

# Shared Stories of the Civil War Reader's Theater Project

## ***Guerilla Warfare***

### ***Bushwhackers and Jayhawkers***

The Border War and Civil War on the Kansas-Missouri border provided a stage for a war of words and a war of violence. As settlers from Missouri and New England came to the Kansas Territory, emotions ran high and tensions escalated as both factions fought to ensure Kansas entered the Union with a constitution favoring their cause. By 1856, violence had erupted along the Kansas-Missouri border and continued to rage through the Civil War years of 1861 through 1865.

As both sides engaged in a physical fight, two new terms emerged to define – and to demonize – the guerilla warriors: “bushwhacker” and “jayhawker.”

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



### ***Guerilla Warfare***

*Bushwhackers and Jayhawkers* 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](http://www.freedomsfrontier.org)  
[www.kansashumanities.org](http://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.

The Border War and Civil War on the Kansas-Missouri border provided a stage for a war of words and a war of violence. As settlers from Missouri and New England came to the Kansas Territory, emotions ran high and tensions escalated as both factions fought to ensure Kansas entered the Union with a constitution favoring their cause. By 1856, violence had erupted along the Kansas-Missouri border and continued to rage through the Civil War years of 1861 through 1865.

As both sides engaged in a physical fight, two new terms emerged to define – and to demonize – the guerilla warriors: “bushwhacker” and “jayhawker.”

Coined by author Washington Irving in the 1840s, “bushwhacker” was originally a term used to describe rugged frontier settlers. Irving wrote of the frontiersmen as “gallant bush-whackers and hunters of raccoons.”<sup>1</sup> During the Civil War years, Union troops used the term “bushwhacker” to describe any group that operated outside of the regular military force and that used guerilla tactics to attack military units or civilians. “Jayhawker” first came to use during the Kansas-Missouri Border War as a term for the free-state supporters who raided proslavery farms and property.

Both “bushwhacker” and “jayhawker” became synonymous with the hostilities and violence of the guerilla warfare along the Missouri and Kansas border. The atrocities became the subject of national news, and the press was eager to report the battles in terms of good versus evil. However, the political climate of the Kansas-Missouri Border War was complicated. Both “bushwhackers” and “jayhawkers” committed violence in the name of their cause, and both suffered at the hands of their enemies. In the words of one historian, “One man's depredation was another man's crusade.”<sup>2</sup>

For Jayhawker James Montgomery, creating a “free Kansas” was worth fighting for; for Bushwhacker Cole Younger, retaliation against the jayhawkers was justified.

The commemoration of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Civil War provides an opportunity for Kansans and Missourians to reflect on this era in history and explore the myths and realities behind the bushwhackers and the jayhawkers. Were there definitive heroes and villains on the Kansas-Missouri border? Were the bushwhackers and jayhawkers criminals or victims, or was it possible that they were both?

## **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. The terms “Border War” and “Jayhawk” are still used today in college sports. Has the meaning behind those terms changed after 150 years? What images do the words “bushwhacker” and “jayhawker” conjure for us today?
2. Much of Cole Younger’s accounts were written many years after the Civil War. How much did Younger’s age, and the passage of time, affect his account of the events of the 1860s?
3. Both James Montgomery and Cole Younger participated in guerilla warfare on the border, and both believed that their actions were justifiable. Is violence ever justifiable?

## 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).**

### Episode One: Bushwhackers and Jayhawkers

READER 1           The original Jayhawker was a growth indigenous to the soil of Kansas. There belonged to him as things of course a pre-emption, a chronic case of chills and fevers, one starved cow and seven dogs, a longing for his neighbor's goods and chattels, a Sharpe's [sic] rifle, when he could get it, and something of a Bible for hypocrisy's sake – something that savored of the real presence of the book to give backbone to his canting and snuffling...

READER 2           ...His hands were large, hairy, and red – proof of inherited laziness – and a slouching gait added to the ungainliness of his figure when he walked...The mouth generally wore a calculating smile – the only distinguishable gift remaining of a Puritan ancestry – but when he felt that he was looked at the calculating smile became sanctimonious.

