, especially from the swelling numbers of fugitive slaves in Kansas, men who had fled their masters in Missouri and Arkansas. Raising black troops was against the law, and the public and

Army were on the whole strongly against it, but Lane did not agree or care....

In August 1862, George Washington enlisted in the First Kansas Colored Volunteer Regiment under the command of Colonel James M. Williams. Only months and sometimes days before, they had been fugitive slaves and considered property like farm animals. Now they were in uniform, under military discipline, marching in step, and impressing everyone with their “fine appearance” and their superb precision on the drill field.

James S. Johnson III.⁹

NARRATOR

When the Civil War began, “[m]any African-American men wanted to fight for the Union. Some were free blacks and others were former slaves. They tried to volunteer at recruiting stations, but were turned away. The Union Army did not want black soldiers. President Abraham Lincoln had trouble deciding whether to recruit black soldiers.” Eleven slave states had seceded from the United States by June 8, 1861, to form a separate country, the Confederate States of America. Only four slave states remained loyal to the U.S.: Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware. “President Lincoln was afraid that if he allowed black men to fight, thereby emancipating them, those last four slave states would secede, too. He hoped that the war could be won quickly without using African-American soldiers...Some officers thought African-Americans should be part of the Union Army. They tried to form regiments of black volunteers to fight, but the War Department forced them to stop

By July 1862, the United States Congress passed a law allowing African-Americans to serve in the Union Army as laborers or cooks or wagon drivers. The law still did not allow black soldiers.” But General James Lane, a fierce abolitionist who commanded regular army troops in Kansas, took it upon himself to organize a black regiment. This First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry included former slaves from Missouri, Arkansas, and the Indian Territory, now known as Oklahoma.¹⁰

READER 4

On the 4th day of August, 1862, Captain James M. Williams, Company F, Fifth Kansas Cavalry, was appointed by Honorable James H. Lane, Recruiting Commissioner for that portion of Kansas lying north of the Kansas River, for the purpose of recruiting and organizing a regiment of infantry for the United States service, to be composed of men of African descent. He immediately commenced the work of recruiting by securing the muster-in of recruiting officers with the rank of Second Lieutenant, and by procuring supplies from the Ordnance Quartermaster and Commissary departments, and by establishing in the vicinity of Leavenworth a camp of rendezvous and instruction.

Captain Henry C. Seaman was about the same time commissioned with like authority for that portion of Kansas lying south of the Kansas River.

The work of recruiting went forward with rapidity, the intelligent portion of the colored people entering into the work heartily, and evincing by their actions a willing readiness to link their future and share the perils with [their] white brethren in the war of the rebellion, which then waged with such violence as to seriously threaten the nationality and life of the Republic.

Adjutant General of the State of Kansas.¹¹

READER 1 General Lane is still going on with the work of organizing two Colored Regiments, notwithstanding the refusal of the President to accept black soldiers. Last Tuesday about fifty recruits were raised here...

Fort Scott [Kansas] Bulletin, August 16, 1862.¹²

NARRATOR *The First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry began to form in August 1862, and they were first in history on many counts. "They would be the first African-Americans recruited in the Northern states for service in the Civil War. They would...be the first to see battle, and the first to die in action."*¹³

READER 3 [My great-grandfather] George Washington and the First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry Regiment were attached to the District of the Frontier, commanded by Major General James G. Blunt...The general mission of the First Kansas Colored was to protect and reinforce the regular supply wagon trains that rolled by on their way south [to Union troops].

James S. Johnson III.¹⁴

NARRATOR *After roughly ten weeks' training, the First Kansas Colored Infantry received orders in October 1862 to march toward Butler, in Bates County, Missouri, approximately one hundred miles southeast of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. The African-American regiment marched toward territory that had been ravaged by warfare from all sides for many months, territory which had once come under attack by General James Lane and the regular Union army forces under his command.*

READER 2 In the spring of 1862 the County of Bates was in a state of terror and confusion truly frightful, and overrun by bands of marauders and bushwhackers who held the lives and property of the people at their mercy... About the first of April 1862, one regiment of [Union] cavalry...arrived and were stationed at Butler. On the arrival of this regiment the bushwhackers, who up to this time had undisputed possession of the county, retired to the dense thickets and brush on the different streams....Those who had taken up their abode in this gloomy haunt were fed and harbored by the people of the surrounding

neighborhood, which was thickly settled. It was the custom of the Federal authority, when a body of troops were stationed at a place, for them to forage on the farmers of the surrounding country. They would go out and take corn and hay, and if the farmer from whom they took it could prove he was loyal to the government, they would give him a voucher with the promise to pay at some future time. If he was a Southern sympathizer they took it away without any compensation, and the farmer, his family and stock left to suffer or starve.

...When this was reported to Captain Trueman [of the bushwhackers], he immediately called a meeting at the house of one of the farmers, with a view to ascertain what was the best course to pursue to prevent the Federals from taking their corn and hay. Trueman made a speech to the meeting, in which he said he and his company could waylay and kill the foraging parties, but he was afraid of the consequences to them; that they might return and burn their houses and property, which calamity he did not desire to bring upon them. They were, it seems, in great doubt as to what to do, when one of the farmers arose and said to Captain Trueman, that if he and his men were ready to risk their lives in killing the Federals he was willing to lose his property, and so could answer for all of them. This speech removed the difficulty. Capt. Trueman and his men immediately made their arrangements, loaded their guns and pistols and marched before day and concealed themselves near the base of a large walnut tree...where he knew the foraging party would pass the next morning, with the result above narrated. After the massacre, the bushwhackers did not stay longer than to take the pistols off the bodies of the dead soldiers.

