

WHITEWASHING OR AMNESIA: A STUDY OF THE CONSTRUCTION
OF RACE IN TWO MIDWESTERN COUNTIES

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by
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OF RACE IN TWO MIDWESTERN COUNTIES

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University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2019

ABSTRACT

This inter-disciplinary dissertation utilizes sociological and historical research methods for a critical comparative analysis of the material culture as reproduced through murals and monuments located in two counties in Missouri, Bates County and Cass County. Employing Critical Race Theory as the theoretical framework, each counties' analysis results are examined. The concepts of race, systemic racism, White privilege and interest-convergence are used to assess both counties continuance of sustaining a racially imbalanced historical narrative. I posit that the construction of history of Bates County and Cass County continues to influence and reinforces systemic racism in the local narrative.

Keywords: critical race theory, race, racism, social construction of reality, white privilege, normality, interest-convergence

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the School of Graduate Studies, have examined a dissertation titled, “Whitewashing or Amnesia: A Study of the Construction of Race in Two Midwestern Counties,” presented by Debra Kay Taylor, candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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DEDICATION

To Harry O. Taylor, my beloved husband ~ the one whom my soul loves

To Sarah R. Lowenberg, my daughter ~ the one who stole my heart

To Melisa J. Lowenberg, my granddaughter ~ the one to whom I gave my heart

There are no measures for the blessings we receive.
Only by imagining how our lives might have gone if they had not come to us,
Can we begin to appreciate their brilliance and power.

True love is such a blessing –
if you found it may you always know it as the wondrous gift it is.

Epiphany - Robert Sexton

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Love – Life – Loyalty

Finally, to the One who knows the hearts and intentions of those individuals in the pages to follow ~ The Great I Am.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

As I was researching for this project I came across a piece of satirical wall art by Banksy. While anonymous, Banksy is known for his political activism as evidenced through his murals. He holds the notion that standing by and doing nothing is not an option. In 2015 his work began appearing in the Gaza Strip protesting the treatment of Palestinians. One mural was simply words that state - "If we wash our hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless we side with the powerful - we don't remain neutral." Banksy is well known for his provocative questioning of those in power along with the structures that reinforce their dominance. Like Banksy, this undertaking is my quest to deconstruct the local power structures ruled by and through systemic racism.

"America is inherently a 'white' country: in character, in structure, in culture. Needless to say, black Americans create lives of their own. Yet, as a people, they face boundaries and constrictions set by the white majority. America's version of apartheid, while lacking overt legal sanction, comes closest to the system even now overturned in the land of its invention." (Hacker 1992:4)

Twenty years into the new millennium and like Banksy many in the United States are questioning the struggle between the powerful that control the institutional structures and the powerless when dealing with issues of race.¹ Over fifty-plus years post from the modern-day civil rights movement, Barack Obama was elected president of the United States, not once but twice and while some have said the United State is

¹ The American Sociological Association's (2003:np) position on the concept of race is discussed and compared through "popular discourse [as] racial groups ... viewed as physically distinguishable populations that share a common geographically based ancestry. 'Race' shapes the way that some people relate to each other, based on their belief that it reflects physical, intellectual, moral, or spiritual superiority or inferiority. However, biological research now suggests that the substantial overlap among any and all biological categories of race undermines the utility of the concept for scientific work in this field."

in a post-racial society, however, as Andrew Hacker states, America is a White country which is further evidenced by the election of Donald Trump whose support of White nationalists is well-documented in the media.

White skin is the default setting concerning race within the United States. White is classified as the dominant race within the racial hierarchy. Whites hold the bulk of power, privilege, prestige, and status. White refers to those individuals of “European descent” (Tatum 1997:15) and/or those individuals who align themselves and who have been accepted as White. Paul Kivel (2002:11), social justice advocate, supports this by including the individuals that “other people assume, based on skin color, dress, physical appearance, or total impression, that [they] are white, then in American society that counts for being white.” Anyone considered less than White is likely to endure racism thru prejudice and discrimination.

Racism is so embedded within culture that it is sewn into the very fabric of American society. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva holds that societies that proclaim to be beyond racism are in fact “racialized social systems” (2015:75). He contends that those possessing the power within society build a racial hierarchy whereby placing themselves at the top. Concerning the United States, he argues that Whites have placed themselves at the top of the dominant group and reside over the racial order. Thus, Bonilla-Silva posits the dominant group forms a “social collectivity” in which to “preserve the racial status quo” (2015:75). This racialized hierarchy affects every facet of society: economic, social, educational, political, and all other areas of life, as it is

indoctrinated into the social fabric. Consequently, institutional racism is ever-present operating within American society, even into the present-day representations of past historical events. Whites have the say of who is included in the historical narrative, and if racial groups are included, how they are represented.

In 2001, I was chatting with George,² a resident of Cass County who had been an active member of his local Civil War Roundtable. I say “had” because he became disillusioned with other roundtable members as well as their intentions of preserving what the group deemed to be important history for the area. He was weary of the group’s efforts to glorify past historical figures as something more than the thugs and criminals he believed they were. With the idolization of these villains came the desire to rescue any items associated with the less-than desirables to save for their historical value. The last straw for George was when the group discussed raising funds to purchase a pile of old barn wood allegedly from a structure where supposedly Cole Younger (former Confederate guerrilla who fought with Quantrill’s raiders during the Civil War) and his brother hid to evade the law during their thieving days while riding with Jesse James after the war. To note, the Younger family of Cass County hold great prestige today. One could equate it to how the Kennedy’s were the American Camelot for the American culture of the 1960s, and they, the Youngers, embody the bright spot of historical remembrance for Cass County.

² To ensure confidentiality, the names of some individuals will be protected by pseudonyms throughout the dissertation since the information was outside the purview of research, obtained through casual informal conversations.

Fifty years following the Civil War in 1918, a Black³ school, named Prince Whipple, was built in Harrisonville; the building still stands today as a private residence with only a commemorative plaque in the yard. Historians Brett Rogers and Dr. Gary R. Kremer's (Missouri Historic Property 2001) research indicates that there were only a total of three schools built in Cass County for Blacks during the era of segregation. The structures in Belton and Pleasant Hill no longer stand. The Prince Whipple building is the only surviving evidence of the segregated Black schools in the county. Why has a local historical group not procured this structure to protect the building, to restore and preserve it as the historic treasure it is?

These two examples raise the question as to why a pile of barn wood is more important than a sound structure. Could it be that local history is being constructed so

³ Black is used to describe people now referred to as African Americans. Throughout history, revolting terms have been utilized when referring to persons of African descent. While presently these terms are considered less than politically correct, the terms such as "nigger" or "darkie" or the antiquated terms like "Negro" or "colored" will only be used if found within the historical sources to retain the integrity of the citation. Otherwise, the term "Black" will be employed throughout this dissertation unless as stated, the sources indicate otherwise. Using this term is seemingly the least offensive and perhaps the most historically accurate. I by no means intend disrespect by the use of the term "Black" nor do I want to lessen the African or the American component of a complex identity nor the experiences of these individuals. The term "Black" is being used in the same sense as Frederick Douglass' reference when he made mention of the State of Massachusetts being the "first to make the black man equal before the law" (1863:np). So as not to convey a bias but to utilize an equal application of respect to all groups in this paper, more so concerning the terms "Black" and "White" I will always capitalize the first letter of both words when referencing people groups. My preference to do so is that no group is relegated over another placing them in the position of the "Other." This notion is in the same vein as Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois' (1995) efforts to have the word "Negro" capitalized to reflect an acknowledgment and respect towards a group of people.

that some narratives are being whitewashed? I submit these examples are indicative of a larger social issue. Historian David Blight writes, “those who can create the dominant narrative, those who can own the public memory will achieve political and cultural power (Brundage 2000:349). I propose that racism is influencing the local historical narrative. This, in turn, aids in the whitewashing and/or amnesia⁴ (intentional or not) of the role of the Black racial group within the narrative. This limited or non-inclusivity of Blacks is perpetuating institutionalized racism by the White dominant group within Bates County and Cass County.

The Statement of the Issue

This dissertation explicates the ways two Missouri counties, Bates and Cass, addresses and promotes through murals and monuments their conflicted history of the Civil War. This is a comparative study, viewed through the lens of race, which will employ Critical Race Theory to examine how the counties present their local history of the Civil War-era via their selection of which racial groups are included, or excluded along with their respective characterization. This study analyzes Bates and Cass counties’ historical constructions of race as evidenced through their material culture.

⁴ Amnesia is an example of the deliberate and purposeful forgetting and/or exclusion of facts within the historical narrative. Scholars such as sociologist John Barnes (1947) along with anthropologists Hildred and Clifford Geertz (1975) all define amnesia as a collective forgetting, whether purposeful or not. What is left out and forgotten, can be just as revealing as what is remembered.

Understanding the local historical narrative as a construction, which continues to perpetuate the exclusion of some racial groups while focusing on others is vital in the effort to create an inclusive narrative. The exclusion of certain groups cannot be explained away due to the small population of the marginalized people within these counties. I hope that through this study of these particular social constructs it will illuminate the racial hierarchy, as it still exists today through the local narratives, of the murals and monuments.

This study addresses the social construction of race present in the local narrative born out of the Civil War era as evidenced through the material culture of monuments and murals located within Bates and Cass counties. The central research questions this dissertation addresses are:

1. In what ways is the continuation of systemic racism evident by the conspicuous absence of the marginalized groups within the local historical narratives as told through the murals and monuments?
2. In what ways do the local narratives reveal systemic racism based on a Critical Race theoretical analysis?
3. What impact does the normality of Whiteness have on systemic racism in the construction of reality and Civil War history in Bates County and Cass County?
4. In what ways can historical analysis aid in the correction of bias and racism as evidenced in the local historical narratives as told through the murals and monuments?

Literature Review

At a time when the United States commemorated the 150th anniversary of the Civil War, two counties located in Western Missouri, Bates and Cass, have been actively gathering remembrances they deem important through material culture. Sociologist James Henslin (2011) defines material culture as one of two components comprising culture. Noted anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973:89) defined culture as a system of shared symbols, which are made up of transmitted patterns of meanings used to “communicate, perpetuate, and develop [a group’s] knowledge.” Culture is the commonality of a group of people. Nonmaterial culture is the social aspect or intangible characteristics of a group consisting of values, beliefs, symbols, knowledge, and norms (Henslin 2011). Material culture is the physical elements of a group, which include all items created and used.

It is through culture that one is socialized into their group memberships, learning their identity as well as the proper behaviors and expectations of the group (Henslin 2011). Culture is shared, acquired, and transmitted from one generation to the next as well as appropriated by those outside the culture that may join in with the dominant group. Individuals possess what sociologists call “the culture within us” (Henslin 2011:37) from group acquisitions. Through this group identification, individuals build solidarity to and cohesion as a group, which can have positive as well as negative consequences. Positive significance in that it creates in-group loyalties. Individuals know who belongs to the group and who does not. Conversely, discrimination and exclusion can occur due to the “us” vs. “them” (Henslin 2011) mentality. This was seen

after 9-11 as Americans shared a tight sense of cohesiveness and solidarity all the while at the expense of some who did not belong with “us.” And more recently the “us” vs. “them” mindset reared its ugly head throughout the 2016 presidential political cycle and further manifesting during the incident in August of 2017 at Charlottesville, Virginia.

Material culture is important in defining the social culture of a society by analyzing its physical artifacts produced by society (Geertz 1973; Munn 1962; Turner 1967; Tilley 1990; Gardin & Peebles 1992; Leone & Potter 1988; Malina & Vasice 1990; Renfrew & Ezra Zubrow 1994). Material culture is the physical evidence of human experience. Through the study of physical artifacts, one can learn much regarding the impact of the collective because as sociologists Roger Friedland and John Mohr (2004:79) write in *Matters of Culture: Cultural Sociology in Practice*, artifacts act “as packages of information.” This information is constructed from the group’s values and ideas (Boyd & Richardson 1985; D’Andrade 1995; Goodenough 1989; Keesling 1987). This is how non-material culture is interrelated with the tangibles of culture. Material culture, such as murals and monuments, can reveal the social discourse or narrative of a group. In other words, the manifestation of the dominant group is seen through the symbols of artifacts such as the Confederate monument debate where they are considered to be symbols of not only the South but of White supremacy.

These artifacts are woven into the culture’s social fabric. Artifacts are then a representation of some aspect of society that act as the proof or a signifier of a society's beliefs, norms, and values of the nonmaterial culture (Friedland & Mohr

2004). This is evidenced in Bates and Cass by their remembering and forgetting of history through the examination of the counties' murals and monuments.

Artifacts like the murals and monuments become commonly held sets of objects with symbolic meanings about people, places, and events that act as a reinforcement of a group's identification with specific social values. Carefully selected because of their motivating power, artifacts become iconic, transmitting cultural memory. Anthropologist Daniel Miller (1987:105) surmises that artifacts "continually assert their presence as simultaneously material force and symbol. They frame the way individuals act in the world, as well as the way they think about the world." Author of *The Intellectual Savage* Jamake Highwater (1995:205) posits that "the dominant group is rarely given the opportunity to know the world as others know it; therefore they come to believe there is only one world, one reality, one truth, the one they personally know, [through their material culture]." Collective memory is reinforced through artifacts thereby reinforcing constructed memories. Consequently, groups are vying to pass on their memories via artifacts. Artifacts are central in the memory keeping process (Savage 1994; O'Dell 2002; Gillis. John 1996; Brown 2004). Kirk Savage (1994:127-149), professor of History of Art and Architecture, concludes that public monuments "are important precisely because they do in some measure work to impose a permanent memory on the very landscape within which people order their lives ... Inasmuch as the monuments make credible particular collectivities, they must erase others."

Material culture provides physical evidence of the embodiment of the nonmaterial culture of a group. Anthropologist James Deetz (1982:36) discusses material culture as “not culture but its product. Culture is socially transmitted rules for behavior, ways of thinking about and doing things.” In his essay, “Mind in Matter,” historian Jules David Prown (2000:1) writes that material culture is useful in “the study through artifacts of the beliefs–values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions–of a particular community or society at a given time.” The evidence of material culture assists by providing information of a group’s nonmaterial culture, time and place as well as the changes that take place over time. Noted folklorist, Henry Glassie (1999) contends that material culture reveals much about the past. Material culture can reveal the social discourse or the characteristics of a group’s nonmaterial culture; in other words, the manifestation of the dominant group as seen through the symbols of artifacts. These artifacts are woven into the culture’s social fabric and are the representation of a society's non-material culture of beliefs, norms, and values.

This study explores the construction of race and the normality of Whiteness as the default. John Hartigan (1997), anthropologist, theorizes that the idea of race began with the notion of Whiteness since Europeans constructed these concepts to measure difference within the world. Scholars who have argued that race and “whiteness” (2007; Delgado & Stefancic 1997; Kivel 2011; Katznelson 2006; Allen 2012; Smedley & Smedley 2011; Brodtkin 2001; Dyer 1997; Frankenberg 1993 Garner 2006; Hartigan 1997; Hartman 2004; McIntosh 1990; Trechter & Bucholtz 2001; Ware & Les Back 2001; Wilson

2002) are social constructs imply that race is constructed or built into society. In American culture, race is generally thought of as a binary system of White and not White. However, Whiteness has not had much focus in the scholarship until 1991 when David Roediger released his publication, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. Roediger picked up on W.E.B. DuBois' (1935) query in *Black Reconstruction in America* and began looking at the advantages assessed to those who were White in the labor market (Roediger 1991:9). Whiteness suggests privilege in a racial hierarchal system leaving those not designated as White in a less-than position. In this instance, race acquires meaning in a particular way. Society comes to accept Whiteness as the norm and acts upon it in whatever manner is considered correct for that construct.

Professor of African American Studies, Angela James (2008), the author of "Making Sense of Race and Racial Classification," contends that race is:

An exceedingly slippery concept. Although it appears in social life as ubiquitous, omnipresent and real, it is hard to pin down the concept in any objective sense; this is because the idea of race is riddled with apparent contradictions. While it is a dynamic phenomena rooted in political struggle, it is commonly observed as a fixed characteristic of human populations; while it does not exist in terms of human biology, people routinely look to the human body for evidence about racial identity; while it is a biological fiction, it is nonetheless a social fact. (P. 32)

Race is essentially a social fact since it has social meaning, which is a social construct made through different ideas and beliefs about race. Thus, physical traits of the human body as indicated above by Angela James, are transformed into signifiers or

markers corresponding to racial identity. Identity is born out of culture. Southern historian James C. Cobb (2005) writes that identity is not static as it is constantly changing. Culture is constantly changing. Culture creates and perpetuates a collective identity as previously mentioned. These shared experiences and identities produce a common perspective that fades into the notion of a collective memory. This, in turn, contributes to the formation of the accepted “history” of a group and in turn promotes the concept/construction of the ideology (Sturken 1997; Anderson [1983] 1991). Group identities are historical social constructions that are constantly being reconstructed according to the dominant group’s agenda. “Race ... like class and gender, has independent effects in social life. After racial stratification is established, race becomes an independent criterion for vertical hierarchy in society” (Bonilla-Silva 1997:165-80). Society comes to accept the hierarchy of racial categories along with the resulting implications as the norm thereby acting upon them in whatever manner is considered correct for the construct. The resulting negotiation lends to relegating groups into the position of the Other, marginalizing them to the edges of society and history.

The racializing of groups has an added dichotomous or binary effect - - the oppressed and the oppressors - - written about by renowned individuals such as Jacques Lucan, Sigmund Freud and Simone de Beauvoir (1989) as “otherness.” De Beauvoir espoused the term the Other when writing regarding women’s subordination to men. When contrasting women to men, men are the standard; women are the

Other, the second sex. De Beauvoir's notion is that women's identity has been devised and maintained by the ideal sex, which is men, and women are what men are not.

The idea of otherness or the Other can translate into the issue of race. White is the dominant group, all others taking the position of less-than or the Other. Therefore, the Other is understood not in terms of what or who they are, but in relation to what they are not – the dominant White group. Cultural theorist and sociologist, Stuart Hall (1996) writes of the binary effect in conjunction with the concept of the construction of western discourse in his essay entitled “West and the Rest: Discourse and Power.” Hall stresses the European uniqueness and superiority in contrast to “the rest” and/or the Other. The West's “uniqueness” was due in part to “Europe's contact and self-comparison” to other societies (187). When using the “uniqueness” of the West as the standard, “the Rest” does not measure up; “the Rest” is not what the West is.

The differences between the dichotomy of the West and “the Rest” promoted a “sense of superiority” (Hall 1996:201). The implication of placing groups into the category of the Other, “the Rest” or less-than is relegating the group to the margins of society in that they do not measure up to the standard set by the dominant group. Edward Said addresses the binary issue of the Other in his work entitled *Orientalism* (1978). Grounding his assertions in colonialism, Said (1978) emphasizes that the West holds itself up as the “familiar” (Europe, the West, “us”) while placing the East in the position of the Other, “the strange” (the Orient, the East, “them”) (43). Therefore, the dominant group has constructed the Other, labeling the East as inferior when

compared to the Western colonizer who regards themselves as “a true human being.” (108).

Marginalization maintains the ideology of superiority. Measuring groups based on race in that they do not measure up to the White dominant group is racialized marginalization. Like de Beauvoir’s the Other, “the Rest” can also be applied to the notion of race. Consequently, the ideology of superiority concerning race marginalizes groups that can be left out of the local historical narrative, which is akin to systemic racism.

Race and the social meaning of race are pervasive – making its way into every corner of society. The broad implications of the hierarchy constructed by race are yet present today due to being built in society during the pre-Civil War era. This construction has a direct impact on the local historical narrative. The local narrative has long focused on the White male-centered experiences. Much of what is not written about speaks volumes through the notion of the hermeneutics of silence.⁵ It is a challenge to study the silenced voices of the past due to histories being written by the dominant White group.

Historian David Roediger (1999) contends that “whiteness” is utilized as a dividing line to separate White Americans from other racial/ethnic groups beginning as

⁵ The hermeneutics of silence is the discovery of what is disguised by exposing repressed and/or hidden meanings by reading them suspiciously or skeptically through a critical analysis (Ricoeur 1970; Ricoeur [1981] 1987).

far back as slavery to create a social distance between slave-owners and the slaves.⁶ Roediger argues that this notion of Whiteness is still used today as a mechanism for creating social distance. In this study, the notion of social distance is not of physical or spatial reference but of distance created by a racial hierarchy. Sociologist Robert E. Park refers to social distance as “the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterizes pre-social and social relations” (1924:339). The social distance created out of a power differential leads to marginalization.

The power granted to Whiteness is a social construct that implies privilege and domination in the racial hierarchy, maintaining the disparities between Whites and Others. Numerous scholars including Nell Irvin Painter (2010), David Roediger (2006) and Ian Haney Lopez (2006) all posit that supremacy, belonging, and privileges, including the shaping of social structures, are at the heart of Whiteness. Dalton Conley (2003:np) states, that “defining whiteness is really difficult because it is a default category. It's something that we don't define. And part of whiteness is the fact that whites don't have to think about race.” In other words, the notion of Whiteness is a

⁶ In recent years, academicians have debated the appropriate usage of the term “slave” or “enslaved.” The general consensus by historians is that the continued use of “slave” is dehumanizing relegating the individual to that position, a commodity. Herein is a challenge in completing an interdisciplinary study – Critical Race theorists argue that when using the term “enslaved” it further marginalizes the individual by consigning the condition to the person, limiting their opportunities and life chances. While, the term “enslaved” was prominent in *The New York Times*’ recent initiative entitled “The 1619 Project” (Hannah-Jones 2019), I have chosen to use the term “slave” in the same manner as a Critical Race theorist. Words are powerful. The dichotomy created by the words “slave” and “free” is robust, communicating the oppositional paradox as required by this language.

social construct, which implies privilege and domination. Previously Whiteness has not been viewed as a racial identity in that it is considered the norm (McIntosh 1990; hooks 1995). The privilege granted to Whites has been termed “White privilege.”

White privilege suggests the unseen preferences and treatments that White individuals receive due to their identification of their race, based upon the social construct of their category. “All racial categories are by definition social relations of power. Within this system of racial stratification, being white typically affords a disproportionate share of status and greater relative access to the material resources that shape life chances” (Gallagher 2007:9-14). In that White is the default race within American society, it is the supposition that the experiences, norms, values, and beliefs of White people are normal and all else is a deviation. This is due to the social construct of race along with the social meaning as defined by the group. White privilege comes with power, privilege, prestige, and status for just being White.

With Whiteness as the norm, all other racial/ethnic groups are marginalized to the status of the Other (de Beauvoir 1989). The notion of the Other (or Otherness) is a phenomenon derived from the manifestation of power relations where there is a dominant group giving way to the marginalization of the Other, those that are of a lesser status than the dominant group who are granted privilege.

One of the unearned privileges granted to those of the White race is the advantage of recording the dominant race’s narrative as the collective memory and history for all within the racial hierarchy. While history and memory are separate

strands of remembering they can become so intertwined that it is nearly impossible to separate the two. Noted historian David Blight, referencing the Civil War, speculates that the dividing line between history and memory at times becomes blurred; however both kinds of “remembering” are advantageous (Blight 2002). In recent decades, historians have become quite interested in memory and its direct impact on influencing the interpretation and knowledge regarding the past. Memories construct one’s understanding of not only the past but also the present. Memory can disrupt, remake or even erase history. David Blight (2002) maintains that:

Memory is often treated as a sacred set of absolute meanings and stories, possessed as the heritage or identity of a community. Memory is often owned, history interpreted. Memory is passed down through generations; history is revised. Memory often coalesces in objects, sites, and monuments; history seeks to understand contexts in all their complexity. History asserts the authority of academic training and canons of evidence; memory carries the often more immediate authority of community membership and experience. (NP)

Carol Reardon (1991:np) in her lecture on “Why We Still Care: The Civil War and Memory” at the *Dwight D. Eisenhower Lectures in War and Peace* posits that history and memory are the two lenses that shape the way the past is viewed. Reardon argues that history is analytical, intellectual, based on reason, seeking “truth.” These factors require an honest and comprehensive view to remain objective in one’s evaluation of the past. The lens of history’s ultimate concern is to inform the present of the past. Conversely, Reardon contends that memory is based on emotions, beliefs, and loyalties. It tends to be selective, even sanitizing, and sensationalizing at times.

Memory can be self-indulgent and sentimentalized. It serves more to justify behaviors, actions, groups, or events. Similarly, Barbie Zelizer (1995:255), author of *Remembering to Forget*, firmly believes that although memory goes through, as Reardon would call, a sanitizing process of being collected, shared, negotiated, constituted, and reconstituted by a group, collective memory needs to retain its uniqueness as a category of knowledge. By understanding group or collective memory as a type of knowledge, it reveals the collective's social constructions, which are valid in that it is the collective's reality.

French historian Pierre Nora's (1989:7-24) work on collective memory maintains that the collective is developed through and is sustained via language (or symbols), an element of nonmaterial culture, within the context of socialization. It is based on the recognition and understanding of the social constructs resident in objects. Building on Nora's concepts, the German Egyptologist Jan Assmann (2014) continues:

It's the idea that an object or an image serves as a vehicle for a particular memory and that, by looking at it we are transported to a group memory... That's the whole difference with History, in which events are neutral and linked to the past. They are the objects of knowledge, but that knowledge is not necessarily associated with a lived emotion, with our relationship with a particular event. History is neutral, a thing of the past; cultural memory is living and personal. It underpins the idea of collective identity, of a group, a nation. Every society in the world has a cultural memory. (NP)

Collective memory is an agreed-upon set of particulars that may be real or imagined. In other words, collective memory is made up of the social constructions of a group (Connerton 1989; Halbwachs [1950] 1989; Coser 1992; Hutton 1993; Fentress &

Wickham 1992; Le Goff 1992; Shaw & Chase 1989). Historian Patrick Hutton (1993:78) on Maurice Halbwachs, the pioneer in the study of collective memory, defines it as “an elaborate network of social mores, values and ideals that marks out the dimensions of our imagination according to the attitudes of the social group to which we relate.” Halbwachs along with noted French historian Pierre Nora (1989:7-24) contend that memory is a social process constructed by a group and in turn, decides what “facts” are important enough to remain in the historical memory narrative.

These “facts” may not even be historical. The collective, a group, decides what is to be recalled, re-created, invented, passed on, or even forgotten. In *Mystic Chords of Memory*, Michael Kammen (1993:3) contends that “societies in fact reconstruct their pasts rather than faithfully record them, and that they do so with the needs of contemporary culture clearly in mind – manipulating the past in order to mold the present.” These reconstructions become the group’s new narrative.

Memory is transmitted through a group narrative (Rodriguez & Fortier 2007:7). If the narrative is non-existent then what stories are there to tell, to pass on to future generations, to share with others outside the group? This dilemma is where marginalized groups find themselves – with little to no place in the local historical narrative. The dominant group is generally the deciding entity and it is their story, along with their reasons for becoming memory that is preserved and passed on (Markovits 2001:545). Culture and socialization are used to pass on the collective memory. Marite Stunken (1997) in *Tangled Memories* as well as Benedict Anderson

([1983] 1991) in *Imagined Communities* write that culture perpetuates and creates a collective identity. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) postulates that the collective memory and how the memories are presented are revealing of a group's self. What is significant to what groups? Who has control over "remembering?" In their work on *Cultural Memory*, Jeannette Rodriguez and Ted Fortier (2007:7) write regarding "how we remember past events has a profound impact on what we do and how we will live." This research will show that the way groups remember the past has a particular significance for the marginalized groups when the dominant group preserves the local narrative.

Historically it has been said "history is written by the winners ... Those who have the choice will likely pick the memory that suits them best" (Markovits 2001:557). However, the notion of only the victorious recording history entirely disregards research scholarship of historical events, places, and people; nor does it leave room for the "loser's" version of history. The South may have lost the American Civil War however they won the memory battle over the cause and resulting meaning of the bloody conflict as evidenced by the Lost Cause (Pollard 1866) rhetoric.⁷ Chapter Two will cover more in-depth what historian David Blight (2001) terms the "agreement" that informally was arranged between the North and the South following the end of the War. The Union theoretically reunited, was singularly pursuing reconciliation and reunion of the prodigal Southern States. The "agreement" was that the South won the war on the historical narrative of the Civil War and its causes. With this

⁷ See Chapter Two for an in-depth discussion of the Lost Cause

arrangement, “those who have the choice will likely pick the memory that suits them best” (Markovits 2001:557). Hence, the popular moonlight and magnolia version of the South, the war, and its aftermath. Selective memory can provide good stories however that is just what they are, nothing but a myth.

When writing about selective memory, along with the remembering and forgetting, Inga Markovits (2001:513) states that it is the present that rules over the past and that in every generation, it is those in position of authority (“for whatever interests will advances their interests”) who “decide which of the names and events that preceded them are worthy of remembrance.” Therefore “the past is a scarce resource” (Appadurai 1981:201) being struggled over. It is the selective memory that not only affects what is “remember[ed] about the past but how we remember it” (Markovits 2001:545). Those who possess power, who control the wealth and the resources, control memory – thus, they control “history.”

Therefore, these individuals and groups are in the position to re-write history for their benefit continuing their sway over the masses. "It is not because thoughts are similar that we can evoke them; it is rather because the same group is interested in those memories, and is able to evoke them, that they are assembled together in our minds" (Connerton 1989:37). Selective memory is a direct result of years of opinion-shaping and identity-making. Those in positions of authority pass down the agreed-upon memories. Sociologist Michael Schudson (1992), in his work entitled, *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget and Reconstruct the Past*, examines how

history is manipulated into whatever myth that politicians find helpful and/or useful. Those in power use “selectively remembered version[s] ... to promote a contemporary agenda” (Abroe 1998:22-25). Assmann (2014:np) contends that, “memory goes hand-in-hand with forgetting. Memory is often concerned with what is socially constructive rather than socially destructive. Societies remember what helps them consolidate their identity and forget what could potentially destroy them.” This aspect of forgetting is essential to this analysis of the history of the Civil War and will be illustrated later in the final chapters.

Due to the difficulty of separating the fusion of culture, memory, and history as they are so intertwined that contested narratives arise, groups form and align behind these narratives. Memory is the “uniform expression of a collective consciousness”; it is “the power of oneness of a people” (Guss 2000:3). Historian Lyman Johnson (2004) argues that structures like rituals, performances, or even museums and monuments are selected as political vessels that are invested with memory and meaning. The dominant group struggles to retain control as they are appropriated with calculating symbolic power. The impact of race (Whiteness) complicates the “oneness” of the historical narrative and creates an environment in which a collective consciousness fractures. The essence of the single-story narrative is created via the power granted through the racial hierarchy to the dominant group. Chapter Three will delve a bit deeper into the “danger of the single-story” and the consequence of making it the “definitive story” (Adichie 2009).

Much of what is known of Bates and Cass County's historical narrative is due to the single-story as recorded by White males in the booster literature written in the 1880s into the early 1900s. The primary texts⁸ used in the research of Bates and Cass Counties are classified in the genre of boosterism literature. Historian Margaret Walsh states that booster publications were "based on neither history nor culture, but flourished on material achievements and economic potential" (1983:87). Boosterism is nothing more than civic puffing. Books such as these laud the area's merits as a way to encourage civic pride, in addition to attracting new residents, business, and economic development. As historian Jeremy Neely writes concerning the boosteristic publications written during the late nineteenth and into the early twentieth century, they were "unabashedly triumphant and self-congratulatory" (2007:6).

In addition to the booster texts from both counties, what is known and still perpetuated as history has been taken from novels, the fictionalized stories believed to be truth are passed on as historically accurate. The myths and legends of the area continue to be assumed to be the true history of the region. However, within the last two decades, there has been new academic scholarship focusing on the Missouri-Kansas border region. Until recently, much of what was known was viewed through a macro-lens of the Civil War. New research provides a micro-level exploration via the lens of not only history but also sociology, cultural anthropology, and archeology. No longer are the topics a dichotomy of issues, of Black or White, free or slave, North or South, Union or Confederate, as the border conflicts were a multitude of deeply

⁸ See REFERENCES under Primary Sources (A. Texts) for a complete listing

complicated matters that spanned over the complex border area. The region was far from static – it was dynamic with moving parts dealing with ideological differences (political and religious), liberty and freedom, nationalism and sectionalism. “In order to grasp what occurred during the Civil War, you have to understand what happened in Kansas and Missouri” (Ballard 2019:np). The conflict within the Missouri-Kansas border region was not just another battle within the context of the Civil War but had unique situations and individuals.

In 1997, historian Stephanie McCurry wrote a social history concerning small-scale farmers. Her study looked at the yeoman located in the low country of South Carolina versus the large-scale plantation owners. McCurry’s approach took into account gender roles, social class, race, and religion along with various other social aspects. The yeomen, who may or may not have owned slaves, were responsible for the care and cultivation of their own land. They primarily grew crops for subsistence. Conversely, past scholarship generally looked at the slave-owning planter class who had tasked their chattel with all facets of the cash crop produced for market. McCurry posits that while the yeoman were not owners of vast acreages or slaves, they were the *Masters of Small Worlds* (1997) perhaps owning a few slaves if any, they controlled everything in their domain, the labor of their wives, children, and slaves. This work did not include the border region however it paved the way for other scholars who would look at small-scale farming and small-scale slave ownership in the area of western Missouri.

Two historians Diane Mutti Burke and Kristin Epps wrote on slavery within the region. Before Mutti Burke's publication of *On Slavery's Border: Missouri's Small Slaveholding Households, 1815-1865* (2010), overwhelming the research on slavery dealt with large-scale plantation life. Her research introduces the notion of relationships among the slave-owners and the slaves within the small-scale farming context. In that most small slaveholding household generally owned ten or fewer slaves, there was an "intimacy" of sorts experienced due to the close proximity in which masters and slaves dwelled and labored. This aspect, along with several other variables, produced a differing type of slavery experience than that of the institution of slavery found on the plantations of the Deep South.

Slavery on the Periphery: The Kansas-Missouri Border in the Antebellum and Civil War Eras (2016) by Kristen Epps places the Black slave central in her research through a micro-analysis of their experiences. She takes the slave experience from the peripheral margins to the forefront within the border region. Epps reinforces previous research of the small-scale slaveholding and the close proximity of the master/slave relationship. She points out how the Black slave helped to shape the region. While the question of slavery was being debated in Congress, there were those in the region who were living with the reality of slavery, Black and White. Not only were there slaveholders in Missouri but also Epps writes, that Kansas functioned as "a slave territory" (99) before admission to the Union as a free state.

In *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (2004), historian Nicole Etcheson presents the challenges of conflicting notions of liberty and freedom to various groups residing in the Kansas Territory. She lays out a continuum of views from the conservative anti-abolitionists immigrants who ardently opposed slavery as well as any discrimination leveled towards Blacks; to those Whites who came for new economic opportunities in the territory but held no regard for slavery other than, they did not want to be in labor competition with slavery; to the White pro-slavery settlers who did not want Blacks (free or slave) to reside within their midst. Etcheson presents research on the conflict that raged within Bleeding Kansas over what it meant to be a free state and whose freedoms would be central in the outcome. She posits that in the battle over slavery and each group's struggle to define liberty with their respective interpretation of guaranteeing their ensuing rights, the groups in turn unwittingly extended freedom to Blacks.

Historian Jeremy Neely opened up the explosion of Missouri-Kansas border studies in 2007 with his book entitled, *The Border Between Them: Violence and Reconciliation on the Kansas-Missouri Line*. Neely's social history demonstrates how the Civil War was a critical point in the development of the border region in a contested time of slavery and liberty. He filled an empty void in the scholarship of the region that deals with everyday women and men from the antebellum era through re-development following the end of the Civil War.

The border region scholarship continued to grow and by 2011 historians Mutti Burke and Jonathan Earle co-organized an academic symposium – Border Wars Conference in Kansas City, Missouri. Leading scholars in the field of history participated such as Michael Fellman, an authority on guerrilla warfare in the region. His conference presentation introduced the role of religion in justifying the brutal border violence. His book, *In the Name of God and Country* (2009), Fellman includes chapters on the terrorism of John Brown, terrorism during the Civil War, and the White terrorists during Reconstruction. In addition to Fellman, speakers included those mentioned above Neely, Mutti Burke, Epps, and Etcheson. Aaron Astor presented his findings on the White supremacy discourse, which appeared in a post-Civil War Missouri paper entitled *The Lexington Weekly Caucasian*. The conference featured over 15 academics presenting their research of the Missouri-Kansas border region. From this symposium, an edited book of essay, *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri: Long Civil War on the Border* was published in 2014. Participant Christopher Phillips spoke on the Federal occupation present in Missouri during the Civil War.

Phillips has published numerous books covering various aspects of the Civil War, such as slavery, emancipation, race, and politics. His latest is *The River Ran Backwards: The Civil War and the Remaking of the American Middle Border* (2016). Phillips argues that the “middle border,” of which Missouri is a part, was once designated as the demarcation to the West, in turn, was re-considered as a new delineation due to the political nature of the issue of slavery. “The national confluence once represented as

the West was remade as South and North, the great divide symbolized by the former region's now-wide rivers" (338). The "confluence" divided the nation not only geographically but also socially, culturally, and politically. Phillips maintains before the start of the Civil War, the middle border region was moderately accepting of slavery, however, the sectional polarity brought about the need for individuals to take a stand, to pick a side. He contends that this forced the region into the new position of "an inner war front" (163) as "the war came to communities" (170). Phillips book incorporates numerous subject matters not unfamiliar with the history of Bates County and Cass County; issues such as guerrilla warfare, citizens leaving their homes in search of safety, seizure and destruction of property, federal occupation by Union troops, and the enforcement of martial law.

Data and Methods

Given the sociological and historical nature of this research i.e., no living persons to give eyewitness testimony of the period being historically constructed and remembered, the most appropriate methodology to utilize is a qualitative multi-method approach to collect and examine a variety of sources. Drawing from a multi-methods approach is beneficial in that there is no one particular source that is a "pure method, but from the use of methods that are variously textured, toned and hued" (Sandelowski 2000:337). The multi-methodology allows for a more holistic approach to the data in that it can lead to greater validity and reliability of the data directed at

answering the research questions. Therefore, this dissertation utilized multiple means of gathering data – summative content analysis of murals and monuments; primary sources include the primary texts⁹ of Bates County and Cass County histories, and informal discussions (oral testimonies/histories) with community members and artists with secondary sources that include census data.

Throughout this study, the primary qualitative method used is a type of content analysis. Content analysis is a widely used qualitative research method. This study utilizes a summative analysis, which consists of identifying, and the comparison of the data by using keywords taken from the text or object. From this comparison, analysis of the data takes place leading to the understanding of the data and its meaning for an interpretation of the underlying meaning. The summative analysis will be used to draw data from murals, monuments, primary texts, the social location of the authors of the texts, informal discussions, and oral testimonies (histories) of artists and community members.