**John N. Edwards, Former Confederate Soldier, 1877.<sup>3</sup>**

READER 3           Next to Slavery, the South had been cursed by the importation of paupers and criminals who had been transported from England for England's good, in the early history of the colonies, to work the new lands...The crudest of cabins sufficed them for shelter, beds of beech leaves were all the couches they required; they had more guns in their huts than agricultural or mechanical implements; they scarcely pretended to raise anything more than a scanty patch of corn; and when they could not put on their tables the flesh of the almost wild razorback hog which roamed the woods, they made meat of woodchucks, raccoons, opossums, or any other 'varmint' their guns could bring down...

READER 4           ...From this 'White Trash' came the gangs of murderers and robbers, like those led by the Youngers, Jameses, Quantrills, and scores of other names of criminal memory...these dregs of society became the willing tools of the Slaveholding aristocrats. With dog-like fidelity they followed and served the class which despised and overrode them. Somehow, by inherited habits likely, they seemed to avoid the more fertile parts of the State.

**John McElroy, Former Union Soldier, 1909.<sup>4</sup>**

NARRATOR *The Border War and the Civil War in Kansas and Missouri were ruled by acts of guerilla violence committed by both bushwhackers and jayhawkers against civilians and military. The motivations of bushwhackers and jayhawkers may have been different, but their methods were, at times, strikingly similar.*

READER 3 There had come into being two groups, each at the other's throats. The men in Missouri were called "bushwhackers"; the ones in Kansas were "Jayhawkers." A bushwhacker was what the name implies. The Jayhawkers were named for an imaginary bird that was supposed to inhabit Kansas called the jayhawk. Sometimes the Kansas men were called "Red Legs," from the red leggings they wore. But whatever they were called they were bad medicine.

The Missouri men were also called guerillas – bad medicine, too.

READER 5 These desperado bands might consist of five men or two hundred. They lived off the country. They stole and plundered in the name of the Union or the Confederacy, but made no accounting to either side. They wore any old thing as their uniform. So bold, so treacherous were they that one side sometimes wore the other's uniforms. In a word, a Union sympathizer would rig himself out in a Confederate uniform, shoot down his opponent, then resume his original dress. These guerilla gangs had a distinct advantage: they belonged to no regular organized army. They could fight when they felt like it, and then hang up their muskets when they got fed up with the job. It was a nice way to be a fighting man.

**Homer Croy, Author, 1956.<sup>5</sup>**

Episode Two: James Montgomery — Jayhawker

NARRATOR *According to legend, the term jayhawk was first used to describe James Montgomery and his men.<sup>6</sup> A former schoolteacher and minister from Ohio, Montgomery tried unsuccessfully to build a carpentry business in Kentucky, and he blamed slave labor for the business' failure.<sup>7</sup> Montgomery lived in Missouri before settling near Mound City in proslavery Linn County in the Kansas Territory.*

READER 2 He was at that time a peace man in the strictest sense of the term, and continued to exercise the duties of his sacred calling whenever an opportunity [offered] ...He was, however, in favor of making Kansas a Free State, not only on account of his children, whom he wished to educate and bring up where they would not be [surrounded] by the influences ... accompanying the introduction of Slavery; but from the higher and more unselfish desire of [seeing] the rich and beautiful soil of

Kansas uncursed by the existence of that institution, which from long and intimate association with its features, he had learned to regard as both a moral and political evil.

**William P. Tomlinson, 1859.<sup>8</sup>**

NARRATOR

*Montgomery's opposition to slavery, and his emergence as a free-state leader, made him a target of proslavery men. According to Tomlinson, Montgomery's family was the victim of an attack by "ruffians," led by George Washington Clarke, an ex-Indian Agent. Clarke was suspected of killing Thomas Barber, a free-state man, in 1855.<sup>9</sup>*

READER 5

The year of '56 was tolerably quiet until [General] Clarke invaded the Territory in October [with] three hundred men, making Linn and Bourbon Counties the theatre of his depredations. He [was] accompanied by the [Colonel] Fox ... Remembering the active exertions of Montgomery the fall before to promote the cause of freedom. Fox inflamed the mind of the ruffian Clarke with the desire to possess himself of such a dangerous person, and induced him to [dispatch] a detachment of men to take [Montgomery] a prisoner. The [ruffians] surrounded the house, and finding that the [object] of their search was absent, fired the building, and left shelterless on the prairies, the wife and children of him whose life they sought...