V. B. Vandyke, Bates County, Missouri resident.¹⁵

READER 4

Most of the men in [Missouri] have families who are in destitute circumstances, having been plundered by both loyal and rebel armies...

Union Brigadier General Colley B. Holland.¹⁶

NARRATOR

Outside of the town of Butler, Missouri, in late October 1862, the First Kansas Colored Infantry encountered several hundred Confederate soldiers encamped near a place known as Island Mound. It was here that the First Kansas Colored Infantry became the first black Northern troops to engage in combat in the Civil War.

READER 1

On the twenty-sixth of October, Captain Seamen received an order...to take such a force as he could raise and proceed to a point on the Osage [River, in] Bates County, Missouri, and there break up a gang of bushwhackers. We marched from Fort Lincoln with seventy men of the battalion... and one hundred and seventy men from Colonel Williams's battalion...This made in all two hundred and forty men, with the addition of half a dozen white scouts. The men were armed with the Prussian and

Austrian rifled muskets, the former of which is an excellent weapon, and the latter a poor one, from constant liability to get out of order.

***New York Times* correspondent with the First Kansas Colored Infantry.**¹⁷

READER 2

On [Sunday] the twenty-sixth the command marched twenty miles, and on [Monday] the twenty-seventh reached Dickies Ford, on the Osage, at about two p.m. Our destination was the house of a notorious rebel, named Toothman, three miles from this ford. As we came in sight of it, we discovered at the same time a number of horsemen on the Osage bottoms, a mile to the south-east. The scouts and mounted officers galloped forward to reconnoiter, and soon discovered them to be rebel guerrillas...moving south in the direction of Arkansas.

***New York Times* correspondent.**¹⁸

NARRATOR

*The scouts had identified a large party of local Confederate guerrillas under Bill Truman and Dick Hancock, as well as Missouri State Guard recruits under Colonel Jeremiah Cockrell. The guerrillas and recruits had been using nearby Osage Island as a base of operations.*¹⁹

READER 3

[Rebel commanders] had concentrated their forces on Osage Island, and...their combined force amounted to some 700 or 800 men, all splendidly mounted. We immediately took possession of old man Toothman's house (a noted rebel guerrilla) and commenced skirmishing with the enemy's scouts and pickets...

Major Richard Ward, First Kansas Colored Infantry.²⁰

READER 4

What I know about the battle was gleaned from a soldier whom I met in Little Rock, Ark., shortly after the battle, and who had participated in it. He and other Southern men were camped, or rendezvoused on the slough island nearly directly south of [Toothman's house], and were taking care of themselves the best they could in the unsettled condition of the country. The colored troops, to the number of 150 or 200, were foraging upon the country for a living; and in order to punish them, these Southern men planned an attack. They sent out a few men to approach [them] and entice the colored troops out. One man had been placed in a cottonwood tree where he could see the colored troops, and at the same time signal a charge. The rest of the force was quietly disposed for action a short distance south,...near the river timber.

The scheme worked. The colored troops came out in force and pursued the squad nearly to the timber, and at the proper time, the man in the

cottonwood tree gave the signal, and the Southern men, numbering some 15 to 25 men, charged the colored troops, and the battle raged

fast and furious until the few who escaped were inside Fort Toothman...[T]he Southern men had the advantage of fresh horses, and the colored troops had to retreat...up over the bluffs towards the fort. Hence, they were cut down mercilessly...

J. S. Pierce, Bates County, Missouri.²¹

READER 1 [We continued] trying to draw them off the island and the enemy trying to draw us to the bushes. Tuesday we were engaged all day in desultory skirmishes, but the wind was so high, [we] were unable to injure them with our sharpshooters, they taking good care to keep a respectful distance.

Major Richard Ward.²²

READER 2 Returning to the detachment, it encamped for the night, at Toothman's. We erected a rail barricade around the door-yard fence. The reports of scouts, as well as the women in the house, warranted the assumption that the rebel forces were several hundred strong....That night we sent back messengers to Kansas for reinforcements.

New York Times correspondent.²³

READER 3 Wednesday morning... Captains [Jack] Armstrong and [A.G.] Crew, with a force of some sixty men, [set out] to engage the attention of the enemy, while...a force of some fifty men, [went] foraging, as we were entirely out of food with the exception of beef and parched corn. Captain Armstrong found a force of the enemy some two miles from camp, and immediately threw out his skirmishers...who immediately moved forward to the attack and drove the enemy from position to position until they had been driven some four miles from camp.

Major Richard Ward.²⁴

READER 4 The guerrillas would shout from the hill on which they were posted, in the most derisive manner, cursing the white officers for "d[amned] n[egro]-stealers," etcetera. In fact they paid particular attention to the two or three white men on the field. The balls from long-range rifles came unpleasantly near.