Content analysis is searching for reoccurring patterns. Qualitative researchers, Robert Bogdan and Sari Knopp Biklen (1998:145) define data analysis for qualitative research as "working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others." It is essentially the search for meaning, which involves searching for patterns. "Data interpretation and analysis involves making sense out of what [is] said, looking for patterns, putting together what is said

⁹ See REFERENCES under Primary Sources (A. Texts) for a complete listing

in one place with what is said in another place, and integrating [the] different” ways in which it has been presented (Patton 2002:347). Making sense out of the data will entail looking for repetition that emerges from the various collection methods such as analyzing paintings and the viewing of monuments.

Researchers Hsiu-Fang Hsieh and Sarah E. Shannon (2005) explain the summative content analysis method as identifying “certain words or content in text with the purpose of understanding the contextual use of the words of content,” so as “not to infer meaning but, rather, to explore usage” (1283). Content analysis allows for a critical examination of the material culture pieces from both counties to interpret their commemorative content. Social scientist, Bernard Berelson (1954:489), known for his work in the field of communications, writes, “content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.” Content analysis is defined as “any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages” (Holsti 1968:608). The messages, the manifestation found within the communication of the text or object, are important (Berelson 1954:489) as well as those messages that are excluded. For example, the local historical narrative focuses on the White male-centered experiences, adventures, and their families. The challenge is to uncover the silenced voices, decode the hidden meaning, and expose these by reading and viewing them suspiciously or skeptically and employing a critical analysis of the local narratives.

The informal discussions (oral testimony/history) are a way of gathering, preserving, and interpreting historical information garnered from individuals in the present regarding the past. Historian Patrick W. Carlton (2014:np) writes that oral history “serves to fill in the inevitable gaps ... often providing ‘the rest of the story.’” The informal discussions lend support as to whose representation of history is on display. Specifically, the artist comments contribute by inquiring as to where they, the artist, obtained the information of what should be included or what may have been excluded in the murals and monuments. This method assists in gathering evidence of the two counties’ remembering and forgetting of history by focusing and gaining insight on this matter as to what groups are remembered in the historical narrative of murals and monuments as well as what groups are left out of this process.

The murals chosen for analysis were based on their depiction of Civil War memory. Bates County has six murals; Cass County has four.¹⁰ Both counties have one monument each.¹¹ While not a countywide project, as early as 2001, there was a “Slave Fountain” located in northern Cass County that bears discussion. However, sometime before 2012, the fountain was torn down to erect a memorial honoring veterans of all wars. The “Slave Fountain” and its destruction will be interpreted as the phenomenon of forgetting.

¹⁰ See REFERENCES under Primary Sources (B. Murals) for a complete listing

¹¹ See REFERENCES under Primary Sources (C. Monuments, Memorials, and Statues) for a complete listing

Photographs of each of the murals and monuments are included in Chapters Three and Four, which were taken by myself or were obtained from online resources with credit given as to their source. An analysis is applied to employ a critical examination of the murals and monuments, analyzing them for their respective commemorative content as a part of the local historical narrative.

White imagery largely comprises the remembrances in the murals and monuments except for the First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry statue. The murals selected were all commissioned by and painted by a member of the dominant White group. The monument honoring the First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry was originally the vision of a small group of Black parishioners from Bates County that was eventually integrated by the dominant group. I also explore a “token” acknowledgment of several Black men recognized at the Burnt District Monument. I supply background information for each item analyzed for this study. The use of the qualitative method of content-type summative analysis will enable me to conduct a critical examination of the murals and monuments as primary sources of information.

The use of standardized collection methods is important to preserve the reliability and validity of the emerging data. To that point, there existed no known mural or monument data collecting worksheet for sociological analysis. Taking portions of a mural worksheet from Roosevelt University and an art analysis worksheet provided by the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration I created a Mural/Monument Analysis Worksheet (Appendices A) to record the following elements

from each category for each mural: people/figures, objects/buildings, activities/actions, and symbols/meanings. I documented observations or explanations from my viewing and/or research. From this information, I record inferences that could be made along with queries that arose.

Understanding the communicator can assist in drawing inferences to a work. Charles Wright (1986:125026) in his book, *Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective*, argues that content analysis is not just for the study of content “but also to draw inferences about the nature of the communicator.” For this reason, communication with the artists adds substance to understanding their art. An understanding of what specifically inspired or guided the artist discloses information on what is included or what may have been excluded in the creation of the murals and monuments. My research includes an informal conversation with painter Daniel Brewer who shares as to where he received his inspiration for what to include in his murals on display in Bates and Cass counties. I correspond through email with the sculptor of the First Kansas Colored Voluntary Infantry monument, Joel Randell, in which he discusses his motivation for the statue. Both of these artists’ testimonies help “to fill in the inevitable gaps ... often providing ‘the rest of the story’” (Carlton 2014:np). The process of gathering oral histories or testimonies is a way of collecting, preserving, and interpreting historical information garnered from individuals in the present regarding the past.

This study is not only interested in what is remembered, but also considers the phenomenon of forgetting, while noting that generally only the dominant group's historical memory is remembered in the local narrative. My analysis employs a qualitative approach to identify the dominant racial group in both counties using census analysis, evaluating each county's racial demographic trends from 1850 to present. Incorporating census analysis and qualitative inquiry of content analysis from multiple and varying sources, along with oral testimonies, presents a holistic approach to the data which leads to greater validity and reliability of the study.

To understand the constructed history of Bates and Cass Counties, as well as to set a foundation, I began by reading five primary historical sources written between 1883 and 1918. These primary sources are accessible either through an online format, CD-ROM or via the public library system. Many of the older texts taken from the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century utilized gender-specific and masculine terms to refer to both men and women and as such signaled a masculine referent. To retain the integrity of the citation, gender-specific terms will only be utilized if found within the historical sources, otherwise, I have attempted to use inclusive, gender-neutral language throughout this dissertation. There are no known historical texts written during this era concerning Bates or Cass County other than the male, White-focused narratives.

The period, 1883-1918, in which the authors wrote their works, I contend, reflect the attitudes and sentiments of the time. These chosen primary texts are used to

support and interpret the local beliefs and values surrounding the Civil War era as shown in these narratives. I chose not to include more recent works by local authors in that much of their work is done on a micro-level looking at particular events or smaller communities instead of a county-level history.

Much like the worksheet for the historical texts, to maintain consistency I created a Primary Text Worksheet (Appendices B) to record information as to the historical texts and their authors' social location. Building an understanding of the local writers' background provides further evidence of their personal perspective when recording history. In other words, the varying aspects of their respective social location, places the authors themselves within the context as to society.

In turn, it is this recorded history taken from the primary texts that have been used most recently in the development of the counties' murals and to some extent the monuments. Consequently, developing a comprehension of the elements of each authors' social location can assist in building a foundational understanding of their individual perspectives. This aids in giving insight into each writer's social location, which are those "broad but narrower factors that ... influence [one's] lives profoundly" (Henslin 2008:4). A few examples of the various elements making up our social location are age, race, class, gender, religion, or sexual orientation, all of which can affect an individual's worldview. To understand the social location of the writer is important to grasp their position within their respective social order. Social location can reveal information that sheds light on the author's personal biases, beliefs, and

values in the context of their existence. Writers are not immune to the social facts of their society that shape their interpretation of the world around them. In other words, the author's viewpoint is socially constructed by their location within society and groups, which in turn causes them to notice some facts as important and to disregard others. Therefore, I utilize content-type analysis searching for patterns along with their meanings and as the patterns emerge from the data they are recorded on the worksheets to be analyzed.

Understanding the originator of the content is essential. As mentioned earlier, Wright argues that content analysis is not just for the study of content “but also to draw inferences about the nature of the communicator.” For this reason, the voices of the primary texts' authors and the murals' artists are critical. Understanding an individual and their perspective is imperative to comprehend the varying aspects of their individual social location. Social location refers to an individual's placement within society depending upon their group memberships and/or experiences. It is “the broad but narrower factors that ... influence our lives profoundly” (Henslin 2008:4). Aspects such as age, race, gender, and any socially constructed category to which an individual belongs make up the totality of our social location within a given society. In addition to the authors of the primary texts social location, aspects of my location are important so that my rationale and resulting course of study can be placed into context as to how I came to this juncture and these questions concerning systemic racism.

Racism is so ingrained within society that it is normative in that no one can escape its influence, even I as a researcher. Therefore, this understanding of my personal social location act as a transparent mirror to maintain objectivity in which readers can see and understand the influences that led to and impact this study including the research questions regarding the normality of Whiteness and the resulting racism. The following paragraphs are an overview of how I came to undertake this course of study – it is my narrative where I discuss my cultural identity, how I was taught the dominant group’s agenda, and my very socialization into the privileges of being White.

While our individual narratives may be optimistic or sad and difficult, they present a window so that others can peer in, offering a clearer understanding of an individual’s various facets of their social location. Additionally, sharing several aspects of my social location acts as a disclosure and a statement of my potential biases as well as an explanation of my research interests. The following addresses three important parts of my social location: First and foremost, I am White. I come from a perspective of White privilege as it is embedded within our dominant culture here in the United States. Secondly, I am a daughter of the South. Third, I am married to a Black man.

The first two points can be discussed together. While I was not born in the Deep South, Southern blood courses through my veins. I was born to a young mother from a Kansas farm family and a young South Carolinian. I learned quite early to have disdain for those who did not look like me. As a point of clarification, the overt negative

socialization directed towards those of Black skin did not come from my mother but the actions, words, and behaviors purely displayed by my father. I vividly remember as a small child sitting in the living room playing with my younger brother reciting the rhyme, “Eenie, meenie, miney, mo.” My father walked by as we were saying, “catch a monkey by his toe” when he stopped to correct our recitation. This Southern man told us we were saying it wrong and proceeded to recite the verse replacing the word “monkey” with the word “nigger.” From then on, we began reciting the verse “correctly” until a later time when my mother overheard us and corrected our actions, telling us how bad the word was and we were to never to use it again.

While my mother counteracted this racist socialization, there were plenty of other ways in which a child can be socialized to learn White privilege. In addition to having a Confederate flag within our home and listening to the words of our father, we learned by watching his actions. My brother and I were educated as we traveled through the South that Whites did not stop at drive-ins where Blacks worked because the establishment’s chocolate ice cream was made by the Black workers sticking their fingers in it. We also played witness to countless examples of our father’s treatment of Blacks as less-than second-class individuals. By the time I was 12 years of age, my biological father was out of my life. Nonetheless, his attempt at socializing his children with his racist ways was firmly in place concerning his daughter.

I was subtly taught that Southerners perceive themselves and their culture as different from that of Northerners. Scholars such as U.B. Phillips and W.J. Cash

discussed the perceived attributes of Southern culture in their writings, which in turn launched other researchers to fill volumes with their notions of Southern characteristics. The ensuing literature of which may, or may not, set Southerners apart as a distinctive people is long and could fill an entire dissertation. Historian Frank L. Owsley's description of Southern characteristics is a composite that provides a fitting inclusivity of Phillips' and Cash's elements. Owsley writes of "the solid virtues: Integrity, independence, self-respect, courage, love of freedom, love of their fellow man, and love of God" (1949:vii). Inevitably these notions lead to the ideal that Southerners are better individuals.

Most importantly, race is a part of this identity; to be Southern is to be White, not Black. Phillips, Cash, and Owsley may vary in their list of Southern characteristics but the one point they agree upon is that Southerners believed that to be Southern one must be White. Southern historian U.B. Phillips (1928) in his essay entitled, "The Central Theme of Southern History" writes that race is not only the central theme in the area's history but it is an unchanging factor embedded deep within Southern history. Phillips closes out his essay suggesting to the reader that race is the central unchanging theme of the South and with it "the South shall remain 'a white man's country'" (43). For me, it took years to undo the embedded racist ideology. By the time I was in my later teen years I was learning that there were racial inequalities based upon perceived differences and not innate traits as were stereotyped. I began the

journey of educating myself to make a difference within my sphere of influence concerning inequality.

Due to my biological father's notions regarding race and his Southern ideology, I have always been fascinated with all aspects of the Civil War. When circumstances required me to move to Cass County, Missouri in the 1980s, I began to see this area in a different light. What furthered my interests was when I accepted a position of employment in Harrisonville, the county seat. It was here that I began to see personally the intra-workings of this county and its ideologies. While completing course work for my Masters degree, I interviewed several individuals in the county. Their conversations were laced with comments regarding "the other side," "those Northerners" or "them Confederates." This fascinated me in that there were people still living in what seemed to me to be the past. To them, the war was not over as many of the county's residents were lined up on one side or the other. I could not understand how and why events of the past continued to be actively resident in their minds and hearts. This trajectory eventually placed me on the path for the course of study of this dissertation.

The final aspect of my social location I want to address is my spouse. I married a Black man in 1999. This man and I are soul mates and we are quite connected on every level. Before we met, I felt like "I got it" concerning what it means to be Black in our society. However, it is my White privilege that prohibits me from really "getting it." Our relationship these past 20 years is only the beginning of a journey of realization reinforced by experiences and observations.

I recognized I am a beneficiary of institutionalized, systemic racism where White privilege is everything in our society. I am not a White savior but as a sociologist, I believe it is my calling, my responsibility to shine the light on social issues exposing the potential racism that leads to the darkness of disparity and inequality. Therefore, I perceive and analyze the social world around me through a critical lens of race.

Theoretical Framework

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of this dissertation, the following section will address the theoretical frameworks of the Social Construction of Reality (Berger & Luckman 1966) and Critical Race Theory (Bell 1995; Crenshaw, et al 1995; Delgado 1995). The theoretical framework is essential to the interpretation of data as it is the primary organizing structure of concepts, expectations, principles, and theories that support and inform the research serving as the fundamental aspect in the research design (Maxwell 2005; Miles & Huberman 1994; Robson 2002).

The social construction paradigm (or social constructionism) has sociological roots, which were first developed in the 1960s. Noted theorists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966) are instrumental in the development of the social construction theory through their seminal work entitled, *Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in Sociology of Knowledge*. Berger and Luckman built upon Alfred Schutz's, their professor, teaching concerning the creation of social reality through symbols. The paradigm is based on closely held assumptions concerning what is real and how society

comes to know these assumptions as reality (or what is believed to be real). This perspective maintains that shared reality is a unique experience that individuals create and interpret in relation to their group context (Gergen 1999). These experiences shape individuals' existences, justify certain actions, and constrain behaviors. Individuals are socialized into a particular institutional context, accepting the reality as normal through shared meanings. Individuals rarely if ever question the underlying rationality of the group's systems.

Born from this theory is the notion of "social constructs," which are ideas not necessarily or inherently true or fixed in nature; however, they become facts within a cultural and historical era-related context. These so-called "facts" are constructed from, acted upon, and transmitted within a group. This process of social construction exists completely within society and creates ideas and meanings that carry with them norms and expectations. Social constructions are comprised of things, places, beliefs, ideas, gestures, symbols—everything known to be "real" within society—which is devoid of meaning until they are collectively acted upon it, giving them meaning, and embracing their significance.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a theoretical framework used as a critical lens of analysis by which to view race, the causes and consequences of systemic or institutional racism that is deeply embedded within the social fabric of American society as a normal occurrence (Ladson-Billings 1998:7-24). CRT maintains that the

dominant groups, generally taken as White and male, within American culture (McIntosh 1988), wield power over those possessing an unequal status.

While Critical Race Theory has its formation in the 1970s within the field of legal studies it is applicable to many social science disciplines as well as education. CRT's beginnings evolved in part due to the lack of focus on racial issues by the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) movement (Delgado & Stefancic 2001; Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado & Crenshaw 1993). The fundamental purpose of CRT is to salvage and render the voices of marginalized groups, most pointedly, people of color, who typically have been and continue to be silenced by the dominant White narrative (Delgado & Stefancic 2001:144 & 41). This is called counter-storytelling or giving a voice to those who are not a part of the dominant narrative (Delgado & Stefancic 2001:144). Counter-storytelling assists in "understand[ing] what life is like for others, and invite[s] the reader into a new and unfamiliar world (Delgado & Stefancic 2001:141).

Critical Race Theory defines the dichotomy of race and Whiteness in the context of the disparity between the two while focusing on the resulting social problems. Additionally, CRT serves to study racism within social institutions, which includes their respective policies and practices and also within the resulting cultures created through these disparities. Possessing a working understanding of CRT is helpful within any field or discipline for lending insight when working with those individuals/groups not associated with the dominant culture. Critical Race Theory provides a means for the acknowledgment and understanding of silenced voices and experiences of the

marginalized groups in the United States. CRT is an effective method of educating and heightening awareness of disparity as well as working towards social change.

The last forty years have seen an expansion of Critical Race Theory into other fields such as education, ethnic (e.g., LatCrit) and women's studies, history, psychology, sociology, film, and theatre (Delgado 1984:561-578; Delgado 1992:1349-72). From this scholarship came differing positions regarding the basic principals of the theory. The main tenets utilized in this study are as follows - - The first, which CRT theorists agree upon is that the notion of race is a social construct. It is created and maintained by a racial hierarchy, with racism trailing closely behind (Delgado & Stefancic 2001). The first tenet is tied closely with the second in that race is normative. This second principle is interwoven with the first in that race and racism goes unnoticed due to being normalized and in turn, the marginalized group is left out of the local historical narrative. Due to the normality, racism is so embedded within the United States' culture that it goes undetected (Delgado & Stefancic 2001). My supposition is that the dominant groups within Bates and Cass counties are blinded to their participation and continuation of systemic racism through their control, elimination of events, and exclusion of the roles and participation of marginalized groups within the local historical narrative.

According to Critical Race Theory, the third tenet is termed, "interest convergence" (Delgado & Stefancic 2001) or the notion that the White dominant group will only concede to the marginalized group when it serves their best interest and they

show little interest in changing from the status quo. This tenet is thought-provoking when considering the opening account regarding the need to salvage old barn wood rather than just placing a plaque outside the Prince Whipple Schoolhouse. The fourth and final element is that only marginalized individuals possess the authority or uniqueness of voice to confront the oppression of racism. Thus, being relegated to the margins of society brings with it a privilege of sorts and a “presumed competence to speak about race and racism” (Delgado & Stefancic 2001:8-9). I am not presuming to speak for the marginalized group, as I possess no uniqueness or authority of voice and am a member of the dominant White segment of the population. My role as a researcher is to make what is implicit, explicit.

Not only does Critical Race Theory shed a light on sources of ongoing racism, but also it challenges the causes of the racism as well as exposing the extensive connections within and among social institutions of systemic racism. Institutional racism profits from “ingrained cultural attitudes,” which can be slow to transform “the social and economic structures with which they were once associated in a direct and transparent way” (Fredrickson 1997:51-66). With ingrained attitudes, notions, and behaviors come the “taken for grantedness of racism.” CRT aids researchers in discovering how extensive racism is within society, as well as the numerous ways in which it is manifested whether it is ambiguous or overt in nature. Ultimately, CRT reveals the negative impact of racism on society.

Race is a social fact because it has been given meaning in a particular way. Rodriguez and Fortier (2007:7) remind their readers that, “memory cannot be understood apart from social [facts] ... which help construct the manner in which memory will be interrupted.” Considering this, my study looks into the manners in which racism is evident in subtle or covert ways within the murals and monuments of Bates and Cass Counties, searching out and revealing the “taken for grantedness of racism.” The lack of presence within the local narrative, in turn, reveals there are little to no voices for people of color to have representation. The lack of representation is noticeably missing in the remembrances of the counties’ history. These limitations are exposed through an analysis of monuments and murals located within Bates and Cass.

Not only are the local areas benefitting from possessing sway over the narrative, the White narrative, furthermore they are potentially reaping economic-financial gains through tourism. Stanford University historian George M. Fredrickson (2000:91) addresses the notion of “ingrained cultural attitudes” of systemic racism. This, in turn, can result in the control and the profits from the institutionalization of racism. Consequently, the dominant White group has a distinct advantage where they benefit from the ingrained racism that is socially constructed.

Organization of Study

Chapter One has provided an introduction to my research. A statement of the issue concerning the historical construction of race as evidence in the murals and

monuments of Bates County and Cass County is given. Following are the four central research questions, to be answered through the comparative study of the two counties' data. To determine the answer, I discussed the research methods, including the procedures employed to gather data for the study.

I present an extended discussion of the literature of culture, history, and memory. Progressing from the literature is the theoretical framework of two theories, the Social Construction of Reality and Critical Race Theory. At times, I am certain the reader found the concepts, theories, and methods discussed to be difficult to separate. This is the exact point! History, memory, social constructs, material and non-material culture cannot be unraveled. They are inextricably linked and tightly woven together. No one thread can be pulled out of the social fabric without unraveling the entirety. However, this dissertation will “unglue” the local fabric, of Bates and Cass County, to take a micro-view of the subtle racism that continues to thrive covertly through the presentation of their murals and monuments.

Rounding out the chapter is a discussion concerning several aspects of my personal social location by way of informing the reader of my interests that led to this study. Revealing my social location also acts as a disclaimer of sorts toward any biases that could arise.

Chapter Two focuses on the constructed historical narrative which lends to the understanding of the troubled past in the area of Bates and Cass County. This chapter is interlaced with the constructed history of each respective county. Those involved in

the preservation of the local history have internalized a mythical understanding or perception of their “history.” A discussion is included that helps to explain why this border region, of Kansas and Missouri, may have experienced some aspects of the American Civil War differently than other border states. Thus Bates’s and Cass’s understanding of the border war and the actual war itself are distinctive.

Images of the murals and monuments from Cass County as well as an analysis as to how their presentation of racial groups act as the benchmark or “the standard” for this study are offered in Chapter Three.

Following in Chapter Four is “the exception” to the standard, Bates County’s memorialization through murals and a monument. I analyze the historical narrative of the county where more inclusivity of Blacks is evident within their commemorations when compare to Cass County, holding it as “the standard.” The chapter concludes with a comparative analysis of the two counties.

Chapter Five consists of the application of Critical Race Theory to the initial findings of the comparative analysis between the two counties. Application of CRT to the initial findings answers the four central research questions.

Chapter Six focuses on a summary discussion of the research along with the recommendations for proposed practices including the deconstruction of current narratives, the reconstruction of new narratives, and the reeducation of the inclusive narrative. A lengthy section of proposed recommendations for future studies, as well

as lingering questions are given. Last I share closing reflections from my sociological vantage.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT: UNDERSTANDING THE TROUBLED PAST

In 2000, while conducting research in Cass County, gossip was buzzing around the community of Harrisonville that workers had discovered evidence of a slave exchange from the antebellum era in the basement of a boarded-up building located on the town square. The construction workers reported seeing an old weathered sign with the words “Slave Exchange” and several sets of iron rings mounted in the walls and on the floor. It was presumed that the rings were used to connect a chain to shackles to secure slaves. Upon hearing about this find, I contacted the property manager explaining my interest in touring the building. The manager inquired as to how I had garnered this information. After hearing the explanation, she replied that there was no truth in the rumor. Persisting, I requested access to photograph the basement. I stressed that history needs to be preserved, learned from and not ignored. After her initial response concerning that there was no truth to the rumor, she added that there are some things in the past that need to stay in the past. Adding, that this was not the kind of history and attention Harrisonville needed. In many instances, individuals of the dominant White group have deliberately, and at times unconsciously, controlled the historical narrative by exerting power over what is remembered and what is forgotten.

“If men could learn history, what lessons it might teach us!” (Coleridge 2015:np)

“The Burnt District” is a strip of land running along the east side of the Missouri-Kansas state line, approximately 85 miles long and 50 miles wide. This area includes the Missouri counties of Jackson, Cass, Bates and a small section of northern Vernon. The Burnt District was named as such due to the physical devastation inflicted along the Missouri-Kansas border during the Civil War. The conflict ravaged the area inclusive of Bates and Cass Counties, reducing the once occupied prosperous land into a vast and burnt wilderness.

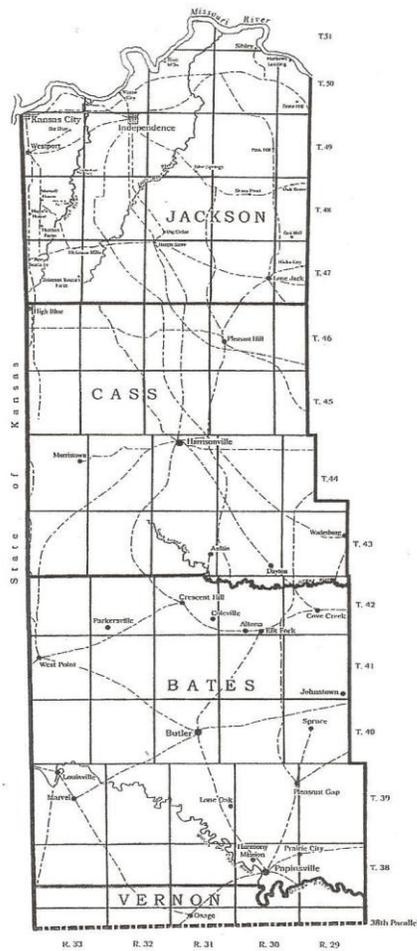


Figure 1 - Burnt District Map

The official start of the American Civil War began when the first shots were fired on Fort Sumter, South Carolina in 1861. The conflict and turmoil that raged within the Burnt District, as presented by many local historians, suggest, at the very least, the embers that ignited the full-scale war across the nation took place nearly a decade before those shots were ever fired. While Missouri and Kansas played a central role in the question of slavery and its potential for expansion, the area experienced the Civil War differently than other areas. This study will look at the outcomes and implications

experienced by the counties of Bates and Cass, and will discuss the effects on their present-day historical narratives in regard to race.

The unveiling of historical truth is a complicated matter. Much of what present-day historians know of any historical event or topic is taken from what is recorded in primary historical texts, documents, and narratives. This is quite evident when diving into the historical past of Bates and Cass Counties. Their local historical narratives are framed and set in stone through their monuments, and the imagery presented in their murals. The question, is the history projected for these two counties in the monuments and murals an accurate reflection of the true history of the area, or does it continue to perpetuate the same false messages over and over?

This chapter contains the historical context that aids in understanding the troubled past of the area that eventually would become Bates and Cass Counties. While I recognize and acknowledge the scholarship of the work of academic historians, I have chosen to focus on the constructed history as provided by the primary texts. The “telling” of the histories from the old texts is exactly the point of my study. They were written in the late nineteenth century through early twentieth centuries and have formed the foundational beliefs surrounding the local narratives for Bates and Cass. Those individuals involved in current preservation of local history have internalized a mythical understanding or perception of their history. In the present day, local amateur historians still weave the memories of the past into the narratives as evidenced in the murals and monuments using the assumptions and memories from

the writers of the past. Present-day Bates and Cass have inherited a traditional historical accounting, a record of events of what authors from the past decided were of importance. The writers produced a culturally relevant version of history selecting those events and individuals that fit their rendition of history, maintaining their constructed narrative and passing it on through generations. The literature I have formally referred to as “primary texts” belong to the category of booster texts or boosterism literature. I will refer to them as such throughout the dissertation.

The intended manifestation of the boosterism genre was to attract good people – people of industry, families, ministers, doctors, and farmers, people who would bring stability and growth to an area. The literature promotes an area’s beauty, richness, and opportunities if only the reader will come. Literature of this sort was used as promotional marketing pieces, to entice and encourage the immigration of settlers and businesses. Historian Neely labels booster texts as “unabashedly triumphant and self-congratulatory in nature” (2007:6). The focus was on the positives of the “promise land” with any negative aspect of the past or present overlooked or downplayed. While the booster texts are considered primary source documents, they should not be utilized as the sole evidence of the past.

Over one hundred years later the texts are regarded as civic puffing since boosters were prone to embellishments and provide over-representations. An issue arises when present-day local history enthusiasts take the boosterism as fact and continue to view these texts as researched history. Readers of the booster texts must

consider this issue as well as understand the social location of the writers (see Chapter Five for discussion) and the social-historical context of the era, as noted in the previous section, in which the texts were written. The authors also were not professional historians. Generally, they were prosperous individuals who would reap the benefits of encouraging more immigration to their area. All four factors may account as to why some events and persons are remembered, how they are remembered, and why others are forgotten or overlooked.

The men writing the booster literature of the counties were not professional historians who used rigorous methods of analysis – they were amateur recorders of profile-raising events and prosperous community individuals. The rise of professional, scholarly historians did not evolve until the mid to late nineteenth century (Boldt 2014). Much like sociologists who research to add to the science for the advancement of knowledge, historians challenge the present narrative and at times add an aspect of history not yet researched so as to enhance the existing body of historical knowledge. Scholarly research employs professional standards such as utilizing a methodology for data collection. This scholarship engages critical thinking and rigorous analysis by drawing conclusions from fact-based evidence. In contrast, amateur historians often reach conclusions without fact-based information, by instead speculating and making suppositions. Frequently, the amateur’s conjecture is “entangled with memories and myth” with little regard for the “concern for content or significance” (Cronon 2012:np).

The imagined past needs to be examined through a demanding critical analysis as completed by the professional historian.

Scholarly historians are academically trained, are proficient in their area of expertise, and engage other scholars in their field. Local enthusiasts generally are not trained experts in their field nor do they usually engage with scholars. While both groups are passionate concerning their respective subject matter, passion can blind these local “researchers” to the facts or compel them to ignore some altogether. This approach can lead one to speculation and unfound suppositions. Therefore, this chapter will examine the boosters’ constructed history of Bates and Cass followed by the more recently written professional historical scholarship of the region. Drawing a comparison between the booster and professional histories will help illuminate the problematic – and “whitewashed” – version of the history that informed and continues to impact the cultural memory in Bates and Cass Counties.

Before proceeding, each booster will be placed in its respective historical time period, most specifically addressing the issues revolving around race in that era. The first booster text, by the amateur historian, O.P. Williams, covers both counties. Williams published *The History of Cass and Bates Counties*, in 1883, which was six years following the end of Reconstruction. At this juncture, Jim Crow laws and practices were still in their infancy but nonetheless were being enforced in many parts of the South. As segregation became more deeply embedded in the Southern states due to Jim Crow, it brought with it a hostile living environment that was ripe with repression

and violence for many Blacks. This environment drove large numbers of Southern Blacks to seek new homes, which began the early wave of Black migration out of the South. The country was not only dealing with a Black racial issue, but the year prior to William's publication the Chinese Exclusion Act was signed into law, singling out another people of color/ethnicity, the Chinese (Daniels 2004; Chinese Exclusion Act 1882:np). Also, after the signing of Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 ending the Mexican-American War, large numbers of Mexican American landowners, including some families who had lived in the territory more than a hundred years, were driven off their lands by European immigrants and their descendants who claimed the land as their own. These conflicts over land often turned violent and included lynchings of Mexican Americans (Gonzalez 2011; Acuña 2019).

Fourteen years after Williams published his book, Tathwell and Maxey edited *The Old Settlers History of Bates County, Missouri* in 1897. In this time period, the United States continued to deal with issues of race. The Dawes Act of 1887 essentially allocated lands and citizenship to those Native Americans who agreed to assimilate into the dominant White culture. In 1890 Congress passed the Indian Territory Naturalization Act. This granted citizenship to Native Americans residing in Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) if they made application. The *Plessy v Ferguson* decision upheld legal segregation of "separate but equal" reinforcing Jim Crow. The lynching of Blacks was on the upswing. Edward A. Pollard published his book in 1866, *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederacy*. By 1894 the

women of the United Daughters of the Confederacy had joined forces to establish remembrances and to memorialize their brave soldiers and the ideology for which the soldiers fought.

Eleven years later in 1908, A.L. Webber released *History and Directory of Cass County, Missouri*. In the years between the publication of Williams book in 1897 and Webber's in 1908, an ongoing national debate existed about Blacks gaining full participation in society—legally, politically, and socially. Two men, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, led the national conversation. Washington's philosophy was one of accommodation to White oppression and to work within the system wherein Blacks could ultimately earn full citizenship and equal civil rights. Conversely, DuBois held that full citizenship and equal rights would not be earned but would need to be taken. He maintained that agitation and persistent resistance would be the means for Blacks to achieve equality. In 1905 the United States saw the rise of the Niagara Movement, the precursor to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Both organizations fought for equality under the law, as well as economic, social, and educational opportunities. The same year the Niagara Movement was formed, author Thomas F. Dixon, Jr. (1905) released the second book in his trilogy entitled *The Clansman: A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*.

During the first wave of the Great Migration, the United States' Census Bureau (2012) estimates that over 1.5 million Blacks relocated from the economically deprived South. In 1914, Marcus Garvey began a Black Nationalist movement called the Universal

Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) with the notion of promoting racial pride and unity, which was the same year Europe erupted into war. Three years after the start of the war in Europe, the United States joined the allies of Britain, France, and Russia in the Great War. Local authors, Allen Glenn and William O. Atkeson published their books one year apart—Glenn’s *History of Cass County, Missouri* in 1917 and Atkeson’s *History of Bates County* in 1918. Both authors were witnesses to the initial years of the first of the migrations of Southern Blacks, the backlash, and resistance concerning racial issues and the war to end all wars.

Within a short span of 35 years, five booster publications were printed that recorded the history of Bates and/or Cass Counties. In relation to race, racism, and immigration of certain racial groups as well as citizenship of non-Whites, other milestones during this time period may have influenced what these White men chose to record as well as what they chose to ignore. The writers of the texts were not protected nor were they insulated from the racial discourse since they were educated men and most likely read newspapers to remain current on regional, national, and world events. At times, they must have recognized the unstable racial environment and were aware of the unpredictable racial equilibrium. With all the rapid changes happening at the time, race was a central and continuing element in the mix. Nevertheless, or perhaps because of these concerns, they brought forward their White narratives and these constructs serve as the basis of the memorialization of history within present-day Bates and Cass Counties.

This chapter provides a snapshot of the development of Missouri as a state in context to the development of the nation at large as outlined in these foundational booster texts followed by professional historians' analyses of the events. The development of the area includes the transition of Missouri from a territory, to statehood, and admission as a slave state. No one event, from the forming of the territory through the events that precipitated the American Civil War, can be studied singularly as each happening is so interwoven into the social structure of the state of Missouri that one cannot remove a single event without having some potentially divergent outcome.

The Land and The Osage

Long before the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and before President Thomas Jefferson commissioned Captain Meriwether Lewis's and Second Lieutenant William Clark's expedition into the area comprising the new acquisition, Native American groups freely roamed the lands of present-day Missouri. In the work entitled *History of Bates County Missouri*, William O. Atkeson (1918:40) records:

Harking back to the beginning of any knowledge of this territory by white men, we find that Bates county was occupied by the Osage (for Ouachage) Indian tribes, the Grand, or as sometimes written, Great Osage, and the Little Osage ... As far back as we have any history Bates county was a part of the lands of the Osages, as far back as 1673 ... There is no authentic evidence that any other race of people ever occupied this particular territory other than the American Indian prior to the coming of the white man.

Allen Glenn (1917) also reports in the *History of Cass County, Missouri* that the Great and Little Osage tribes resided in the area later known as Cass County preceding White explorers and settlers.

Before the first White settlement in Bates County, the Osage believed they had sole possession of the land, in that as much as the Native American group believed in possessing the earth. The Spanish made prior exploration through the area as their French counterparts had done in the early 1700s (Harman 2017). Later the explorer Zebulon Pike traveled through the area in 1806 where his records confirm the locations of Osage villages previously noted by French explorer M. De Tissenet in 1719 (Atkeson 1918:47), lending credence not only to the presence of the Osage but the introduction of White culture to the Native American peoples. A.L. Webber (1908) notes that when the French made their way into Osage lands, they had little trouble and they formed farming partnerships with the Native Americans. Webber also states that it was not unusual for the French and Osage to intermarry (6).

In 1883 O.P. Williams states “the title to the soil of Missouri was ... primarily vested in the original occupants who inhabited the country prior to its discovery by the whites. But the Indians, being savages, possessed but few rights that civilized nations considered themselves bound to respect, so when they found this country in the possession of such a people, they claimed it in the name of the King of France” (Williams 1883:26-7). Having taken control and possession of what is known as the Louisiana Territory, the land remained with France until 1762 when it was ceded to

Spanish control through the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Spain governed the colony until France reacquired it in 1800 with the United States eventually taking final ownership in 1803. The year following the acquisition of the new territory, President Thomas Jefferson appointed Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore and map the newest territory, which was known as the Lewis and Clark Expedition or the Corps of Discovery.

One issue stood in the way of the United States ownership of the land. The government needed to procure true ownership from the Native American population. To do so required the United States government to obtain an unencumbered title by the means of “extinguish[ing] the Indian title by purchase.” O.P. Williams (1883:28) continues by stating, “the cession by France, April 30, 1803, vested the title in the United States, subject to the claims of the Indians, which it was very justly the policy of the government to recognize.”

Extinguishing all claims to land possessed by the Osage was an easy fix, in that the new owners would do so through treaties made with the Osage in 1808. With the United States government:

Being anxious to promote peace, friendship and intercourse with the Osage tribes, to afford them every assistance in their power, and to protect them from the insults and injuries of other tribes of Indians, situated near the settlements of the white people, have thought proper to build a fort ... for the protection of all orderly, friendly and well disposed Indians of the Great and Little Osage nations, who reside at this place, and who do strictly conform to, and pursue the counsels or admonitions of the President of the United States through his subordinate officers. (Kappler 1904:np)

Articles two and three of the treaty continue by promising the Osage they would be “regularly supplied with every species of merchandise, which their comfort may hereafter require, do engage to establish at this place, and permanently to continue at all seasons of the year, a well assorted store of goods, for the purpose of bartering with them on moderate terms for their peltries and furs” (Kappler 1904:np).

In addition to the above listed items, the United States agreed to supply a blacksmith shop along with the necessary “tools to mend their arms and utensils of husbandry, and engage to build them a horse mill, or water mill; also to furnish them with ploughs, and to build for the great chief of the Great Osage, and for the great chief of the Little Osage, a strong block house in each of their towns.” Lastly, an annual stipend would be paid to the tribe of \$1,500 along with the promise of protection as long as the Osage remained “orderly, friendly and well disposed” (Kappler 1904:np).