**William P. Tomlinson, 1859.<sup>10</sup>**

NARRATOR

*Montgomery's response was to secure arms and to rebuild his home. His new home — nicknamed "Fort Montgomery" — was fortified against attack. In the face of intimidation from proslavery men, Montgomery refused to leave Linn County.<sup>11</sup>*

READER 2

A Pro- Slavery aristocracy had ruled Linn [County]... from its earliest settlement; and had grown more arrogant as time wore on, and their power to retain the control of county affairs, save by trickery, and brow-beating the majority of the settlers, became more and more doubtful.

READER 1

Montgomery, from his retirement, saw it all. He saw every Free State man of note either driven from or harassed into leaving the county. He saw them deliberately plundered of cattle, horses, goods and [crops]; in many instances their cabins burned, and outrages committed of such atrocity that even decency forbids their mention. He saw the guilty parties grow rich and strong in a night on [property] thus pillaged from his Free State neighbors. He saw all attempts at redress by law scouted at or thwarted. A [wink], or a nod, or a gesture from one of the parties, to the jury, indicating that he [was] a member of their secret fraternity,

invariably gained him the suit. Important witnesses that would make the cases too glaring and flagrant if allowed to appear, were intimidated, or made criminals, or in some manner prevented from giving testimony [which] must...have convicted the guilty actors.

READER 4 For a long time, Montgomery and others patiently waited for a redress by law of all their abuses, and probably [would] have waited longer had they seen any signs of justice assuming the [scepter] of command; but things daily continuing to grow worse, [Montgomery] at last obeyed the calls of an injured [people], and summoning a few of his neighbors together, he enrolled them in ...[a] "Self-Protective Company," and took the field to check some of the gigantic evils that had crept into the politics and legal code of the county.

**William P. Tomlinson, 1859.**<sup>12</sup>

NARRATOR *Montgomery's "self-protective association" "conducted frequent raids into Missouri against proslavery farms and towns, stealing horses and livestock, burning barns and crops, and carrying off slaves...They also policed their own neighborhood, serving warnings to proslavery Kansans that they would not tolerate their politics or violent behavior."*<sup>13</sup>  
*Montgomery's brand of guerilla justice did not sit well with officials. In 1858, Governor Denver sent troops to Fort Scott in an effort to maintain peace and order.*<sup>14</sup>

READER 3 When I wrote to you to come and send additional forces of military to be stationed in different places, civil war in all its honors, was initiated. Violence had started to run riot...Montgomery and his murderers, [and] robbers, commenced his operations almost in sight of this place, in broad daylight...

**Letter, Judge J. Williams of Fort Scott to Kansas Territorial Governor James W. Denver, May 16, 1858.**<sup>15</sup>

NARRATOR *Free-state settlers in Linn County and Bourbon County responded to Montgomery's actions much differently.*

READER 1 This bold and decided course on the part of the Free State men had the desired effect; peace was for the time being secured, and Montgomery returned to his home. So universally approved of, however, was his course by the settlers, from whose necks he had lifted the galling yoke

they had so long worn, that they would at any time have responded en [masse] to any call he might have made on their time and services.

**William P. Tomlinson, 1859.**<sup>16</sup>

NARRATOR *To proslavery settlers, Montgomery and his men were a threat. In December 1858, Montgomery led between 50 and 100 men into the proslavery town of Fort Scott, Kansas, to free Benjamin Rice, Montgomery's "right hand man," from prison.<sup>17</sup>*

READER 4 On the morning of the 16<sup>th</sup> [December] just about day break Montgomery at the head of about one hundred ruffians [armed] with [Sharps] Rifles and Revolvers came into town set Rice at liberty, murdered a fine young man named John H. Little and robbed his store of about 4 or 5 thousand dollars worth of goods...

**Letter, William Smith of Fort Scott to Samuel McKittrick, February 28, 1859.<sup>18</sup>**

NARRATOR *But in the war on the Kansas-Missouri border, there were at least two sides to every story.*

READER 3 We learned something of the recent difficulties from the other side...A gentleman who was in town, yesterday, was in the skirmish, under Montgomery, and states that he received the first shot from Little and that he fired back in self-[defense]...This person adds, that Mr. Rice, whom Montgomery went to release, is a very worthy gentleman, a prudent farmer, and a member of the Methodist Church, who generally attends to his own business...