New York Times correspondent.²⁵

READER 1 Soon after the commencement of the skirmishing, a shot from one of our men brought down a rebel. Soon another fell, evidently hit in the

side...[A]dvancing up the slope beyond on the double-quick, we managed to give them a raking volley, which sent off several riderless horses. Passing over the ground, we discovered blood where one man had fallen....[W]e afterward learned that the rebels acknowledged seven killed and mortally wounded in the morning skirmish.

New York Times correspondent.²⁶

READER 2 We succeeded in placing seven men [dead], with no loss on our side, and the boys felt highly elated on their return at their success.

Major Richard Ward.²⁷

READER 3 Returning to camp under orders, the rebels fired the prairie behind us, and advanced their pickets under cover of the smoke. The wind was blowing almost a gale, and we were compelled to set a counter fire around camp, in order to prevent ourselves being completely overwhelmed by the smoke. Under its cover our scouts were driven in.

New York Times correspondent.²⁸

READER 4 Captain Seamen then sent out a party of eight... negroes, who soon managed to get to the windward of the fire. They were directed to keep within sight of camp, but their eagerness for the prey soon led to a disobedience of orders. Sixteen men were then sent out under Lieutenant [Joseph] Gardner to reinforce and bring them in....They advanced to the edge of the mounds, united with the first party, and in place of returning to camp, started to visit a log house half a mile distant, on the bottom land.

New York Times correspondent.²⁹

READER 1 [T]hey were at a house some 800 yards south...and were making preparations to return, feeling confident that the enemy would attempt to cut them off.

Major Richard Ward.³⁰

READER 2 [T]he rebels...well armed with revolvers and sabers, and mounted on very fleet horses, made a dash for the blacks...charging down upon them with the yell of demons. The blacks immediately faced them. Not a man flinched, but met them heroically, loading and firing their guns until their ranks were broken by the rush of the enemy's horses among them, then it was thrusting and cutting with bayonet and saber...

Kansas Journal, November 1, 1862.³¹

READER 3 One volley was fired in concert which emptied several saddles, and then this devoted body was separated by the force of that sweeping charge. The fight thus became a hand-to-hand encounter of one man to six. The rebels were mostly armed with shotguns, revolvers and sabers, our men with the Austrian rifle and saber-bayonet. The latter is a fearful weapon, and did terrible execution in the hands of the muscular blacks.

New York Times correspondent.³²

READER 4 The boys took the double-quick over the mound in order to gain a small ravine on the north side, but while they were on the north slope, the enemy came upon them. Nothing dismayed, the little band turned upon their foes, and as their guns cracked, many a riderless [horse] swung off to one side. The enemy cried out to the men to surrender, but they told them never. I have witnessed some hard fights, but I never saw a braver sight than that handful of brave men fighting 117 men who were all around and in amongst them. Not one surrendered or gave up a weapon.

Major Richard Ward.³³

READER 1 [First Kansas Colored soldier] Manuel Dobson, a lad of fourteen, received a ball through both arms. He afterward told Colonel Williams that he “couldn’t kill but one of ‘em,” but adding, with commendable pride, “I brought my gun back.”

New York Times correspondent.³⁴

READER 2 [B]adly wounded, [First Kansas Colored] Sergeant Ed Lowrey was attacked by three men; he had discharged his rifle, and had not time to load again, when they fell upon him with revolver and saber....One man demanded his surrender, to which [Lowrey’s] reply was a stunning blow from the butt of the rifle, knocking [the rebel] off his horse. The negro, when approached, had his saber-bayonet in hand, about to fix it on his gun. The prostrate man got a[nother] crashing blow from it on the skull as he fell, and then, as [the second rebel] charged, the bayonet was used with effect on the nearest horse, and the butt of the gun on the [third] man. The sergeant received three wounds in the melee, but managed to get back to camp.

New York Times correspondent.³⁵

READER 3 At this juncture, Armstrong came into the [fight] like a lion, yelling to his men to follow him...The brave Armstrong saw the enemy through the smoke (they, the enemy, having set the prairie on fire), charged his brave

lads through the fire, and gave the rebels a terrible volley in the flank as they dashed by.

Major Richard Ward.³⁶

READER 4 Lieutenant Gardner...fell in the first and thickest of the fight with two wounds in his hip. One of the rebels dismounted as Gardner fell forward, prone on his face. Placing his revolver to Gardner's head, the rebel fired. Fortunately the ball glanced, inflicting only a severe scalp wound.

New York Times correspondent.³⁷

READER 1 A colored man, lying near by, having been knocked down by a horse and severely hurt, and who was just recovering from the fall, saw the dastardly act, and leveling his piece, shot the [rebel] fellow dead in his tracks.

Kansas Journal, November 1, 1862.³⁸

READER 2 Lieutenant Gardner lay there till the prairie fire overtook him, when he made an effort and got upon burnt ground, where we found him after the engagement.

New York Times correspondent.³⁹

READER 3 Captain Crew...fell with a terrible wound in the groin... Surrounded by half a dozen of the foe, he was ordered to surrender. "Never!" he shouted, at the same time calling to the half-dozen negroes around him to die rather than give up.