The 1808 treaty was inclusive of the land that would eventually become Bates and Cass Counties. The initial Osage treaty remained in effect until 1825 when “the Great and Little Osages gave up all their claims and rights to the remaining lands in Missouri” not covered in the original treaty (Kappler 1904:np). With the new treaty of 1825, the strip of land (inclusive of Bates and Cass) running along the western border of Missouri from Jackson County, south through McDonald County, was no longer considered Indian territory “but became for the first time a part of the then Missouri State”(Glenn 1917:56). S.L. Tathwell and H.O. Maxey (1897:13) corroborate in their book, *The Old Settlers’ History of Bates County Missouri*, “from its First Settlement to

the First Day of January 1900, that soon after the Territory was divided, residents began to object to the portion of Missouri still considered a part of Indian Territory. Due to the opposition “it was soon afterwards detached and made a separate Territory.” In 1812 the government formed the Missouri Territory.

The lands encompassing the Missouri Territory were acquired through the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 from France, along with over 800,000 square miles. The acquisition also included what would become the state of Louisiana. The territory making up this area of Louisiana was termed the Orleans Territory. Application was made and granted, admitting Louisiana as the 18th state of the Union in 1812. At this point, to circumvent future confusion, the Missouri Territory was formed and named.

With the opening of the Missouri Territory, the land began to be “rapidly settled, principally by immigrants from the Eastern states. This continued until 1818, when the people of the Territory applied for admission as a state” (Tathwell & Maxey 1897:13). The application for statehood brought great controversy, or as one writer called it, “the real agitation of the slavery question ... [of] the ‘Missouri Question’” (Williams 1883:35-6). The “Missouri Question” pushed the territory into the national spotlight, raising the issue as to whether Missouri would be admitted as a free state or a slave state. The debate centered around whether Missouri would join the Union as a slave state since the anti-slavery Congressional members were displeased with granting another state, slave-statehood. Congress wanted to maintain the balance between free and slave states to ensure that legislative voting would not favor pro-

slavery interests. Depending upon where the fulcrum is placed, admitting Missouri as a slave state held grave consequences not only politically within the nation's capital but also in the Missouri territory.

Present-day scholars view the Osage people and the invasion of Whites into their land differently than during the time period the older texts were written. Professor of Anthropology George Sabo's (2008) work reveals that when French explorers first heard of the Osage in 1673, this Native American group inhabited the area along and between the Missouri and Osage Rivers. According to noted Missouri historian Duane G. Meyer (1982) Bates and Cass Counties, a portion of the western tier of present-day Missouri counties, were officially titled Osage Territory even after statehood was granted in 1821.

Treaties were made, remade, and broken with the Missouri Osage. A single White man, Pierre Chouteau, who was a French Indian agent, had the ear of tribal leaders convincing them the 1801 treaty was in the tribe's best interest. In addition to being a government representative, Chouteau was a fur trader and businessman with extensive business interests in the territory (Hurt 2000). Westward expansion and the 1808 treaty were a lucrative arrangement for many, sans Native Americans.

The treaty was intended to stifle the inter-tribal warfare taking place among Native American groups. As with any cross-cultural discussions, language and understanding can impair negotiations. Eventual agreements may not be interpreted in the same manner across cultures as well as intentional misrepresentations and the

obligatory meeting of minds is flawed. The Osage gave up millions of acres of land to the United States government, and in turn received the promised gratuities as listed – cash payment, a blacksmith shop, and an annual stipend. Additionally, the government guaranteed future protections to the Osage tribe. Not all Osage were in favor of signing away their land, which included a forfeiture of their hunting grounds.

By 1825 the Osage were denied access to their former lands. Without admittance to the area, they were unable to hunt for food or to search out the skins and fur used in trade. By the 1830's Whites had introduced cholera, measles, and smallpox, which weakened the Native Americans not only physically but also in sheer numbers. With the hunting lands cut off, the tribe was already in a weakened state before the induction of White diseases. The Osage were in no condition to resist the advances of White intrusions (Rollings 1992).

The biggest obstacle to understanding Native American history is the way they preserved their history. Prior to the incursion of Whites into their lands, their narratives were passed through oral histories from one generation to the next. Once Whites began recording Native American histories it was from an Anglo and conquest perspective. The notion of Manifest Destiny played into the recorders' depictions of the Native Americans, as Whites won the West by taking the land from an uncivilized and savage people.

By the mid-twentieth century with the social and historical context of the United States in turmoil over many social issues, the Women's Movement and the Civil

Rights Movements for Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, and other people of color. Historians began writing Native American history through the lens of Native Americans who have been oppressed by the government and society in general. As a result, they cast Native Americans as peaceful victims (Flavin 2004). Historian Kristie C. Wolferman (1997), in her work entitled *The Osage in Missouri*, discusses the lasting effect White-oppression had on the Osage. Beginning with trade relations with the French, exploration by the Spanish, to missionary attempts to Christianize, and finally the United States' governmental treaties, the Osage culture was impacted by Whites, as they impressed their ways upon the Natives. Lewis Burns (2004), Osage tribal member and historian, discusses the significant impact on the Osage through the treaties with the United States that eventually ceded all their lands to the government.

The influence of Whites on the Osage marked a major cultural, social, and economic shift in their traditional ways. They were introduced to manufactured goods such as weapons and other durable items, the “commodification” of animals for the fur-trade, and the fragmentation of their political leadership hierarchy. Wolferman (1997) implies that Whites never grasped the Osage ways; therefore, they would never be the same again after their intersection with White ways. The Native Americans were forced to sacrifice their Osage culture as well as their lands on their way to becoming “civilized.” However, as Jeremy Neely (2007) points out, the procuring of Osage lands for White interest was in line with the United States government's preference of geographic segregation of Native Americans from the White population “over

attempts at assimilation” (20). The Osage were first pushed to the western border of Missouri, then driven into Indian Territory (present-day Kansas) and finally to the Indian Territory occupying what is now the state of Oklahoma. The removal of the Osage opened the area for the increased migration of Whites into the border region.

The Evolving Border Region and Migration of Whites

As the White settlers migrated into the area, a series of events, both local and national, forged challenges that would impact the region inclusive of the area that would eventually be the counties of Bates and Cass. Atkeson (1918:37) said it best in his booster writings: “the story of Missouri’s struggle for admittance as a state is an intently interesting one, but too long for a work like this.” Up to this point in the chapter, I have provided a concise overview of the pre-history of the state of Missouri. While the historical context and background of this area are of great significance, moving forward from this historical point will address those issues of most importance to this study.

Approval was granted in 1820 permitting Missouri’s admission into the Union as a slave state but only due to a political compromise - the Missouri Compromise, which limited the expansion of slavery. One booster text states that the compromise “takes rank among the most prominent measures” that up until that time had gained “the attention of the National Legislature” (Williams 1883:35). With Missouri’s entrance into the Union, simultaneously Maine was granted admittance as a free state, creating an

equal distribution of free states and slave states. Furthermore, the compromise stipulated that all new areas subsequently considered for admission to the Union falling north of the 36°30' line would be admitted as free states permitting no slavery within their borders. Those states located below the line would be free to allow legal slavery within their borders (Missouri Compromise 1820). This compromise effected a tenuous balance of power, thus forever placing Missouri into the vortex of the anti/pro-slavery issue and earning the title of “The Child of the Storm” (Glenn 1917:38).

During the 1820 convention, the framers of the State’s first constitution included exclusionary verbiage that reflected the values, beliefs, and culture of the people in regard to not only the issue of slavery but also a statement concerning race. While the first submission of the Missouri Constitution sanctioned and permitted slavery within Missouri, the authors specified that it “authorized the Legislature to pass laws preventing free negroes and mulattoes [sic] from settling in the state” (Williams 1883:39). The United States Congress rejected this submission due to the exclusion of “free negroes and mulattoes [sic].” Along with the declination, a suggestion was sent by Congress to the Missouri legislators strongly encouraging the passage of a “Solemn Public Act” so as to ensure that:

No part of the constitution of this state shall ever be constructed to authorize the passage of any law by which any citizen of either of the United States shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizens are entitled under the constitution of the United States. (Webber 1908:16)

The Missouri legislators acquiesced and made the required changes. In 1821, President James Monroe issued a proclamation admitting Missouri as the 24th state in the Union. While the seats of power in Washington D.C. were in balance politically, the fight between the anti-slavery and pro-slavery elements was not. These tensions remained along the “color line” (the division between those supporting slave and those who supported free states) not only nationally but also regionally – placing Bates and Cass Counties in the midst of antagonism.

The residents’ sentiments were due in a large part to the enculturation received during their formative years. Many of these early immigrants to Bates and Cass were born in Southern states. Writing in 1883, O.P. Williams (iii) notes they were “the sons and daughters from the old firesides of Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, Ohio and Indiana.” The writers and editors of the histories of the two counties, William O. Atkeson, Allen Glenn, S. L. Tathwell, A. L. Webber and O. P. Williams, include a lengthy record of individuals recognized as settlers to the area of Bates and Cass, including their points of origin. Nonetheless, as was frequently the case, the settlers were busy making history by building a life in the new area of the western frontier of Missouri.

Williams’ words resonate best:

Every nation does not possess an authentic account of its origin, neither do all communities have the correct data whereby it is possible to accurately predicate the condition of their first beginnings . . . One of the advantages pertaining to a residence in a new country, and one seldom appreciated, is the fact that we can go back to the first beginnings. We are thus enabled to not only trace results to their causes, but also to grasp the facts which have contributed to form and mould [sic] these cause [sic]. We observe that a state or county has attained a certain position, and we at once try to trace

out the reasons for this position in its settlement and surroundings, in the class of men [sic] by whom it was peopled, and in the many chances and changes which have wrought out results in all the recorded deeds of mankind. (1883:795)

The authentic account of the migrating sons and daughters may never be known; however, a look at their society and the culture they replicated when migrating into Missouri reveals the norms, attitudes, traits, beliefs, culture, and traditions of the South, including their acceptance of a slave-dependent culture. As Williams (1883:795) wrote, “we are thus enabled to ... trace results to their causes.”

In 1821, a missionary society in New York sent a cargo of White missionaries to “save” the Osage. Along with their families, they slowly ascended the Missouri and Osage Rivers to their final destination. The boat’s captain delivered these missionary-minded souls to the wilderness at a terminus that was to become Harmony Mission. Under the direction of the United Foreign Missionary Society, these individuals “were chosen because of their fitness for the work planned and sought to be accomplished, the sending of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the heathens of this, our own land, and to civilize and Christianize the Osage Indians” (Atkeson 1918:50). The missionaries toiled for sixteen years, never fully realizing their end goals of converting the Osage. The mission eventually closed once the Osage were removed and sent farther west by the government forced relocation program (Williams 1883:799).¹² These missionaries were

¹² Soon after statehood, the Missouri General Assembly began to enact restrictions on White trade with the Native Americans. As late as 1899, the State’s Revised Statutes were still limiting trade in addition to various other prohibitions such as the restriction

originally from the states of Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Vermont (Atkeson 1918). Once the mission closed, many of them returned to their homes in the East, although some remained in the area permanently becoming known as the Old Settlers along with those immigrants who were the sons and daughters of the South (Williams 1883:iii).

Webber (1908:40) records that all three authors of Cass County history wrote about the very beginnings of the county and he argued that very little can be garnered from their works other than through folklore. “About eighty-six years have passed since the first white settlement was made in Cass county, and to secure reliable facts relating to that early date is no small task. In many instances what is known of that time is drawn chiefly from tradition.” What is divergent between Webber and the other authors is that Webber places the first White settlement to be built in Cass County at around 1822. Williams (1883:82) is in agreement that while there were a few White settlers who came as early as 1821-28, the permanent settlements did not actually begin until 1830. Glenn (1917) records the names of 18 men or families that made their way into the county before 1830; following with 25 additional settlers’ names in 1830. These differences are of no consequence in the grand scheme. What is of consequence was stated by Williams (97) in 1883 that in the decades past “people took no care to preserve history – they were too busy engaged in making it. Historically speaking,

of Native Americans to either hunt or roam the lands within the state. The statutes remained in place until they were repealed in 1909.

those were the most important years of the county, for it was the foundation and corner stones of all the county's history.”

Around the time of the great influx of White settlers into the area, President Andrew Jackson signed into law the 1830 Indian Removal Act that pushed the remaining Native American population further west out of Missouri (see Footnote 10). The State Statutes and the forced removal of the Native American population paved the way for easy access to the land by White settlers. These migrants to Missouri took advantage of the 1830 Indian Removal Act with the forming of Cass County in 1835 and Bates following in 1841. Whether as individuals, or through family chain migration, people continued to flood into the area. The new settlers went about the business of establishing homes, farms, communities, and life, as they knew it before relocating to either Bates or Cass County.

Recent scholarship concerning the Missouri-Kansas border region is a growing field and is filling gaps in the historical narrative. Neely (2007) conveys that the influx into the area was comprised of both Northerners and Southerners, who were a “motley mix” (23). Even though the individuals were of differing occupations, social and economic class, and educational levels, with little in common, the Northerners soon adopted the cultural ways of the undereducated, poorer settlers from the Southern states. These non-material aspects of culture were eventually adopted as central to their attitudes, beliefs, values, and norms. The issue of slavery was sure to test how truly integrated the Southern and Northern settlers had become.

The White migrants in the border region united under an ideological notion of self-determination regarding how they should live, culturally and economically. The acquisition of land by Whites was fueled by racial prejudices as settlers pressed for self-determination on the frontier border. Cherokee scholar of Native American history, Willard H. Rollings (2004), described the United States government's goal to civilize the Native American population with an end-plan of relocation. Once they were "civilized" and assimilated, the government could relegate these Native Americans to small patches of land, leaving the remainder for White settlement. This plan was race-based.

The acquisition of land was important according to the common belief that land ownership determined an individual's stake in society. Thomas Jefferson wrote to James Madison in 1785, stating, "The small landholders are the most precious part of a state" (1950:np). The United States was an agrarian society. The occupation numbers supplied by historian Neely reflect this to be true in Bates and Cass Counties as well. In 1850, census numbers indicate that over 90 percent of the occupations in both counties were comprised of farmer owners, tenant farmers, or farm laborers. Forty-nine percent were farmer owners in Bates while only 36 percent were listed as farmers owning land in Cass. The occupation of farmer owner indicates land ownership. The remaining occupation of tenant farmer and farm laborers are non-property owners. The large number of people engaged in farming occupations indicates the significance of farming within the two counties (2007:254).

While the White settlers were acquiring and cultivating the land, the Osage people were dealing with the attempted “civilizing” of their people. Rollings (2004) is pointed in his assessment that the missionaries at Harmony Mission mistakenly assumed the Osage people had a desire for the gospel of Christianity. When in fact what they desired was to be schooled in economic ways and interests so that they could further benefit their tribe in the commerce of the fur trade. Native American historian and a member of the Osage Malted Eagle Clan, Louis F. Burns (1989), is critical of the missionaries’ single-minded efforts. He states that the missionaries “exposed the Osages to a part of the Euro-American culture that had never before been seen by the Osages. It is a shame that the missionaries were so self-righteous and placed such strong stress on buildings and fields and not on humanity.” Burns labels the missionaries as hypocrites and believes they were ill-suited and lacked the character to work among the Osage people. He accuses them of engaging in “blunt tactless assaults” on the customs and traditions of the Osage culture. (218-223).

David H. DeJong, scholar of Native American studies, queries, “The one question behind the land question, behind the education question, and the law question is, How can we fit the red man for our civilization?” (DeJong 1993:108-9). His reply is through acculturation and assimilation as they were the answers behind all the questions. While missionaries were using religion and education as tools towards civilization, one has to wonder if in fact the White missionaries were used as tools of the United States’ government intended to deal with the so-called “Indian problem”?

Cass Countians began land improvements so that by the late 1830s they had not only houses, churches, and merchants but also a semblance of a governmental structure with a court system and a jail. Cass was on the way to steady growth, recording over 6,000 residents at the time of the 1850 United States census. By 1860, the county's growth rate increased by more than 60 percent to 9,794. Bates Countians lagged behind in constructing their communities; however, they wasted no time in making up for their late start. Several factors could be at play in the delay. Bates did not organize into a county until 1851, which was more than 15 years after Cass. Within two years the county was physically restructured with a portion of southern Cass being deeded to Bates and a portion of Bates deeded to Vernon County. Through all the resizing, Bates County's population was just under 3,700 individuals at the time of the 1850 census. However, within 10 years the 1860 census showed almost a 100 percent growth with 7,215 Bates County residents.

As Whites moved westward acquiring land, migrants from Southern states brought their cultural way of life with them. Whether the occupants of the area possessed slaves or not, the general acceptance of pro-slavery values permeated throughout Missouri. While the booster texts address the political issue of slavery, some also make mention of Black individuals who may or may not have been slaves. O.P Williams (1883) provides a list of ten organizing members of the Christen Church in Pleasant Hill. The list includes the name of "Silva, a woman of color," who in 1845 resided with William and Ann Freeman, also organizing members (239). Williams does

not list her as a paid servant or as a slave. The reader is left to make assumptions. In the same text, Williams relates a story from 1848 of “the trial of a negro man called ‘Bill’” that was accused of murdering his owner, Dr. John Hubble (1883:361). Williams informs the reader that “Bill”, “the negro charged with the killing” of Dr. Hubble “belonged to him.” Williams makes it clear that “Bill” is indeed the slave of Dr. Hubble. To complete the story, the community was satisfied that “Bill” Hubble did not commit the murder, as there was insufficient evidence in which to indict. The booster text by Webber (1908) reflects that “Bill” was tried “for the murder of his master.” Webber states that once “Bill” was released, he made “his exit forever from the community within a very few hours thereafter” (147). Williams and Webber use words which connote the ownership of “Bill.” However, he left the community never to return. Are we to take it that the family relocated him, sold him to another owner, issued his manumission papers, or did “Bill” simply escape slavery? Although slaves made up 10% of the population in Cass and six percent in Bates in 1860, there is very little mention of Black slaves in the booster texts.

Besides the census numbers documenting growth in the two counties, one additional set of numbers, the slave schedules (Table 2) from the 1850 and 1860 United States’ Census, is also of importance. While considering the larger population of Cass County over Bates County, it can be seen that there is a significant difference in the raw numeric count of Blacks within the counties. The Cass 1850 schedule records 478 slaves while Bates shows 141. As a side note, an additional total of 10 free Blacks; two in Cass

and eight in Bates are included. In the final census before the start of the Civil War, the number of slaves in Cass had increased to 1,010 and in Bates to 442. The 1860 Slave Schedules indicate that over 10 percent of Cass County was Black, up from approximately 8 percent in 1850. The percentage of slaves in Bates never met those of Cass County, as the highest percentage of the total population was 6.2 percent according to the 1860 census. This was an increase from the 1850 number of 4.1 percent. Free Blacks in Bates remained at eight while Cass saw the addition of one additional free individual.

Table 1

Black Population, 1850, 1860 & 1870

County	1850		1860		1870	
	Enslaved	Free	Enslaved	Free	Enslaved	Free
Bates	141	8	442	8	-	120
Cass	478	2	1010	3	-	502
State of Missouri	87422	2618	114931	3572	-	118071

Data sourced from Quick Facts Missouri US Census Bureau

Bates County court records of the taxable wealth used in “the assessment of 1862, shows 207 slaves valued at \$44,4590” (1883:1069). While the 207 number reflects more than one-half the number of slaves recorded in the 1860 slave schedules, it is important to remember that by 1862 the area had been embroiled in the border issue for more than eight years. Many families had already fled the area, as the border region

was extremely dangerous. T.H. Waller (Glenn 1917) reminisces that as the conditions grew worse the concern for personal safety compelled him “to leave Cass before Order Number Eleven drove every man from his home” (288). The booster texts (Williams 1883) record several instances of slave owners relocating to Texas.

The use of slave labor in the Midwest for subsistence farming differed from the large-scale plantation-style farms found in much of the South, where crops such as cotton and tobacco were cultivated for sale. Locally, slave owners generally had fewer than 20 slaves and most owned just a few. No matter the numbers they owned, the presence of slaves in the border area set up a distinctive culture. This cultural setting and ensuing values became the central issue that ignited the border strife as the precursor to the Civil War. The owning of Black bodies through the institution of racialized slavery was the creation and maintenance of an institution steeped in the Southern White culture and was the flash point the United States had been dealing with since the early 1600s with the arrival of the first enslaved Black individuals (Mutti Burke 2010; Epps 2016).

Becoming the Border – Strife and War

Missouri’s entry into the Union was hotly contested. Thomas Jefferson (1820:np) described it as “a fire bell in the night.” The Missouri Compromise delineated the State’s western border as the boundary thus restricting the progression of slavery westward. Booster text author Allen Glenn records his beliefs concerning the

Compromise, he writes that it “left no advantage to the slave, or pro-slavery party, and only left the country, particularly Missouri, in a state of agitation” (1917:41). The remaining texts address the compromise as an historical event as a precursor to Missouri’s admission to the Union.

However, thirty-three years later in 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Act (Kansas-Nebraska Act 1854) was the undoing of the Compromise. The Act was significant in that the lands previously designated as Indian Territory were opened for White settlement, again expelling the Native American population. The Kansas-Nebraska bill opened two additional territories, which would soon apply for statehood in an area situated above the already agreed upon compromise line of 36°30’. Early on it was assumed that Nebraska would enter the Union as a free state while Kansas would be granted statehood freely permitting slavery—effectively keeping the nation in balance. This move only heightened the already inflamed regional tensions as it was in direct violation of the 1820 Missouri Compromise.

The territorial settlers of Nebraska and Kansas would decide by popular vote if their new home would enter the Union as a free state or a slave state. The idea of the popular vote or popular sovereignty is based on the notion that the people create and hold the power of the government. Therefore, with the passage of the bill, the pro-slavery as well as anti-slavery groups began movements to populate Kansas with their constituents. Each side hoped they could garner enough supporters to sway the vote in their respective direction. Once again, the slavery question was in the forefront of

the national scene, thus setting the stage for the vicious Missouri-Kansas border war. The ensuing war within the border region would be fought with “a peculiar bitterness growing out of a long train of events.” Webber references May Simonds’ article from the *Missouri Historical Review*, stating that the bitterness grew out of a “long cherished resentment and a deep sense of injury on both sides.” She boldly states that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the Kansas-Nebraska Act was “the fruitful source” of the bitterness (Webber 1908:123).

Due to the use of popular sovereignty in determining whether Kansas would enter the Union as a free state or not, some pro-slavery Missourians purchased land within the Kansas territory. Once they acquired property some relocated across the state line so that they could affect the outcome of the vote regarding the slavery issue in Kansas. Missourians feared that as a free state, Kansas would threaten the existence of slavery not only in their own state but also for the entirety of the Union.

Henry W. Younger was the father of the infamous outlaw, Cole Younger (mentioned in Chapter One). Henry was also the maternal uncle of Emmett Dalton, the last surviving member of the outlaw gang, the Daltons (2011). Henry Younger was selected as the second mayor of Harrisonville, Missouri (Williams 1883:195) prior to the Civil War. In his 1931 autobiography, Emmett Dalton (2011) states, his uncle, Henry W. Younger, voluntarily freed his slaves and obtained a piece of land in the Kansas territory. Whether legend or truth, if Younger did free his slaves and purchase Kansas land, the scenario would give him the right to vote in the elections. Younger like many

of his pro-slavery associates wanted the opportunity to ensure the final outcome of the popular sovereignty vote regarding Kansas entering the Union as a slave state.

An action such as Younger's only served to add fuel to the fire between the two opposing forces. On the other side of the dispute, troubled that the vote would go the other way due to the pro-slavery proponents crossing over into Kansas, the New England Emigrant Aid Company recruited and aided the migration of several groups of individuals for a total of nearly 2,000 New Englanders beginning in August, 1854. "Soon after arriving in the Territory, these united and jointly commenced a settlement which was called, and has ever since been known, and is now incorporated as, the city of Lawrence" (Memorial 1856:np).¹³

Soon after the implementation of the Nebraska-Kansas Act, the Kansas Territory submitted its first of four attempts at a state constitution in 1855. The first, of which prohibited slavery within the new state of Kansas. While slavery was disallowed, the Topeka Constitution limited suffrage to only males who were either White or Native Americans who were "civilized . . . [and] who has adopted the habits of the white man." Congress rejected this version of the Kansas constitution along with their request for admission to the Union ("Kansas Constitutions" 2011:np).

In 1857, two opposing factions were at work on drawing up conflicting constitutions. The pro-slavery element drew up the Lecompton Constitution calling for

¹³ The present-day City of Lawrence (City 2017:np) website lists the history of its founding and further states, "It is said that Lawrence is one of the few cities in the U.S. founded strictly for political reasons." Historically, Lawrence, Kansas is known as an anti-slavery/abolitionist town.

the retaining of slaves already within the state. Due to specific language added to the vote, many anti-slavery advocates refused to participate in the vote on whether to adopt this version, thereby the pro-slavery constitution won by default. Meanwhile, anti-slavery proponents set up a new state legislature, wherein they scheduled a re-vote on the Lecompton version. The pro-slavery constitution was crushed in defeat, and the new legislature was authorized to convene another constitutional convention (“Kansas Constitutions” 2011:np).

The anti-slavery legislature and advocates, who worked to nullify the vote on the Lecompton version, drew up the Leavenworth Constitution. This third constitution was akin to the Topeka Constitution. However, the Leavenworth version was considered “more radical” in that “the word ‘white’ did not appear in this proposed document, and it would not have excluded free ‘Negroes and mulattoes’ from the state” (“Kansas Constitutions” 2011:np). Even with the display of sentiments by the Kansas territorial voters against the pro-slavery constitution, less than a month after the vote, then President James Buchanan submitted the Lecompton Constitution to Congress with the recommendation of Kansas’ admittance to the Union as a slave state. The document passed through the Senate however the House of Representatives rejected the constitution requesting a resubmission convention (“Kansas Constitutions” 2011:np).

The final constitution known as the Wyandotte Constitution was approved in 1859 thereby designating Kansas as a free state. The convention delegates wrote the

document excluding Blacks and Native Americans from voting by the use of an exclusionary clause, "Every white male person, of twenty-one years and upward" ("Kansas Constitutions" 2011:np). It took an additional two years before President James Buchanan would sign the bill welcoming Kansas as the 34th state in the Union in 1861. During these years, as the nation stood on the brink of civil war over the issue of slavery, the Missouri-Kansas border region was in the midst of an armed conflict eventually known as "Bleeding Kansas." While several varying accounts as to the origination of the term, Bleeding Kansas first appeared in print in the *New York Times* in late 1856 by way of a poem entitled "Far in the West" by Charles S. Weyman (1856) when he referenced the "War against Slavery!" Conversely many have traditionally believed that Horace Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune* first used the term and has been utilized through generations as the vivid expression to signify the bloody, violent border hostilities taking place in the region, due to the proximity of pro-slavery Missouri to proposed free-state Kansas.

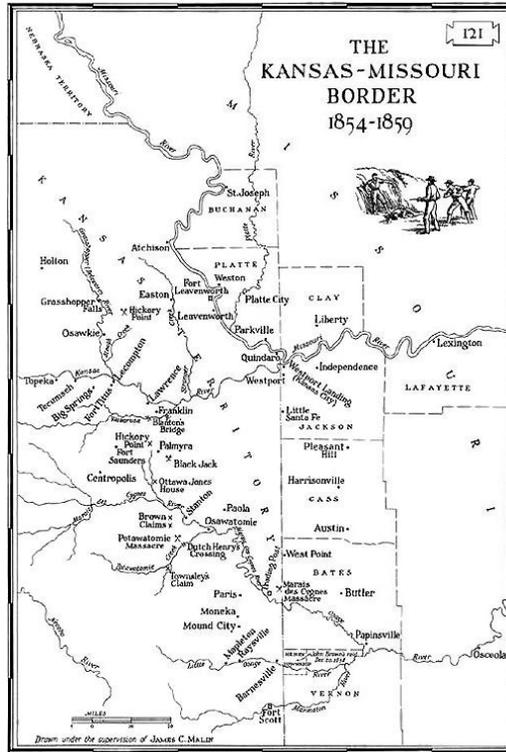


Figure 2 - The Kansas-Missouri Border 1854-1859

Bloodshed tainted both sides not only over the slavery issue but also over the Missouri-Kansas state line as the free-state advocates and pro-slavery supporters took careful aim at each other. Simonds states that it was difficult to decide which side the greater blame fell, “as each side soon claimed that its fiercest measures were largely retaliatory (Webber 1908:123). She offers examples of the robbery and looting during the predatory raids into Missouri by Kansas men. Tathwell and Maxey (1900) make mention of several men killed by bushwhackers. One murder in particular that stands out occurred when bushwhackers killed Mr. Fuswell while he himself “was on his way home from a marauding tour” (149). Others share of being so harassed by the Missouri

bushwhackers that they “were compelled to move across the state line” to seek protection (Tathwell & Maxey 1900:148).

Certainly, not all free-state advocates nor were all pro-slavery supporters driven to violence and bloodshed nor did all join irregular troops (known as guerrillas) in terrorizing citizens of the border region. The irregular groups were not affiliated with “regular” Union troops or those on the side of the Confederacy. Generally speaking, those individuals who took part in the reign of terror, who were free-state advocates, were known as Kansas “Jayhawkers” or “Redlegs” (taken from the red-colored gaiter, a protective garment worn on the lower leg), while pro-slavery supporters from Missouri were termed “Border Ruffians” and later “Bushwhackers.” In his booster text, Tathwell terms the border strife as “bushwhacker warfare” (1897:77).

Tathwell (1897:34) shares an old settler’s remembrance of the time, “It seemed like a great black cloud was hanging over the country, and everyone was waiting, breathlessly, for the breaking of the storm.” The residents of Bates and Cass Counties knew only too well of the ongoing struggle before the fateful shot was fired at Fort Sumter, as both counties’ western boundary bordered the proposed new state of Kansas and had been a hotbed of contention for over a decade.

Due to the ongoing border tensions, Bates and Cass experienced much of the aggressions internally as well as back and forth across the state line. These were retaliatory incidents that occurred when a pro-slavery group landed a blow for their side, and the anti-slavery folks would strike back. These hostilities ranged from robbery

and property destruction to murder. The reoccurring actions on both sides of the slavery debate were nothing short of uncivil civil war and continued in more violent forms after the official “opening” of the American Civil War. A great cloud of mayhem burst forth, raining down additional revenge upon the area. On the eve of the Civil War, the storm was gathering intense strength. The tempest of border strife in the region raged for more than ten years, commencing in 1856 (Williams 1883; Glenn 1917; Atkeson 1918) and consuming the entire area with unprecedented violence.

The intensity of the actions from both sides in the slavery debate ranged from comparatively benign acts to intense violence, stirring up bitterness, hatred and animosity (Tathwell 1897). A pro-slavery group raided across the state line into Kansas on the anti-slavery town of Lawrence. The May 1856 attack was intended to intimidate and terrorize the anti-slavery activists by destroying their news presses, looting the town, and burning the Free State Hotel. Shortly after the sack of Lawrence, the free-state advocates followed with the Pottawatomie Creek massacre. In retribution, abolitionist John Brown and several of his sons along with other anti-slavery advocates murdered five pro-slavery individuals.

In August following the Pottawatomie massacre, a large contingent of pro-slavery bushwhackers attacked Osawatomie, Kansas. The pro-slavery assailants successfully looted and burned the town, which is known as the Battle of Osawatomie. Two years later in May 1858, the Marais des Cygnes Massacre was a result of pro-slavery forces rounding up 11 anti-slavery supporters who were herded into a ravine

along the Marais des Cygnes River; there they were all shot but six survived their wounds (Atkeson 1918:182).

Many actions during the border strife were meant to strike terror in the heart of targeted individuals. Glenn's booster text calls this period, "awful days" that was filled with "bloody and cruel happenings" (1917:43) and a "frenzy of hate" (1917:288). Both sides were guilty of terrible atrocities and visited the brutalities on their opponents with the same intense passion as was held by their adversaries. Glenn says both sides "vied with one another in diabolic ferocity" (1917:288), leaving "a trail of blood" (Tathwell 1897:5). These and more troubles carried on throughout the Civil War.

In 1861, Missouri, a slaveholding state, decided to remain loyal citizens to the Union. This is seemingly counterintuitive. With Missourians holding divided views concerning the issue of slavery, there were also divided notions concerning secession. While Missouri did not secede from the Union, there were those individuals challenging the decision to remain. Early in the war, President Lincoln called for states to provide 75,000 troops to the Union. Missouri's governor, Claiborne Fox Jackson refused Lincoln's request informing the president that "not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on any unholy war" (Williams 1883:52). The sharply divided views concerning slavery and secession further divided the state's residents when it became time to take up arms. Missourians fought on both sides during the war, some for the Union and others for the Confederacy. In contrast, the residents of Kansas mainly fought on the side of the Union. The irregular guerrilla forces, bushwhackers, and

jayhawkers continued to raid back and forth across the Missouri-Kansas line, although the jayhawkers were now officially part of the Union army.

President Lincoln understood the importance of keeping the Border States like Missouri in the Union. He also understood that to achieve this objective that the opposing forces needed to be shut down in Missouri. Martial law was imposed in August of 1861. Lincoln knew that the Union army needed to take control of the state to not only bring order but also to protect Missouri's residents. After successfully forcing the pro-secession state government and army out of the state during the first year of the war, a Union army presence remained to control the disloyal civilians who still resided in the region. Union soldiers also worked to subdue a violent guerrilla insurgency that erupted in response to the military occupation. Some of the most vicious guerrilla warfare of the Civil War occurred along the Missouri- Kansas border as bushwhacker and jayhawker forces raided back and forth across the state line. Civilians both supported and were victims of these violent actions.

Two years into the war in May of 1863, President Lincoln (1863:np) addressed the continuing issues concerning the border troubles in a message to General John M. Schofield in which he instructed the general to "let your military measures be strong enough to repel the invader." Lincoln followed with caution, counseling the general so that his actions were not to be "so strong as to unnecessarily harass and persecute the people." Five days later, Schofield confirmed receipt of his directive assuring the President that he "shall not fail to carry out [Lincoln's] wishes to the fullest extent in

[Schofield's] power" (1863:np). In response, Schofield created a military district in western Missouri and eastern Kansas to address the violence along the border. He placed Kansas Brigadier General Thomas Ewing in charge.

Months after the exchange of correspondence between Lincoln and Schofield, in August 1863, a group of more than 400-armed pro-slavery guerrillas led by William Quantrill raided anti-slavery Lawrence, Kansas, the center of the state's free-state movement (Monaghan 1984). After murdering more than 150 men and boys and burning the town during the raid, Quantrill's guerrillas escaped back across the state line into Missouri.

Several days after the raid on Lawrence, Thomas Carney, governor of Kansas sent the following letter to Union Major-General Schofield:

Sir: Disaster has fallen on our state. Lawrence is in ashes. Millions of property have been destroyed, and, worse yet, nearly 200 lives of our best citizens have been sacrificed. No fiends in human shape could have acted with more savage barbarity than did Quantrill and his band in their last successful raid. I must hold Missouri responsible for this fearful, fiendish raid. No body of men large as that commanded by Quantrill could have been gathered together without the people residing in western Missouri knowing everything about it. Such people cannot be considered loyal and should not be treated as loyal citizens; for while they conceal the movements of desperados like Quantrill and his followers, they are, in the worst sense of the word, their aiders and abettors, and should be held equally guilty. There is no way of reaching these armed ruffians while the civilian is permitted to clock him. (Atkeson 1918:169)

Two days following, in hopes of squashing the Southern sympathizers from giving aid and comfort to their fellow pro-slavery Missourians, Union Brigadier General Thomas Ewing issued General Order No. 11 (United States 1880). The Order mandated

that all residents of Jackson, Cass, Bates and the northern portion of Vernon Counties evacuate their homes within 15 days unless their loyalty to the Union could be proven. If found to be loyal, families could move within a one-mile radius of Independence, Harrisonville, Hickman's Mill, Pleasant Hill or Kansas City, as these designated areas were already under Union control (Castel 1963; Webb 1999). To keep their resources and assistance away from the pro-Southern irregulars, everything was ordered confiscated or destroyed by the Union army.

Ewing's Order No. 11 created the wilderness along the Missouri-Kansas border that became known as the Burnt District. An estimate of close to 25,000 Missouri citizens became refugees¹⁴ from the counties of Bates, Cass, Jackson, and the northern portion of Vernon. The displaced individuals were gone as a result of being driven from their homes; many of which never returned once the Order was lifted and the war ended. The Missouri border counties effected by the Order were left desolate at best, and barren at worst.

The border region of Bates and Cass Counties is a particular location possessing a unique story. The story, particularly the suffering inflicted by Order No. 11 has been and continues to be manipulated into what is a mythology of the Lost Cause. At no other place in America during the Civil War did the civilian population of a "loyal" Union

¹⁴ This is quite plausible in that the 1860 Census reflects Bates County as having a total population of 7,215, and Cass with 9,794 (U.S. Census 2013). The population of these two counties together totaled over 17,000 just three short years before the Order was issued. Bates County was a total depopulation leaving no residents, while Cass County had at most 800 occupants left following the implementation of the Order (Monaco 2013).

state experience the turmoil and retribution of war than did the individuals residing within this border region. Bates, more so than Cass County, was essentially wiped off the map. This erasure was not by way of being collateral damage or by genocide, but through large-scale displacement of the citizenry – an ethnic cleansing of sorts. General Order No. 11, issued by a Union general, did not suggest that the population of Jackson, Cass, Bates, and northern Vernon Counties should voluntarily remove themselves from the area. Instead it was a forced mandate of removal. The directive required all residents not proven to be loyal to the Union to evacuate from the region. Those remaining (providing verification of loyalty) were obliged to relocate into a one-mile radius of a Union military stronghold.¹⁵ Essentially, all the residents of Bates had nowhere to go within their county’s boundaries since a Union garrison was not present in the county. This lack of a Union post in Bates effectively caused a total expulsion of the populace.

The Williams (1883:57) text as well as Tathwell and Maxey (1897:125) text refers to Order No. 11 as General Ewing’s “celebrated” order. Williams rails against Ewing writing, “never before in a christianized and civilized community, had a military commander so completely taken the lives, the liberties and fortunes of the people who were non-combatants, into his own hands” (1883:1004). He finishes by stating the General and his advisors did not consider the unintended manifestation of such a

¹⁵ South of Jackson County only two Union encampments existed, one situated in the town of Harrisonville and the other in Pleasant Hill, both located in Cass County (Castel 1963; Webb 1999).

decree – “the pillage and plunder of marauding soldiers, and the cupidity and thieving propensities of unarmed citizens” (1883: 004). Allen Glenn (1917) mentions Order No. 11 forty-five times in his text. All of the references are concerning families that were removed due to the order, where they may have relocated, and perhaps the devastation they returned to find. Glenn seems to address the order in a non-biased manner until over 500 pages into his book. He describes the Order as “that drastic military measure” (516) imposed by the “military invaders” (745).