READER 5 It is argued by the friends of Montgomery that he considered it his duty, as a good citizen, to adopt the course he did. His party marched into town at an early hour, and called at the room where Rice had formerly been kept, but he was not there. After searching awhile in vain, it was evident that the citizens were secreting him. Montgomery commenced arresting the citizens of the town, intending to arrest all until he found Rice. About this time, Mr. Little, who was in his store watching these movements, partly opened the door and fired...the fire was returned...Mr. Little closed and barricaded the door...not long afterwards Mr. Little was seen scraping the frost from the upper pane of glass in his windows, as he might look out, as was supposed, for the purpose of discharging the other barrel of the gun. Some person at that instant shot him with a rifle ball, which passed through his head. He died in an hour.

**The New York Times, January 8, 1859.<sup>19</sup>**

NARRATOR *According to reports, Montgomery justified the fatal shooting of John Little on the grounds that Little's father had been a member of the proslavery Lecompton constitutional convention, also known as the "Bogus Legislature."<sup>20</sup>*



READER 2                    Montgomery

Listen to me. Today I heard you said in a speech a few days since, that you were not sorry you had killed John Little, that he was not killed too soon.

Can you before God say so? O, the anguish you have caused —He was one of the noblest men ever created, brave and true to his country and word. You can't prove he ever injured an innocent person.

A few days more and we were to have been married then go south to trouble you no more. But through your [influence] he was killed, sent to another world without even time to pray or say good bye to his friends.

**Sene Campbell, January 4, 1859.**<sup>21</sup>

NARRATOR

*Rumors of Montgomery's exploits circulated and caused fear and alarm among many. Yet, in spite of his deeds, Montgomery had the support of many free-state settlers. According to historian Brian Dirck, "...during the most uncertain of times James Montgomery was blessed with an inordinate degree of confidence, about himself, his cause, and his behavior in the name of defending his cause...he managed to cut a wider swath through Bleeding Kansas than might otherwise have been given to him, precisely because he seemed so sure of where he was going and what he wanted to accomplish. This made him a relative calm spot amidst the chaos of violence and civil war, and in such a time and place, at least the appearance of calm translated into considerable moral authority."*<sup>22</sup>

READER 4

Uncle Sam has stolen all my late correspondence. I suppose he thinks he will find some Treason in it: -He is welcome to all he can find. My treason is all in that "Boasting" which they tell us about; but which was news to me until I saw it in the papers. I would like to know who told them that I was receiving money and arms from the East, for the purpose of invading our neighbors:

This, too, was news to us here: we would never have known anything of it, had the papers not informed us.

Meanwhile, the panic has had one good effect: it has widened the boundary between Freedom and Slavery by removing the slaves further South, - leaving their place to be supplied by Free Labor; and thus hastening the emancipation of Missouri. Uncle Sam's Troops and the Missourians have discovered, at last, that they are "badly sold."

READER 1            Montgomery's band is a myth.  
Montgomery's men are the people, and Montgomery himself is one of them. I did not tell the [Governor] that I had but Forty men, nor did I tell him I would fight — we can do better than to fight.

The foregoing articles you are at liberty to hand over to any journal that will publish them. They will assist the public to understand the real state of affairs here. I may be [obliged] to stay away from my family all winter, I am employing my time in extending our "Wide Awake" Organization, and in taking care of our fugitives.

**Letter, James Montgomery to George L. Stearns, December 14, 1860.**<sup>23</sup>

NARRATOR            *When the Civil War began, Montgomery joined the regular military, becoming a colonel of the Third Kansas Volunteer Infantry. In 1863, he transferred to the Second Regiment, South Carolina Colored Volunteers. After the war, he returned to his Linn County farm and lived there until his death in 1871.*

READER 5            His sincere desire was to see Kansas a free State. He was in [sympathy] and co-operation with the men who made Kansas a free State. He was an instrument of the men who were holding at bay that party and that principle which were attempting to force slavery upon Kansas by the most outrageous violation of all personal and political rights. He was of the Free State party who were "holding the fort until the Republican party could arrive."