New York Times correspondent.⁴⁰

READER 4 [The rebels] said that they would shoot him then. "Shoot and be damned," was the reply of the heroic soldier, and set them the example by running backward and discharging his revolver at them, but almost immediately fell, pierced through the heart, groin, and abdomen.

Major Richard Ward.⁴¹

READER 1 Another rebel, seeing Captain Crew fall, rushed with his horse to the spot, dismounted, and proceeded to rob his pockets, the Captain yet writhing in the agonies of death. A noble and stalwart colored man, who lay bleeding with some three or four wounds near where the Captain fell, saw the rebel, in his hellish purpose, pull the watch from the Captain's pocket. [He] summoned all the strength in his power, seized his discharged musket, rushed to the spot, and, as [the rebel] mounted on

one side of his horse, [the soldier] thrust the bayonet through his body, dismounting him in death. [R]ecovering the Captain's watch, and securing [the rebel's] horse as a trophy, [he] then fell exhausted and bleeding to the ground again. This noble fellow is severely wounded, but will recover. The watch he has sent to the Captain's sister at Leavenworth.

Kansas Journal, November 1, 1862.⁴²

READER 2

Captain Seamen, observing large reinforcements moving by the east apparently toward our camp, ordered Captain Armstrong and the other officers to fall back to the camp. This was done, except by Lieutenant Thrasher, who held the field from which the rebels had fled long enough to bring off our wounded, and all the dead but three.

New York Times correspondent.⁴³

READER 3

Here commenced the most painful duty of the day—the removal of the killed and wounded. On that slope lay 8 of our dead and 10 wounded...heroes all, who deserve the lasting gratitude of all the friends of the cause and race.

Major Richard Ward.⁴⁴

READER 4

So ended the battle of Island Mound, which...resulted in a complete victory to the negro regiment.

New York Times correspondent.⁴⁵

OPTIONAL INTERMISSION

READER 1

After the fight, the guerrillas retreated to a point south-east...where they have since been joined by Quantrill...They evidently had at first a most contemptible idea of the negroes' courage, which their engagement speedily changed. [One Confederate] told in Butler on the Friday following the fight, that the black devils fought like tigers, and that the white officers had got them so trained that not one would surrender, though they tried to take a prisoner.

New York Times correspondent.⁴⁶

READER 2

The blacks behaved nobly and have demonstrated that they can and will fight...[The First Kansas Colored Infantry] are now prepared to scour this country thoroughly, and not leave a place where a traitor can find refuge.

Union Lieutenant W. H. Smallwood.⁴⁷

- READER 3 The First regiment Kansas Colored Volunteers, or a portion of it, have been in a fight, shed their own and rebel blood, and come off victorious, when the odds were as five to one against them.
- New York Times, November 8, 1862.***⁴⁸
- NARRATOR *The First Kansas Colored Infantry inspired black Union soldiers serving across the nation, bolstering not only their confidence, but also that of their President.*
- READER 4 Last Sunday the Chaplain read to [the men] some extracts from the letters in the New York papers about their own expeditions, and then some about the battles of the colored regiment in Kansas; and they were thoroughly stirred up.
- Union Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson,
First South Carolina (Colored) Volunteers.**⁴⁹
- READER 1 The discipline acquired and the courage displayed by the First Kansas Colored Volunteers in camp and on field during the last months of 1862, influenced the action of President Lincoln in issuing his [Emancipation] Proclamation of New Year's Day, 1863, which...forecasted the freedom and citizenship of persons of African descent.
- United States Senate Report, 51st Congress.**⁵⁰
- READER 2 The work of recruiting, drilling and disciplining the regiment was continued...until the 13th of January, 1863, when a battalion of six companies, formed by the consolidation of Colonel Williams's recruits with those of Captain Seaman, was mustered into the U.S. service by Lieutenant Sabin, of the regular army.
- Adjutant General of the State of Kansas.**⁵¹
- NARRATOR *Ten weeks after distinguishing themselves at the Battle of Island Mound, the men of the First Kansas Colored Infantry became official members of the United States Army. Success was sweet. But it did not eliminate the bitter taste of racism, resulting in discrimination from some commanders, Union and Confederate, who would not acknowledge black soldiers as equal in worth to white soldiers.*
- READER 3 The U.S. War Department remained reluctant to recruit black troops, and until late March 1863, it "had simply permitted a handful of interested

military and civil officials here and there to organize a few Negro infantry regiments; it had not taken the lead itself. There were...only eight such regiments on duty—one in Kansas, five in Louisiana, two in the Department of the South...Although the Emancipation Proclamation had removed all administrative and legal impediments to black recruitment by authorizing the War Department to enlist Negroes as needed, that policy remained militarily and politically risky. President Lincoln, always sensitive to the importance of timing, was determined not to move too fast. He and his advisers wanted good evidence that black troops would truly benefit the Union army and that a majority of the public in the loyal states would accept them.”

Historian Stephen V. Ash.⁵²

NARRATOR

Black troops, once they were officially mustered into service with the Union Army, received lower pay than white soldiers. Only white men could command black troops as commissioned officers, though noncommissioned African-American officers “served in Union armies during the war and were certainly responsible for its outcome.”⁵³ Racism also endangered the lives of soldiers in the First Kansas Colored Infantry.