Before proceeding with recent scholarship, it is of interest to note W.O.

Atkeson’s 1918 thoughts from his booster text concerning the Order:

No part of the country had been more inflamed than this borderland up and down the state line, of which section Bates county was near the center. The population of this county was overwhelmingly pro-slavery and for secession, disunion and the formation of the Southern Confederacy. It became the rendezvous and hiding place of bushwhackers, marauders and irresponsible, lawless gangs who perpetrated all manner of outrages upon peaceable citizens and their property. Gangs, largely of the same general character, from Kansas, invaded this county either in retaliation or merely to plunder our citizens. The feeling was intense on both sides—the result of about six years of struggle over the Kansas free state question. Conditions were such that these bushwhackers and lawless bands could neither be controlled nor punished by the armies in the field; so after fruitless marchings to and fro by Union commands, in less or larger units, without being able to catch or kill or run out of the county this disloyal and treasonable element, as a last resort and after mature consideration. General Thomas Ewing issued his celebrated "Order No. 11" in 1863, four days after Quantrill's sack of Lawrence, and the brutal murder of unoffending and unarmed citizens. It used to be popular to refer to this only as "Ewing's infamous order." History has approved it as wise and proper, and salutary as a war measure. The necessity was urgent and the results beneficent [sic]. (P. 136)

Contrary to Atkeson's support of Order No. 11 as a necessary military strategy, the Lost Cause narrative has used the Order as a method of claiming victimization. Historian Neely (2007) surmises that by 1863 more than half of the population within the effected counties had already withdrawn from the area. With the men off fighting in either the regular army or with the irregulars, generally all that were left were the women, children and the elderly. The ongoing violence of war brought about by Union troops and the guerrilla insurgents was a central factor in voluntary relocation. However the Lost Cause uses the Order's full evacuation mandate as an example of Northern aggression.

The Order may have been a needed tactic "however" in comparison, this form of action regarding civilians and their property was not even visited upon the regions effected by either Sherman's March to the Sea (Neely 2007:251) nor by Sheridan's campaign across the Shenandoah Valley. Both Sherman's and Sheridan's campaigns were not only wide-ranging and impactful military operations, but also the tactics employed left an indelible mark in the annals of history by their utilization of the policy of total war and a scorched earth strategy. Everyone was considered the enemy. Additionally, all moveable reserves, possessions, and capital the Union soldiers procured and used for their endeavors. These tactics left the countryside ruined and society annihilated (Janda 1995).

John Hopkins' historian David A. Bell (2007:7) defines total war as "a war involving the complete mobilization of a society's resources to achieve the absolute

destruction of an enemy, with all distinction erased between combatants and noncombatants.” In other words, no differences were made between civilians and soldiers. In a similar vein, the scorched earth policy (Oxford Military 2002) is a military tactic employed to destroy and dismantle anything that might be useful to the enemy such as food, natural resources, buildings, technology, factories, railroads, while advancing through or withdrawing from an area. This strategy had a devastatingly negative impact on the remaining civilian population that left them without the basic necessities required for survival.

Generals William T. Sherman’s and Philip Sheridan’s movement of troops through the South cut a wide swath of destruction leaving the areas depleted and desolate of resources. Their aggressive tactics, the use of total war and a scorched earth policy, left lasting significant implications on their respective conquered populations. The intended consequences of these strategies resulted in wreaking havoc and intimidation on civilians. Sherman’s and Sheridan’s efforts were inflicted a year or more following the issuing of General Order No. 11. The greatest difference between Sherman’s and Sheridan’s campaigns and that of General Thomas Ewing’s Order No. 11 is that the former were used against Confederate civilians while the latter was imposed upon citizens of a Union state. This is a part of the story that has been molded into the Lost Cause myth – Missouri, a slaveholding state, remained “loyal” citizens to the Union. While the order was used against citizens, the greatest number of those who remained in Bates and Cass Counties had become active members in the

“fight” by providing support to their loved ones who were fighting with the guerrillas. This is a half-truth where the legend makes the citizens victims of Union aggression without acknowledging their active role in supporting the Confederate guerrilla insurgency.

Before the booster historians penned their works, Missouri politician, Union loyalist and painter, George Caleb Bingham worked to punish General Ewing for his treatment of civilians as per Order No. 11. Bingham assured Ewing he would use his influence and connections as a politician, as well as his artistic talent, to do whatever was possible to destroy Ewing, his reputation, and his political prospects. The legend is that Bingham directed a statement towards Ewing declaring, “I will make you infamous with pen and brush as far as I am able.” In the aftermath of the war and in retribution for the devastation inflicted by the Order upon Missourians, Bingham painted his epic painting, “Martial Law, or General Order No. 11.” The completion of the painting in 1868 was the fulfillment of Bingham’s promise to heap ruin upon Ewing while presenting the suffering and tribulations visited upon the citizens of the border region.

The Lost Cause narrative created a myth that the problem was with the anti-slavery citizenry who were the instigators of the feud. In this instance the Kansans were the villains. The myth placed the sheen of persecution and victimization upon the pro-Southern Missourians. However, recent scholarship dispels this mythology. While many of the migrants to Kansas held abolitionist beliefs, not all agreed that slavery should be totally abolished. Most primarily opposed the expansion of slavery within

the new territories. The newcomers' responsibility was to vote against slavery to secure Kansas as a free state. Historian Nicole Etcheson (2004) maintains that while the settlers lined up on both sides of the issue, whether as anti-slavery (whatever the reason) or pro-slavery, all were driven by the notion of fighting to maintain their White political and social privileges of liberty. This White liberty was extended to Whites not based on social, economic, or educational conditions, but rather was due to their race.

Missouri was not the only border state caught up in the issues of slavery and secession. Traditionally the Border States were those states that legally permitted slaveholding but yet did not secede from the Union, including Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri (Gienapp 1992). Eventually West Virginia broke away from the state of Virginia pledging its loyalty to the Union and was granted statehood in 1863. Virginians placed their sentiments with the South, seceding from the United States to become part of the Confederacy (West Virginia 2018).

Many of the residents of Missouri had migrated from the Upper South, from states such as Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. They brought with them their cultural identities made up of their customs, beliefs, traditions, influences, and including their ideologies of slavery (Hurt 1992). The institution of slavery found within Missouri was not in the stereotypical way it was used on large plantations with the cultivation of King Cotton. Historian Diane Mutti Burke (2010) maintains that slavery in Missouri was on a small-scale and it was the primary form of slave labor for the state. Most Missouri slave-owners possessed fewer than 20 slaves. However, before the start of the war,

the numbers had dropped to fewer than 10 slaves for more than 90 percent of Missouri's slave-owners (Mutti Burke 2010).

Due to the smaller scale of ownership, slave owners and slaves in Missouri experienced a different life than those owners and slaves who resided on large plantations. Mutti Burke (2010) also contends that the small-scale slavery experience fostered a more intimate relationship between the slave-owners and their slaves. More intimate does not equate to a more humane experience. The intimacy is due to the close physical proximity in which they lived and worked, oftentimes side-by-side. The closeness of the relationship could incite a more brutal experience at times.

No matter the number of slaves owned, Missouri's slave owners wanted to retain the rights to their property and a free labor force. However, Missouri voters chose to remain with the Union by voting against secession. This placed Missouri in a unique position as a slaveholding state that did not secede with the South (Monaghan 1984; Fellman 1989). Missourians wanted to preserve their alliance with the Union while simultaneously wanting to maintain the institution of slavery that in turn would sustain their economy.

The 1861 vote to remain with the Union left Missouri in an untenable and complex situation for as the Civil War progressed slavery became more of a focal point of contention. The initial prerogative within the first two years of the war was to preserve the Union. Over the course of these initial years, President Lincoln engaged in correspondence with Frederick Douglass. Douglass shined light on the issue of slavery

fracturing the nation and the Union that Lincoln was fighting hard to preserve. In 1864, Lincoln conveys in his letter to A. G. Hodges, Esq. how he transitioned his thinking from the preservation of slavery to the preservation of the constitution, when he wrote, “I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the constitution, if, to save slavery, or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck[ing] of government, country, and Constitution all together” (Current 1967). Due to the shift in the causes of the war there was no chance Missouri could remain neutral on the issue of slavery. Essentially, the strife between the Missouri-Kansas border region had previously erupted ten years prior and “the war” was already being fought in the region. The border was fractured from within while taking blows from outside. No other border state or region was more harshly affected than was the Missouri-Kansas border region.

Historian Michael Fellman (1989:23) describes the wartime experience of the region as “not a stand-up war with uniformed, flag-carrying massed troops charging one another in open combat or even the confusion of the typically disorganized battlefield; it was thousands of brutal moments when small groups of men destroyed homes, food supplies, stray soldiers, and civilian lives and morale.” The guerrillas fanned the flames of the horror visited upon civilians. Historian Daniel Sutherland (1999) writes:

It must be said, though, that at least two things defined nearly all “guerrillas,” whatever they called themselves, whatever other people called them, or on whichever side they fought. First, there was the “irregular” way they attacked, harassed, and worried their foes, quite

unlike the methods used by regular soldiers in conventional armies. Second, their principal responsibility, their very reason for being in most cases, was local defense, protection of their families or communities against both internal and external foes. (NP)

The guerrillas' persistence of defending their ideology and families eventually pushed General Ewing to issue Order No. 11. The forced evacuation was issued for all, Union or pro-Confederates. Eventually those individuals found to be loyal could return. Herein is the issue, what is the definition of being loyal? Many citizens in the Bates and Cass area presented as Union but were Southern sympathizers at heart.

To be fair, identifying who was the "enemy" or "disloyal" and who was "loyal" within the border region was not as clear-cut as it may seem. It was not as simple as labeling individuals as either pro-slavery or anti-slavery, Union or Confederates. These two clearly defined identities were a complex and, at times, ambiguous shifting of divisions. No clear segregation line existed and it was more complicated than just bringing an end to slavery. Historian Christopher Phillips (2016) discusses this complexity in his recent work entitled, *The Rivers Ran Backward*. Phillips considers the vacillating of individuals along a continuum between Union loyalists and Confederate rebels. Some individuals held pro-slavery ideals but were Union loyalists; others were anti-slavery supporters but objected to the abolitionists from the East interjecting their ideology into the border region. Many families owned no slaves but due to the Southern cultural influences believed it acceptable for others to possess slaves. Some individuals morally had no interest in owning slaves; however, they were not in favor of

Blacks securing their freedom and being granted civil rights as citizens. How were the Union forces to resolve the border issues?

To what end and to what cost would the Union forces go to secure the border region from Southern sympathizers? In many ways, Order No. 11 was an extreme military penalty carried out on civilians. The order left families without property, shelter, belongings, crops, or livestock. Ewing's order is considered by some scholars as one of the harshest measures enacted by the United States government on its own citizens, creating desolation within Jackson, Cass, Bates and northern Vernon Counties (McLarty 1950; Brownlee 1984). In 1963, Albert Castel (357) wrote that the Order "was the most drastic and repressive military measure directed against civilians by the Union Army." Thomas Goodrich (1995) echoes Castel's sentiments in his book *Black Flag: Guerrilla Warfare on the Western Border, 1861-1865*, writing that Order No. 11 was perhaps the harshest deed the United States ever enacted. In 1861, Missourians had voted against secession, and choose to remain with the Union. Total war and a scorched earth were the price Missouri citizens paid.

In June of 1863, Ewing was tasked with quashing the guerrilla resistance in the border area inclusive of Kansas, and Western Missouri, including Jackson, Cass, Bates and the northern part of Vernon County. He began immediately with a two-pronged military effort utilizing cavalry troops along the border. He first requested additional regular Union cavalymen, and then began organizing local voluntary cavalry companies from Kansas. He was only able to assemble 1,849 men (Whites 2011:64),

which was not nearly enough military manpower to cover the entirety of the border region when his intention was to outnumber the guerrillas.

Recognizing that the back and forth skirmishes across the Missouri-Kansas border were inciting retaliatory actions, Ewing took measures by attempting to shut down the maltreatment of pro-slavery Missourians by anti-slavery Red leg Kansans. By placing Leavenworth County, Kansas under martial law Ewing believed it an endeavor to control activities carried out by the Red Leg forces that originated out of the city of Leavenworth and the surrounding county. Not only was Ewing attempting to curb the Red legs' activities but was putting the civilians on notice because many were believed to be abetting the irregulars. This all in hopes the retaliatory strikes across the border would be tempered. With the anti-slavery irregulars suppressed work could continue on quashing the guerrillas on the Missouri side of border.

Turning his attention to the Missouri guerrilla issue, Ewing accepted that conventional military methods would not put down the insurgents' uprising. Ewing turned in "the polar opposite direction" (Whites 2011:64). He recognized that the women with Confederate sympathies were crucial to the guerrilla insurgency, and he was ready to take the gloves off to end the border issues.

In late July before the issuance of Order No. 11, numerous women suspected of having familial connections to the insurgents, as well as those individuals charged with giving aid and support to the guerrillas, were arrested and detained in a provisional jail in Jackson County. Among the detainees were three sisters of William "Bloody Bill"

Anderson, one of Quantrill's most notorious guerrilla raiders. No matter the cause, the jail collapsed killing and injuring multiple women with connections to the bushwhackers from Cass. This tragic event enflamed the border residents who held Southern sympathies and many believed it could not pass without reprisal for the death of the pro-slavery women.

Recent Civil War scholarship regarding these women has come to acknowledge them as active participants in the guerrilla war effort. Historian LeeAnn Whites (2011) contends that the women in the border region were responsible for more than the just the harboring of the men and procuring and distributing of the basic necessary supplies. Guerrilla women were spies and scouts, using their homes as vital "outposts in the war" (63). The women were left to manage their farms, families, and businesses when their men went off to fight in the bush. All the while, they formed and maintained a kinship network composed of family, friends, and neighbors. Joseph Beilein, Jr., (2016) historian, asserts the guerrilla insurgency remained active and was sustained due to the women's supply networks. Ewing had to cut "the female-sustained rebel supply line" (Whites 2011:66), which were the networks the guerrilla fighters depended upon.

To disassemble the networks, Ewing proposed a compulsory resettlement of the women and families of the most prominent male guerrilla fighters (Whites 2011:66). His notion was that if the families were nowhere to be found in the border region, the men would go to where their families were relocated so the supply lines could be

reconstituted. In a letter to the Missouri Assistant Adjutant-General, Lieutenant Colonel C.W. March, Ewing (1863) wrote, “The presences of these families is the cause of the presences of the guerrillas. I can see no prospect of an early and complete end to the war on the border ... so long as those families remain there.” By mid-August, he issued General Order No. 10 decreeing that, “The wives and the children of known guerrillas, and also women who are heads of families and are willfully engaged in aiding guerrillas, will be notified by such officers to move out of this district and out of the State of Missouri forthwith” (Order No. 10 1880).

Ewing’s rationale for the Order was rooted in the belief that it would disrupt the Confederate women’s networks thereby cutting off the guerrillas’ lifeline. Later Union Commander Schofield defended the directive as “an act of wisdom, courage and humanity” due to hundreds of lives being saved since the Order deescalated guerrilla violence. On August 21, 1863, soon after the issuance of Order 10 and the collapse of the Kansas City jail, the pro-slavery guerrillas invaded the abolitionist town of Lawrence bent on revenge, murdering more than 150 men and boys. Following the vicious retaliatory attack Ewing had little to do other than rescind Order No. 10. In its stead he issued General Order No. 11, which ordered a more pervasive evacuation of the border region within 15 days.

Ewing reasoned that the alternative to Order No. 11 was of graver proportions since it would have resulted in “the immediate invasion and wholesale destruction” of the border area by Kansans set on revenge for the Lawrence massacre (Whites

2011:67). Following the depopulation order, essentially all that remained was procured for the Union army or was burned, resulting in the area becoming desolate (McLarty 1950; Brownlee 2009). In other words, it became a virtual no man's land.

The ultimate implication of the issuance of General Order No. 11 by Union Brigadier General Thomas Ewing equates to the notion of taking complete and total control over every aspect of life outside the Union garrisons so as to squash the Southern sympathizers from giving aid and comfort to their fellow pro-slavery Missourians. By this time in the war, most able-bodied men were off fighting and had fled from the region. Those who were left locally were the women and children, along with the elderly. Ewing was fully aware of where the guerrilla's support and subsistence originated; he was a military man and so employed military operations to crush the resistance.

Order No. 11 shifted the local citizenry from a civilian status into the category of combatants, essentially utilizing the tactical aspect of total war. Removing the families was only the beginning. So that the guerrillas could not take advantage of any resources left behind, a scorched earth policy and total warfare meld together to create distinctive aspects within Bates and Cass.

This is a unique story of the area of the two counties. War was visited upon citizens no matter their ideology -- whether they be pro-Union or Southern sympathizer or somewhere in between. No property was safe from procurement or destruction. The population was forced into refugee status, effectively separating them from their

lands, homes, and possessions. The Civil War era history of Bates and Cass Counties is indeed a unique story due in part to the devastation leveled on the land and its people. The lived experiences of the residents along the border region were as Christopher Phillips describes, a “wolfish war – less to be won or lost than endured or survived” (2016:170). Perhaps no other location exists where the total civilian population of a Union state experienced the war in the manner as described than did the individuals residing within the Burnt District.

Return to Normalcy?

Before the strife, which was brought about by the question of slavery, the booster texts indicate that people migrated to the area of Bates and Cass as it was considered to be a fertile spacious land. While Missouri was considered a sweet spot, having all the best to offer and situated geographically in the center of the United States, for the residents, this area was always a compromise. The compromise existed for the inhabitants, many of who held to their beliefs as sons and daughters of the South. One of these sons, Cass County minister Rev. George Miller (1898:32) relays his personal dilemma between his convictions against slavery on one side and his “personal affections on the other.” He wrote in his remembrances that it was a sad state of conflict that his principles and his affections had brought him to the state of Missouri, where he supposed it was his “compromise – a sort of Missouri Compromise.” Rev. Miller and thousands of other Bates and Cass Countians found

themselves in a compromising situation that required a decision that many in their generation would live with for the remainder of their lives as well as those of future generations.

In contrast to the war-ravaged, burnt, and desolate land, the booster texts are successful with their civic puffing in that they portrayed the area as a land flowing with milk and honey when the first settlers arrived. They write of the pristine running waters, the thick forested land, with lush prairie grasses, orchards, and vineyards hanging heavy with nature's bounty. The transformation of the area by the settlers only added to the splendor of the land with field and gardens growing tall, the addition of homes to the beautiful landscape, followed by towns and villages with business establishments, schools, and churches. To settle the land, local natural resources must have been satisfactory to sustain a growing population.

The cultivated, lush lands they had evacuated did not greet the returning families, following the end of the Civil War. What stood waiting were the burned out properties with only their chimneys left standing like solitary tombstones. Artist Tom Lea's (1939) WPA mural entitled *Back Home: April 1865* (FIG. 6) memorializes the arrival of refugees as they returned to the no man's land, which is compared to a cemetery-like atmosphere of darkness and silence. Presbyterian minister George Miller (1898:109) records in his book how upon his re-arrival to the county, he was greeted by the solitary chimney, "for miles and miles we saw nothing but lone chimneys ... It seemed like a vast cemetery - not a living thing to break the silence ... Man no longer

existed there.” Missouri historian Duane Meyer (1973:390-91) validates Rev. Millers’ assessment of the evacuated areas, “for a hundred miles, the smoke-stained chimneys, scorched grass, and blackened stumps were all that remained of hard-won homesteads. For years after the war, Bates and Cass Counties were known as the ‘Burnt District’.”

War weary and homesick, soldiers and civilians from both counties – Bates and Cass – who chose to return, found that the life they knew prior to the war no longer existed. Due to the border hostilities, the ensuing war, and Order No. 11 thousands of people, some of whom once held positions of influence, found themselves in a state of despair, poverty and destitution. The economy was shattered, the land lay in ruin, and there remained festering old sentiments.

Many former residents chose not to return to their respective counties. Some families relocated due to the border war violence or simply migrated away from the area. Order No. 11 eventually forced those who remained out. Local historian Tom Rafiner posits that approximated 40 percent of the former residents from Cass returned to the county following the war. Concerning Bates, which endured a total expulsion of its citizens, Tathwell and Maxey write, “many never returned, and their lands reverted to the government” (1918:5).

Williams’ booster text does not dwell considerably on the return to life following the war. He spends over 1400 pages covering Missouri’s beginning history, and follows with sections on the history of both Cass and Bates County. Within each

section of history for the respective county are chapters more focused on individual communities' and their respective histories. Understanding the importance Williams placed on the bigger picture of Missouri history is illustrated by his chapter on the "Civil War in Missouri" in which he ends with a compilation of battles that took place within the state as a whole. Straightaway the following chapter, X, is entitled "Agriculture and Material Wealth." There is not a chapter on recovery, reconstruction or reconciliation. However, there are slight indications suggested by Williams as to the war's aftermath. He provides a history of the community of West Point located in Bates. Williams writes the town "was subjected to the torch during the late war, and scarcely one stone was left to tell that the town ever existed" (1883: 962). Additionally, the town of Louisville "ceased to exist after the war" (958). Families from these particular locations had nothing left to return to.

Most structures throughout the two counties were destroyed if they were not located within the one-mile radius of the union garrisons of either Harrisonville or Pleasant Hill. Therefore, many families had no home to which to return. "At the close of the war then, it may be said, that the farmers of Bates [and Cass] County were compelled to begin anew. Their farms had been in a measure lying idle and growing into weeds; much of their stock had been killed or run off, and their houses had to be either wholly rebuilt or extensively repaired" (Williams 1883: 1005). The initial years were:

Not very bright, for many of those who were land owners had cast their lot with the lost cause, and thereby lost everything. They returned to find their

homes ruined and the money in which they had been paid being worth nothing they were absolutely without means to make the necessary improvements, and the result was that much of the land was never reclaimed by the original owners and returned to the government, or was sold for taxes. (Tathwell 1918:45)

Those who served the Confederate States of America (CSA) were paid in CSA currency. By the time the war ended, it was worthless in the Southern states, and not recognized by the United States government. Those individuals possessing Confederate scrip would count it rubbish in the rebuilding of their lives, homes farms, and businesses.

Allen Glenn records that the members of the Alderson family were essentially penniless and with that had difficulties in restarting their lives over. Glenn makes a point to mention how everything that “was movable on their place had been destroyed or carried away, even the fences” (1917:431). However, Mr. L.O. Kunze, a German immigrant, who established himself as a Harrisonville merchant in the watchmaking and jewelry business “returned to Harrisonville and resumed his business which meant that he had to begin anew for all that he had, had been destroyed” (Glenn 1917:312). At the time of Glenn’s writing in 1917, he states, “the Kunze jewelry business bears the distinction of being the oldest business house in Cass County” (313). Kunze was able to rebuild, enabling him years later to pass on a flourishing business to his son.

Politically speaking there had been a shift in both counties. At the end of the war “the Drake constitution of 1865 was in force, which prohibited those who bore arms against the government or sympathized with the rebellion from voting” (1046).

All five of the booster text writers mention disfranchisement. Williams (1883), Webber (1908), and Allen (1917) all note that Cass County had always been Democratic except for during and after the Civil War. This later changed, as those who had been disfranchised were re-enfranchised in 1870. Williams (1883) states in an initial election in Bates after the war, two-thirds of the voting was done so by Republican voters (1046).

After experiencing all the devastation, economically, politically, and personally along with the loss of lives, how can a community, a county return to “normal”? Every day, everywhere one looked there were reminders of the ideological differences that placed the citizens in these circumstances. Tathwell (1918) reports name-calling with “the republicans call[ing] the southerners ‘Rebels.’ The southerners call[ing] the republicans ‘Radicals.’ Neither side showing much liberality” (192). It is difficult to deduce how the authors of the booster texts lean concerning their personal ideology. The events of the border wars were quite complicated. It was not as simple as one side was right and the other wrong, one side good and the other bad.

There are additional hints as to the authors’ ideological positions. This is particularly apparent in how they refer to the American Civil War. Williams writing in 1883 uses a variety of terms in his text, ranging from “the War of 1861,” “the Late War,” and “the War for the Union.” In 1900, Atkeson uses “the Rebellion” in multiple instances, however, over 1100 times he uses the term “the war” and “the Civil War” is used in his writing 246 times. Webber uses the terms “War of the Rebellion” and “Civil

War” in the next booster text written in 1908. Glenn’s text is published in 1917 with little mention of the term “Civil War.” However, there are several occurrences of the phrase “War of the Rebellion.” Tathwell and Maxey wrote the final booster text used in this study in 1918. They only use the term “Civil War” 10 times while the usage of “war” occurs over 100 times in the book.

The authors’ ideological leanings are important in how they recorded the history of the area. It impacted what people and events the writers included in their respective books. It is the lens through which they viewed history and memory. It is the lens provided in present day as these texts are still informing the local amateur historians. A thorough content word analysis is required to fully understand what each author wrote. However, as mentioned, on the surface there seems to be hints as to their respective standings on the issue as to whether they had anti-slavery sentiments or they held Southern sympathies. The people of the time could not fit nicely in one box or the other. It was not as dichotomous as it seems as the individual of the era, along with the booster text authors, fit more on an ideological continuum of beliefs. All authors cover the border issues, the resulting war, Order No. 11, the return to devastation, and the present day in which they lived. Some writers speak harshly of all irregular troops, both jayhawkers and bushwhackers, and the terror they visited on the counties. However, most of the booster texts speak of the cruelty and the resultant devastation wrought by Order No. 11.

The border area had endured more than ten years of the most horrific example of an uncivil, civil war, which consumed the entire region with unprecedented violence. The tactic of all-out total war was intentionally set upon the absolute destruction of the enemy without distinction between soldiers and civilians. The violence and bloodshed endured by the border residents was unrestricted on every level. The war and its causes were divisive resulting in family members turning against one another, neighbors divided, and churches split. Atkinson (1918) includes in his text a few sentences concerning a shooting that took place in a church following the war. Not much is shared; however, the lack of description is significant. He completes the telling of the incident with the following, “in those days, people went to church heavily armed, expecting trouble, and, frequently, were not disappointed” (385). The war and its after-effects had all the makings of an unforgettable inhumane experience that included not only the devastations of war, but intense murderous and bloody fighting between individuals on both sides of the slavery issue. Allen Glenn (1917) writes of a man who came to Cass after the war in an attempt “to forget the struggle which would cost the nation so much in tears and blood” (661).

Included in the *Old Settlers History of Bates County* (1897), Tathwell and Maxey recorded a remembrance written by Captain John A. Deviny, who wrote, “It is well that the bitterness in animosities 30 years ago are gone before some of us who passed through those thrilling times. Memories exist but resentments are dead” (179-80). He

continued, “We are a united and harmonious people and live in one of the favorite sections of the country” (180).

In contrast to Devanny’s call for reconciliation, less than 50 years following the end of the Civil War, May Simonds (1907:np), in her article for the *Missouri Historical Review*, describes the attitudes surrounding the war and the war itself as “a peculiar bitterness growing out of a long train of events with long cherished resentment and a deep sense of injury” all of which conjured up rancor, inciting a great animosity in the residents of the border region. How could the bitterness and hostilities of an uncivil war disappear without lasting implications over the years?

While the booster texts reflect various sides of the mindset following the war, in recent years Neely states in his book, *The Border Between Them: Violence and Reconciliation on the Kansas-Missouri Line* (2007:142), that while many of the recorders of the border history “did not make note of the lingering feelings of ill-will” in regard to the border issues, this absence is certainly not a guarantee that they did not exist. Neely goes on to state, “hard feelings were ... the most enduring legacies of the war.” He further states that forgiveness came slowly and unevenly and for some not at all (Neely 2011).

Remembering and Forgetting

The lingering acrimony of war can at times be dealt with through what is remembered and what is forgotten. Moving forward towards rebuilding, rebirth, and

reconciliation can be realized by remembering and by forgetting. David Blight (2001) writes about how the Union desired the reunification of the North and South. More than anything else the Union just wanted the nation to be made whole. After waving the metaphorical bloody shirt, used to incite emotional remembrances of sacrifice (Foner 1988) and not obtaining the positive results of reunification, the Union eventually succumbed to the South at the expense of their claim of recording their history of the events. The blame for the war shifted from the question of slavery to the notion of states' rights, therefore, taking the culpability away from Southerners and imposing it onto the federal government. While the North won the war on the battlefield, the South won the war in the nation's collective memory. Blight (2001:9) reminds the reader, "glorious remembrance was all but overwhelmed by an even more glorious forgetting."

The forgetting and re-working of the period's historical record was the price of reconciliation and reunification. Americans from the North and South were happy to pay the price. For many, the revising of history was benign, at least to those who were of the dominant White race. The new reconciliation narrative maintained the nation would unite under the banner of White supremacy. After being beaten down and surrendering to the North, White Southerners were reeling in defeat. Seeing their men crushed down, Southern White women went to work rebuilding their lost pride. They would restore the lost honor by constructing a narrative through representations

symbolizing their Southern efforts and their stolen way of life. This narrative is the mythology of the Lost Cause.

In the decades following the Civil War, the time in which the booster texts were written Southern Whites maintained that healing would require the restoration of racial control. David Blight (2001) contends that this was accomplished with the veterans' reunions, Memorial Day ceremonies, and soldiers' memoirs all of which were further fortified with the literature of the day and through film. In turn White Americans, Southern and Northerners, began to construct the myth of the new shared memories and the "forgetfulness" that was the basis for reconciliation and reunion.

Allen Glenn's booster text records one example of the Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and their work within Cass County. To note, no other authors mention the UDC. Glenn shares in the biography of the German immigrant, L.O. Kunze, that within five years after migrating to Harrisonville, Kunze decided to insert himself into the Civil War. He writes, "Mr. Kunze enlisted, soul and body with the 'Lost Cause'" (1917:312). Kunze was eventually "honorably discharged" as a prison of war in June of 1865. A few years prior to his death in 1914, "the Daughters of the Confederacy bestowed upon him the Southern Cross of Honor" medal (1917:312). This is an example of a Confederate icon. The UDC only conferred this designation on Confederate veterans in acknowledgment of their service to the Southern Confederacy (Inscoc 2011).

Symbols can be used to evoke feelings and emotions that often result in actions, such as the United States' flag producing a feeling of pride and patriotism. These emotions result in standing, placing hand over heart, and perhaps citing a pledge or singing an anthem. Vexillologist (flag scholar) John M. Hartvigsen (Vozick-Levinson 2015:np) states, "Flags are, by their nature, very emotionally charged." However, a symbol, whether it is a flag or a statue, is simply a social construct possessing a common shared meaning.

The Confederate flag was a battle flag constructed as the standard used during the Civil War to rally the Southern troops. Since the Confederate flag was a battle flag, after the end of the Civil War, it was put away and for many years was only used to decorate Confederate graves. The flag had served its purpose. However, it was drug out again during the upsurge against the modern Civil Rights era of the 1950's and 1960's. Southern Whites used the flag as a measure of intimidation against Blacks who were attempting to gain their civil rights. Historian John Coski (2006) in his book, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem*, discusses how the flag became an aggressively racist symbol freely used as a counter-measure of intimidation and resistance to fight court-ordered desegregation. At this point the flag's meaning was given a new construct. At the same time, the nation was getting ready for the centennial celebration of the Civil War.

The 100-year anniversary of the War celebration occurred just as the modern Civil Rights Movement was in its beginning stages. This era was certainly a time filled

with contradiction. To understand why and how the United States government permitted such a dichotomous event as the celebration of the Confederacy to take place alongside the Civil Rights Movement, one must understand the “agreement” as focused on by David Blight (2001) in his seminal work entitled *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. At the end of the War, the Union, seeking reconciliation and reunion of the Southern States, permitted the South to begin to control the historical narrative. This control of the narrative would span the better part of fifty years, culminating in the emancipationist perspective of the War and its causes losing out to the reconciliantist narrative.

The former Confederate General Jubal Early conveyed this reconciliantist narrative in a series of articles in the 1870’s. Through the Southern Historical Society, Jubal covered the war from a Southern perspective. Jefferson Davis, the former President of the Confederate States of America, also defends the Southern way of life through several volumes of essays. The works of these two men laid the foundation for the new narrative and what would become known as the Lost Cause. The new narrative began with the war being fought by brave men and boys over the noble cause of state sovereignty or state’s rights, on their Southern way of life, and not over the issue of slavery. This sanitized, whitewashed version of the history of the South and the war was a place of moonlight and magnolias, where the benevolent slave owners cared for their happy servants with paternalistic obligation. This is the romanticized fable maintained by the Lost Cause.

Edward A. Pollard first coined the term Lost Cause in 1867 with his book, *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederacy*. The Cause is an ideological interpretation of the American Civil War that seeks to present the war in the best possible terms from the Confederate perspective. Developed by White Southerners in a postwar climate of economic and racial uncertainty, the Cause created and romanticized the “Old South” and the Confederate war effort, often times distorting history in the process. For this reason, many historians have labeled the Lost Cause as a myth or a legend as it is a whitewashing of history.

Prior to Pollard’s book, the country had seen major civil rights legislation during the period of Reconstruction (1866-1877). The Civil Rights Act in 1866 guaranteed all personages born within the United States citizenship, no matter their race or previous status (freeborn or slave). The Fourteenth Amendment, reversing the Dred Scott decision, guaranteed all rights as citizens with equal protection under the law. The Fifteenth Amendment that guaranteed the right to vote regardless of race followed it. In addition to legislation benefiting the former slaves and free Blacks, there was an influx of Blacks elected to federal and state offices. The defeated White Southerners must have felt as though it was hell on earth as the society they had built had crumbled away as they were being reigned over by the very individuals they had once enslaved. Around 1873, Early and Davis essays on the virtuous heroics and the sufferings of the South were beginning to be published. Southern women were “mourning” the loss of their men, the war, and their culture. Their mourning turned to honoring and uplift as

they fought to remember their lost cause (Janney 2008). Four years later the Compromise of 1877 officially ended Reconstruction, and with that, the last of federal troops pulled out of the South.

With federal occupation terminated, White Southerners quickly mandated and enforce racial segregation through state-enforced Black Codes beginning in 1865 and in what would later evolve into Jim Crow laws continuing well into the 1960's. In addition to forced segregation, the dominant racial group enacted restrictions that would not undo the legislation of Reconstruction but at the very least obstructed full compliance. The encumbrances included but were not limited to collecting poll taxes in order to vote and/or the taking and passing of a literacy test to cast a ballot by Blacks. Jim Crow disenfranchised and disempowered Blacks, preventing them from full participation as American citizens, and threatening the protection of their basic civil rights. They were once again “enslaved.”

Blacks pushed back through continual efforts. In 1892 Homer Adolph Plessy challenged Jim Crow but lost in a United States' Supreme Court decision known as *Plessy v. Ferguson* (Plessy 1896). In 1896, the Court upheld the legalized racial segregation under the “separate but equal” doctrine reinforcing Jim Crow. Realizing the extent of their marginalization and the need to organize to fight for their civil rights, Blacks began serious attempts at forming organizations to regain what had been taken.

While Blacks were fighting to regain their advancements obtained during Reconstruction, two pro-Confederate memory groups were formed at the end of the 1890s. Both White groups were intent on building up and memorializing the veterans who fought for the Southern cause – their very way of life. The United Sons of the Confederacy Veterans (USCV), later renamed Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), was founded in 1896. Their stated purpose was to preserve history by passing on “the story of the glory of the men who wore the gray” (Hopkins 1926:104). Two years later White women formed their own group, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). After being crushed in a devastating defeat ending in an unconditional surrender, the South was wallowing in self-pity. Seeing their men beaten down, Southern White women realized the need to uplift their defeated soldiers, family, and region. The UDC was a women’s association that was dedicated to honoring the memory of those individuals who fought and/or died in the service of the Confederate States of America. Through these women’s efforts, the UDC began to preach the ideology of the Lost Cause. The group’s website provides the following objectives and goals as outlined in their articles of incorporation:

To honor the memory of those who served and those who fell in the service of the Confederate States. To protect, preserve and mark the places made historic by Confederate valor. To collect and preserve the material for a truthful history of the War Between the States. To record the part taken by Southern women in patient endurance of hardship and patriotic devotion during the struggle and in untiring efforts after the War during the reconstruction of the South. (UDC 2018:np)

While the SVC was active in some monument building, it was the UDC's Confederate monument building that took off beginning in the 1890's through the 1920's (SPLC 2018). The year of 1915 saw the release of the motion picture, *Birth of a Nation* (Griffith 1915) and the reemergence of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) with membership increasing from just a few thousand members to over 100,000 in a short 10 months in 1915 (Franklin & Higginbotham 2011). D.W. Griffith's film, originally entitled *The Clansmen*, was explicitly racist depicting the clansmen as saviors of the White race, particularly of White women from evil Blacks, especially men like the film's Silas Lynch. Gus, a freeman, is held responsible for the death of a young White woman, Flora. For this he is hunted down and killed by mob violence as her White womanhood had to be defended.

Throughout time, mob violence or lynching, has been used as a means of social control. In 2015, multiple articles appeared in publications such as the *New York Times* newspaper and *Time* magazine, reporting new statistics on the number of Blacks lynched following emancipation. Numbers provided by the Equal Justice Initiative (2014) reflect upwards of 4,000 individuals who lost their lives due to premeditated mob violence. Tuskegee Institute numbers previously revealed in the first quarter of the twentieth century (1900-1925), that nearly 1,600 Black lives were claimed through lynching (Work 2010). The more recent data is staggering as it reveals a 250 percent increase over the previous research.

The nostalgia conjured up and maintained by the Lost Cause mythology promoted by the UDC laid the very foundation for White supremacy and the resulting racial issues experienced in the US. David Blight (2001:258) writes that the Southern remembrances helped to “shape a national reunion on their own terms.” The subsequent bigotry, prejudice, hate-filled oppression, and violence directed at people of color, most certainly Blacks, is a direct result of the lack of teaching and maintaining the truth. The Lost Cause was not lost, states Blight (2001:258), “especially in racial terms” as it was “the very heartbeat of the Jim Crow South.” The UDC’s “truthful history of the War Between the States” does not espouse that the war was fought most certainly over retaining the right to own “property” the same as slave owners owned other chattel (such as livestock). The UDC’s influence in present-day textbooks, like the McGraw-Hill’s *World Geography*, would have students believe that Black Africans were brought to America as “workers” (Fernando & Hauser 2015:np), much like immigrants, and not that they were kidnapped and enslaved, subjected to White slave owners’ whims.