**T. F. Robley, *History of Bourbon County, Kansas, 1894.***<sup>24</sup>

Episode Three: Cole Younger — Bushwhacker

NARRATOR            *On the other side of the border, near Harrisonville, in Cass County, Missouri, lived Cole Younger. At the start of the Civil War, Younger was the teenage son of Henry Younger, a successful businessman. The Youngers' prosperous and happy life would be turned upside down. And Cole's life, in particular, would take an unexpected turn.*

READER 5            He killed his first man at seventeen. At eighteen there was a reward on his head, dead or alive. At nineteen he was riding with Quantrill. He was getting around for a boy.

**Homer Croy, Author, 1956.**<sup>25</sup>

NARRATOR *In the fall of 1861, Younger attended a dance at the home of Cuthbert Mockbee. Also in attendance, was Irvin Walley, a Union militiaman stationed in Harrisonville. When Walley made an unwanted advance at Younger's sister, a confrontation ensued and accusations were made.*

READER 3 "Where is [Quantrill]?" he asked me, with a sneer.

"I don't know," I answered.

"You are a liar," he continued, and as he went down in a heap on the floor, he drew his pistol, but friends came between us, and at their solicitation I went home and informed my father of what had taken place. He told me to go down to the farm in Jackson county, and to keep away from the conflict that Walley was evidently determined to force. Next morning I started. That night Walley and a band of his scouts came to my father's house and demanded that he surrender me, on the ground that I was a spy, and in communication with [Quantrill]. Father denounced it as a lie.

**Cole Younger, 1903.**<sup>26</sup>

NARRATOR *William Clark Quantrill was the leader of a band of Missouri guerillas. Younger was not a member of Quantrill's band at the time of his encounter with Walley, but his run-ins with the Missouri militia and jayhawkers, as well as his desire to protect his family and home, prompted Younger to join up with Quantrill. By early 1862, Cole Younger was a bushwhacker.*

*Meanwhile, in spite of the war raging all around him, Henry Younger continued to conduct business as usual. In July 1862, the elder Younger made a fateful business trip to Kansas City.*

READER 3 He started back to Harrisonville in a buggy, but was waylaid one mile south of Westport, a suburb of Kansas City, and brutally murdered; falling out of his buggy into the road with three mortal bullet wounds.

I have never had any doubt that the band that killed him was led by that same Capt. Walley. Indeed he was suspected at the time, accused of murder, and placed under arrest, but his comrades furnished an alibi, to the satisfaction of the court, and he was released.

He is dead now, and probably he rests more comfortably than he ever did after that night in '62, for whether he had a conscience or not, he knew that Missouri people had memories, and good ones, too.

**Cole Younger, 1903.**<sup>27</sup>

NARRATOR *The troubles continued for Cole Younger's family after his father's murder. His mother, Bursheba, continued to be questioned by the militia about the whereabouts of Cole and his brother Jim, who was suspected of being a spy for Quantrill. If Bursheba were to be caught harboring guerillas, the consequences would be dire, as stipulated by the 2<sup>nd</sup> article of the Union's General Order Number 3.*

READER 2 That all persons who shall knowingly harbor, conceal, aid, or abet, by furnishing food, clothing, information, protection, or any assistance whatever to any such EMMISSARY, CONFEDERATE OFFICER, or SOLDIER PARTISAN [RANGER], BUSHWHACKER, ROBBER, or THIEF SHALL BE PROMPTLY EXECUTED by the first commissioned officer whose hands he or they may be delivered or under whose control he or they may be placed. The houses at which such persons receive food, protection, or assistance shall be DESTROYED [and] the personal property found at such places or on the farms belonging thereto shall be SEIZED and applied to the indemnification of the "Union" citizens for the losses sustained by them in consequence of the wrongful acts of these bands.

**Article 2, General Order Number 3, January 20, 1863.<sup>28</sup>**

READER 1 ...the same persecutors again entered our home in the dead of the night, and, at the point of a pistol, tried to force my mother to set fire to her own home. She begged to be allowed to wait until morning, so that she and her children and "Suse" [the Younger's servant] would not be turned out in the snow, then some two or three feet deep, in the darkness, with the nearest neighbor many miles away. This they agreed to do on condition that she put the torch to her house at daybreak. They were there bright and early to see that she carried out her agreement, so, leaving her burning walls behind her, she and the four youngest children and "Suse" began their eight mile trudge through the snow to Harrisonville.