READER 4

Immediately after its organization, the regiment was ordered to Baxter Springs, [Kansas,] where it arrived in May, 1863, and the work of drilling the regiment was vigorously prosecuted. Parts of two companies of the regiment [along with detachments from the regular army, including the Second Kansas Battery] ...made a diversion on Shawnee, Missouri. [They] attacked and dispersed a small opposing force and captured five prisoners.

While encamped here, on the 18th of May, a foraging party consisting of [forty-five] men...was sent into Jasper County, Missouri. This party was surprised and attacked by a force of 300 Confederates commanded by Major Livingston and defeated, with a loss of sixteen killed and five prisoners, three of which belonged to the Second Kansas Battery and two of the black regiment.

Adjutant General of the State of Kansas.⁵⁴

NARRATOR

Colonel James Williams went the next day to the site of the ambush in Jasper County.

READER 1

I visited the scene of this engagement the morning after its occurrence, and for the first time beheld the horrible evidences of the demonic spirit of these rebel fiends, in their treatment of our dead and wounded. Men were found with their brains beaten out with clubs, and the bloody weapons left by their sides and their bodies most horribly mutilated.

Colonel James Williams, First Kansas Colored Infantry.⁵⁵

NARRATOR

The Confederate commander, Thomas Livingston, proposed an exchange of prisoners with Colonel James Williams of the First Kansas Colored Infantry. However, Livingston would not return the captured black soldiers, whom he viewed as contraband property of war and, as African-Americans bearing arms, the epitome of slaveholders' worst fears.

READER 2

I have five of your soldiers prisoners, three white and two black men. The white men I propose exchanging with you if you have any of my men or other confederate soldiers to exchange for them. As for the Negroes, I cannot recognise them as soldiers and in consequence I will have to hold them as contrabands of war.

Confederate Major Thomas R. Livingston, First Missouri Cavalry.⁵⁶

READER 1

In regard to the colored men, prisoners, belonging to my Regiment, I have this to say, that it rests with you to treat them as prisoners of war or not, but be assured that I shall keep a like number of your men as prisoners until these colored men are accounted for, and you can safely trust that I shall visit a retributive justice upon them for any injury done [my men] at the hands of the confederate forces. And if twenty days are allowed to pass without hearing of their exchange, I shall conclude that they have been murdered by your Soldiers or share a worse fate by being sent in chains to the slave pens of the South...

Colonel James Williams, First Kansas Colored Infantry.⁵⁷

NARRATOR

Five days later, Williams wrote Livingston in outrage.

READER 1

I desire to call your attention to the fact that one of the colored prisoners in your Camp was murdered by your Soldiers. And I therefore demand of you the body of the man who committed the dastardly act, and if you fail to comply with the demand, and do not within forty-eight hours deliver to me this assassin, [I] Shall hang one of the men who are now prisoners in my camp....You need not excuse the murder of the colored man by claiming that it was beyond your power to prevent it. If you are fit to command, you can control your men, and I shall act from the belief that the murder was committed by your consent and will receive no excuse therefore.

Colonel James Williams, First Kansas Colored Infantry.⁵⁸

READER 3

Receiving an evasive and unsatisfactory reply, Colonel Williams determined to convince the Major that was a game at which two could

play, and directed that one of the prisoners in his possession be shot, and within thirty minutes the order was executed. He immediately informed Major Livingston of his action... Suffice it to say that this ended the barbarous practice of murdering prisoners of war, so far as Livingston's command was concerned.

Adjutant General of the State of Kansas.⁵⁹

NARRATOR *Even when safely away from combat, every black soldier in the First Kansas Colored Regiment paid the price of discrimination.*

READER 1 Owing to the bitter feeling of disappointment and wrong which my men now cherish, on account of not receiving pay from the paymaster now paying off troops in this vicinity, and as my men have never yet received... pay, although they have now been in the Service nearly 10 months, while other troops about us have been regularly paid, ... and further that out of all this there seems to be growing a restlessness and insubordination, which are the results of these long trials and sufferings, I have taken the responsibility to order the details for the work on the fortifications in this vicinity to be discontinued from tomorrow morning in order to give my whole time to the discipline of the Regiment.

I feel that this step, though irregular and unauthorized, nevertheless is absolutely necessary to restrain the mutinous and insubordinate spirit which has all along manifested itself in a small degree in the command (growing out of the treatment from the Government in regard to pay) from culminating in open anarchy and perhaps mutiny. My men feel sorely troubled and grieved about their pay and I feel that this course taken at this stage of the proceedings is really necessary for the interests of the General Service.... Indeed I fear trouble from desertions and other sources. But I will do all that an officer can do and hope I will by this means secure the end I desire, that is to maintain the good discipline of the Command.

Colonel James Williams, First Kansas Colored Infantry.⁶⁰

NARRATOR *Having been paid only praise since their rousing success at the Battle of Island Mound many months earlier, black soldiers of the First Kansas Colored were stinted on rations, as well.*

READER 4 General Thomas Wood... the issue to troops under your command of *portions only* of the established ration has been referred to this office for reply. The Government assumes the obligation of subsisting its troops. The Act of Congress of August 3rd 1861, after defining the quantity as well as the ration of the subsistence to be furnished in fulfillment of this obligation, provides further, that when the enumerated articles composing the ration cannot be furnished in the proportions allowed, an

equivalent in value shall be issued in some other proper food. No other method for compensating the soldier for the loss of a portion of his allotted ration is believed to exist under our present laws and regulations.