Following is an interesting example of how the mythology as perpetuated by the UDC still permeates into present-day local historical research. Tom Rafiner’s book *Caught Between Three Fires* (2010) includes several instances of the myth. He includes the notion of reconciliation through “love and marriage.” He includes a commentary by a minister heralding a “post-War reconstruction effort” by way of marriage. Reverend George Miller wrote, “I give the southern young ladies much credit for leading off this

commendable movement. They manifest a remarkable tendency to marry ex-Federal officers and soldiers, and this generous impulse was very promptly reciprocated by the union girls ...” (2010:566-67). The storyline of a young Southern belle who marries a Union officer was typical of the Lost Cause literature (Weber 2017). This is one of the many factors that aided in and continues to romanticize the mythology. This exemplar is why it is important for historical researchers, scholarly and amateur, to include a critical analysis when presenting their work.

The second big push in the use of Confederate icons began to take place during the period of the modern-day Civil Rights Movement. The KKK brought back the Confederate flag determined to use it as a social control measure by way of intimidation. As Blacks began to regain some measure of justice there was pushback. The United States’ Supreme Court overturned the Plessy ruling and its doctrine of separate but equal when they determined that separate facilities “are inherently unequal” in their Brown v Board of Education (“Brown”) decision of 1954. Thus, began the desegregation of accommodations within the United States and the pushback by Southern Whites as they waved the banner of Jim Crow in the form of the Confederate flag.

Historian Robert J. Cook (2007) in his book *Troubled Commemoration: The American Civil War Centennial, 1961-1965*, suggests the issue of school segregation was at the crux of the increased use of Civil War rhetoric. The use of icons and the Centennial itself were utilized as a rallying call of Southern segregationists as a

mechanism of resistance to integration behind the symbolism of Confederate images and notions. Building monuments were tributes that not only pay homage to the heroes of the Confederacy but also are an acknowledgment of the resurgence of White supremacy and the ensuing resistance to any change in the status quo. The Lost Cause mythology essentially erased the Black perspective of the Civil War era, reinforcing the White Southern memory. Historian Cook (2002:882) writes that “when Northern and Southern whites thought about the Civil War in the mid-twentieth century, they participated unwittingly in a mutual act of historical amnesia.”

This “historical amnesia” is particularly active in Bates’s and Cass’s local historical narratives where the memorialization of the Civil War seemingly portrays the issue of slavery, and its role in the War, as non-existent. This is evidenced in the opening vignette of Chapter Two by way of the property manager’s response that some things in the past need to stay in the past, and that the discovery of evidence of a slave exchange was not the kind of history nor attention the town needed or wanted.

The United States was recently inundated with a multitude of sesquicentennial celebrations of the Civil War and still yet the issue of slavery, emancipation, and the Black narrative is given little if any notice by many Americans. Recent scholarship concerning the historiography of slavery and the Black experience counter the myth of the Lost Cause. In fact, this research will add to the existing awareness of the matter. That said, in 2019 many Whites cannot identify the significance of the Juneteenth celebration held each summer. If Black lives do in fact matter, why then is America still

permitting the honoring of those individuals and the memories of the Lost Cause but yet do not honor Black lives? I submit it is because the United States is still a nation that entertains racism, at the very least it is surreptitious and at the most, it is a manifestation of outright intentional hatred. Racism remains deeply embedded, engrained within the social institutions. Systemic racism is once again public and as always, normative. The whitewashing of history and the intentional forgetting, or amnesia, persists in perpetuating lies of omission and lies of commission. These actions in turn preserve historical trauma on all groups, Blacks, people of color, and Whites.

With the dogma of groups like the UDC still in existence today, remembrances through material culture were raised and are maintained to honor the Confederacy, its doctrine, and the fallen dead and injured. These memorials play a central role in the transmission of the Lost Cause's interpretation of the Civil War. The effort to memorialize their narrative has survived into current time and is evidenced in the murals and monuments of Bates and Cass. The United States is currently seeing the backlash as some portions of society view the memorials as nothing more than symbols of racial hatred while others view them as representations of their Southern heritage.

Understanding the Socio-Historical Context

To understand the narratives of the booster texts concerning Bates and Cass Counties, it requires engaging the sociological imagination. Sociologist C. Wright Mills

(1959:5-7) explains the sociological imagination as the relationship between personal experiences and the wider society or the intersection of history and biography. It is important to understand multiple aspects of each writers' social location. Additionally, one must grasp the era in which the authors were penning their works.

Searching out aspects of each respective author's social location permits a view leading towards important points that assist in presenting a clearer understanding of their personal biography. Additionally, these aspects can point towards potential biases. With an understanding of each author's social location one can then place them within the wider society or within the stream of events for that particular era in which they were writing. The intersection of the sociological imagination aids in taking a step back to look at the entirety of the situation. Peter Berger (23) wrote in his seminal work in 1963, *Invitation to Sociology* "things are not what they seem", explaining why the sociological imagination is a useful tool.

The multiple aspects of an individual's social location are the totality of the individual. Social characteristics such as the author's year of birth and birthplace, their race, gender, level of education, profession, and religious ideology are helpful to make inferences as to the influence on the writers for the time period between 1883-1918. First and foremost, all of the authors are male and White. The booster texts are a White male-centric narrative. These two aspects of social location automatically present a biased historical narrative. The bulk of what is written is about White men, their adventures and exploits as seen through their lens. If women are included, they are

often written in as a footnote, generally portrayed as the daughter, wife, or mother of a man.

All of the writer/editors were White men of means. They held positions of power within their local communities: positions such as sheriff, banker, school superintendent, business owners, judge, newspaper publisher, politician, bureaucrats, or attorneys. Several of the men held multiple positions as was the case with William O. Atkeson (1918), author of *History of Bates County, Missouri*, who taught in county schools of West Virginia before migrating to Bates County where he practiced law and was a public servant filling various bureaucratic positions. Publisher of the *History of Cass County, Missouri* (1917) and Atkeson's contemporary, Allen Glenn was a lawyer and a judge. In addition, Glenn was elected to the post of township collector, owned a real estate business along with being one of the founders and president on the board of directors of a bank.

The recorders of Bates and Cass histories were all educated men generally making their way through public schools in the lower grades to attending university. Editors of *The Old Settlers History of Bates County, Missouri*, S.L. Tathwell and Herman O. Maxey (1897), both occupied positions that one would assume required higher education. Research shows that Tathwell sat on the board of the Warrensburg (MO) State Normal School. Maxey was a principal and later superintendent of county schools. Allen Glenn obtained a degree in mathematics and later practiced law. He graduated from Missouri University at Columbia, now known as the University of

Missouri–Columbia. Before practicing law, William O. Atkeson attended the University of Kentucky at Lexington and Fairmont (WV) Normal School.

Four of the publishers were born within 17 years of each other. Atkeson and Glenn were just two years apart in age. They published their texts within one year of the other Glenn in 1917 and Atkeson in 1918. Both men were in their mid-sixties. Tathwell and Maxey were separated by six years of age and were relatively young men when they published their book in 1897; the former was 33 years of age, the latter was 26. Of the four men, only Glenn was born in Cass County. His father originated from Cincinnati, Ohio. Tathwell moved with his family from Ohio to the area of Bates when he was six years old. Maxey relocated from Kentucky while Atkeson moved from an area in what is now known as West Virginia.

The varying aspects of the authors' social location are useful in understanding the perspective from which they are writing. Another element beneficial in understanding the writer is to consider the context of the historical era in which the authors reside. They interacted with other individuals in their local communities. They were not isolated and did not live within a vacuum. The authors of the booster texts had an agenda with their publications. They wrote in a particular era surrounded by certain cultural influences.

Bates and Cass have long been caught up in the remembering of the Civil War era through the establishment and meeting of historical organizations along with the displays within various museums and libraries. Entities within the counties have

erected monuments and commissioned murals beginning in the recent new century. It is these pieces of material culture that my dissertation examines. I am interested in the continuing construction and maintenance of the local historical narrative of Bates County and Cass County as reproduced through their memorialization of history along with the resulting implications of the perpetuation of systemic racism.

The following two chapters present the murals and monuments of the counties viewed through a socio-contextual lens of the construction of history. The analysis examines the embedded nature of the construction of race and the way it is presented in the constructed narrative. I maintain that Cass County is “The Standard.” They have dealt with the race issue in a more nostalgic manner typical of the whitewashing of history, likened to the Lost Cause’s presentation of history, so as to be more acceptable, more palatable. I argue that Bates County is more progressive or “The Exception” in that they portray a more inclusive re-telling of history. However, Chapter Five takes the analysis a step further as both county’s narratives are viewed through the lens of Critical Race Theory revealing and exposing the underpinnings of racism.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STANDARD: CASS COUNTY

A volunteer at the Cass County Historical Society suggested I take a drive to the Orient cemetery located on the edge of Harrisonville. Specifically, she directed me to the Black section located to the far rear of the graveyard. What the volunteer wanted me to observe was the lack of headstones on the graves. She shared that the section was filled with an abundance of unmarked plots. While this study is not looking at grave markers, I must point out that headstones are a type of monument erected for those individuals who have passed. The most interesting explanation the volunteer offered for the unmarked graves was that local Blacks did not want their graves denigrated and/or vandalized. The volunteer reported incidents of stones marking the Blacks graves, as being stolen, toppled, defaced and/or broken. Therefore, many families opted to not mark their plots so that their headstones would not be damaged as others had in the past. The memorialization of Black graves and markers at the Orient cemetery speaks volumes as to how Blacks are remembered by some community members as well as the era in which these folks live.

"In discussing the history of a people one must distinguish between what has actually happened and what those who have written the history have said has happened. So far as the actual history of the American Negro is concerned, there is nothing particularly new about it." (Franklin 1957:69)

To understand the racial inequality found within present-day American society, one must first recognize that its foundations were laid in a race-based system of slavery. In turn, racial inequity continues to be the legacy of slavery, which is rooted deeply within the social institutions of the United State. Due to the normality and pervasiveness of racism, the dominant White group is either oblivious or unwilling to see the benefits and privileges granted them through the racial hierarchy. This lack of understanding of the implications and privileges is supported by the way in which slavery has and is remembered and taught.

Over the course of time and with the mythology of the Lost Cause many individuals have come to understand slavery as a natural occurrence. It must be acknowledged as an intentional institutionalized mechanism used as justification to enslave and continue the enslavement of humans through mass incarceration based purely on their race. Therefore, it is essential to view the shift over time by the use of the historiography of slavery recognizing there is more to the story than the standard Lost Cause myth.

When historian John Hope Franklin penned the above quote in 1957 concerning “the actual history of the American Negro” historians were on the cusp of a new shift in the historiography of slavery. Following the end of the Civil War and into the 1940s-1950s the literature concerning Blacks was the literature on slavery. The narrative concerning slavery was a neo-proslavery lens through which the era, institution, and people were viewed. Through this lens, historians, such as Ulrich B. Phillips in his book *American Negro Slavery* (1918), defined slavery not as an atrocity against Blacks but as a White man's burden since slave-owners often went out of their way for the good of the slaves. Phillips' plantation-school theory of slavery considered it a benign institution that lifted the enslaved out of their primal barbarism and provided them with the opportunity of a better life and the prospect for salvation of their souls through Christianity.

The late 1950s saw the addition of the neo-antislavery historians such as Kenneth Stampp and Stanley Elkins. Stampp's book, *The Peculiar Institution* (1956),

challenges Phillips by presenting the institution of slavery as harsh and brutally oppressive and not a benevolent paternalistic system. Slavery was not beneficial to Blacks as Phillips contends. However, slavery was extremely favorable to Whites in that they profited financially from a free labor force. In 1959 Stanley Elkins likened the plantation life for the slave to that of the Nazi concentration camps. The Black slaves were victims of a cruel system that crushed their will that destroyed their ancestral roots by leaving them with no culture and identity of their own. This system left them as passive victims wholly dependent on the White owners with no identity other than chattel.

The 1970s brought a new lens in which to view slavery and the history of Blacks in America. This era began to emphasize slave agency. Eugene D. Genovese's *Roll Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1974) acknowledges that the master-slave relationship rested on the notion of paternalism. His work focuses on the development of identity, autonomy and agency that slaves fashioned through their integration and social structures found within everyday life such as family and religion. Like Genovese, other historians began to research and write about the making of community even though Blacks were enslaved.

Historian George Rawick in *From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community* (1972) uses slave narratives to gather information concerning slave life. While the slave belonged to the master from sunup to sundown, Rawick addresses what took place during the hours from sunset to sunrise that time which belonged to

slaves. Rawick contends that during these hours the slave cultivated and nurtured their Black community. The same year that Genovese and Rawick published their works on slave communities, historian John W. Blassingame (1972) published, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*. Utilizing slaves' writings, Blassingame, like Rawick, depicts the daily lives of former Black slaves' customs, culture, and community. He argues that while they were an enslaved people, they "gained a sense of worth in the quarters, spent most of [their] time free from surveillance by whites, controlled important aspects of [their] life, and did some personally meaningful things of [their] own volition" (1972:xii).

In 1965, the then Assistant Secretary of Labor for the Johnson administration published a report entitled, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action" (aka the "Moynihan Report"). Daniel Patrick Moynihan's thesis depicts the poor and underprivileged Blacks as suffering from the "tangle of pathology" due to the residual effects of being an enslaved people. He contends that slavery had disrupted and destroyed the notion of family thus permanently affecting the present-day familial structure. On the heels of this report following years of research, historian Herbert Gutman's (1976) book, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* counters Moynihan's report. He asserts that even while they were an enslaved people, Blacks were resilient when it came to family. He contends that families are not destabilized, enjoy a robust family life, and have a broad kinship network. Gutman states that his

study of Black families reveals their “adaptive capacities at critical moments in its history” (1976:xx-xxi).

From the 1980s to present the new literature for the historiography of slavery has been vast. The subsequent scholarship has examined various aspects of slavery; from the day-to-day resistance by slaves on the plantation, to the larger-scale rebellions wrought by the slaves, and to the impact capitalism had on slavery (Walter Johnson's (2013) *River of Dark Dreams*, Edward Baptist's (2014) *The Half Has Never Been Told*). While some scholars compare the small-scale farming slave owner to that of the large plantation system, others examine gender relations between or among the genders for both Blacks and Whites. Some researchers focus on the inter-play of relationships between the hierarchies of those who were enslaved (house slave versus field slave). Others investigate particular places and time periods concerning slavery such as in the Deep South or in the Missouri-Kansas border region, which are addressed in Chapter Two.

The abbreviated historiography of American slavery presented above relates to Franklin's (1957:69) quote, “So far as the actual history of the American Negro is concerned, there is nothing particularly new about it.” While historians have journeyed far in the national narrative concerning Blacks since Franklin penned his statement in 1957, local antiquarian histories have not traveled as far when it comes to the historical narrative. What IS the actual history of Blacks within Cass County, Missouri? Nothing is particularly new about the story as told by the dominant group within the county. The

White remembrances are the standard narrative so that any artistic construction of Blacks within Cass County reflects this view. Blacks often are remembered through negative racial stereotyping born out of the past. Many of the imaged archetypes can be found to have originated during the era of the Southern slave culture thru post-Reconstruction. These imaginary and resulting stereotypes are still quite present in American society. The following characteristics are responsible for misdirected beliefs and incorrect stereotyping.

The portrayal of Blacks within media and American culture has run the gamut over the years for both men and women. From the ever-lovable and faithful old mammy (Jewell 1993; West 1995; Wallace-Sanders 2009) who cares for White children and their parents, as if they were her very own offspring. The image of mammy is depicted as Aunt Cloe in Harriet Beacher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Aunt Jemima, who was born out of the mammy caricature, is known for her fine cooking and appeared on pancake boxes in 1889 (Aunt Jemima 2018). The headstrong Sapphire is dominating and aggressive, letting no one, especially a man, control her (White 1999; Harris-Perry 2011). She is also known as a sassy mammy. Actress Hattie McDaniel in the 1939 film, *Gone With the Wind* (Fleming) plays the part of a sassy, mouthy slave woman to her mistress Scarlett O'Hara. The character of Lydia Brown in D.W. Griffith's 1915 film, *The Birth of a Nation*, portrays the lasciviously seductive Jezebel. This Black female archetype cannot control her primal sexual urges nor resist her lustful desires for men; she is "at best inappropriate and, at worst, insatiable" (Collins 2000:83).

Like the women, Black male stereotypes encompass a full range of archetypes. The old loyal slave man, who is sometimes dressed in tattered clothing, appears as a grandfather type figure. The fictional conception of *Uncle Remus* (1881) by author Joel Chandler Harris is a prime example of this type. Another exemplar of this archetype is the uncle from Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Another "happy" smiling Black man has been the chef on the Cream of Wheat boxes for well over a century (Final Tribute 2007). The passive, lazy, good-for-nothing, child-like, know-nothing stereotype of the Coon has been present in the American culture since slavery days. This dehumanizing contraction of the word raccoon (Pilgrim 2012) was used interchangeably with Sambo. Sociologist David Pilgrim (2012) describes the difference between a Coon and a Sambo, in that a "Coon was a Sambo gone bad" (np). While all of these are stereotypical depictions, the perception of the Coon is a combative, aggressive, and non-conforming slave. Also, the Jim Crow image is a demeaning variation of the caricature of the Coon character. The foreboding, savage brute is another portrayal in the novel *Mandingo* (Onstott 1957). This stereotype presents itself after Emancipation and evolves from the depiction of the buck, who is Black man characterized as aggressive, violent, and lacking self-control. He is over-sexualized and constantly on the prowl for White women (Bogle 2001:14). This stereotype grew as slavery ended. White men used the buck stereotype as a social control measure in the guise of protecting the virtues of White womanhood and giving legitimacy and justification to the lynching of Black men for such a crime. (Gilmore 1996; Sommerville 2004).

These Black stereotypes or archetypes had their genesis during the antebellum era and the post-reconstruction period. They lasted well into the age of Jim Crow and still linger today. Additional variations and more archetypes have been added through the years. Swiss psychologist, Carl Jung posited that the core of any archetype is in the collective unconscious (Jung 1947). The collective unconscious is the experiences shared in common by a culture, which in turn has a profound effect. Members of the collective act and interact upon these influences. These influences are closely tied to social constructs, given that society accepts the stereotype, which in turn becomes part of their social reality. These Black archetypes continue to exist within American culture. The constructs are embedded within the nation's history, literature, films, art, policing, and legal system and are implanted within social institutions that result in the continuation of systemic racism.

What is worse? When the only representations of Blacks are stereotypical depictions or erasure within the local historical narrative? Neither is acceptable. When groups are marginalized by the dominant group and left out of the narrative, these histories contribute to symbolic annihilation. Communication studies scholar, George Gerbner (1972; Gerbner & Gross 1976) coined this critical concept. Symbolic annihilation is the absence or diminished representation of a particular group of people, generally based on some social construct such as sex, gender, age, or race. Sociologist Gaye Tuchman (1978) expands Gerber's notion of symbolic annihilation and divides it into three types: omission (as per Gerber), trivialization of the group, and condemnation.

When the marginalized group is juxtaposed to the dominant group, they are condemned for not being the dominant groups and are the subject of trivialization. The trivialization, stereotyping, and symbolic annihilation are evident in the murals and monuments of Cass County. Generally speaking, Blacks have been left out of the local narrative. However, when included, they are in stark contrast with Whites and are marginalized. The consequence of systemic annihilation (omission, trivialization, and condemnation) is a cycle of systemic racism. The Black voice and experience must be pulled into the local narrative to end this cycle. Without the Black voices, experiences, and culture the narrative is flawed and fragmented making the local historical narratives an incomplete telling of the past.

Murals and Monuments

This chapter identifies the murals and monuments of Cass County. I contend that the County's representation of Blacks is the standard by which I will measure Bates County's inclusion of Blacks in the local narrative. By standard, I mean the typical way in which Blacks are included in the local history as represented in their murals and monuments. The presence of Blacks in the Cass County narrative is one that is devoid of the issue of slavery and the Black citizenry in general. The narrative fails to elaborate on Blacks' contributions to the area nor does it discuss the oppression and ensuing racism Blacks endured before, during, and since the Civil War. Of the four murals, only one includes a Black individual, a slave woman. Less than 15% of the total images are of

women or girls in the four paintings. Consequently, Cass County's narrative is one of a legacy of "great" White men and their endeavors, which is the standard narrative for this comparative study.

During a TED Talk in 2009, Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie addressed her concerns of the marginalization of various groups within literature. She terms this as the "danger of the single story." While Adichie's remarks address literature, the same is applicable to the production of historical narratives, even that of the local narrative. She (2009) argues that the root of the issue in creating a single-story is one of power, "power is the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but to make it the definitive story of that person." She (2009) also shares that "It is impossible to talk about the single story without talking about power." Once the undercurrents of power are disclosed, Critical Race theorists would argue that it is time to include the marginalized stories, or narratives of those groups who have been previously divested of power. Critical Race theorists term this as counter-storytelling, which is "a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told" (Solórzano & Yosso 2002:26). Counter-storytelling is a process that permits the deeply rooted single-story narrative to be challenged by revealing the engrained racism.

This analysis of the Cass County murals and monuments focuses on the power held by the dominant group in maintaining the local historical narrative. In the preservation of the single-story, racism is evident. The murals and monuments each

tell a single-story of the county through a continuing construction of history that is the standard wherein the narrative is from a White perspective. The constructed narrative focuses on the legacy of White men and their accomplishments. A photograph along with a short description of each monument or mural is provided below. To aid the reader, supplementary information important to the back history and analysis accompanies each photo.

Murals serve various purposes. They are used to celebrate, observe, memorialize, heighten awareness, or commemorate specific events, facts, or individuals that are woven into the social fabric of the local narrative. “Murals often express a strong narrative of social awareness using symbolic content ... created for and by the people of the community [becoming a] part of daily life” (Caruso & Caruso 203:5). Murals have become a way in which to create solidarity among people due to oppression, war, or injustices. Present day murals are used to share history from the past that creates cohesion within the communities where they are displayed.

Historical murals are reminders of the past intended to function as visual prompts that direct attention to specific events, places, or people. It is a way of collectively remembering shared common memories. The word “mural” originates from murus a Latin word meaning “wall” (Cawley 2014:np). Early human ancestors drew the earliest murals on cave walls. Murals are found in ancient Mayan temples, churches and chapels depicting traditions, lives, rituals, norms, and values. They extend a prevue into the era, its people, and the culture using visual images as a form of

communication. In more recent history, the 1920s saw the Mexican Mural Movement, which included numerous painters, one of the most famous of which is Diego Rivera. Beginning in the 1930s, the New Deal and its Works Progress Administration (WPA) put the artistic community to work on many art projects. Through the Mural Division of the WPA, over 100,000 public paintings and murals were completed (Wolf 2015). One of the murals discussed in this dissertation, *Back Home, April 1865* (Lea 1939) (FIG. 6), is a result of a WPA project. The 1960s and 70s were filled with social and political strife followed by activism of various sorts. Previously, groups who have been marginalized in society have created murals to permit silenced voices to be heard. Murals are an exemplar of counter-storytelling. The Chicano and Black pride mural movements have been a part of the contemporary mural movement working for social change. Today, small towns use mural projects as beautification efforts, an additional boost for economic development, a way to draw in tourism, and to preserve the culture through telling the story of their local history.

Like murals, monuments are also intended to function as reminders of specific events, places, or individuals, and a way of collectively remembering common memories. Historian Kirk Savage explains their importance:

Public monuments are the most conservative of commemorative forms precisely because they are meant to last, unchanged, forever. While other things come and go, are lost and forgotten, the monument is supposed to remain a fixed point, stabilizing both the physical and the cognitive landscape. Monuments attempt to mold a landscape of collective memory, to conserve what is worth remembering and discard the rest. (1997:4)

The way in which groups choose to memorialize significant events, people, and places provide insight into a given society as well as its place in time. Monuments are deliberate choices in the specific selections of the historical narrative intended to be remembered. Sanford Levinson, professor of government suggests, “monuments are efforts, in their own way, to stop time” (1990:7). They are likened to a snapshot where history stands still on the very spot where the monument is erected.

While murals and monuments can be used as mechanisms for counter-storytelling, they are also a means to support and maintain the dominant group’s beliefs and traditions. Dr. Jim Zuccherro suggests that by the dominant group focusing “the attention of the public on specific events of the past ... it foster[s] a collective orientation toward those events keep[ing] the memory alive in some consistent way in the present day” (Zuccherro 1999:7). Edward Said maintains “the invention of tradition is a method for using collective memory selectively by manipulating certain bits of the national past, suppressing others, elevating still others in an entirely functional way. Thus, memory is not necessarily authentic, but rather useful” (Said 2000:179). To further bolster this notion, Kirk Savage states, that “public monuments do not arise as if by natural law to celebrate the deserving; they are built by people with sufficient power to marshal (or impose) public consent for their erection” (Savage 1994:135-136).

The White supremacist perspective successfully preserves and maintains the Lost Cause mythology through the effective use of memory. Whites have used the Lost Cause narrative as tactics of intimidation and terror aimed at Blacks. This approach is

particularly evident during times in which Whites are experiencing perceived threats to the racial hierarchy. The first perceived threat to White supremacy began in the late 1800s and continuing into the 1920s.

After the loss of the Civil War and the freeing of slaves, White Southerners feeling as though their world was turned upside down, moved to right the racial hierarchy. The American Historical Association (AHA) issued a “Statement on Confederate Monuments” in 2017 where the history of Confederate Monument building was explained, in that “this enterprise was part and parcel of the initiation of legally mandated segregation and widespread disenfranchisement across the South. Memorials to the Confederacy were intended, in part, to obscure the terrorism required to overthrow Reconstruction, and to intimidate African Americans politically and isolate them from the mainstream of public life” (np). The mandated forced segregation based on race was accomplished with the establishment of state and local laws known as Jim Crow disenfranchising Blacks. In turn, Blacks were relegated to a new type of “slavery” in which racism was legalized. Also, at this same time period the Ku Klux Klan saw rebirth in activity and membership. During this period, celebrations commemorated the 25th and 50th anniversary of the Civil War.

The second resurgence of Confederate monument building is evident during the upsurge of the modern-day Civil Rights Movement (CRM) beginning in the 1950s, and continuing into the 1960s. Blacks were motivated to push for full rights and freedoms while Whites pushback by espousing their White supremacy. Whites had already seen

the federal mandate to desegregate public schools with the Brown v Board of Education decision. Confederate monument building was a way to champion White domination of the racial hierarchy as well as to exert the nervous apprehension of an uncertain future. These decades saw the first centennial celebration of the Civil War.

There is a present-day dialog involving the fight over the removal of Confederate monuments and the use of the Confederate flag. The dominant White group continues to invoke and maintain “history” to keep their beliefs and their power alive. Dominance of the local narrative equates to privilege, which results in continuing power to control the narrative. This supremacy affects the public’s memory concerning the Civil War and also reinforces racial stereotypes and exploits the Black voice. Dominating the narrative is accomplished through whitewashing, amnesia, or both as evidenced below in the standardized Lost Cause narrative of Cass County.

Cass County Murals

In the mid-2000s, local Kansas City muralist, Daniel Brewer was commissioned by the Cass County Historical Society to paint a series of three Civil War murals. These murals were to be hung on the Harrisonville town square. In April of 2014, I met with Mr. Brewer at his studio on the west end of the historic Country Club Plaza district of Kansas City, Missouri. Soon, I discovered Brewer is quite proud of his heritage and his historical connections to the area. He is the fourth great-grandson of Gabriel Prudhomme an early settler of Kansas City (Brewer 2014; Coleman 2007). He takes his

heritage seriously, reading, and studying local history. And from this history, Brewer takes much of his inspiration for the murals he is commissioned to paint.

In addition to his personal studies, Mr. Brewer digs into local history through the old historical texts written during the years of which he is to represent in his murals. The primary texts he used for inspiration in producing the three murals in Cass County were the same booster texts examined in this study. He identified them as, the *History of Cass and Bates Counties* (Williams 1883), the *History and Directory of Cass County, Missouri* (Webber 1908), and the *History of Cass County, Missouri* (Glenn 1917). An additional source book Mr. Brewer relied on was Bliss Isely's 1939 book entitled *Blazing the Way West*. Isely's book is the account of the westward expansion and movement in America, by and through the influence brought into the area by early French exploration.

Another way in which Brewer garnered inspiration for the murals was by attending various historical society meetings in Cass County, where he began to gather information as he listened to their discussions. From these sources, Brewer made the determination as to what was significant to the people and the area of Cass County that he would represent in the paintings. The following three murals are the depictions of the events he deemed most significant to the residents of the county and are entitled as listed:

- Jennison's Jayhawk Raid on Harrisonville
- Younger Family Farm Eviction
- Timeline of Significant Events



Figure 3 - Jennison's Jayhawk Raid on Harrisonville

Mural Title: Jennison's Jayhawk Raid on Harrisonville

Inscription: July 1861 Jennison's Jayhawks raid Harrisonville Square

Dated Displayed: circa 2007-08

Location: East side of the former First National Bank Building, 101-103 W. Wall, Harrisonville

Picture Taken: July 15, 2013 by researcher

The mural, *Jennison's Jayhawk Raid on Harrisonville* (FIG. 3), is an account of the events in July 1861 when Henry Younger's store and livery stable were pillaged and looted in one of "Doc" Charles Jennison's first "Jayhawker" raids into Missouri during the Civil War. Henry Younger's son, Cole Younger (Younger 1903:33) writes in his autobiography¹⁶ of the event concerning his father's "stable at Harrisonville [being]

¹⁶ Cole Younger's autobiography, *The Story of Cole Younger, by Himself* written in 1901 is at times confusing and contradicting. Caution must be used when referencing Younger's book as a source.

raided and \$20,000 worth of horses and vehicles taken. The experiment became a habit with the Jayhawkers, and such visits were frequent.” The Cass County Historical Society cites that in addition to plundering Younger’s livery stable and dry goods store, the Jayhawkers “also looted every store on the Square and carted the booty back to Kansas” (Civil War Murals 2011:np).

In 1857, Charles R. “Doc” Jennison, an abolitionist from New York, relocated to the Kansas Territory. Siding with the free-state forces, he began participating in “jayhawking forays against proslavery residents in Kansas and Missouri” (Phillips 2015a:np). Jennison’s band, and other associated free-state fighters, operated as guerrillas during the fight over the status of slavery in Kansas, but once the Civil War began, the Jayhawker troops melded into the regular federal army in Kansas. Although they now had the official sanction, they still used the same tactics as before. They frequently raided into Missouri, where they plundered civilian targets and engaged pro-Southern bushwhackers (Fellman 1989).

The raids, such as the one on the Harrisonville town square, helped earn Jennison's regiment the name of “Jennison’s Jayhawkers.” After the official beginning of the war, Jennison was given a command as a Kansas militia leader and eventually was commissioned as a colonel in the regular army with the Seventh Kansas Cavalry (Starr 1973). The unit’s primary responsibility was to combat the local pro-Southern guerrilla fighters across the border in Missouri.

One of the methods Jennison employed to control the guerrillas was to burn out farmers and towns by taking anything they could transport such as foodstuffs and livestock. Looting was a way to strip any necessities that the Southern irregulars could utilize as sustenance. They also actively worked to liberate slaves (Castel 1966). Historian Christopher Phillips (2015a:np) credits Jennison's uncompromising methods, directed at civilians, as the stimulate for the "reputation as perhaps the most extreme of those operating in the entire Trans-Mississippi theater." Jennison's method of suppressing the pro-Southern guerrillas engaged civilians, who were non-combatants, thus bringing the region a step closer to total war.



Figure 4 - Younger Family Farm Eviction

Mural Title: *Younger Family Farm Eviction*

Inscription: Younger family evicted by order #11 in Civil War. Sept. 1863

Dated Displayed: circa 2007-08

Location: North side of the Kunze Building, 100 S Independence Street, Harrisonville

Picture Taken: July 15, 2013 by researcher

The mural portraying the *Younger Family Farm Eviction* (FIG. 4) is the second in the series painted by Brewer. He was unsure of the date it went on display; however, he is certain that it is the second of the three murals. The Cass County Historical Society's website confirms this fact (Civil War Murals 2011:np).

The previous mural, *Jennison's Jayhawk Raid on Harrisonville* (FIG. 3), illustrates the purported looting of Henry Younger's businesses located on the square in Harrisonville. This particular mural, *Younger Family Farm Eviction* (FIG. 4), is reflective of the burning of Youngers' farmstead and crops as mandated by Order No. 11. Son Cole

Younger tells of this event in his autobiography *The Story of Cole Younger, by Himself* (1903). He writes concerning the incident of the federal troops showing up at the family farmstead:

In the dead of the night, and, at the point of a pistol, [they] tried to force my mother to set fire to her own home. She begged to be allowed to wait until morning, so that she, her children, and "Suse" 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, the four youngest children, and "Suse" began their eight mile trudge through the snow to Harrisonville. (P. 7)

The painting of the Younger's visualizes the forced removal of women and children from their home. My research indicates that folklore believes the young man leading the team of oxen is Cole Younger. However, according to Younger's account (1903) he was not present at the time Order No. 11 was issued. In the distance are other displaced families on the road due to the forced evacuation following the burning of their homes. This mural is a representation incorporating both the total war and the scorched earth policy. The scorched earth strategy is the attempt to lay waste to any resources (food, natural resources, buildings) that may be of use to the enemy.

Several points need to be made concerning this mural as well as Younger's accounting of the forced evacuation of the family farmstead. First, Order No. 11 was issued in August of 1863. Residents were given 15 days to vacate the area. Younger writes that there was considerable snow on the ground the night before his mother

and siblings were forced out. Furthermore, Brewer's mural shows no snow on the ground.

The diaries of Union soldier Rueben Smith, who was posted in the area of Cass at the time of the Younger farmhouse destruction can shed light on Cole Younger's recollections of the incident. Smith's diaries have recently been edited by Lana Wirth Myers (2018). Smith's first entry concerning this incident places the date as January 24 when he sent Sergeant Mark A. Shelton to inform Bersheba Younger she had until the next morning to vacate. Bersheba told the officer she would set the fire herself the following morning. When the Union forces returned the next day, January 25, 1863 Smith reports the house was already burning (Myers 2018:109). Smith's date is in January 1863. Order No. 11 was mandated in August 1863, seven months after Bersheba set fire to her home.

Smith continues to address this event in a diary entry dated March 17, 1901 where he offers to set inaccuracy straight. He begins by stating that Cole Younger did not become a guerrilla out of necessity or out of revenge for the murder of his father nor the burning of the family farm (Myers 2018:112). Smith writes that in March of 1862 "Cole Younger had gone to the brush and had become a bandit and an outlaw. His father was not killed for months afterward. His mother's home was not burned for nearly a year afterward. I know wherein I speak, because it was burned by my order" (Myers 2018:111). Smith also records that Bersheba Younger begged to set the fire herself the day before the incident and that when the troops arrive the next morning

her wagon was already loaded and on the road. Smith finishes by stating that there was no “terrific snow storm that day” (Myers 2018:112). No matter, the Cass County mural reflects and is labeled as September 1863 due to Order No. 11. Additionally, Bersheba Younger is still in the murals, not on the road and a soldier had a torch in his hand. If one is to believe Rueben Smith’ diary entries, the Younger farm was destroyed as per Order No. 3 in January 1863.



Figure 5 - Timeline of Significant Events

Mural Title: *Timeline of Significant Events*

Inscription: GENERAL ORDER NO. 11 AUG. 25, 1863 BRIG. GEN. THOMAS EWING
SEN. LEWIS CASS L.O.KUNZE HENRY & BURSHEBA YOUNGER
QUANTRILL COLE YOUNGER MAJOR DEANT JENNISON'S

Dated Displayed: circa 2007-08

Location: Brous Bros. Building, 106 - 108 Pearl Street, Harrisonville

Picture Taken: July 15, 2013 by researcher

Although some individuals refer to this mural as General Order No. 11, it in fact portrays more than that one event. The final Harrisonville mural by Daniel Brewer is the *Timeline of Significant Events* (FIG. 5), which “features significant events, places and people of the Civil War in Cass County” (Civil War Murals 2011:np). Beginning with the noteworthy individuals, Brewer includes a portraiture of Senator Lewis Cass. When the county was originally formed, they named it Van Buren after the then-vice president, Martin Van Buren. However, when Van Buren, who held strong anti-slavery sentiments, changed his ideological affiliation to a Free Soiler, the residents of the county petitioned for and received a name change to Cass County in 1849. The county was renamed Cass for Lewis Cass of Michigan, a Democratic candidate for president (Williams 1883). The county’s name change was purely political in nature. Besides Van Buren’s realignment of his party affiliation, Cass was an adamant supporter of popular sovereignty. He believed that individuals residing within a territory should have the right to decide for themselves whether or not to permit slavery (Klunder 1996:266-67).

The next individual is L. O. Kunze (Ludwig Oswald Kunze). Kunze was a White German immigrant and businessman from Harrisonville. Before enlisting to fight on the side of the Confederacy in 1861 he had established himself as a jeweler with a successful business located on the square (Williams 1883:453). Following is Henry and Bersheba Younger (some of their biographical information is found in the previous two mural’s explanations as well as their son Cole Younger, who is represented in this mural). Positioned between Cole and his parents is the likeness of the infamous

Missouri guerrilla, William Clarke Quantrill. These four individuals are interwoven with each other, as well as the historic events of Cass County, so the following addresses their significance together.

Before they were known as the parents of the infamous, Cole Younger, Henry and Bersheba Younger had an active life in Cass County. Preceding the Civil War, Mr. Younger was elected as the first mayor of Harrisonville and had secured a position as mail agent for the federal government (Younger 1903:4). The Younger's real estate holdings were vast. As previously mentioned and depicted in the mural *Jennison's Jayhawk Raid on Harrisonville* (FIG. 3), they owned several businesses, Younger's dry goods store and livery stable on the Harrisonville town square that were robbed by the Jayhawker troops.

Younger's roots were in Kentucky; he owned slaves and he held Southern sympathies (Younger 1903:15). Nevertheless, he remained loyal to the Union in that he believed in its preservation (Younger 1903:4-5). Historian Christopher Phillips (2011) would have labeled Younger a "conditional unionist." While Younger advocated staying with the Union, he most likely opposed any intervention by the federal government that would interfere with the state's rights to determine the status of slavery. A.L. Webber (1908:124) calls these individuals "clay banks" as opposed to other Unionist nicknamed "charcoal" who wanted slavery totally abolished from Missouri (Anderson 1908). However, loyalty to the Union did not keep the elder Younger from being brutally murdered allegedly at the hands of Union Captain Irwin Walley and his

militiamen. Cole Younger emphatically states in his memoir that these men's "hands are stained with the blood of my father" (Younger 1903:4-5) and that the murder was politically motivated due to the elder Younger's ideological belief regarding the slavery issue.