**Cole Younger, 1903.<sup>29</sup>**

NARRATOR *Union Brigadier General Thomas C. Ewing was charged with putting an end to guerilla activity in Missouri. In order to render the bushwhackers' female relatives incapable of providing aid, Ewing had them arrested. Younger's sisters, Josie, Caroline, and Sally, and cousins, Nannie Harris and Charity Kerr, were among the young women who were held in a rickety, makeshift prison in Kansas City.*

READER 1                    KANSAS CITY, Saturday, Aug. 15.

The Female Prison in this place fell on Thursday morning, burying in the ruins eleven women. Four were killed, one mortally wounded, and six slightly injured.

**The New York Times, August 16, 1863.**<sup>30</sup>

NARRATOR

*Younger's sisters survived the collapse, but his cousin Charity Kerr was among the fatalities. Younger believed the structure was to have been "secretly undermined" by the Federal troops. Indeed, an inspection conducted on the day of the collapse exposed structural problems, but the women were not moved to a new location.<sup>31</sup> The prison collapse fueled Quantrill's men's desire for retaliation.*

READER 4

After six months of living death in this trap, the house was secretly undermined and fell with the prisoners, only five of who escaped injury or death. It was noted that the groceryman had moved his stock of groceries from the building in time to save it from ruin, showing that the wrecking of the house was planned in cold blood, with the murder of my sisters and cousins and other unfortunate women in mind. All of my relatives, however, were saved from death except Charity Kerr, who was helpless in bed with the fever and she sent down with the wreck and her body, frightfully mangled, was afterwards taken from the ruins...

...Among the women who lost their lives was Miss Josephine Anderson, whose cruel death simply blighted her [brother Bill Anderson's] life and so filled him with determination to get revenge that he afterward became the most desperate of desperate men. "[Quantrill] sometimes spares, but Anderson never," became a tradition of the Kansas line.

**Cole Younger, 1903.**<sup>32</sup>

NARRATOR

*On August 21, 1863, Quantrill and his men staged a surprise raid on Lawrence, Kansas. As many as 180 citizens were killed in the raid, and over 200 buildings were demolished. Younger's mission was to locate and capture James Lane, and take him back to Missouri where he would be publicly executed. According to a biographer, Younger "was sickened by the actions of his fellow guerillas...He yelled to the women and children to run to the cornfields so that they would be spared witnessing the gruesome sight. Little did he realize that on first hearing the guerilla yell, that was precisely where Jim Lane had gone."<sup>33</sup>*

READER 5

Cole Younger saved at least a dozen lives this day. Indeed, he killed none save in open and manly battle. At one house he captured five citizens over whom he put a guard, and at another three whom he

defended and protected. The notorious General James H. Lane, to get whom [Quantrill] would gladly have left and sacrificed all the balance of the victims, made his escape through a corn-field...

**John N. Edwards, 1877.**<sup>34</sup>

READER 4

The strange and baffling character of the young warrior [Cole Younger] was beginning to assert itself — his ruthlessness in battle, his tenderness to those who had fallen. When a battle was over, he was a changed man and became kindly and considerate to everyone.

**Homer Croy, Author, 1956.**<sup>35</sup>

READER 1

Lawrence was followed by a feverish demand from the North for vengeance. [Quantrill] was to be hanged, drawn and quartered, his band annihilated; nothing was too terrible for his punishment.

Four days after the raid, Gen. Thomas Ewing at St. Louis issued ...General Order [Number] 11. This required that all persons living in Jackson, Cass and Bates counties, except one township, or within one mile of a military post, should remove within fifteen days. Those establishing their loyalty were permitted to go within the lines of any military post, or to Kansas, but all others were to remove without the bounds of the military district. All grain and hay in the proscribed district was to be turned into the military post before Sept. 9, and any grain or hay not so turned in was to be destroyed.

It was the depopulation of western Missouri. Any citizen not within the limits of the military post after Sept. 9 was regarded as an outlaw.