Joseph P. Taylor, U.S. Commissary General of Subsistence.⁶¹

NARRATOR

*In the midst of deprivation and desertion in the First Kansas Colored, duty called. On June 27, 1863, the regiment left Baxter Springs to guard a large supply train sent from Fort Scott to Fort Gibson, in present-day Oklahoma. The First Kansas Colored Infantry joined a combined force of hundreds of white, black, and Indian troops under a unified command. The supply “train was attacked by a large force of Texans and Indians.” The following day, “Union forces attacked and in two hours fighting, drove the enemy with substantial losses from his position.”*⁶²

READER 2

This engagement was the first during the War in which white and colored troops were joined in action, and to the honor and credit of the officers and men...be it said they allowed no prejudice on account of color to interfere in the discharge of their duty in the face of an enemy alike to both races. [The men of the First Kansas Colored] evinced a coolness and true soldierly spirit which inspired the officers in command...

Regimental Report, First Kansas Colored Infantry.⁶³

READER 3

The First Kansas (colored) particularly distinguished itself. They fought like veterans and preserved their line unbroken throughout the engagement. Their coolness and bravery I have never seen surpassed.

Major General James G. Blunt.⁶⁴

NARRATOR

Successful black troops of the First Kansas welcomed the praise, which was followed—finally—with pay packets. While the men were lauded as veterans in battle, they were counseled as children when it came to personal finance.

READER 1

The Colonel Commanding desires to offer a few suggestions to the enlisted men of this command upon the importance of husbanding the proceeds of your labor, which you are about to receive from the Government. You are but just relieved from vile bondage, and have had but few opportunities for learning the importance of saving carefully the proceeds of your toil. Heretofore that has all gone to an unscrupulous Master who has used it to fasten still more strongly the chains with which he held you...

Now the whole condition of your existence is changed. A wise and just government has decreed that hereafter, you shall be free, and shall yourselves enjoy the fruit of your labor. This boon which is so freely

given must not be allowed to prove your ruin. You have been brought up to habits of industry and frugality, and if you depart in the least from either of these habits, it sooner or later will have the effect to destroy your whole prosperity as individuals and measurably affect your condition as a people. I therefore urgently advise you to carefully save the money which is about [to be] paid you, for the support of your families; and, as a foundation upon which to build a home for your wives and children, your families and friends. To this end, I advise you, to make a deposit of such funds as you do not need, in some safe hands for transmission to your families, or safe keeping for yourselves.

Colonel James Williams, First Kansas Colored Infantry.⁶⁵

NARRATOR

*Despite the paternal tone, Colonel Williams clearly felt proud of the men serving in the First Kansas. Only days after giving financial counsel, Williams was seriously wounded at the beginning of the Battle of Honey Springs, in present-day Oklahoma. "Union troops under General James Blunt ran into a strong Confederate force under General Douglas Cooper [on July 17, 1863]. After a bloody engagement lasting two hours, Coopers' soldiers retreated. The First Kansas, which held the center of the Union line, advanced within 50 paces of the Confederate line and exchanged fire for some 20 minutes until the Confederate line broke and ran."*⁶⁶

After the battle, General Blunt visited Colonel Williams' hospital bedside.

READER 4

The first thing the colonel said was, "General, how did my regiment fight?" The general replied, "Like veterans, most gallantly." And the colonel added, "I am ready to die, then." Colonel Williams eventually recovered from his wounds.⁶⁷

READER 2

I never saw such fighting as was done by that Negro regiment....The question that Negroes will fight is settled; besides, they make better soldiers in every respect than any troops I have ever had under my command.

Major General James G. Blunt.⁶⁸

NARRATOR

*On December 13, 1864, the First Kansas Colored Infantry designation changed and the regiment became known as the 79th U.S. Colored Troops. During its full term of service, from August 1862 to October 1865, the First Kansas/79th U.S. Colored suffered more casualties than any other Kansas regiment in the Civil War. The regiment buried 5 officers and 173 enlisted soldiers who were killed in action, and 1 officer and 165 enlisted soldiers who died from disease.*⁶⁹

*Their service was indispensable to the United States in winning the Civil War. “On September 12, 1864, [President] Lincoln noted that to fight without the help of [African-American troops] ‘is more than we can bear. We cannot spare the hundred and forty or fifty thousand serving us.’...By the time the war ended, almost 180,000 black soldiers had fought for the Union....While their service had not destroyed prejudice, it had helped destroy slavery...and laid the groundwork for changing some of the nation’s racial ideas.”*⁷⁰

When the war ended on April 18, 1865, with a Confederate surrender, heroes of the First Kansas Colored—the dead as well as the survivors—delivered home their promise to end the rebellion and see their loved ones freed. Those loved ones still in Missouri had been earlier freed in January of 1865, when the state of Missouri amended its constitution to prohibit slavery and proclaimed “all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free.”⁷¹ The United States followed Missouri’s leadership among slave-holding states later that year. On December 6, 1865, the U.S. ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery.