Many events occurred that may have led Cole Younger to join the bushwhackers in addition to his father's murder. Bersheba was left with young children and their holdings to deal with in the midst of the Civil War. Union forces occupied Harrisonville and placed it under martial law in July 1861. To keep young women of the area from giving aid and assistance to the pro-slavery guerrilla fighters, the local militia, of which Captain Walley was a part, arrested and detained several of them. The summer following Younger's death, Henry and Bersheba's oldest daughters along with several of their female cousins were jailed. Within months the building which housed the young ladies collapsed, injuring many of the women and killing four, including Younger cousins (Crouch 1999).

Following the tragic event, the pro-slavery guerrilla leader William Clarke Quantrill and his raiders rode into Lawrence, Kansas and killed over 150 men and boys. After looting, they burned down the town. Historians have speculated whether the raid on Lawrence was revenge for the death of the female relatives of the guerrillas in the collapsed jail (Epps 2015). According to Cole's account, he had to leave his parents residence to avoid being discovered by the local Union troops. He escaped detection

by “hid[ing] and run[ning] for it.” Cole managed to join up with “Quantrell's [sic] company” the next winter (Younger 1903:16).

Several days following Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, Union Brigadier General Thomas Ewing issued the fateful Order No. 11. This Order mandated the forced evacuation of Missourians, who were citizens residing within a Union state. Here is where the difficulty lies . . . three months following Missouri's vote to remain with the union, several secessionist members of the state assembly met in secret, voting to cede from the Union. One month later the Confederacy welcomed Missouri as one of their own. Missouri [was] In Two Nations” (Parrish 2001:30). The sitting governor, Claiborne Fox Jackson fled the state, operating the state government from a distance, as a member of the Confederate States of America (CSA). Parrish points out that there is question in the legality of the vote by the rouge assembly members. However the state may have been “Union” but there were southern sympathizers making this time period even more problematic. Jackson was deposed once Union forces secured the state. The remainder of the painting depicts Ewing's Order No. 11. The events of the area are tightly woven as reflected in Daniel Brewer's adaptation of local history in the timeline mural.

Brewer's version of the events begins by incorporating in the mural the border troubles as reflected by including non-uniformed young men involved in a gun battle with their backs against a stonewall. This is a representation of the ten-year span plaguing the border troubles beginning in the mid-1850s. Brewer incorporated the

posting of General Order No. 11 along with a depiction of the burning of the area.

Brewer also incorporates a post-war event by adding an image of Major Abner Dean sitting with a Bible on his lap with jail bars behind him.

Major Abner H. Dean fought on the side of the North with the local home guard. Once the war ended, Dean, a Baptist minister, refused to take an oath of allegiance to the United States. This oath was a requirement of all ministers before they were permitted to return to their pulpits at the close of the war. Dean stated in his reminiscences that he believed he proved his loyalty and his allegiance since he fought for the Union. Believing the call to preach was from a higher power, he refused the loyalty oath and was jailed (Dean 1903).

Last, the mural includes two prominent buildings; the county courthouse and the Robert A. Brown home called Wayside Rest. The Brown family was the largest slave owner in Cass County (Polsgrove-Roberts 2003). The final two significant events rendered are the burning of the town of Dayton due to Order No. 11 and the riding of Jennison's Jayhawkers.



Figure 6 - Back Home, April 1865

Mural Title: *Back Home, April 1865*

Inscription: none

Dated Displayed: 1939

Location: United States Post Office located at 124 Veterans Parkway, Pleasant Hill

Picture Taken: July 15, 2013 by researcher

The final Cass County mural this study examines, *Back Home, April 1865* (FIG. 6), is by the artist Tom Lea from a Works Progress Administration (WPA) project. Lea painted this in the spring of 1939 at a time when Europe stood on the brink of World War II. Little did Lea know that similar to Bates and Cass Counties, Europe would see the forced removal and expulsion of many of its residents. How could Lea foresee that like the two counties, an all-out total war with unrestricted and absolute destruction would draw in civilians, and that a scorched earth policy would ultimately be utilized against non-combatants to ensure total control? However, as Lea (1968) writes in his autobiography:

In the spring of 1939, with a mural to paint for Pleasant Hill, portents of a violence to engulf the whole world were literally in the air. A radio in the living-room-become-studion [sic] brought us daily blasts of bad news from Europe; we heard the hysterical yammering of a madman under a huge swastika and we heard him answered in waves of sound vast as doom, Heil! Heil! Heil! I painted a mural of some forlorn people standing on a piece of desolated ground, after a war. I gave it a title "Back Home, April, 1865". (P. 31)

Lea's depiction of coming back home includes four adults and baby as they return to their scorched land following the end of the Civil War. Lea was certain to include the ruins of a burned-out home where only a charred chimney was left standing following Order No. 11. These charred chimneys would become known as Jennison's monuments or Jennison's tombstones (Stanley 1904:418; Rafiner 2010:561). All four of the adults are looking in different directions. The elderly are gazing behind into the past, the young mother holding the baby is looking at the present while the defeated Confederate soldier is peering forward at the future. The Lea mural, like the murals painted by Brewer, is singularly focused on the devastation brought to Cass County and its ensuing effects upon the dominant White population. Their story, a White story, is their history, a White history. Their devastation is depicted of the ravages of war visited upon Whites, with a single slave, Suse, the Younger's slave girl.

Cass County Monuments

Located on the grounds of the Cass County Justice Center in Harrisonville is the *Burnt District Monument* (FIG. 7). Following the evacuation of residents due to Order

No. 11, all crops, buildings and homes were burned to ensure no aid nor comfort was provided to the pro-slavery guerrillas. Order No. 11 created a barren wasteland that included a strip along the Missouri-Kansas border incorporating the counties of Bates and Cass. This land measured 85 miles long and 50 miles wide, which became a wilderness known as “The Burnt District.” All that remained were the charred chimneys, commonly referred to as Jennison’s Monuments or Jennison’s Tombstones. For miles throughout western Missouri’s Border District, the devastated area was marked with soot-smudged chimneys.

The Cass County Historical Society commissioned the *Burnt District Monument* (FIG. 7) and local stonemasons Jerry and Jarrod Saling completed it in 2009. The monument’s hand-cut stones (using hammer and chisel) are native fieldstone taken from the location of the Henry Younger farmstead. The monument’s inscription describes it as “a unique monument dedicated to the women, children, elderly and families [who suffered]... to honor the memory and help tell the stories of the families which endured the turmoil of life on the Missouri/Kansas Border during the Civil War” (The Burnt District Monument 2011).



Figure 7 - Burnt District Monument

Monument Title: *The Burnt District Monument*

Inscription: The Burnt District Monument

Dated Displayed: 2009

Location: 2501 W Wall, Harrisonville

Picture Taken: July 15, 2013 by researcher

The monument is made of limestone from the Younger farm and dedicated to the civilians who suffered as a result of Order No. 11. Civil War historian Albert Castel (1963) writes, “Order No. 11 was the most drastic and repressive military measure directed against civilians by the Union Army during the Civil War. ... [Order No. 11] stands as the harshest treatment ever imposed on United States citizens under the plea of military necessity” in America’s history (357). Castel’s assessment of the consequences of Order No. 11 is indicative of the use of the total war and scorched earth strategies.



Figure 8 - Burnt District Monument, Chimney

Located on the sides and back of the chimney monument (FIG. 8) are interpretive panels that tell the story of the beginnings of the border unrest through the naming of The Burnt District. On the right side of the chimney is a panel entitled, "The Border War/Civil War." This plaque provides background information on the Missouri Compromise through the impact of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The plaque contextualizes the political unrest of the Missouri-Kansas area during the era of

Bleeding Kansas. Included below the text is a drawing of Daniel Brewer's mural entitled *Jennison's Jayhawk Raid on Harrisonville* (FIG. 3).

Located on the backside of the monument is the panel titled "Order No. 11." This plaque reviews the events of William Quantrill and the raid of Lawrence, Kansas. From this review, visitors can gain an understanding as to why Brigadier General Thomas Ewing issued the infamous Order No. 11 resulting in the forced removal of thousands of civilians from their homes. Below the explanation are the following words taken from the order – "Order No. 11 'All persons ... are hereby ordered to remove from their present places of residence within 15 days' Brig. General Thomas Ewing."

Finally, on the left side is the panel that includes information concerning "The Burnt District/Jennison's Tombstones" along with a map of the district. This panel tells of Charles "Doc" Jennison, his authorization to form the 15th Kansas Cavalry and the directive to enforce Order No. 11, which resulted in the destruction and desolation of the Burnt District.



Figure 9 - Reconciliation Plaza

Monument Title: *Reconciliation Plaza*
Inscription: Individual bricks with engravings
Dated Displayed: 2009
Location: 2501 W Wall, Harrisonville
Picture Taken: July 15, 2013 by researcher

Positioned on the South side to the Burnt District Monument lies the *Reconciliation Plaza* (FIG. 9). It is a memorial comprised of red commemorative paver bricks, many inscribed with the names of donors. I have attempted to find a stated purpose for the Plaza and as of yet I have been unable to locate it. I can only assume it is Cass County's attempt to reflect a broad theme of unity and reconciliation between the North and South. Perhaps it is an attempt at remembering all individuals involved in the border dispute and the war that followed. Perhaps it is a commemoration to those

who occupied and to those who were oppressed, for those who were soldiers and for those who were not, for those who fought, who died, and lastly for those who were wronged by those who were wrong. This area is in constant flux as memorial bricks are being purchased and added over time. It would be intriguing to research each named group being remembered as well as those that are purchasing the memorial bricks. The Reconciliation Plaza provides excellent data points for a future sociological study.

The last structure I want to include in this study is no longer standing. I call it “Slave Fountain” (FIG. 10).



Figure 10 - Slave Fountain

Mural Title: *Slave Fountain*

Dated Displayed: circa 1990s

Location: Triangle of North Street, Veterans Parkway and E. Commercial Street, Pleasant Hill

Picture Taken: July 2001 by researcher

During the summer of 2001 while conducting research for my Master's degree I became curious about a fountain situated in the downtown area of Pleasant Hill,

Missouri. I contacted the then-city manager inquiring as to its significance. I was told that it was built with stones from a rock wall located outside of town. The city manager additionally mentioned that the fountain was to be dedicated shortly with a memorial in honor of Black slaves. All that was left to do was for the city to order a plaque and schedule the ceremony for the fountain's dedication. In 2006, I received a call from a Cass County resident privy to my research. The informant notified me that the fountain had been torn down. This action will be discussed in depth in the following section analyzing the murals and monuments of the County.

Analysis of Cass County Murals and Monuments: The Standard

The under-representation of Blacks has been the standard way the dominant White culture embeds them into the historical framework of a skewed constructed past. So, when Blacks are included it is in the stereotypical manner as was discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Black women as the archetypes of Mammy, Jezebel, or Sapphire; while Black men are stereotyped as either Uncle, Coon, or Brute. Of the murals on the Harrisonville Square, only one painting, the *Younger Family Farm Eviction* (FIG. 4), is inclusive of a Black individual. The woman pictured is assumed to be Suse, a slave woman belonging to Henry and Bersheba Younger at the time of the mandated removal by Order No. 11 from their property. Tradition holds that Suse was purchased in 1850 and was estimated to be 14 years of age at the time of the purchase. This

estimation would make Suse approximately 27 years old in 1863 at the time of the eviction as illustrated in the mural.

Muralist Brewer has Suse facing the viewer. She is dressed in a white blouse with a blue bonnet. Her eyes are open wide and her expression is somber. Of note, is a photograph of Suse with her eyes open wide that historian Delia Gillis (2007) includes in her book from the Black America series, entitled *Kansas City*. The photograph was taken in 1855, 10 years prior to the end of the Civil War. One has to wonder if Daniel Brewer was privy to this picture of Suse and thus the reason for her facial expression in the mural. In the painting, Suse is standing behind her slave owner, Bersheba Younger, who is seated in the wagon. Suse's right hand is on the left shoulder of her slave mistress as in an act of comforting compassion.

Cole Younger spins a tale of fondness for Suse in his 1903 memoir. Younger mentions her in his biography not as a slave but as a servant (1903:7, 8, 70 & 95). He refers to her as the "faithful negro servant" called "Aunt Suse" (Younger 1903:40). A noteworthy point is that Younger never uses Suse's name without quotation marks being used. He reminisces about Suse's faithfulness to the family by recording an incident where she is questioned and tortured in the family's barn by pro-Union individuals seeking information concerning the bushwhackers' guerrilla activity within the area. Younger also recalls Suse protecting \$2,200 of family funds by hiding the cash upon her person. He calls Suse, "this faithful servant" who was hung by pro-Union men "to a tree in the yard in their determination to force her to divulge the hiding place of

the money” (Younger 1903:9). Per Younger, Suse was loyal and remained the ever-faithful servant not disclosing any information that might have brought harm to his family. Cole credits her with saving his life.

The myth of the Lost Cause views slavery as benign rather than a cruel, oppressive system. Younger’s 1903 remembrances of Suse, like the mural *Younger Family Farm Eviction* (FIG. 4), are in the vein of this Lost Cause propaganda. This is a romantic remembrance, one that is inclusive of the erasure of Blacks as an enslaved people, where they are stereotyped as the faithful, ever-loveable servants. In this instance, Suse fills the archetype of Mammy. The Lost Cause narrative concerning slavery is a false construct, which has and continues to distort history, which in turn perpetuates racism.

The mural depicting the burning of the Younger farmstead is of concern since conflicting stories exist as to when the event happened. Cole Younger reports his mother and family were driven out during a snowstorm. The diary of Rueben Smith records it taking place seven months prior to the issuance of order No. 11. As mentioned in Chapter One, the Younger family embodies a bright spot in the historical remembrance for Cass County. The murder of the elder Younger, the “eviction” of Mrs. Younger, and Cole’s turning bad make for a great story. This is evidence of the Lost Cause narrative in Cass as the Younger family is portrayed as persecuted victims. This is evidence of whitewashing the narrative with false construct creating a mythology.

Equally destructive as the whitewashing of the narrative is the amnesia --- the purposeful forgetting of history. *The Burnt District Monument* (FIG. 7) is “dedicated to the women, children, elderly and families . . . which endured the turmoil of life on the Missouri/Kansas Border during the Civil War” (Burnt District Monument 2011). The plaque makes no mention of the slaves, their elderly, nor their families and the suffering Blacks endured as slaves. If slavery is to be recognized as an integral flashpoint igniting the Civil War then the erasure of slavery in the history ignores ideologies that ignited the war. Instead of states’ rights, as the UDC’s Lost Cause preaches, the national historical narrative, as well as local narratives, need to be revised instead of erased. Slavery needs to be brought to the forefront, which in turn brings the lives of Black individuals to the frontlines of the narrative.

The Burnt District Monument does not directly state that it is dedicated to Whites alone. The “hermeneutics of suspicion,” coined by Paul Ricoeur (1970) is a way in which to critique ideologies. A way to critically evaluate and review a text with suspicion so as to unmask, draw out and illuminate the unwritten. In this case, the silence and the non-use of a racial designation, which implies that Whites only are present. In effect, the hermeneutics of suspicion would conclude that not only is the monument not inclusive of memorizing the history of Black individuals but that they are not of importance and not necessary since the war (from the White perspective and revision of the war) effectively was not about them. The County did throw in a token “mention” of Blacks at the site, but this inclusion was made only to reinforce the

significance of the Burnt District, not about Blacks. The signage positioned along the front and to the right of the monument (See FIG. 11; FIG. 12) does mention “African Americans” seemingly as an afterthought with the following:

Burns Elliott, an African American resident had told that he, his father and grandfather had planted a number of these cedars while doing street work for the city around 1908. This wood is probably from one of those cedars.

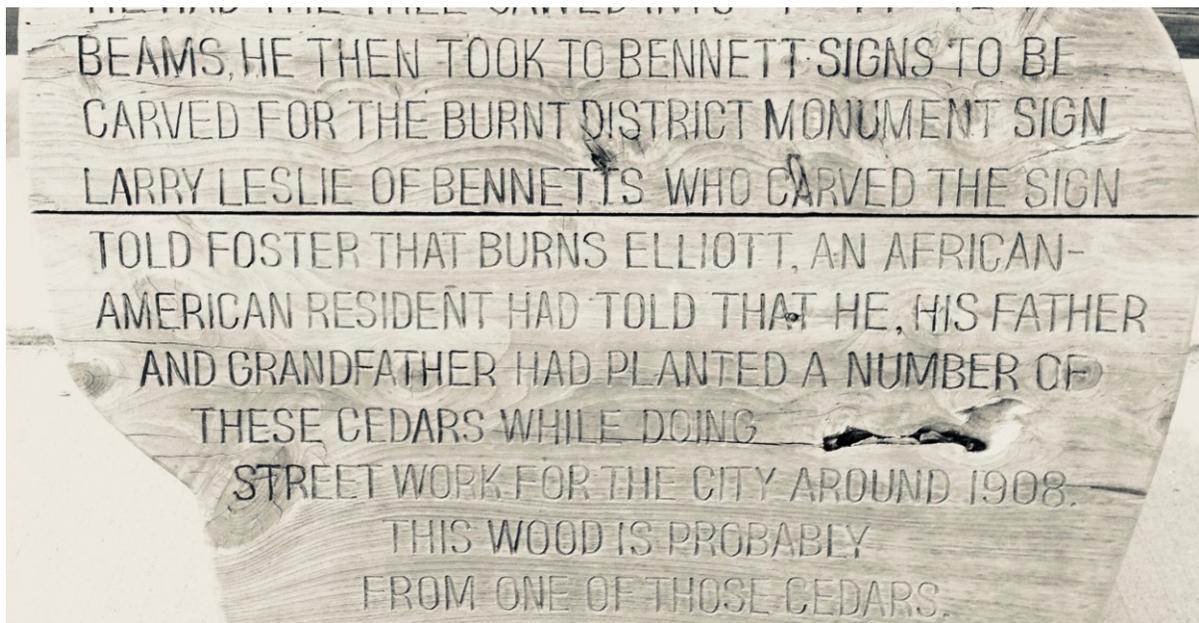


Figure 11 - Burns Elliott



Figure 12 - Signage at Burnt District Monument

The statement on the sign describes how the wood was reclaimed from a fallen tree following a lightning strike to be used in making the sign for the monument. It further states that the individual responsible for the carving of the sign passed on the believed “history” of when the trees were planted, and who planted them.

The mention of Burns Elliot, along with his family members, is a postscript to the memorial as a token remembrance. The Black historical narrative has either been whitewashed or erased from the main White narrative. In this case, the mention of race is indicative of an afterthought or mere asterisk in the local narrative. Like the asterisk in the sports record books it is a blemish on both the dominant White narrative, and the forgotten Black narrative. This afterthought cannot make right the way in which

Cass County has “remembered” the Black slave or the Black residents in the County’s narrative.

The erasure of Blacks from the local history is evident in the removal of the “Slave Fountain” (FIG. 10) in Pleasant Hill, Missouri as noted earlier in this chapter. The fountain was constructed using stones taken from a rock wall outside of the city. The city manager referred to it as “the slave wall” or “slave fence”(FIG. 13). Tradition holds that on a property located north of the center of town, in a farmer’s field, a clash took place between pro-slavery and Union forces over a rock fence. The field’s property line was edged with a rock wall constructed with fieldstones erected by slaves. The folklore is that Union forces took up their position on one side of the wall while the Confederates occupied the opposite side. I informally spoke with a gentleman knowledgeable in Pleasant Hill’s local folk history. He supported the city manager’s recitation of the legend with more details by explaining that this clash was most likely a minor skirmish that was part of the July 1862 Battle of the Ravines and was called the Sorency Farm Fight. Tom Rafiner (2010) records in his book, *Caught Between Three Fires: Cass County, MO, Chaos & Order No. 11 1860-1865*, that according to the 1860 Slave Schedules, Silas Sorency did own four slaves. While he was a slave owner, Sorency like Henry Younger, was a Unionist. Men like Sorency and Younger did not believe in secession from the Union as leaving might be the end slavery. Even though slave owners remain Unionist, they continued giving aid and comfort to Southern sympathizers. Therefore, as pointed out by Rafiner, the Sorency property would be a

safe haven for pro-Southern guerrillas such as Quantrill and his men. The official records compiled of the “War of the Rebellion” (1880) indicates that Quantrill’s forces were involved in the Battle of the Ravines.

In 2001 the city manager gave me directions to the wall. After viewing the remnants of the slave wall, I inquired as to what if any efforts were being made to preserve this piece of history. His response was that no plans were being made due to several factors, which included an explanation that it cost money, there needed to be people interested in its preservation, and he alluded to the fact that it had to do with slavery. The last statement spoke volumes. Like the Prince Whipple schoolhouse in Harrisonville, Missouri (Chapter One) the lasting vestiges of slavery and segregation do not interest the White dominant keepers of history. Historian Noel Rae calls slavery *The Great Stain* (2018) in his book of the same title. The “peculiar institution” and the deplorable atrocities have left an indelible stain on the United States. A stain that continues into present day by way of systemic racism and remains a continuing blight on American society.



Figure 13 - Slave Wall

In the late spring of 2006 I received a call from an interested party that the “Slave Fountain” had been torn down and was to be replaced by a veteran’s memorial. The caller had no more information. My research disclosed that Post #3118 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) of the United States located in Pleasant Hill had acquired the land formerly owned by the city. Pleasant Hill had donated the odd triangle-shaped lot, to the local VFW post. Additionally, one of the three streets running alongside the lot was renamed from Lake Street to Veterans Parkway.

Several remaining traces left of the fountain’s existence is found within an application to the Missouri Department of Natural Resources (DNR) and a formal

report entitled *Historic Resources Survey* completed in May of 2004. The DNR application clearly states the history of the fountain was “constructed during the 1990s, [and] the stones of this fountain were salvaged from a stone wall slated for demolition. The stone wall is believed to have been constructed by slaves prior to the Civil War” (2004:251). Reflecting back to the 2001 conversation with the city manager, if those in power who were the keepers of the historical narrative in Pleasant Hill were serious about the fountain’s dedication to the slaves, then it would have happened. However, it did not. From the time of construction until the conversation and then into 2006 when the fountain was demolished for the veterans’ memorial was plenty of time to complete celebration and dedication plans.

Comparable to the Black section of the graveyard in Harrisonville, Cass County has a dearth of remembrances concerning Blacks. In 1860, Blacks made up 10.3 percent of the County’s population; free Blacks made up less than 1 percent with the remainder as slaves (1860 US Census). Like the capital building of the United States and other famous structures, which were built on the backs of slaves, one can assume slave labor helped to build Cass County. Tradition holds and is supported by the 1850 United States Census along with the National Park Service records (2017) that Wayside Rest, the home of Robert A. Brown who was the largest slave owner in Cass County, was built by slaves’ labor. One can assume that Wayside Rest was not the only structure built by slave labor within the County.

The time to remove the Lost Cause mythology and the erasure of Blacks in the historical narratives is now. If the narratives of Black history from the beginning of slavery in the United States, to the divisions, and struggles to end slavery in the pre-Civil War and the Civil War, and rebuilding during the Reconstruction are not included, then White supremacy continues to rule the day with a revisionist history that memorializes the Lost Cause. This history of erasure without the fuller narratives and such history is a disservice to the lives of all who lived, fought, and contributed to their communities and their country. It is imperative that an inclusive narrative that reveals correct and fundamental historical truths and historical equity via an inclusive narrative. The history of Blacks cannot be thought of as a separate historical narrative. John Hope Franklin is correct, when he remarked that history must make certain what is being remembered as it actually happened and not perpetuating the history that was constructed and recorded.

During the summer of 2013, I had the opportunity to tour the murals of the Pilsen neighborhood located on the lower west side of Chicago. I was there to see if I could gain insight into the use of murals and the stories they present. Mr. Jose Guerrero was my guide. During the walking tour, Guerrero, an anthropologist, stated, “no art is for art sake” (2013). All art has social content along with political or social implications (Guerrero 2013). Pilsen muralist Hector Duarte (2013) shared his knowledge of murals that he uses an abundance of symbols and imaginary to dramatize and tell stories in his paintings. They exemplify political and/or social

messages in their designs, symbols, and imaginary. In doing so murals and monuments have the potential to inform the viewer of who and what is important as well as who and what are not of importance by way of whitewashing and erasure.

What is evident in the Cass narrative is the long-held myth of the county's victimization by the aggression of the Jayhawkers who have been demonized in the border's Lost Cause mythology. Certainly, Order No. 11 was non-discriminatory in whether it made victims out of Southern sympathizers and Union supporters; combatants and civilians; men and women; and Blacks and Whites. While everyone had to abide by the Order to evacuate, the local history record is all about Whites with no mention of the causes of the border issues and ensuing war over slavery. The County's narrative is that the bushwhackers were the heroes, and the Jayhawkers were the villains. In this false narrative as maintained in the murals and monuments in Cass, the lack of Black presence is in fact a part of the mythology. Racism is not always overt, but can be surreptitious and covert in nature as the conveyance of racism through purposely leaving particular groups out of the narrative.

In this chapter, I have presented the standard Lost Cause narrative, of Blacks through Cass County's murals and monuments. As a reminder, the narrative of Cass County is devoid of any representation of Blacks, save for Suse. The groups who are included, and those groups that are left out of the narrative are quite telling. One has to wonder if the Cass County mythology is aimed at the intimidation of Blacks as discussed earlier in Chapter Two, and if, in fact, it is a reminder of whose history

matters. Given the evidence based on the murals and monuments, the overwhelming evidence is that White history matters in Cass County, and they have the power to control the narrative – even a false narrative.

Chapter Four will present the exception to the standard narrative. I will discuss the symbols, imaginary, and implications of their inclusivity. In the next chapter, I analyze the murals and the monument of Bates County where there is a more inclusive narrative. The County has risen above the standard as reflected in Cass County, to make an exception in the way Blacks are portrayed within their murals and monument. Bates constructed a statue that honors a pro-Union group of Black soldiers who fought during the Civil War. Additionally, the mural of Bates County's favored son, General Jo Shelby holds symbolism and, perhaps, a hidden message through the artist's rendition of the man who spent his final years in Bates County.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EXCEPTION: BATES COUNTY

On a rainy day in the fall of 2013 I trekked out to the museum in Bates County to view several murals. The director graciously offered to show the paintings and answer any questions. The first mural was of General Jo Shelby. As I perused the entirety of the painting, I kept being drawn back to the same aspect of the mural. To the right of Shelby is a man with his left hand on the General's left shoulder. I stared intently at this character, his action, his body position, his clothing, and his face. I asked the director concerning his significance, but she had no information. I called my companion who had accompanied me on the tour, to take a closer look at this man. Pointing him out, I asked, "Is he Black? Look at his skin color compared to the other Confederates in the painting. He's not carrying a weapon. He's not dressed the same either." This particular man in the mural left me with many questions because a sociologist has to know.

"Artists are people driven by tension between the desire to communicate and the desire to hide." (Winncott 2009:Np)

Similar to Chapter Three, this chapter covers Bates County's murals and monument, which is South of Cass County. A photograph of each mural and monument, as well as significant information, is included. The murals and monument of Bates convey a carefully constructed history, which is the exception rather than the standard narrative. The people of Bates County, like those in Cass County are extremely proud of their history. However, Bates County's historical narrative is significantly more inclusive of race in their telling of the past.

Bates County Murals

Sometime after the turn of the new millennium in 2000, the Fine Arts League of Bates County commissioned local Kansas City artisan Daniel Brewer to paint three murals depicting local history. As a reminder to the reader, Mr. Brewer's family has strong ties to the area going back to the early 1800s when his great-grandfather, Gabriel Prudhomme purchased land, becoming one of the early settlers of Kansas City (Brewer 2014; Coleman 2007). In addition to Brewer's love of reading and researching old historical texts, he relies on *Blazing the Way West* (Isely 1939), which is an account of westward expansion and movement in America that was influenced by the early French explorers in the area that is inclusive of Kansas City, Cass, and Bates counties.

As stated in the previous chapter, Mr. Brewer (2014) shared that he draws inspiration from various sources, some of which have already been mentioned. Like he did for Cass County, he relies on the old local booster texts written during the years, which are represented in his murals. The primary texts Brewer utilized are the same sources this study used to build the foundational understanding for both Bates and Cass County. He identified them as the *History of Bates County* (Atkeson 1918), *The Old Settlers History of Bates County, Missouri* (Tathwell & Maxey 1897), and the *History of Cass and Bates Counties* (Williams 1883).

In addition to the inspiration drawn from the primary texts, Brewer attends meetings of the local historical organizations and societies. He makes note of what past events and/or individuals are discussed during the meetings. Brewer states that if

it is being discussed, then it is most likely of historical significance to the people of the area. Understandably, he looks to the commissioning groups for input. While he was not in agreement with the Fine Arts League about the use of Zebulon Pike (FIG. 15) as an important historical actor for their local history, he succumbed to their wishes. Brewer believes that the Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery was of far more importance than the Pike Expedition. In the end, the Fine Arts League's wishes were realized against the artist's recommendation. While this particular painting is outside the scope of my study, the exchange between Brewer and the Fine Arts League is indicative of the dominant White group's historical perception superseding that of a true historic narrative.

The three outdoor murals located in Butler, Missouri were mounted on buildings in the historic downtown area. These murals are no longer on display and are currently stored in a warehouse (Buhr 2015) belonging to the city. Prior to 2016, severe weather threatened further damage to the paintings; therefore, it was decided to remove them so they could be safely stowed away until they could be refurbished. According to a local journalist, fundraising attempts are underway to restore and rehang the murals. Each of the outdoor paintings from the city square provide a pictorial record of the rich heritage of the area.

- *Keep the Pioneer Spirit*
- *Zebulon Pike*
- *Where the Civil War Began*



Figure 14 - Keep the Pioneer Spirit

Mural Title/Short Description: *Keep the Pioneer Spirit*

Inscription: KEEP THE SPIRIT (top), 1717 - CLAUDE DUTISNE, WASHINGTON IRVING 1842, 1804 LOUISIANA PURCHASE, GENERAL ORDER No. 11, JEFFERSON HIGHWAY WINNIPEG to NEW ORLEANS, 1863 GENERAL ORDER 11, GOVERNOR FREDERICK BATES, 1862 BATTLE AT FORT TOOTHMAN, THE ELECTRIC CITY F.J. TYGARD CHARLES BRUSH

Dated Displayed: 2003

Location: East wall of the Printmaster Building, 1 W Dakota Street, Butler

Image Obtained: July 9, 2018 www.butlermo.com

Keep the Pioneer Spirit (FIG. 14) is a timeline mural celebrating the pioneer spirit of Bates County through representations of significant events. Beginning on the left, Brewer creates an illustration of the early history of the area commencing in the 1700s. At the top of the panel is Fort Carondelet, which was located on the South bank of the Osage River in what is now present-day Vernon County until 1851 when the northern portion of Vernon belonged to Bates County. The fort was a trading post established and built in 1794 (Hoig 2008) by the Chouteau brothers, Pierre and Auguste (as represented in the canoe). Continuing below the fort is a representation of the early French explorer Claude Charles Dutisne (also spelled Du Tisne) engaging a Native

American. Dutisne led the first official French expedition to visit the Osage and is also credited with the first recorded interactions of Whites with the Osage (Isely 1939; Meyer 1963). To the right of the fort is a depiction of the Louisiana Purchase in 1804.

Situated below the brothers in the canoe is a portraiture of the famous novelist, Washington Irving, dated 1832. During Irving's 1832 tour of Native lands, he was a guest of the George Requa family at the Harmony Indian Mission (Atkeson 1918). While exploring, Irving gathered material for many of his stories, in particular, "A Tour on the Prairies" written in 1835 (McDermott 1944:94-95) in which he writes extensively concerning the Osage. Daniel Brewer includes an illustration of the side paddle wheel steamboat named the "Wave." In 1847, Captain William Waldo piloted the boat from St. Louis across the state into the waters of the Osage River. It was here that he delivered goods to Papinville and the Harmony Mission (Atkeson 198:312).

Positioned upfront and central to the mural is a young White pioneer couple looking off to their left. The man holds his hat in his right hand with his left hand on the plow, while his wife is reaching out to hold his arm. To the man's right is the depiction of the original county courthouse. To the woman's left is the historic courthouse at the time of Brigadier General Thomas Ewing's Order No. 11 mandating a directive to depopulate the border region in 1863.

Continuing through the timeline, the right side of the mural begins in 1863 with the burning of Butler's square by Order No. 11 while a lone Union soldier on horseback looks on. Directly to the right of this scene are three of the Black soldiers from the First

Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry. In October of 1862, this regiment was ordered from Kansas into Bates County to ward off and overtake a bushwhacker stronghold. The Toothman farmstead is where the troops made their encampment. The battle these men participated in was not of great military importance; however, the Battle of Fort Toothman (aka the Battle of Island Mound) was of historical significance. The men of color of the First Kansas were the first to engage White forces in combat during the Civil War (First Kansas 2015).

The second of two portraits is placed under the Order No. 11 illustration, which is the image of the man for whom the county is named: Frederick Bates. He was the second governor of the State of Missouri (Missouri nd). The themes of the mural move towards modernity with an homage to transportation. With a stagecoach as the backdrop, Brewer represents Jefferson Highway. Named in honor of Thomas Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase, this roadway is the first North to South, inter-continental highway built connecting Winnipeg, Canada to New Orleans (Henry 2016). Brewer also includes a locomotive on the tracks pulling a tender car full of wood.

In and around Bates County, coal mining was one of the chief industries in its earlier history (Atkeson 1918). Brewer paints a vintage excavating shovel/crane to symbolize this industry. Nearby is the portrayal of two enterprising individuals, F. J. Tygard (eventual mayor of Butler) and Charles Brush (an inventor). Credited with not only bringing electric lighting to the area in 1881, these two men also made it possible for Butler to be the first town west of the Mississippi River to have electricity.

Thereafter, the "Electric City" earned its nickname when lighting was added to the Bates County courthouse (Atkeson 1918:250; Solar Power 2014:3).

Completing the mural is a likeness of Robert Heinlein, who was born in Bates County. Brewer surrounds Heinlein's image with a spaceship and a sphere with planetary rings as he is often referred to as an author ahead of his time in the genre of science fiction and fantasy. Heinlein born in 1907 came of age when electric powered lights were the norm for this exceptional area. Electricity came to this small town just 16 years after the end of the Civil War. Of interest is how quickly Brewer depicts Butler propelled out of the past and into the future.

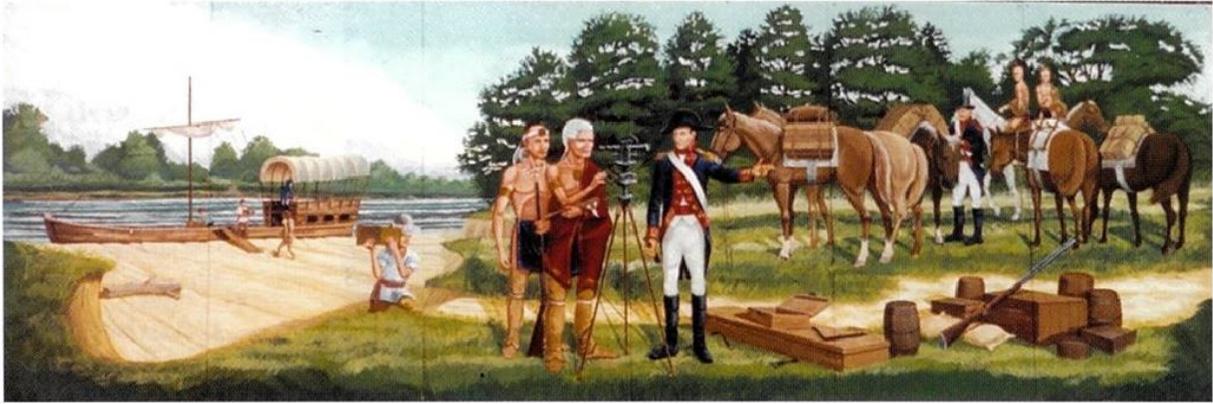


Figure 15 - Zebulon Pike

Mural Title/Short Description: *Zebulon Pike*

Inscription: 1806 SOUTH OF BUTLER EXPLORER ZEBULON PIKE PARLAY WITH OSAGE CHIEF (top), 200 YR. ANNIVERSARY AUG. 18, 2006 OF THE PIKE EXPEDITION LANDING AT PAPPINVILLE

Dated Displayed: 2003

Location: South side of the Pursley building, 1 N Main Street, Butler

Image Obtained: July 9, 2018 www.butlermo.com

The *Zebulon Pike* (FIG. 15) mural commemorates the Pike Expedition that intended to explore the American Southwest from 1806 through 1807. Daniel Brewer includes not only Pike and one of his men but several members of the Osage Nation. The “Papers of Zebulon M. Pike” reveal that his primary objective was to return a group of Native Americans to be “restored to their nation ... who had been ransomed ... from hostile Tribes by whom they had been captured” (Bolton 1908:807). Pike’s second objective, as per James Wilkinson the territorial governor of Louisiana and commander in chief of the United States Army, was to turn his “attention to the

accomplishment of a permanent Peace between the Canzes' and Osage Nations”
(Bolton 1908:814).

It is difficult to be certain which event Brewer is representing in the mural; however, with the inscription including the word “parley,” one may assume that he is characterizing Pike’s second objective of making peace among tribes. Parley is a military term meaning a conference between opposing sides in a dispute, especially a discussion regarding the terms for an armistice (The Oxford Essential 2002). Additionally, the artist includes a depiction of one of the boats used on the journey as well as several of the crewmembers.