**Cole Younger, 1903.**<sup>36</sup>

NARRATOR

*Order Number 11 forced Younger's mother, Bursheba, and his younger siblings to leave their home. According to Younger, Bursheba, who was in increasingly poor health, set her house on fire "with her own hands."<sup>37</sup> Bursheba moved the family to Lafayette and Clay Counties in Missouri, then to Texas to start over. In 1870, she returned to Missouri, where she died. Younger attributed Bursheba's death to "the continuous suffering and torture imposed upon my mother during the years from 1862 to 1870."<sup>38</sup>*

*In the remaining years of the Civil War, Younger continued to engage in raids with his fellow bushwhackers. After the war, Younger and his brothers, Jim and Bob, joined Frank and Jesse James in robbing banks, stagecoaches, and trains. Once a bushwhacker, Cole Younger*

*was now an outlaw. In 1876, Younger was captured after an attempted bank robbery in Northfield, Minnesota, and was sent to serve a 25-year sentence in Stillwater Prison.*

*After his release, Younger eventually returned to Missouri where he reflected upon the tumultuous events of his early years.*

READER 2

I've led a turbulent, adventurous life. The war brought on hate and strife and killing around here. They murdered my father when I was a schoolboy and I was launched into a life of shooting, reprisals and rough-riding, winding up with twenty-five years in prison. My folks were all religious people and I was brought up in a religious home. Now I'm an old man —seventy next January —and I have come, by God's mercy, back to this very spot where I spent my childhood, to end my days.

**Cole Younger, *The New York Times*, September 8, 1913.<sup>39</sup>**

***Instructions: The facilitator will now return to the questions found on page 3 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.***

## Footnotes

---

<sup>1</sup> "Bushwhackers and Jayhawkers." *Community and Conflict Website*.  
<http://www.ozarkscivilwar.org/archives/1487>

<sup>2</sup> Brian R. Dirck, "By the Hand of God James Montgomery and Redemptive Violence," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* (27 Spring/Summer 2004) 108.  
[http://www.kshs.org/publicat/history/2004spring\\_dirck.pdf](http://www.kshs.org/publicat/history/2004spring_dirck.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> John N. Edwards, *Noted Guerrillas*, (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Company, 1877): 37 *Internet Archive*.  
<http://www.archive.org/stream/notedguerrillaso00edwarich#page/36/mode/2up>

<sup>4</sup> John McElroy, "The Missouri Bushwhacker," *The Struggle for Missouri* (1909). Excerpted and introduced by G. E. Rule (2001). *Civil War St. Louis*.  
<http://www.civilwarstlouis.com/history/EdwardsVSMcElroy.htm>

<sup>5</sup> Homer Croy, *Cole Younger: Last of the Great Outlaws*, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1999; originally published 1956): 7. *Google Books*.  
<http://books.google.com/books?vid=ISBN9780803264007&printsec=titlepage#v=onepage&q&f=false>

<sup>6</sup> Dirck, 115.

<sup>7</sup> Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era*, (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2004): 191.

<sup>8</sup> William P. Tomlinson, *Kansas in 1858: Being Chiefly a History of the Troubles in the Territory* (New York: H. Dayton, 1859): 166. Ebooksread. <http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/william-p-tomlinson/kansas-in-eighteen-fifty-eight-being-chiefly-a-history-of-the-recent-troubles-i-lmo/page-9-kansas-in-eighteen-fifty-eight-being-chiefly-a-history-of-the-recent-troubles-i-lmo.shtml>

<sup>9</sup> "Cool Things - Proslavery Leader's Desk," *Kansas Historical Society*. <http://www.kshs.org/p/cool-things-proslavery-leader-s-desk/10309>

<sup>10</sup> Tomlinson, 169-170. <http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/william-p-tomlinson/kansas-in-eighteen-fifty-eight-being-chiefly-a-history-of-the-recent-troubles-i-lmo/page-9-kansas-in-eighteen-fifty-eight-being-chiefly-a-history-of-the-recent-troubles-i-lmo.shtml>

<sup>11</sup> Dirck, 106.

<sup>12</sup> Tomlinson, 173-175. <http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/william-p-tomlinson/kansas-in-eighteen-fifty-eight-being-chiefly-a-history-of-the-recent-troubles-i-lmo/page-9-kansas-in-eighteen-fifty-eight-being-chiefly-a-history-of-the-recent-troubles-i-lmo.shtml>

<sup>13</sup> Dirck, 106.