READER 2

Dear Wife... I shall have the opportunity of seeing you in the full enjoyment of freedom....Oh what a happy time that will be, when this ungodly rebellion shall be put down, and the curses of our land is trampled...that so long has kept us in chains...

Private Samuel Cabbie.⁷²

READER 4

After the war, Samuel Cabbie returned to Missouri for his wife, and together in freedom they moved to Denver, Colorado.

U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.⁷³

READER 3

The First Kansas Colored Volunteer soldiers were formally mustered out of service at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in October 1865. Like other men of the Regiment, [my great-grandfather] George Washington... focused on making a life as a free man....[W]ith modest money saved from his military service (forty acres and a mule), [he] purchased farm property in the racially integrated Bloomington/Clinton area of Douglas County, Kansas. In 1868, he married Arminda Simpson, the daughter of a neighbor. They had seven children...

Although never able to read or write, George Washington was not reluctant to speak publicly. He proudly spoke of his exploits as an escaped slave from Platte County, Missouri, and his adventures as a soldier in the “Black Phalanx.”

James S. Johnson III.⁷⁴

Instructions: The facilitator will now return to the questions found on page 4 for consideration by the group.

At the conclusion of the event:

- **The local coordinator will indicate whether the scripts need to be returned.**
- **The page titled Citations is intended to be a take-home handout for participants.**

The words spoken by Readers in this script are the exact words of historical participants, taken from first-hand accounts. For ease of reading, spelling and punctuation have been modernized in the script passages. You can read these accounts as they were recorded, and more, in the following sources:

Footnotes

¹ Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865*, foreword by Herman Hattaway, (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1956; 1987), vii.

² Abraham Lincoln, 20 June 1861, quoted in Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1956; 1987), 69.

³ Quoted in Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1956; 1987), 69.

⁴ Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1956; 1987), 70-71.

⁵ James Patrick Morgans, *The Underground Railroad on the Western Frontier* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2010), 80-84. See also Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1956; 1987), 12-15.

⁶ Quoted in Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1956; 1987), 71-72.

⁷ Quoted in "U.S. Colored Troops: History of Emancipation During the Civil War," USGenNet, <http://www.usgenet.org/usa/mo/county/stlouis/ct.htm> (Accessed 24 November 2010).

⁸ Undated, quoted in Budge Weidman, "Preserving the Legacy of the United States Colored Troops," U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, <http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/blacks-civil-war/article.html> (Accessed 26 November 2010). Samuel Cabble served with the 55th Massachusetts Colored Infantry.

⁹ James S. Johnson III, "The Life and Times of George Washington: Slave, Soldier, Farmer," in *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader*, ed. and compiled by Richard B. Sheridan (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, 1998), 117-118.

¹⁰ "History of United States Colored Troops: United States Colored Troops in Missouri," Missouri State Archives, Missouri Digital Heritage, http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/education/usct/usct_history.asp (Accessed 24 November 2010).

¹¹ “Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-65” (Topeka, KS, 1896 reprint), Museum of the Kansas National Guard, <http://www.kansasguardmuseum.org/disputit.php?id=8> (Accessed 24 November 2010). Also quoted in Joseph T. Wilson, *The Black Phalanx: African American Soldiers in the War of Independence, the War of 1812, and the Civil War* (Hartford, CT: American Pub. Co., 1890; reprinted in NY: Da Capo Press, 1994), 227-228.

¹² Quoted in “First to Serve,” Fort Scott National Historic Site, National Park Service, <http://www.nps.gov/fosc/historyculture/firsttoserve.htm> (Accessed 26 November 2010).

¹³ “First Kansas Colored Infantry,” Kansapedia, Kansas Historical Society, www.kshs.org/kansapedia/first-kansas-colored-infantry/12052 (Accessed 24 November 2010).

¹⁴ James S. Johnson III, “The Life and Times of George Washington: Slave, Soldier, Farmer,” in *Freedom’s Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader*, ed. and compiled by Richard B. Sheridan (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, 1998), 118.

¹⁵ V.B. Vandyke, “Massacre at the Miami Ford, May 18, 1862,” *The Old Settlers’ History of Bates County, Missouri* (Amsterdam, MO: Tathwell & Maxey, 1897), 204-205; digital copy at Google Books, <http://books.google.com> (Accessed 12 December 2010).

¹⁶ “Home Front,” *Community and Conflict: The Impact of the Civil War in the Ozarks*, Springfield-Greene County Library District, <http://www.ozarkscivilwar.org/archives/428> (Accessed 30 November 2010).

¹⁷ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 52-53; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

¹⁸ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 52-53; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

¹⁹ United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, Volume 53* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), 455-459; digital copy at Cornell University Library, “Making of America,” <http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar> (Accessed 24 November 2010).

²⁰ Richard G. Ward to Colonel J.M. Williams, Commanding First Regiment Kansas Colored Volunteers, “Report of Maj. Richard G. Ward, First Kansas Colored Infantry: October 29, 1862—Skirmish at Island Mound, MO,” in United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, Volume 53* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), 456; digital copy at Cornell University Library, “Making of America,” <http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar> (Accessed 24 November 2010).

²¹ Interview with J.S. Pierce, “The Battle at Fort Toothman,” *The Old Settlers’ History of Bates County, Missouri* (Amsterdam, MO: Tathwell & Maxey, 1897), 187; digital copy at Google Books, <http://books.google.com> (Accessed 12 December 2010).