Figure 16 - Where the Civil War Began

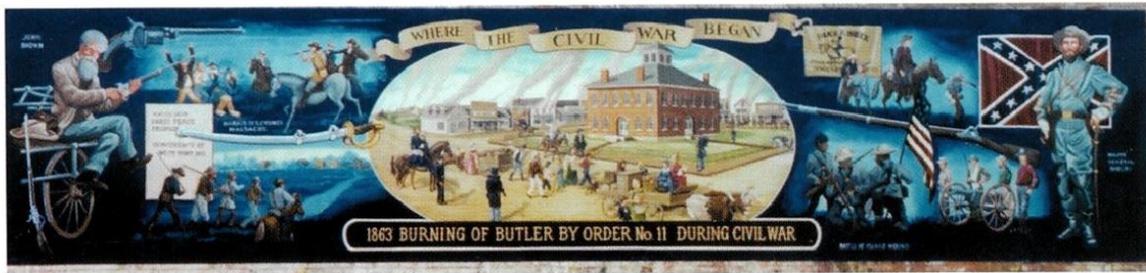


Figure 17 - Where the Civil War Began (Middle Panel)



Figure 18 - (Left Panel)



Figure 19 - (Right Panel)

Mural Title/Short Description: *Where the Civil War Began*
 Inscription: BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER (bottom left), 1863 BURNING OF BUTLER BY ORDER No. 11 DURING THE CIVIL WAR (bottom center), POST CIVIL WAR RECONSTRUCTION (top right)
 Dated Displayed: 2003
 Location: Southwest corner of the city square, Dakota Street and Delaware Street, Butler
 Images Obtained: July 9, 2018 www.butlermo.com
 July 11, 2013 www.butlermochamber.org/cofcdirectory.pdf

A three-panel mural¹⁷ entitled *Where the Civil War Began* (FIG. 16) depicts local events including the before, during, and after effects of the war. Beginning on the left (FIG. 18), Brewer includes a representation of two brothers leaving their field and plow, and the choices that had to be made. Alexander Campbell, a Union soldier whose brother James fought with the South, addressed the situation of drawing a sword on family members. In a letter home to his wife in June of 1862, Alexander writes, “this was a war that there never was the Like of before Brother against Brother” (Power 1994:2). Familial bonds were undone as relatives, friends and neighbors took up opposing sides in the border debate.

The center panel (FIG. 17), the largest of the three, includes abolitionist John Brown on the left. Brown’s history in Bates County is minute when compared to his place in Kansas history as well as his other active roles when he advocated for armed rebellion against the pro-slavery movement. However, John Brown also was a historical actor in the Missouri-Kansas border region. Following the implementation of the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act, Brown and his sons migrated into the state of Kansas. As mentioned in the Chapter Three, pro-slavery advocates like Henry Younger similarly relocated into Kansas. Individuals on both sides of the slavery issue were respectively striving to make a difference in regard to the popular sovereignty vote (Tathwell 1897:31).

¹⁷ “Where the Civil War Began” mural experienced harsh effects due to the weather. Additional images are provided beginning with the center panel followed by the two small side panels.

Brown, his actions, and followers may very well have been the crux for the fanning of flames that led to the cross-border disputes that would eventually be labeled as “Bleeding Kansas.” Dissatisfied with the inaction of the anti-slavery movement and his belief that he was ordained of God to reign “bloody vengeance on his hard-hearted people” (Stewart 1995:156), Brown led the way with armed violence against pro-slavery settlers. He and his followers took part in several raids before his assault at Harper’s Ferry. Less than a year after relocating to Kansas, five pro-slavery men were slaughtered (Oates 1970) in what is known as the Pottawatomie Massacre. It is believed that Brown’s attack was as an act of vengeance for an earlier assault on Lawrence by a pro-slavery faction. The massacre was followed by an event at Osawatomie, Kansas two months later. Both parties fought over slavery and lost men in what is now known as the Battle of Osawatomie.

Encounters such as the Pottawatomie, Marais des Cygnes Massacre (noted in chapter One), the Battle of Osawatomie, and the John Brown Raid of 1858 in Vernon County are depicted to the right of Brown in the mural. Missouri border raiders crossed over into Kansas slaughtering free-staters with retaliation for years before the war officially began. While many of Brown’s violent activities took place on the Kansas side of the border, the raid on Vernon in 1858 suggest his anti-slavery agenda spilled over into Missouri. Tathwell records, in the *Old Settler’s History of Bates County*, suggest that the Missouri “side suffered severely from the raids by the Free State men” as they “came over the border and threatened, and in some instances committed serious

depredations” (Tathwell 1897:31). During the December 1858 raid, Brown with the help of others liberated eleven slaves from several farms in the area (Epps 2016:129). Additionally, Brown’s residence was located just west of Butler over the state line in Kansas. The farm was known as the “Old John Brown Place’ . . . [located] at the foot of a mound” (Tathwell 1897:31). O.P. Williams (1883) supplies a secondary name of the Brown residence, “Spy Mound” (844). Williams states this is due to the area serving as a watchtower, a lookout for the advancing rival pro-slavery foe traveling from the Missouri side of the border into Kansas. W.O. Atkeson (1918) writes that John Brown is deserving of a short sketch in *The History of Bates County Missouri* only due to the close proximity of the Brown habitation or the “so-called” “John Brown Fort” (1918:180).

The center oval of the painting is a representation of the 1863 burning and evacuation of Butler by Union soldiers. By decree of Order No. 11, a forced evacuation of all citizens preceded the burning. On the right of the center panel are illustrations of the Battle of Island Mound, bushwhackers and the only Confederate general that refused to surrender his command, General Joseph O. “Jo” Shelby (O’Flaherty 2000). The “Undefeated Rebel” has a Confederate flag flying behind him. The third panel (FIG.19) includes the Butler Square during Reconstruction.

Two miles west of Butler’s town square is the Bates County Historical Society and Museum. Housed within the museum are three murals. Richard Carter, a local resident, is the muralist of all three. After an exhaustive search, I finally located contact information for Mr. Carter. In July of 2014, I sent an email identifying myself as an

Interdisciplinary Ph.D. candidate researching murals in Bates County. I inquired as to his level of interest in speaking with me. Within less than two hours Mr. Carter replied, “Im [sic] sorry im [sic] no longer painting” (2014). I waited two days then sent an explanation of apology stressing that “perhaps I miscommunicated. I am not looking for a painter - I am in need of background information regarding the murals you created and thought perhaps you, the artist, could provide.” He never replied.

Carter's unresponsiveness would not be of such interest except that while visiting the museum in September of 2013, I inquired as to who commissioned the Shelby mural. At that time, I was told that it was not for public knowledge. I probed as to the reason and was informed that it was a family in the area who owned a trucking firm and did not wish to be identified. I left it at that, but as soon as I arrived back at my office, I began scouring online records for locally owned trucking companies out of Bates County. Seven months later while visiting with the artist Daniel Brewer I asked if he knew who commissioned the Shelby painting. His response was “Of course! It’s Mrs. Tiona of Tiona Truck” (Brewer 2014). With that information, my research found Florilla Tiona (also known as “Frosti”) as the owner of Tiona Truck Lines, Inc. located in Butler.

For months I wondered why the commissioner of the mural was such a secret. I decided I would make one more attempt to validate who commissioned the Shelby mural. In an email dated May 22, 2015, the museum’s director stated she “found out that a local dentist (Doc Hinshaw – now deceased) purchased the painting from the artist. Apparently, someone (unknown) commissioned the mural and then did not have

the money to pay for it so Doc Hinshaw bought it and installed it in his office” (2015). In an email from a day earlier, the director wrote referring to Mrs. Tiona, “I do not know if she also commissioned the Shelby” (Buhr 2015). The mystery remains! An additional note from this series of emails is that I was able to confirm the commissioning agent of the *Battle of Island Mound* (FIG. 21) and *Order No. 11* (FIG. 22) murals; it is indeed, “Florilla (Frosti) Tiona (a local Butler businesswoman)” (Buhr 2015).

The murals hanging in the Bates County Historical Society and Museum are without consistent proper titles and therefore I refer to them as follows:

- *General Joseph Shelby*
- *Battle of Island Mound*
- *Order No. 11*



Figure 20 - General Joseph Shelby

Mural Title/Short Description: *General Joseph Shelby*

Inscription: 1830 Joseph Shelby 1897

Dated Displayed: 2004

Location: Bates County Historical Museum, 802 Elks Drive, Butler

Image Obtained: September 27, 2013 by researcher

The large *General Joseph Shelby* (FIG. 20) mural is located on the first floor of the Bates County Museum. General Joseph O. “Jo” Shelby is known as the Undefeated Rebel in that he was the only Confederate general who never surrendered (O’Flaherty 2000). Occupying front and center of the mural is Shelby surrounded by his men of the Iron Brigade while engaging in battle with Union forces.

Born in Kentucky, Shelby moved to Missouri at 19 years of age to pursue business interests in the cultivation of hemp. Historian Christopher Phillips (2015)

reports that Shelby was one of Missouri's largest slave owners. This much loved and adored Missouri Civil War icon (O'Flaherty 2000:387) is well regarded in the Bates County area, then and now. In 1885, Shelby moved to the town of Adrian in Bates County where he farmed (O'Flaherty 2000:381) until his appointment as a United States Marshall. Shelby lived the last 15 years of his life in Bates County, where the locals adopted him as their own.

Shelby's death announcement in the *New York Times* ("Death" 1897) labeled him as "A WELL-KNOWN SOUTHERN MAN." Once he laid his saber aside, President Grover Cleveland appointed Shelby as Federal Marshall for the Western District of Missouri in 1894 ("Death" 1897). The appointment as marshal required him to take a loyalty oath to uphold the United States Constitution. Irony lies in the taking of the oath by the Undefeated Rebel who refused to surrender, but later vowed to uphold the highest law of the very country he went to war against (O'Flaherty 2000).

However, in later years, Jo Shelby, the Civil War folk hero from Missouri, confessed his regrets in the "irresponsible" (O'Flaherty 2000) role he played:

I was in Kansas at the head of an armed force at that time. I went there to kill Free State men. I did kill them. I am now ashamed of myself for having done so, but then times were different from what they are now, and that is what I went there for. We Missourians all went there for that purpose if it should be found necessary to carry out our designs. I had no business there. No Missourian had any business there with arms in his hands. The policy that sent us there was damnable and the trouble we started on the border bore fruit for ten years. I should have been shot there and John Brown was the only man who knew it and would have done it. I say John Brown was right. He did in his country what I would have done in mine in like circumstances. Those were days when slavery was in the balance and the violence engendered made men irresponsible. I now see I was so myself. (P. 44)

Shelby's change of heart and mind may be evidenced in his appointing a Black man as a United States Deputy Marshal. Shelby's appointment of a Black marshal reflected a reconciling of pass "damnable" beliefs with the new progressive march toward inclusiveness of the marginalized Black population.

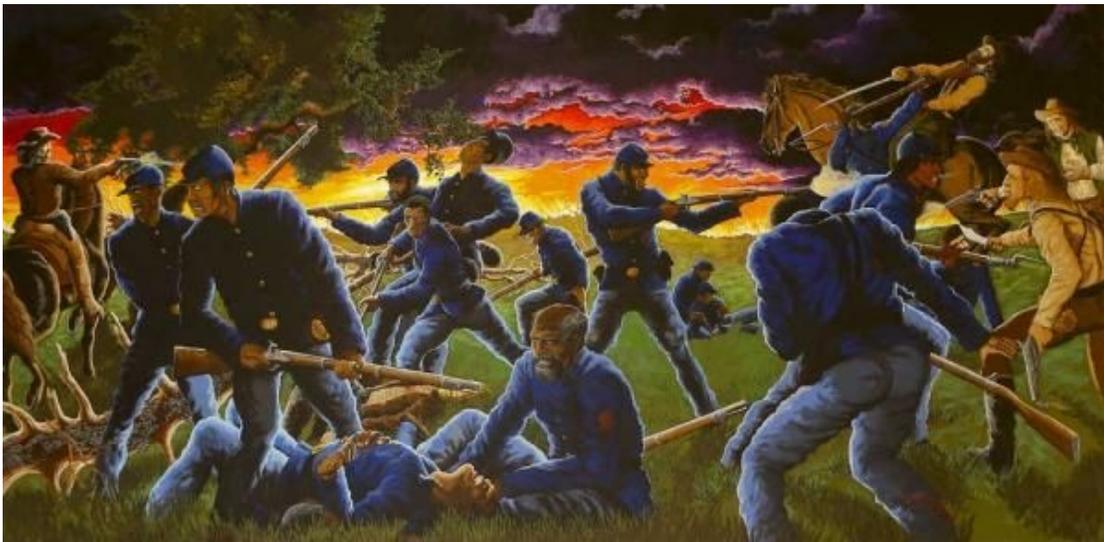


Figure 21 - Battle of Island Mound

Mural Title/Short Description: *Battle of Island Mound*

Inscription: none

Dated Displayed: 2003

Location: Bates County Historical Museum, 802 Elks Drive, Butler

Image Obtained: July 9, 2018 www.pinterest.com/pin/495044184020326965/

Located on the top floor of the museum are the remaining murals. The *Battle of Island Mound* (FIG. 21) commemorates the first time Black Union soldiers engaged in

combat with White Confederate forces during the Civil War (Weidman 2016). In October 1862, the First Kansas Volunteers were sent to eliminate a stronghold of 400 pro-Confederate guerrillas entrenched along the Marais des Cygnes River.

The First Kansas was formed out of the efforts of U.S. Senator James H. Lane in the summer of 1862. Lane was an ardent promoter of bringing Kansas into the Union as a free state. Additionally, he was a recruiting commissioner for the war effort. Ignoring the Lincoln administration's United States Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton's directive, Lane enlisted a regiment made up of free Blacks and former slaves who had escaped into the state of Kansas (Stanley 2018).

The volunteers marched into Bates County occupying the Toothman farm, which the soldiers renamed Fort Africa (Beckenbaugh 2015). Even though they were outnumbered, the men of the First Kansas fought back driving the guerrillas into a swampy bog known as Hog Island. When Union reinforcements arrived the following day, the guerrillas had fled from their assailants. One of the pro-Southern rebels, Bill Truman, was so impressed by the determination and bravery of the volunteers that in the days following the assault he stated, "the black devils fought like tigers" (Moore 1863:52-54).

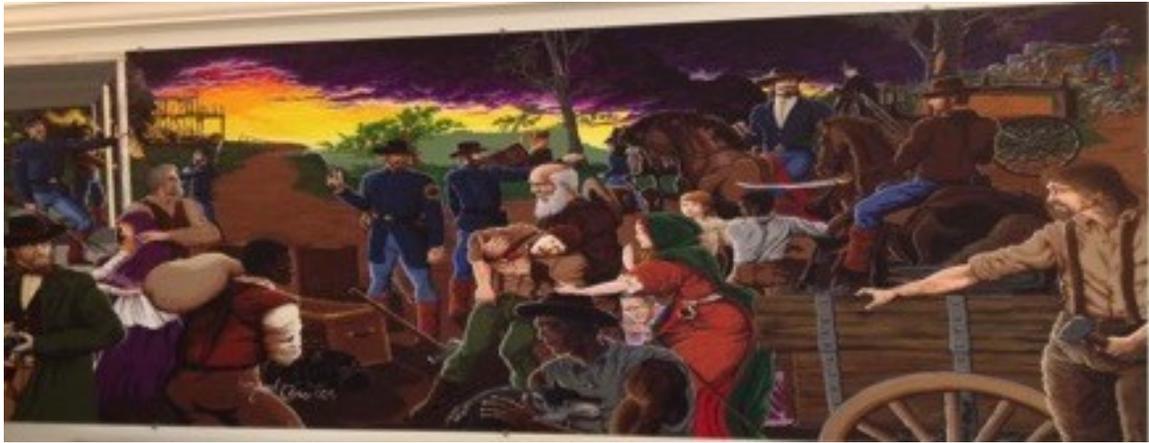


Figure 22 - Order No. 11

Mural Title/Short Description: *Order No. 11*

Inscription: none

Dated Displayed: 2004

Location: Bates' County Historical Museum, 802 Elks Drive, Butler

Image Obtained: September 27, 2013 by researcher

The final mural, *Order No. 11* (FIG. 22) hangs to the left of the mural honoring the Black troops in the *Battle of Island Mound* (FIG. 21). *Order No. 11* remembers the devastation wrought on Bates County by General Order No. 11 issued by Brigadier General Thomas Ewing in August 1863. The Order mandated a forced removal of all citizens entirely depopulating Bates County and making it a desolate wilderness. Ewing's intention was to clear the western side of the Missouri-Kansas border of the bushwhackers, along with their relatives who, Ewing believed, were extending to them with supplies and providing shelter for concealment. Muralist Carter depicts the chaos of the evacuation of the county's citizenry as Union soldiers stand by ensuring the

mandate is enforced. Whether loyal Unionist or slave, no one was safe from the forced evacuation intended to flush out the pro-slavery element from the area. As Christopher Phillips (2013:86) notes, the result of the “government’s first-ever forcible removal of white propertied citizens of the some 40,000 people who had inhabited the area at the start of the war ... none were allowed to stay in their homes.” It is estimated that the majority of the population displaced due to the Order were women, children, and the elderly as the absence of their White male-counterparts took place well before the enforcement of Order No. 11.

The counties of the Burnt District all suffered loss; however, Bates County is the only one that experienced a total depopulation of its residents. Tathwell & Maxey (1897:32) recorded in *The Old Settlers' History of Bates County, Missouri* that unlike the other counties affected by the Order, Bates County residents had no Union garrison in which to relocate within the required one-mile radius. Therefore, all residents were forced out which in turn forced all business and government dealings to come to a complete halt effectively obliterating the county (Tathwell & Maxey 1897:43) until the directive was lifted.

Bates County Monument

In 1999, a small benevolent group of Black congregants, from Butler’s Brooks Chapel A.M.E. Church, sparked what would later become the catalyst of something

much larger for Bates County.



Figure 23 - First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry

Monument Title: *First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry*

Inscription: "First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry," The 1st Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry fought and won the Battle of Island Mound, also known as The

Battle at Fort Toothman on October 28 & 29, 1862 in Charlotte Township approx 7.5 miles Southwest of Butler. It is said to have been the only battle fought on Bates County soil, in which regular U.S. troops were involved. The First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry was the first black unit to fight in the Civil War. Reportedly Southern rebels outnumbered the black troops five to one, attacked the fort and fierce hand-to-hand combat ensued. Of the Kansas Infantry's involvement it was written, "They Fought Like Tigers" "First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry," They Fought Like Tigers, Founded & Organized by The Amen Society

Dated Displayed: October 2008

Location: North side of the city square, Ohio Street, Butler

Picture Taken: July 15, 2013 by researcher

It took nine long years for The AMEN Society, formed out of the Brooks Chapel, to raise enough funds to commission the monument, *First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry* (FIG. 23) to honor the heroic soldiers. Joel Randell, the sculptor from Oklahoma, who cast the bronze life-size statue expressed how blessed he felt to work with the people of The AMEN Society. Through an email exchange with Randell shared that the background history of the First Kansas Colored Volunteers was greatly instrumental in the design and portrayal of the finished memorial. Randell shared he “wanted to portray a [sic] the ferocity of this particular battle with the soldier moving forward and uphill to communicate the intensity of the struggle” (2014:np).

From the modest undertaking by the local A.M.E. church in Butler and because of their desire to open the doors to Black history, inspiration gave way to a second recognition of the brave soldiers. In October of 2012, the Missouri Department of Natural Resources dedicated the Battle of Island Mound State Park Historic Site (<https://mostateparks.com/park/battle-island-mound-state-historic-site> 2017) on 40

acres of the old Toothman farmstead (renamed Fort Africa by the soldiers). The park is situated less than eight miles from the Bates County Courthouse lawn where the statue stands as a constant way of paying homage to the men of the First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry.

Analysis of Bates County Murals and Monument: The Exception

The under-representation and stereotyping of Blacks are the standard way in which they have been characterized in the historical narrative. When Black women are included, they typically are depicted as one of the archetype characters of the Mammy, Jezebel, or Sapphire as discussed in Chapter Three. Muralist, Daniel Brewer did not include any females, Black or White, in his paintings for Bates County. Comparing this mural to the ones he completed for Cass County, Brewer included one representation of a Black female in the role of a slave girl in his painting entitled *Younger Family Farm Eviction* (FIG. 4). Similarly, like Brewer, painter Richard Carter does not include the portrayal of women of color in his murals of Bates County. Both of these murals and artists are examples of one the standards by which people of color and women, in this instance Black women, are underrepresented. They are left completely out of the local narrative in Bates County. As a side note, Carter is inclusive of three White women in the *Order No. 11* (FIG. 22) mural and he does include Black men in this mural.

As stated in the previous chapter, like women of color, Black men are often

pigeonholed into a limited representation within the historical narrative. The archetype of Black men is often depicted as the stereotype of the Uncle, Coon or Brute. Richard Carter includes three Black male figures in his rendition of *Order No. 11* (FIG. 22):¹⁸ a young boy and two older men. Like the standard stereotyping of Black men into one of the three archetypes, there seems to be an exception with the *Order No. 11* (FIG. 22) mural. All three males seem to be “busy,” as both of the men are carrying something, while the young boy appears to be holding the reins of a horse. The man on the left does have a bag thrown over his shoulder. One has to wonder if instead of working, if this man is on the verge of running away. Historian Walter Johnson (1999) discusses the images used by antebellum printers to depict runaway slaves on posters. During this time period, runaway men were shown “with a bag on a stick slung over his shoulder” (189). The second man who is carrying an item has a bit of graying in his hair that peaks out from underneath his hat, however there is nothing to suggest that he fits the mold for an Uncle. Nor does either of the men readily fit into any of the remaining stereotypes. One can only assume that the Black men depicted are slaves at the time of General Ewing’s decree mandating the removal of all people from the County.

At the time *Order No. 11* was mandated in 1863, the counties were placed under Union martial law. Due to several federal polices enacted by Congress in 1862 free and

¹⁸ When Carter’s *Order No. 11* is place side-by-side to the original *Order No. 11* by George Caleb Bingham, it is noticeably similar. See Chapter Two for discussion concerning Bingham.

enslaved Blacks were able to serve/labor on the side of the Union. The Militia Act of 1862 amended the original Act of 1795 paving the way for Blacks to serve in the military (Gerteis 1973). Passed simultaneously, the Second Confiscation Act permitted the Union Army to free the slaves that were “property” of disloyal citizens (Gerteis 1973; Mutti Burke 2010). These two acts along with other policies freed the slaves. Therefore, as Order No. 11 was enforced, the slaves in the counties were emancipated.

Consequently, the man with a bag slung over his shoulder in the mural could be a representation of a Black man running towards freedom.

In August of 1863 when Order No. 11 directive was issued, the previous United States Census (1860) reflected a White population of 6,765 individuals residing within Bates County (FIG. 24). The slave schedules of 1860 record 448 enslaved persons, which represented six percent of the population of the county. Additionally, there were eight free-people of color indicated in the same census. The *Order No. 11* (FIG. 22) mural has likenesses of 24 individuals, male and female, young and elderly as well as Black and White. Carter’s inclusion of Black men numbers more than 12 percent of the figures. This mural alone is an exception when viewing the unusually limited inclusion of only one Black within all of the Cass County murals. From the same census period, Cass reported a White populace of 8,781 and Black individuals totaled 1,013 of which three were free people of color, the remainder slaves (FIG. 25). The Black populace, slave or free, made up 10 percent of Cass residents; however, of the three murals, the muralist only depicts one person of color and he is slave.

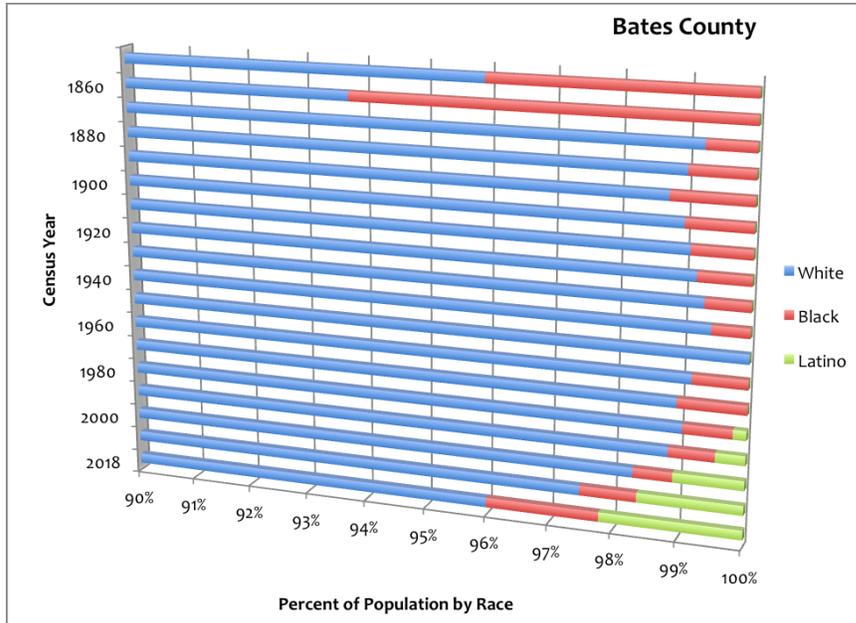


Figure 24 - Bates County Population, 1850-2018¹⁹

¹⁹ The 1950 U.S. Census did not have a racial category in which to identify Hispanics/Latinos as the bureau considered this identity to be an ethnicity and not a race.

Quick Facts - Missouri US Census Bureau (www.census.gov/quickfacts/MO) Recent numbers as of November 2019. Source: All data (except where noted) is taken from the U.S. Census via databases provided by Social Explorer Professional Edition [SE] (www.socialexplorer.com). Various SE table numbers for each respective census year. [1]T54, [2]T14, [3]T12, [5]T12, [6]T16, [8]T9, [9]T28, [10]T14, [11]T9, [12]T6&7, [13]T14, [14]T6, [15]T7, [16]T51, [17]T29, [18]T61, [19]T38. Database Access Date: September 6, 2013. [4]T2 www.oseda.missouri.edu/mscdc/census/mo/trend/C29013 data accessed September 12, 2013.

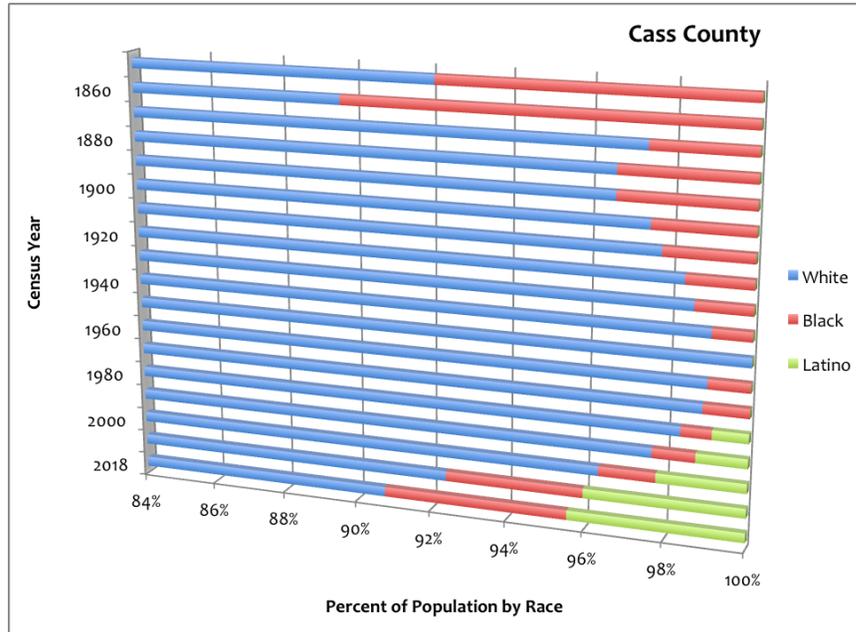


Figure 25 - Cass County Population, 1850-2018²⁰

When comparing the two counties with the statistics taken from the 1860 United States Census, Cass reflects approximately 36.5 percent more residents (Black and White) living in the County than in Bates. These numbers are not surprising when considering the further distance Bates County is from Kansas City, the closest major city. It was nearly 70 miles from courthouse to courthouse. The Cass County Courthouse was 20+ miles closer to Kansas City's. In 1860, Cass County records show that 10 percent of their population was Black. This number is on par when comparing this to the State of Missouri in 1860. However, Bates County shows that 6.2 percent of the populace was Black.

²⁰ See previous Footnote 19

The differentiation in population numbers for present day are staggering. The 2010 United States Census reflects Cass with a populace of 102,845, which is a bit over a 525 percent difference to Bates County residents numbered at 16,417. The statistics for the Black population are revealing. Presently, they total 11.6 percent of the population in the State of Missouri as opposed to 1860 when Blacks (free and slave) made up 10 percent of the populace. The number of Blacks went down following the end of the Civil War. Not until the 1970s did the numbers of Blacks begin to climb into the double digits. Bates County's numbers reflect a decline in the Black population following the War from 6.2 percent to .8 percent. These numbers fluctuated from as low as .6 percent in 1940 and 1.3 percent in 1890. Currently the Black populace is hovering around 1 percent in Bates County. Presently, Cass shows a population of 3.5 percent Blacks in the county. This number is down from the 1860 census, which reflects 10.3 percent. Following the War, the 1870 count enumerates the Black populace at 2.6 percent

Many push and pull forces may or may not factor into the fluctuation of the Black populace in the counties by 1870. These factors may include but are not limited to: the fear of reprisals and possible re-enslavement from the White population and former masters who fought to keep slavery intact, lack of economic sustenance, the passing of federal amendments, and the desire to relocate in search of a fresh start. While one does not know the specific reasons for the fluctuation, of importance is the significant change that occurred within a short period of time as reflected in a 42

percent drop in the total number of Black residents in both Bates and Cass. Border historian Jeremy Neely's (2007) research reflects an increase in the post-war Black population numbers just across the state line in Kansas. He posits that it is due to the migration of "hundreds" of former slaves from Missouri into Kansas (150). This research helps to account for the lower numbers of Blacks in Bates and Cass following the war. Neely reports that communities of Blacks "composed largely of former Missouri slaves" formed in several towns in Kansas (2007:145).

While the White population has grown within both counties, the Black populace did not see similar growth. It has taken Cass County until the turn of the new millennium to see the number of Black citizens to top the number of Blacks in the county in the 1860 census. Conversely, Bates County has never seen such an increase. The highest number of Black people to ever reside in Bates County was recorded in 1860 and 98.2 percent of the 450 individuals were slave. Following, the greatest number of Blacks recorded through the Census was in 1890 with 404 individuals. In more recent history, the numbers have decreased to as low as 101 Black individuals in 2000.

Continuing to examine the presence of Black men in the murals of Bates County, both Brewer and Carter pay homage to the First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry. In the mural titled, *Keep the Pioneer Spirit* (FIG. 14), Brewer includes a small depiction of three of the volunteers marching with bayoneted-guns shouldered. Approximately 23 individuals are in the painting with three Black Soldiers. This painting

reflects 13 percent of the figures as Black individuals. Additionally, Brewer included one Native American in the mural. This inclusion is an exception to the standard Lost Cause narrative as compared to the murals of Cass County. Conversely, Carter dedicates an entire mural to the First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry. Both muralists depict the soldiers as armed men. Unlike Brewer's soldiers who were in reserve formation marching, Carter has the troops actively engaged in close combat with White men. The issue of arming Blacks was considered on both sides of the slavery issue during the War; however, in the beginning both sides were adamant in holding to the traditional racial roles in regard to war (Reidy 2006). The Union side debated as to whether Blacks would make good soldiers, while Southerners concerns were mainly due to the notion of arming their slaves, whom they feared would turn against them. However, as the war progressed both sides reconsidered their resistance of enlisting Blacks in helping with the war effort (Reidy 2006).

The initial resistance is perhaps understandable as Southern Whites were concerned about their slaves rising up against them. However, during the antebellum period, much of the country was agrarian and the use of guns by Blacks (free or slave) was a practical necessity at times. Weapons were not only for hunting but used as protection. It is understandable how White slave owners would have concerns and fear of slave uprisings, thus limiting the access Blacks had to guns. This is especially telling when viewing the United States' Census statistics comparing the count of people by race. In many instances, Black slaves accounted for far more than Whites in

many regions in the eighteenth century. In 1860, the primary slave-owning state was South Carolina. The state population was made up of 57 percent enslaved people. Moving further into the Deep South, Mississippi was a close second behind South Carolina, at 55 percent, followed by Louisiana at 47 percent. Both Georgia and Florida had slave populations at 44 percent. These states' numbers were much higher than the State of Missouri as noted previously only 10 percent as enslaved peoples and Bates and Cass Counties respectively at six and ten percent ("Distribution" 2018).

Tensions were elevated following the Nat Turner Rebellion of 1831 as Whites were in a heightened awareness to the chance of continual slave revolts. The Turner uprising was not the first as historian Herbert Aptheker (1964) points out in his book, *American Negro Slave Revolts*. Aptheker reports a record 250 slave uprising or conspiracies within the United States occurring before emancipation. Hence many state Slave Codes prohibited them from handling weapons. Following the abolishment of slavery, during Reconstruction, Congress passed the 14th Amendment that granted citizenship and guaranteed equal protection to former slaves. However, Southern states quickly wrote Black Codes that limited Black gun use and ownership. Legal historian, Sean Cornell (Spies 2015) cites the 14th Amendment as being partially responsible for the outlawing of guns due to the question of who was a citizen at that turbulent time in the United States.

The notion of Blacks carrying guns in present day has been debated since the end of the Civil War, through Reconstruction, the Jim Crow era, and the Civil Rights era.

This research is not focused on the basic civil right to bear arms; however, it cannot go unnoticed that the murals in Bates County include Black men with guns. Perhaps it is the authority granted of men in uniform that qualifies their presences, quelling the anxiety of Black men bearing guns. However, they are not only bearing arms, the Volunteers are firing their guns on White men. As noted, Brewer has his soldiers at a reserved stance with guns shouldered in the mural *Keep the Pioneer Spirit* (FIG. 14). Carter's *Order No. 11* (FIG. 22) however has the men fighting an up-close battle with White men. The mural reflects casualties on both sides. Black men make up the majority of the mural with over 74 percent representation. These murals are an example of an exception to the local narrative in that both include an over representation of Black men in a presentation and the men are not characterized into a standard archetype. The murals of Cass County are not inclusive of any representations of Black men, slave or free. The Cass County murals are the standard Lost Cause narrative as represented through the Southern perspective.

Another Bates County exception to the standard is the life-sized statue honoring the First Kansas Colored Volunteer unit. In 1989, the Hollywood film, *Glory* (Zwick 1989) introduced the general viewing public to the idea of Black soldiers as active participants in a historical narrative of the Civil War. The film celebrates the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment as the first Black troops to fight against White Confederate forces during the Civil War. Four months following the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, then Massachusetts's governor John A. Andrew

authorized the formation of an all-Black enlisted Federal regiment. On May 28, 1863 following the presentation of the unit's colors and a parade, the troops departed for South Carolina (54thRegiment! 2018). This is where the film starts by honoring the brave men of the 54th.

Prior to the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation and the commissioning of the 54th Massachusetts, both of which transpired in 1863, the First Kansas Colored Volunteers had already fought in the Battle of Island Mound in late October of 1862. The success of the Black volunteers made the newsprint of *The New York Times* (November 19, 1862) and the *Chicago Tribune* (November 10, 1862). The magazine *Harper's Weekly* (March 14, 1863) carried the story along with an image entitled "A Negro Regiment in Action" (Nast 1863) reflecting the volunteers engaging in battle with the White rebels. Even though the First Kansas received publicity for their heroics, the Volunteers were not credited as the first Black troops to fight against White Confederate forces during the Civil War due to a technicality. The detail setting them apart from the 54th Massachusetts is that the First Kansas was originally organized as a Kansas State militia under Jim Lane. The Volunteers were not mustered in as federal troops until January 13, 1863, following their heroics at Island Mound. Technically, the First Kansas fought as a local militia, however, theoretically they can lay claim as the first Black regiment to engage the rebel forces during the War (Dyer 1908). The heroes of the First Kansas do not fit the basic archetypes as discussed for Black men. The monument does not fit the stereotype of a passive or good-for-nothing Black man, nor

does is denote a savage brute. With his sculpture, Joel Randell sought to render not only the intensity of the Battle of Island Mound but the fierceness of a warrior in the form of the Black soldier, in the life-sized, bronze monument entitled, *Battle of Island Mound* (FIG. 23). Just the existence of the monument in Bates County is an exception within the historical narrative when compared to the standard.

In 2011 an anonymous writer going by the name of lunchcountersitin, posted a blog entry on the Internet listing 16 United States Colored Troops (USCT) monuments around America. To that original entry there have been added other monuments to a total of 30 as of July 2018. Civil War historian, Allen Mesch (2017) in his blog entitled *Salient Points* also reflects 30 USCT monuments and sites of interest. Several of the most famous of the monuments are the *Spirit of Freedom* sculpture and the *Shaw Memorial*. The *Spirit of Freedom* represents three Black soldiers and a sailor. Each man is facing in a different direction, armed and in a ready stance to defend freedom. Directly above the men is the face of an angel of protection. On the backside of the statue is a soldier with his family (African American 2016). The *Shaw Memorial* is the depiction of the 54th Massachusetts as the regiment marched off to do battle at Fort Wagner, South Carolina (The Shaw 2016). These two monuments, the *Spirit of Freedom* and the *Shaw Memorial*, along with the *Battle of Island Mound* (FIG. 23) located in Bates County, are listed among the 30 honoring Black Civil War efforts.

The Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War (SUVCW) is an organization “dedicated to preserving the history and legacy of veteran heroes who fought and

worked to save the Union in the American Civil War” (The Monument 2018). With that objective, they have taken on a preservation initiative aimed at locating and cataloging every Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) monument; in other words every Civil War monument honoring the Union. When researching their findings for the state of Missouri, the SUVCW have a combination of monuments, markers, and points of interest for over 500 locations within the state, some of which seem to be in question as to whether they are truly representations of Union commemorations. No matter, it is the number that is the point. Comparatively, the sheer number of monuments erected in honor of the Confederacy, as listed by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) is over 700. Three hundred are located in the states of Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia. Missouri is credited with 14 Confederate monuments (“Whose Heritage” 2018:7). Bates County is an exception to the standard in that they have a monument in honor of the Black Volunteers of the First Kansas. Bates has a more inclusive historical narrative than is portrayed around the county be it via Union or Confederate commemorations.



Figure 26 - General Shelby

Last is the analysis of the *General Joseph Shelby* (FIG. 20; FIG. 26) mural. While the artist, Richard Carter makes Shelby the central focus of the painting, he is inclusive of the General's Iron Brigade of rebel fighters engaged with Union troops. Carter has included a total of eleven men in addition to Shelby, six of which are dressed in blue Union attire. The remaining men, with the exception of two, are outfitted in the customary gray uniform of the Confederacy. An important point is that all of Shelby's men are armed with the exception of one of the men not clothed in rebel gray. This is the man of interest in the painting. I believe this man to be Billy Hunter, a slave who served as Shelby's personal manservant (FIG. 27).

Shelby's family purchased Billy Hunter, as a slave boy, for \$2,000 from a local

slave market for the young Shelby (Uncle Billy's 1897). From that point forward Shelby had Hunter in tow, as he followed his new master everywhere. Biographer Daniel O'Flaherty refers to Hunter as Shelby's "faithful shadow" (17). As they grew into young men, Hunter, staying "discreetly in the background" was running the streets with his young owner (17). Hunter joined Shelby when he went off to college, entered into business ventures, and eventually off to war.