---

<sup>14</sup> Etcheson, 191.

<sup>15</sup> Letter, J. Williams to Governor [James W.] Denver, (16 May 1858). *Territorial Kansas Online*. [http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/~imlskto/cgi-bin/index.php?SCREEN=show\\_document&document\\_id=101280&SCREEN\\_FROM=show\\_location&county\\_id=4](http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/~imlskto/cgi-bin/index.php?SCREEN=show_document&document_id=101280&SCREEN_FROM=show_location&county_id=4)

<sup>16</sup> Tomlinson, 176. <http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/william-p-tomlinson/kansas-in-eighteen-fifty-eight-being-chiefly-a-history-of-the-recent-troubles-i-lmo/page-10-kansas-in-eighteen-fifty-eight-being-chiefly-a-history-of-the-recent-troubles-i-lmo.shtml>

<sup>17</sup> Etcheson, 198.

<sup>18</sup> Letter, William Smith to Samuel McKittrick, (28 Feb. 1859). *Kansas Collection*. <http://www.kancoll.org/articles/wmsmith.htm>

<sup>19</sup> “Further Particulars of the Affray at Fort Scott — The Montgomery Version — Action of Governor Medery,” *The New York Times*, (8 Jan. 1859). <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9B06E1DD1E31EE34BC4053DFB7668382649FDE>

<sup>20</sup> Etcheson, 198.

<sup>21</sup> Letter, Sene Campbell to James Montgomery (4 Jan. 1859). *Territorial Kansas Online*. [http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/~imlskto/cgi-bin/index.php?SCREEN=show\\_document&document\\_id=100299&SCREEN\\_FROM=show\\_location&county\\_id=4](http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/~imlskto/cgi-bin/index.php?SCREEN=show_document&document_id=100299&SCREEN_FROM=show_location&county_id=4)

<sup>22</sup> Dirck, 103.

<sup>23</sup> Letter, James Montgomery to George L. Stearns, (14 Dec. 1860). *Territorial Kansas Online*. [http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/~imlskto/cgi-bin/index.php?SCREEN=show\\_document&SCREEN\\_FROM=personalities&document\\_id=100497&FROM\\_PAGE=&topic\\_id=168](http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/~imlskto/cgi-bin/index.php?SCREEN=show_document&SCREEN_FROM=personalities&document_id=100497&FROM_PAGE=&topic_id=168)

<sup>24</sup> T. F. Robley, *History of Bourbon County, Kansas*, (1894): 119. <http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/bourbon/history/1894/16.html>

<sup>25</sup> Croy, xv.

<sup>26</sup> Cole Younger, *The Story of Cole Younger, by Himself*, (Chicago: The Henneberry Company, 1903): Chapter 3. *Project Gutenberg*. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/24585/24585-h/24585-h.html#toc3>

<sup>27</sup> Younger, Chapter 8.

---

<sup>28</sup> Arnold W. Schofield, "Battlefield Dispatches No. 199: Assassinations, Robberies and Murders" *The Fort Scott Tribune* (29 Jan. 2010). <http://www.fstribune.com/story/1606489.html>

<sup>29</sup> Younger, Chapter 1.

<sup>30</sup> "Falling of a Female Prison.; FOUR WOMEN KILLED—SIX WOUNDED," *The New York Times*, (16 Aug. 1863). <http://www.nytimes.com/1863/08/16/news/falling-of-a-female-prison-four-women-killed-six-wounded.html>

<sup>31</sup> Etcheson, 235.

<sup>32</sup> Younger, Chapter 1.

<sup>33</sup> Marley Brant, *The Outlaw Youngers: A Confederate Brotherhood*, (New York: Madison Books, 1992): 45.

<sup>34</sup> Edwards, 196. *Internet Archive*.  
<http://www.archive.org/stream/notedguerrillaso00edwarich#page/196/mode/2up>

<sup>35</sup> Croy, 17.

<sup>36</sup> Younger, Chapter 14.

<sup>37</sup> Brandt, 52.

<sup>38</sup> Younger, Chapter 1.

<sup>39</sup> "Younger Joins Church," *The New York Times*, (8 Sept. 1913).  
<http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9800E2DB123FE633A2575BC0A96F9C946296D6CF>