²² Richard G. Ward to Colonel J.M. Williams, Commanding First Regiment Kansas Colored Volunteers, “Report of Maj. Richard G. Ward, First Kansas Colored Infantry: October 29, 1862—Skirmish at Island Mound, MO,” in United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, Volume 53* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), 456; digital copy at Cornell University Library, “Making of America,” <http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar> (Accessed 24 November 2010).

²³ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 52; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

²⁴ Richard G. Ward to Colonel J.M. Williams, Commanding First Regiment Kansas Colored Volunteers, “Report of Maj. Richard G. Ward, First Kansas Colored Infantry: October 29, 1862—Skirmish at Island Mound, MO,” in United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, Volume 53* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), 456; digital copy at Cornell University Library, “Making of America,” <http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar> (Accessed 24 November 2010).

²⁵ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 53; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

²⁶ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 53; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

²⁷ Richard G. Ward to Colonel J.M. Williams, Commanding First Regiment Kansas Colored Volunteers, “Report of Maj. Richard G. Ward, First Kansas Colored Infantry: October 29, 1862—Skirmish at Island Mound, MO,” in United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, Volume 53* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), 456; digital copy at Cornell University Library, “Making of America,” <http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar> (Accessed 24 November 2010).

²⁸ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 53; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

²⁹ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 53; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

³⁰ Richard G. Ward to Colonel J.M. Williams, Commanding First Regiment Kansas Colored Volunteers, “Report of Maj. Richard G. Ward, First Kansas Colored Infantry: October 29, 1862—Skirmish at Island Mound, MO,” in United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, Volume 53* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), 456; digital copy at Cornell University Library, “Making of America,” <http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar> (Accessed 24 November 2010).

³¹ “Kansas ‘Journal’ Account, Mound City, Linn County (KS), 1 November 1862,” *The Rebellion Record*, edited by Frank Moore, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 55; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

³² “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 53; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

³³ Richard G. Ward to Colonel J.M. Williams, Commanding First Regiment Kansas Colored Volunteers, “Report of Maj. Richard G. Ward, First Kansas Colored Infantry: October 29, 1862—Skirmish at Island Mound, MO,” in United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, Volume 53* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), 457; digital copy at Cornell University Library, “Making of America,” <http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar> (Accessed 24 November 2010).

³⁴ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 53; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

³⁵ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 53; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

³⁶ Richard G. Ward to Colonel J.M. Williams, Commanding First Regiment Kansas Colored Volunteers, “Report of Maj. Richard G. Ward, First Kansas Colored Infantry: October 29, 1862—Skirmish at Island Mound, MO,” in United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Volume 53* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), 457; digital copy at Cornell University Library, “Making of America,” <http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar> (Accessed 24 November 2010).

³⁷ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 53; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

³⁸ “Kansas ‘Journal’ Account,” Mound City, Linn County (KS), 1 November 1862, in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 55; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

³⁹ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 53; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

⁴⁰ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 54; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

⁴¹ Richard G. Ward to Colonel J.M. Williams, Commanding First Regiment Kansas Colored Volunteers, “Report of Maj. Richard G. Ward, First Kansas Colored Infantry: October 29, 1862—Skirmish at Island Mound, MO,” in United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Volume 53* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), 457; digital copy at Cornell University Library, “Making of America,” <http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar> (Accessed 24 November 2010).

⁴² “Kansas ‘Journal’ Account,” Mound City, Linn County (KS), 1 November 1862, in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 55; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

⁴³ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 54; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).

⁴⁴ Richard G. Ward to Colonel J.M. Williams, Commanding First Regiment Kansas Colored Volunteers, “Report of Maj. Richard G. Ward, First Kansas Colored Infantry: October 29, 1862—Skirmish at Island Mound, MO,” in United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Volume 53* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), 457-458; digital copy at Cornell University Library, “Making of America,” <http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar> (Accessed 24 November 2010).

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- ⁴⁵ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 54; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).
- ⁴⁶ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 54; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).
- ⁴⁷ Lieutenant W. H. Smallwood, “Kansas Black Soldiers Battle! They Fight Bravely...” *Lawrence (KS) Republican*, 6 November 1862; quoted in Kansapedia, “First Kansas Colored Infantry” (Kansas Historical Society), www.kshs.org/kansapedia/first-kansas-colored-infantry/12052 (Accessed 24 November 2010).
- ⁴⁸ “The Fight on the Osage River: A Negro Regiment in Action,” *New York Times*, 8 November 1862, reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, vol 6 (NY: G.P. Putnam 1864), 52-53; digital copy at Internet Archive, www.archive.org (Accessed 24 November 2010).
- ⁴⁹ Christopher Looby, ed., *The Complete Civil War Journal and Selected Letters of Thomas Wentworth Higginson* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 2000), 71.
- ⁵⁰ Senate Report No. 1214, *The Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Fifty-first Congress, 1889-90* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1891), House of Representatives Report No. 3157, page 2; quoted in Kansapedia, “First Kansas Colored Infantry” (Kansas Historical Society), www.kshs.org/kansapedia/first-kansas-colored-infantry/12052 (Accessed 24 November 2010).
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