Hunter followed his master as Shelby took part in the border strife pre-dating the opening of the Civil War. During the War, Billy Hunter continued as the body servant of General Jo Shelby. He tended to his master's daily personal needs, he cooked, and was entrusted with his owner's weaponry ("Mars JO's" 1897). Once the General decided not to surrender at the close of the War, he along with his men headed to Mexico. Like his weapons, Shelby entrusted the care of his wife and family to Billy. Hunter remained the "constant servant and guardian" until Shelby sent for his family ("Mars JO's" 1897). Richard Carter has included a rendering of what I surmise to be Billy Hunter standing to the left of Shelby. The man has his left hand on Shelby's shoulder (FIG. 27). Their relationship lasted until the death of Shelby more than 30 years following the close of the War. More than once in an interview with the *Kansas City Star* on the eve of Shelby's death, Hunter refers to his old master as "that child." The reporter records that Billy was moved with emotion as tears were wiped away ("Mars JO's" 1897).



Figure 27 - Billy Hunter

The image in the mural is dressed in military attire (FIG. 27). It reflects a man outfitted in a chestnut jacket with a bedroll fastened to his back and a gray rebel kepi atop his head. Hunter self-reports that he was regarded as “a high private in the rear ranks.” This may explain the apparel of the man next to Shelby. Hunter tells the *Kansas City Star* reporter in 1897 that he was outfitted with regimentals (“Mars JO’s” 1897); in other words, military attire. I cannot help but wonder if the muralist was “driven by tension between the desire to communicate and the desire to hide” (Winncott 2009)

with his inclusion of this man, hiding him in plain sight. Upon first examination of this mural, one sees Hunter as the faithful slave. However, if one takes a step back and through a layered lens, the notion of Hunter being more than a faithful slave is a possibility. If this image is to represent Billy Hunter, then Carter's depiction does not fall into one of the stereotypical typologies of Black men. This mural, like the other murals, within Bates County would represent an exception rather than the standard.

This chapter discusses the Bates County murals and monument. When measured against the norm of representations from Cass County, Bates' inclusion of Blacks in the local narrative is the exception. The murals and monuments of Bates easily tell the story of the county. While the narrative is from a White male perspective, focusing on the legacy of great White men and their endeavors, the Bates narrative constructs a more inclusive history when compared to Cass. It bears repeating, Cass County's token mention of the Burns Elliot Black family's possible contribution of planting trees that may have been the wood utilized for signage is at its best obligatory, and at its worst, embarrassing.

The presence of people of color within the Bates narrative is the exception with approximate 28 percent of the total imagery depicting men of color with 5 percent Native American. The imageries of the Black men are all of men not fitting the standard archetype of the Uncle, Coon, and Brute. The mural *Order No. 11* (FIG. 22) depicts three Black males, one young boy and two men. The conjecture would be that that these three are slaves as they appear in the mural portraying the forced evacuation of the

county under Order No. 11. These three males do not fit into the mentioned archetypes. The remaining representations of Black men are of soldiers, which do not fit the stereotypical typology.

Where the narrative falls short is the lack of representation concerning the central cause of the Civil War, which is the issue of slavery. Unlike Cass, Bates honors and gives credence to the contributions made by the First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry. This is accomplished by an inclusion of a representation within three of the six murals and with the monument on the courthouse square. Comparable to Cass County, Bates fails to manifest the presence of the oppression and resultant racism Blacks endured before, during, and since the Civil War.

As an endnote, no Black women are present in the murals of Bates County. Less than 5 percent of the total images are of women or girls depicted within three of the paintings. Consequently, Bates County, like Cass County's narrative is one of a legacy of "great" men and their endeavors. When it comes to women, Black or White, both narratives are lacking in representation of women.

This chapter identifies the murals and monument from Bates County, Missouri. Images are provided for each, along with basic information, commissioning bodies, artist, and site location. The murals and monument tell an overall constructed story of the county -- the settling of the land, including key events, significant people, and important locations. With it I have presented exceptions to the standard representation of Blacks through Bates County's murals and monument. The inclusion

of Blacks is not only represented in a non-passive role but they are portrayed as significant historical figures in the local narrative, presenting it as more progressive and inclusive. The inclusion of men of color, but not women of color, within the Bates County narrative is quite telling and is the exception to the standard for Black men when paralleled along side Cass County's murals and monuments.

Chapter Five will present a further discussion of the research. The purpose is to address the conclusions drawn from significant findings. The central focus of the chapter is to answer the research questions by laying Critical Race Theory over the research data outcomes from Chapters Two, Three, and Four.

CHAPTER FIVE

CRITICAL RACE THEORY ANALYSIS OF MURALS AND MONUMENTS

While sitting in a meeting listening to folks discuss the past efforts to bring the First Colored Kansas Volunteers' statue to a realization in Bates County, I kept hearing the names of White individuals who were instrumental in its success. I reminded the group that The AMEN Society, which is a Black church organization, was the genesis. It was due to the tireless efforts of the Brooks Chapel A.M.E. congregation and Elenora Burton, the original president of The AMEN Society. Perhaps neither the monument nor the Battle of Island Mound State Park Historic site would have come to fruition if not for this small persistent group. I later discussed with my professor, how dismayed I was with these White educated individuals. Their White privilege blinded them. They had a Whites-only perspective since only White leaders—leaving out any mention of the Black congregation -- were remembered for their diligent labors to bring the monument to a realization. Since a community of people from various walks of life was involved to make the monument and site a success, the historical narrative should not erase the inclusion of Black leaders in Butler, Missouri, who, to be sure, were the ignition point.

“Education is our passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to the people who prepare for it today.” (Malcolm X 1964:np)

Race and racism are so firmly built into American culture that it is a way of life for all people, White and Black. Racism is ordinary, not an anomaly, whereas it seems expected and is often unrecognizable or invisible to many individuals (Ladson-Billings 1998; Taylor 1998 & 2009), particularly those who are White. Racism is firmly embedded in American culture and socially blinding Whites so that they cannot see how their actions are contributing to the continuation of systemic racism. The opening vignette to this chapter is an example of symbolic annihilation of Black contributions and history. This example provides evidence of the Black church members in Bates County being systematically removed from the local historical narrative. This erasure

implies that The AMEN Society's work was not of value, which in turn reinforces the whitewashing, trivialization, and amnesia.

Another example of whitewashing is the token mention of the Burns Elliot family in Cass County. The Black family is credited as the tree planters for the wood that eventually became the signage at the Burnt District Monument in Harrisonville. Perhaps the local White historians felt that by mentioning the actions of Blacks showed they had attempted to be inclusive of Blacks within their local narrative or perhaps it was a token attempt to stave off criticism for not including Blacks in other representations.

While completing this analysis, three points became noticeably evident. First, systemic racism is deeply embedded within the local historical narrative. Second, racism began with the continual use of the old booster texts that have become the norm and continues with their use as the central texts of the local historical narrative. Third, Whites do not see racism nor the constructed hierarchy of Whiteness due to the normalization of race and White privilege. Therefore, the purposeful application of Critical Race Theory (CRT) assists to shine a light on the racialized construction of the historical narratives and differences between Bates and Cass County concerning the local narrative and their representations.

Critical Race Theory is committed to racial equity. By using the lens of CRT, one can critically view the dominant White culture's realities of race within American society. CRT challenges the conventional beliefs concerning race and racism while

disclosing the racial power afforded Whites as structured by the racial hierarchy. CRT permits the scholar to analyze the systemic effects of the social constructs of race and the resultant implications of systemic racism created through a racial hierarchy. This analysis will address the subsequent role of racism within the presentation of the local historical narratives as constructed via the murals and monuments of Bates County and Cass County, which reflect the systemic nature of racism. The application of the four tenets of CRT (Bell 1995; Crenshaw, et al. 1995; Delgado 1995) will be the framework for analysis along with the comparative analysis concerning Bates and Cass Counties. The tenets of CRT are: race as a social construct, racism as normative, interest convergence, and the need for the uniqueness of voice. The following sections will explicate each tenet.

Application of Critical Race Theory

The application of the four tenets will answer the central research questions with CRT. This theory will serve as a tool to aid in uncovering the hidden implications of race. The application of the tenets over the initial research data, as presented in Chapter Three and Chapter Four, will expose the ultimate research findings of this study.

Tenet 1 – Race as a Social Construct

Critical Race theorists agree that race is an invention that has no scientific biological basis, yet is one of the foundations for the creation and maintenance of

inequality within society. As conveyed by Anthropologist Alan Goodman, Yolanda T.

Moses and Joseph L. Jones (2012):

Most people think race is real, and they are obviously right. Race is real. But race is not real in the way we think of it: as deep, primordial, and biological. Rather, race is a foundational idea with devastating consequences because we, through our history and culture, made it so. (2)

Race is a social construct. In 1982 the historical scholarship on race took a turn with historian Barbara Fields' essay, "Ideology and Race in American History." With Fields' notion historians began to view race as a social construct instead of a biological determinate. While there are visible differences in physicality such as skin color, facial features, and hair texture, they are purely genetic variations in the human form. These differences remain and continue to be used by some individuals to categorize humans into discrete racial groups and, in so doing race takes on social meaning and impact.

One thought-provoking example, from the research of race as a social construction, is recorded in the *Old Settlers' History of Bates County, Missouri*. Tathwell and Maxey (1897) chronicle the first three annual meetings of the Old Settlers' Society. Of notable interest are the prizes awarded for various categories for those in attendance, such as the longest continuous resident of the county, the first child born, the first married couple, and the oldest person. Several categories were broken down by gender: the continuous resident of the county, the first child born, and the oldest person. The first child born was delineated by race as "first white female child" and "first white male child" (87).

The designation of “White” was more than likely to make a distinction from the Native American population who first inhabited Bates County. No other categories had a racial descriptor except for the oldest person in attendance. The prizes awarded for the oldest male “a fine rocking chair... being the oldest man” (87). The female was gifted “a silk shawl ... being the oldest woman” (87). At the bottom of the award list is “a sack of best flour ... to Alfred White, as being the oldest colored person present” (87). While Whites received prizes based upon gender, Blacks were one group, since they were contending for a sack of flour.

The second annual society meeting in 1898 saw the same grouping for prizes. A sack of flour was given “to Fannie Harris, being the oldest colored person in Bates County, and born a slave” (91). The third meeting in 1899 lists “the oldest colored person present, born a slave, sack of flour, to Craig Mills” (92). The non-use of a racial description is normative for Whites. Blacks, however, needed to be designated and were treated differently based upon an earlier constructed racial hierarchy. As noted in Chapter Three, muralist Daniel Brewer used this same 1897 text by Tathwell and Maxey as one of the impetuses of his paintings for Bates County. The various artists’ treatment of Black individuals was different from Whites since they were based on the early local histories. These histories continue their impact today through the maintenance of racialized hierarchy present via these murals and monuments.

Tenet 2 – Racism is Normative

Racism is normal and commonplace in everyday life. “Racism is ordinary, not aberrational” (Delgado & Stefancic 2001:7). Therefore, racism is normative and not a deviation; it goes undetected. Racism is unreservedly embedded within the American culture, as evidenced by the creation of racial categories by society for specific purposes (Delgado & Stefancic 2001:7).

Social constructs are initially lacking significance until society gives them meaning. Once meaning is assigned, the constructs carry with them the norms and expectations as collectively agreed upon by the respective society. Classifying individuals into different racial groups has social implications. This sorting mechanism has arranged a social hierarchy that fuels the maintenance and perpetuation of racism through an ideology of White supremacy:

The idea of race was invented. Race was invented as a way to categorize and rank groups and by extension, individuals. The invention did not happen in an isolated laboratory or at one place in time. Rather, this scientific and social idea slowly took hold and became more and more real through European exploration and colonization and slavery in the Americas. In the 18th century race might have made sense because the physical (or phenotypic) differences between Europeans and others seemed to be great. (Goodman, et al. 2012:3)

From this Othering, a racial hierarchy is built and maintained. Racism is deemed a natural, inherent part of American society, privileging Whites over Blacks in all realms of life. “The imagery of whiteness ... is too often not considered part of the invention of races. Whiteness is taken for granted as a standard of beauty and normalcy, thus providing access to power, yet is a relatively recent invention” (Goodman, et al.

2012:7). Education scholars, Jessica DeCuir and Adrienne Dixson note, “Racist hierarchical structures govern all political, economic, and social domains. Such structures allocate the privileging of Whites and the subsequent Othering” (2004:27) - Blacks to the margins, Whites are the default.

The damage of trivialization is a consequence of the binary classification constructed and conferred by the normality of the White dominant group upon the marginalized group. Education scholar, Paulo Freire (1970) wrote in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* that the dualism of the oppressed and the oppressor create an internalized oppression. In turn, the oppressed have internalized the oppression visited upon them by the oppressor as they:

Suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being. They discover that without freedom they cannot exist authentically. Yet, although they desire authentic existence, they fear it. They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized. The conflict lies in the choice between being wholly themselves or being divided; between ejecting the oppressor within or not ejecting them; between human solidarity or alienation; between following prescriptions or having choices; between being spectators or actors; between acting or having the illusion of acting through the action of the oppressors; between speaking out or being silent, castrated in their power to create and re-create, in their power to transform the world. (P. 32-33)

Sociologist Stuart Hall addresses this duality of oppression as internalized racism. This concept is “the ‘subjection’ of the victims of racism to the mystifications of the very racist ideology which imprison and define them” (Hall 1986:26). The oppressed have internalized the oppressor’s point of view and live this in their daily lives.

This duality of viewing one's self through the eyes of others, internalized racism, is the "measuring [of] one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (DuBois 1903:13). W.E.B. DuBois (1903) labels this dualism as double-consciousness in his sentinel work, *The Souls of Black Folks*. Power asserted by Whites brings about the Black experience of double consciousness. Blacks are born into "a world which yields ... no true self-consciousness, but only lets [one] see [one's self] through the revelation of the other world" (3). The power of non-representation or under-representation is just as strong as the power of White representation in the narrative.

Whether the representation of Blacks is stereotypical, underrepresented, or absent from the mural and monument narrative, all are problematic. Blacks became socialized through the continued construct by way of the contempt, pity, and lack of no true self. This racial construction helps lead the way for the internalization of the normalization of the notion of Blacks as devalued. Sociologist Darnell M. Hunt argues that using stereotypical or racialized representations of "black images has typically been leveled on two fronts: either the images are denounced as distorted, or they are ... damaging in some way" (2005:15). Dr. Patricia Hill-Collins (2000) also addresses the damaging stereotyping concerning Black women, the highly sexualized "Jezebel," which provides a "powerful ideological justifications [for the] intersecting oppressions of race, class, gender, and sexuality" (69). The imagery mounts, perpetuating the notions of what and who Blacks are. Professor of Media, Robert Entman (1992)

contends that even the American news media is guilty of perpetuating the notion of “modern racism.” He defines modern racism as “a compound of hostility, rejection, and denial on the part of whites toward the activities and aspirations of black people” (341). This White intolerance is a normalized practice targeted at Blacks.

Slavery was over for 35 years by the time *Old Settlers' History of Bates County* (1883), *Missouri* was published; however, the normalization and consequences of the racial hierarchy were firmly set into place, relegating Blacks to a lesser position. Chapter Three discusses the context in which the authors of the booster texts were writing their respective single-story histories. These same events had consequences in legally maintaining the White hierarchy. Following the end of the Civil War, Whites created Black Codes as a social control to limit the physical and social mobility of Blacks. Jim Crow laws built upon these codes and continued racial segregation. Ex-Confederates formed the KKK, believing it was their calling to enforce the racist codes and laws by the use of terrorist tactics. Espousing White supremacy, the Klan visited murder, violent assaults, and fear upon Blacks to keep them in line, continuing to keep them down. Soon after the rise of the Klan, Jubal Early began to publish his writings that would become the basis of the Lost Cause rhetoric.

In 1896, the Supreme Court in the *Plessey v Ferguson* case upheld the legality of compulsory separation—with the caveat of separate but equal accommodations—one year before the first meeting of the old settlers. During this period, segregation was upheld not just through lawful means, but also through White society. Whether it was

the Klan or Jim Crow, the dominant society was watching, learning, and embracing the socially constructed norms revolving around race. These activities continued the normalization of the racial hierarchy.

In the present day, the consequences of the long-held racial norms have resulted in a new type of Jim Crow. A new type that positions Whites as the norm while Blacks are still relegated into the position of the Other, limiting access and resources. Social Justice professor and civil rights advocate Michelle Alexander (2010) asserts that the mass incarceration of Blacks in the present day is the new Jim Crow. She compares mass incarceration to Jim Crow in:

That both have served to define the meaning and significance of race in America. Indeed, a primary function of any racial caste system is to define the meaning of race in its time. Slavery defined what it meant to be black (a slave), and Jim Crow defined what it meant to be black (a second-class citizen). Today mass incarceration defines the meaning of blackness in America: black people, especially black men, are criminals. That is what it means to be black. (P. 192)

Alexander argues that the United States criminal justice system serves as a present-day measure of social control based upon race.

The new normal is the criminalization of Blackness by way of social constructs. What began as social control measures, following the end of slavery, has carried through into the present-day by way of stereotyping and the use of the White single-story narrative as exemplified in the following. The D.W. Griffiths' film, *Birth of a Nation* (1915), cultivated the notion of Blacks as dangerous criminals. The film helped to promote this archetype that remains present in society. With this image comes the

belief that Blacks cannot do and cannot be better; therefore, the justice system implemented tougher sentencing. Alexander (2010) maintains that the mass incarceration of Blacks over Whites is a replacement of slavery. In 2014 historian Pippa Holloway presents the historical background of the crime of infamy used by Southern Whites to strip Blacks of their rights. In turn disenfranchising Blacks legally, placing them in the same position as slavery by stripping them of their citizenship rights, particularly their voting rights. The new Jim Crow is a social control mechanism aimed at disproportionately incarcerating the Black race at a higher rate, and in turn, privileging Whites with fewer incarcerations and lower sentencing.

An example of the normalcy of Whiteness, which is another aspect of racism as normative, is the predominantly White representations in the Cass County murals. The only Black individual is Suse, a faithful slave to her mistress. Her placement in the mural is an example of the socially constructed archetype of the Mammy. Stereotypes of Blacks are equivalent to symbolic annihilation since the lack of representation compounded with the use of stereotypes aids in the erasure of the participation and actions of Blacks. Given the normalcy of Whiteness in society without a critical analysis of this fact, most people look at the murals and see nothing askew as the paintings reflect the single-story myth that only Whites are the historical and present actors of Bates and Cass counties. The exclusion of a group within the local narrative, in this case Blacks, continues the attacks on the legacy of agency, presence, and identity of their group within society. Placing an individual, who has been marginalized, into their

respective stereotyped roles trivializes the entire group. In turn, the White power structure makes it clear to Blacks that this history is not theirs by weaponizing the narrative. This is the tactic of the Lost Cause, ensuring that the historical narrative belongs to one group and one group alone, safeguarding of the White narrative as they maintain the control. The Burns Elliot story trivializes Blacks in Cass County by reducing Mr. Elliot to a token within the White narrative.

While some may not view the Cass County example as a major concern, Critical Race scholars argue that the construct of race and the ensuing racism are perpetual and pervasive due to the very nature of racism as normative. For people of color, the normality of racism is fundamental in their lives, rather than a marginal issue (Solórzano 1998). Racism is systemic and not just indiscriminate isolated individual acts (Ladson-Billings 2013). With White as the societal default norm in the United States, the permanence of race is firmly woven into the culture's social fabric in that the repercussions of racism go unnoticed by Whites. The normality of race and racism governs all areas of life, even within the very murals and monuments located in Bates County and Cass County.

Tenet 3 – Interest Convergence

The third tenet of CRT is interest convergence, which maintains that Whites only act in the interest of Blacks as long as it converges with their White interests. This tenet acknowledges that racism augments the interests of Whites. Delgado and Stefancic (2001:7) discuss that often rewards manifest in material and financial ways

that come directly from racism. Additionally, they discuss the psychologically and emotional compensation Whites received by way of the mindsets of superiority over Blacks.

While some may argue that many policies – social, legal, political, and economic – appear to benefit Blacks, Critical Race scholars maintain that the dominant race has an alternative motive driving the changes. Ladson-Billings (2013) argues that interest convergence is about alignment and should not be confused with altruism (38). The actions of Whites offered to people of color, in this case Blacks, are not selfless acts. Often it is due to convergence when Blacks make strides, when and only when, Black interests align with White interests, thereby benefiting both racial groups.

Critical Race theorists have applied the tenet of interest convergence over the years ranging from the entry of Jackie Robinson into major league baseball, *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the selection of Barack Obama as a presidential candidate. Before 1947, the major baseball league banned Black baseball players from playing. Integration occurred when Robinson signed with the Brooklyn Dodgers but not as a move to break racial segregation within baseball. Instead, the Dodgers' desire to win the league pennant and the World Series was the reason for integration. Researchers in the field of Sports Management with an emphasis on race and racism, Joshua DeLormer and John N. Singer (2010) apply interest convergence to the example of Jackie Robinson. They conclude that Robinson's integration of the majors is often "referred nostalgically as a crowning achievement in civil rights equity for Black citizens

in America. However, on further examination, the motivations were not an altruistic gesture toward the Black population of America at all” (382). The integration of baseball is similar to the integration obtained through the 1954 groundbreaking decision by the United States Supreme Court in the *Brown v. Board of Education*.

When applying interest convergence to the *Brown Case*, Critical Race theorist, Derrick A. Bell, Jr. (1980) argues that the decision to desegregate public schools was not for ethical reasons. After World War II, United States leaders sought to promote democracy over communism within the global community. United States democracy, however, carried the stain of racial discrimination that the country had not yet settled; ideology and practice were at odds. So as not to be accused of “do as we say, not as we do” mentality, the *Brown v Board of Education* desegregation case was set to show the moral high ground of United States society against a backdrop of communism.

Theorist Bell cites three reasons for the Court’s decision. First, the ruling lent credibility to the United States’ commitment to democracy in the eyes of the global community; second, the decision helped to bolster assurance to Black World War II veterans that their sacrifice was not in vain; and last, Southern Whites saw the benefits of desegregation for furthering “industrialization in the South” (524-25). Several decades after Bell’s application, Emory Law professor, Mary Dudziak (2000) concurs with Bell’s assessment concerning the United States’ self-interest for the *Brown* ruling. The United States was not solely interested in promoting the welfare of Blacks, but

was interested in fostering an image of what was in the best interest of the country in the world's eyes.

Until 2009 the United States had never elected a Black president. Critical Race theorist, Richard Delgado (2015) examines the selection by the Democratic National Convention (DNC) of the individual who would eventually become the first Black president in his article entitled, "Why Obama: An Interest Convergence Explanation of the Nation's First Black President." Delgado's analysis offers an explication of the selection of President Obama. First, powerful influencers must have seen the need of someone of "mixed parentage," who could readily advance the "geopolitical, economic and strategic objectives" (362) necessary for the United States to win the war against radical Islam. Second, Delgado states that "a Black-looking son of a Kenyan father and White mother [could] command respectful attention by leaders of developing countries" (366) necessary for securing their cooperation concerning environmental issues. Third, "a president of mixed race" (367) could aid in advancing the country's way for the future of globalization, by ultimately offering gains in economic profits. Through the application of interest convergence, Delgado argues that race was an important factor in the election of the first Black president of the United States. President Obama's race played into the self-interest of the country, more than about the need to promote racial equality through the election of a Black man in the White House.

While the above examples of interest convergence are of a more significant impact than the issues presented in this study, the inclusions of Blacks within the local historical narratives are not so altruistic when viewed through CRT. The analysis of the histories and depictions in the murals and monuments of Bates County and Cass County show interest convergence. In Chapter Four, the presence of Blacks in the murals and monument of Bates County is considered the exception rather than the standard. Honoring Black contributions, the monument of the First Kansas Colored Volunteers is about their service at the Battle of Island Mound. Blacks are obviously present in four of the six murals within the county. The Zebulon Pike mural, which has no representation of the Civil War era, includes several Native Americans. If the artist Richard Carter did indeed “hide” Billy Hunter in the General ‘JO’ Shelby mural, this would indicate that all the murals and the one monument representing the Civil War narrative in Bates County are a more comprehensive presentation of local history. Bates County appears more progressive than Cass County due to the inclusive murals and monument.

Three significant points, however, need to be made before celebrating Bates County’s enlightenment. First, the Black congregants of the Brooks Chapel A.M.E. Church worked tirelessly for nine long years in an attempt to raise funds to build the monument in honor of the First Kansas Colored Volunteers. Second, none of the murals tell the reason why the war began. Not one mural deals with slavery or its lingering effects. Third, the economic force behind the 150-year sesquicentennial of the

Civil War (2011-2015) was tourism,²¹ which perhaps was a financial windfall for both Bates and Cass.

In 1999 the Brooks Chapel A.M.E. Church located in Butler, Missouri, formed The AMEN Society for the sole purpose of raising funds to build a monument in homage to the brave Black men who fought against the Confederates in the Battle of Island Mound. What began as sponsoring a memorial service at their church to honor the soldiers turned into a nonprofit organization. The AMEN Society, led by president Elenora Burton, struggled to raise money through various fundraising projects. The society persevered for eight years through bake sales and gospel music concerts to pay the artist Joel Randell to begin sculpting the statue. They hosted a letter-writing campaign by contacting citizens, local, state, and national politicians; business owners; and community leaders. Former United States Secretary of State, General Colin Powell, supplied the group with information to aid in their efforts. Actor Laurence Fishburne donated a sizable amount towards the memorial (Burton 2014). The Bates County *news-Xpress* in an article dated February 23, 2007 noted the society had raised just short of \$17,000. At the time of publication, The AMEN Society was in need of an

²¹ Many Southern states referred to the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the Civil War as a commemoration. The intent was to honor the White South, the White lives lost, to provide events and activities as educational tools of the Southern heritage and legacy. These types of remembrances are in the vein of the Lost Cause narrative. While the previous intentions listed may be intentional, the latent intentions (if not intentional) of the Sesquicentennial Celebration events is in fact to draw tourism, bringing in dollars to the local economy. See History Associates (a for-profit company) who assists clients to “discover, preserve, and present the past” for historical enterprises. “Effective Commemoration: The Changing Approach to Observing the Civil War.”

additional \$11,000 to make the bid price of \$28,000 so Randell could begin the process. Up until her passing, Ms. Burton labored with the members of the society to raise the necessary funds. Following Burton's death, Walter and Millie Wright led the task of fundraising.

Reportedly at the end of 2007, several White community leaders were discussing local projects in need of attention, and they decided that The AMEN Society's effort was worthy of attention following years of struggle. These leaders raised the rest of the funds for the statue in less than 24 hours. The local newspaper owner, Jim Peters and Harold and Kay Caskey, reported they were instrumental in securing the balance of needed funds (*news-Xpress* 2008; Burton 2014). Mr. Caskey was a longtime Missouri State Senator, who served 28 years in the statehouse before retiring in 2004.

This story is a prime example of interest convergence. The AMEN Society's project becomes "worthy" after eight years of fundraising. Once the White community leaders approved of the project, they were able to raise the additional \$11,000 needed in 24-hours. This development transpired at the end of 2007, which was followed up with a telephone call from Kay Caskey notifying the Wrights on New Year's Eve. While this generous act was not without altruistic motives, the following discussion notes various opportunistic motives that may have driven this giving. This project is an excellent example of White's interest converging with Black interests. Perhaps the

charitable contributions were strategic giving for year-end tax purposes or, perhaps, they were due to benevolent attitudes heightened as a result of the holiday season.

Statistical analysis from NeonCRM show that 31 percent of all giving is done in December with 12 percent in the final three days of the month (Gordy 2019). No one knows for sure concerning the motivations for the charitable gifts; however, what is known is The AMEN Society had struggled for years attempting to raise the needed funds. Furthermore, within a matter of hours, their goal was realized with the help of White influential community members.

One has to reason that Senator Caskey, as well as Mr. Peters, were no doubt aware that in just three short years, the sesquicentennial was set to *begin in 2011*. Earlier in 2003, the murals painted by Daniel Brewer were already completed and hung on the Butler town square. Additionally, Carter's paintings were completed and on display at the Bates County Historical Society and Museum. Preparations were well underway for the 150-year celebration of the war. These examples of interest convergence indeed provide a strong exemplar of the manipulation of Black representation within the historical narrative by Whites for the latter's social and economic benefit.

The next example of this tenet is tied to the previous. From this analysis, the expected economic windfall from Civil War tourism was the driving force for the White individuals to align with The AMEN Society to see the project to its completion. Multiple plans were underway for the commemoration of the Civil War on the federal

level as well as state and local measures. Not to be overlooked is the fact that with murals, monuments, historic sites, and events, they all bring tourism. Presently the State of Missouri has a comprehensive statewide historic preservation plan in effect for the years of 2018-2024. While preservation is the intended result, the plan's executive summary is clear that strengthening and enhancing historic preservation will act "as an economic development tool" (Our Sense 2017). Concerning the sesquicentennial and tourism, White community leaders appeared to develop well-advanced plans.²² In April 2012, the Civil War Trust had a summary of data and its analysis of the economic benefits of Civil War tourism published. Missouri was one of nine states where they gleaned data, which reveal four significant findings (Harbinger 2012):

1. Visitors to Civil War battlefield parks and historic sites provide significant economic benefits to nearby communities.
2. The sesquicentennial [had] already boosted attendance at many Civil War sites.
3. Civil War travelers are "high value" visitors.
4. [T]he economic benefits of historic preservation suggest economic values with Civil War travel.

Tourism adds direct value when travelers spend money on lodging, food/beverage, and fuel and in local shops. The Harbinger (2012) report reflects Civil War visitors spent nearly \$442 million in communities in 2010 within five states, which includes Missouri. This spending helped to support a \$151 million local economy that is

²² The implications of economic development for the cost of history will be addressed in the final chapter.

inclusive of workers and business owners (4). Value is realized not only in the cash transactions but also generates revenue for the government via local and state taxes such as sales, lodging, and fuel tax. Tourism aids in the creation of jobs; local wage earners, in turn, send money back into the local economy by way of rents, utilities, retail purchases, and property taxes.

Butler is the county seat of Bates County, which is 65 miles South of Kansas City, Missouri. Butler is situated on the major North-South Interstate 49. The area's local economy²³ could surely benefit from an infusion of funds into this rural area. What better way to do so than by making preparations for the sesquicentennial celebrations and use their claim to fame with the First Kansas Colored Volunteers and the Battle of Island Mound? Tourism efforts, however, were not complete with just the Volunteers' monument. There was more work to do. From a modest undertaking by the local A.M.E. Church in Butler and because of their desire to open the doors to Black history, their inspiration gave way to a second recognition of the brave soldiers. In 2008 a forty-acre plot of land was acquired eight miles from the First Kansas Colored Volunteers monument.

In October of 2012, the Missouri Department of Natural Resources dedicated the Battle of Island Mound State Park Historic Site (Battle 2017) on the old Toothman farmstead (renamed Fort Africa by the soldiers). The Missouri State Park Service records indicate that 2017 saw 19,480 visitors at the park site (Battle 2018). If the

²³ According to the United States Census, Bates County's rate of individuals living at or below the poverty line is 14.4 percent with the per capita income of \$25,873.

visitors spent an average of \$2.50 per person, a relatively conservative figure, the local economy may have realized over \$48,000 in 2017. No doubt, these visitors infused tourism dollars into the local economy. In a recent conversation in 2019, a Black resident of Bates County confided the common belief among Blacks that the White leaders viewed the construction of the monument, honoring the Kansas Colored Volunteers, as a “cash cow.” If there is truth in this assertion concerning the completion details of the statue honoring the Volunteers, it is indeed a convincing example of interest convergence on the part of Whites in Bates County.

The murals and the monument within Butler were completed in 2008 before the intended parkland was acquired. When applying the third tenet of CRT, interest convergence, it becomes evident that it is at work in the progressive inclusion of Blacks in the narratives of Bates County. These are important contributions, which support an inclusive history that values the Black historical narrative. However, when compared to the potential economic benefit for a county that is over 95 percent White, one begins to question the motives of the White leaders. If the small group of Black parishioners in Butler had not had the vision to build the monument that tells the Black narrative, would the White community ever have brought these attractions to life?

By way of contrast, Cass County’s absence of a Black historical narrative is significant. The Black historical narrative is not a separate history. Historian John Hope Franklin (1957) argues that when “discussing the history of a people one must distinguish between what has actually happened and what those who have written the

history have said has happened” (69). In turn, there will not be the perpetuation of an incomplete telling of the narrative. Cass County’s efforts concerning the Civil War murals and memorial were started after Bates County began their process. The murals around the Harrisonville square were hung three to four years before the beginning of the 2011 sesquicentennial celebrations. The community dedicated the Burnt District Monument in the spring of 2009. These preparations were in place well before the start of the sesquicentennial. The county seat is in Harrisonville, located only 38 miles from downtown Kansas City. Any infusion of dollars through tourism into the local economy²⁴ is an added benefit. Cass County plays up the single-story of the White community about the Burnt District theme all the while with no mention of the war’s cause. The only reference to Blacks in the county is Suse in the Younger mural and the token reference to Burns Elliot indicating Blacks existed within the county.

In 2006, the former slave fountain as discussed in Chapter Three and located in Pleasant Hill, Missouri, was demolished erasing all evidence of its existence. The loss of the fountain was a reversal of the original plan. In 2001, the city official, which shared the history of the structure and the significance of the stones, was proud of his city’s efforts to write slavery into the local narrative. The fountain may have been built with the intention to alter the White history of Pleasant Hill. Amending this narrative to be more inclusive could have been driven by interest convergence to attract tourism.

²⁴ According to the United States Census, Cass County’s rate of individuals living at or below the poverty line is 9.2 percent with the per capita income of \$30,618.

Conversely, as explained in Chapter Three, when I inquired as to preservation efforts of the rock wall from which the stones were acquired, my informant gave several reasons as to why they did nothing to preserve the wall. He noted that money was a factor; however, the real explanation is that local White leaders needed to be interested in the preservation of the slave wall. He indicated that since the rock wall dealt with slavery, no source of funds existed for its preservation. While the fountain and its dedication ceremony were being planned, the preservation of the wall was not. Why erect a fountain to honor the slaves but have no intent to preserve the wall reportedly constructed by the slaves? Perhaps, the uncomfortable reality of the history of slavery could be the answer as to why the fountain was eventually demolished, and in its place, a veteran's memorial was erected. Undoubtedly, another location could have been found to erect the veteran's memorial; so the real point was the removal of the uncomfortable history of slavery in the preservation of the slave fountain. Through CRT analysis, the reversal of the preservation of history by the Whites in power and their countermand of disallowing the fountain as a part of Pleasant Hill's historical narrative was part of interest convergence as it no longer fit into the narrative needed to market the town.

City officials of Pleasant Hill focused their revitalization efforts beginning with making an application to have the downtown area designated as a historic district with the National Register of Historic Places. Paperwork from 2003 includes the fountain in place and discusses the history of the stones. By 2004 however, the fountain is

mentioned, but no details are provided. In 2005, they received the National Register designation, but by 2006, the fountain was destroyed to make way for the veteran's memorial.

In the online documents of the strategic plans for Pleasant Hill's preparations for the sesquicentennial, when checked in 2013, the only mention of fountains is drinking fountains. The history of the slave fountain has been officially erased. In 2014, Mr. Rick Kitchell, who was the town's Marketing and Advertising Committee President, wrote an article promoting Pleasant Hill as a tourist destination, "which will bring in desperately needed funds for updating, beautification, and community betterment all around" (2014:19). The committee's goal for the development and improvements in Pleasant Hill clearly articulated their vision for economic enhancements and lucrative success.

Justin Lewis (1990), Professor of Communication and Cultural Industries, states that using culture as a means to promote economic interest can be:

A dangerous weapon. Using cultural facilities to promote tourism and attract businesses means promoting just the sort of prestigious culture aimed at high-income groups . . . These art forms appeal to people on high disposable incomes, people who run businesses, and who make the most lucrative tourists. This may be fine as an economic strategy, but as a cultural policy, it is regressive and socially limited. (p. 138)

The commodification of an exclusive White narrative is also a dangerous business in that it can further erase the existence of Blacks. The counter-stories and voices of the people of color are needed to ensure an inclusive and richer narrative. It is feasible that

the slave fountain strayed too far into dangerous history and was off-putting to those looking for a prestigious culture to attract tourism. One has to wonder if the building of the fountain gave the appearance of altruism of the White town, but in reality, it appears to be nothing short of self-interest for the sake of the town's economic future.²⁵

While some individuals, especially Whites, may be disturbed by the realities of slavery, the inclusion could aid both Whites and Blacks. In the analysis of the data from the previous chapter, there are missed opportunities for an inclusive narrative to expand the White-only single-story, which currently excludes Black history. While this exclusion is not a surprise, consider tenet two – the normality of race, what if the dominant White group weighed the risk of inclusion of Black history versus economic reward?

The opening vignette for Chapter Two is an account of the informal discussion regarding a Cass County building where workers were rumored to have discovered a sign with the words “Slave Exchange.” At the beginning of the discussion with the building manager, she first denied the sign's existence but eventually declared that “some things from the past need to stay in the past.” She believed this finding was not the type of history Harrisonville needs. The history of slavery, is the underbelly of the Civil War, is an important inclusion to the White single-story history that has been missing from the local historical narrative. Historian James Oliver Horton (2008)

²⁵ In an effort to understand the demolition of the fountain, repeated attempts to contact the former city manager went unanswered.

strongly emphasizes the importance of the need for the issue of slave to be moved to the centrality of United States history. However, Horton stress that this is difficult in that racism is persistence. This aligns with the second tenet of CRT in that racism is normative, in turn making racism persistent and pervasive in American culture. Horton also points out the lack of proper education concerning the role of slavery in the United States (see Chapter Two concerning the discussion of the UDC's influences in textbooks regarding slavery).

The Lost Cause narrative is engrained deeply within the United States' collective memory that any attempt to include a discussion regarding slavery is met with White resistance. Historian David Blight (2002) states that “memory is often treated as a sacred set of absolute meanings and stories, possessed as the heritage or identity of a community (np). This is where memory and history collide. It is tough to overcome the memory once it is set within the collective mind. Blight also holds an important notion that “If You Don't Tell It Like It Was, It Can Never Be As It Ought To Be” (2008:19). There is a need for a realistic history however first there needs to be an acknowledgment of the “importance” slavery played in American history and the resulting Civil War. Therefore concerning the possibility of a slave exchange in Cass County, officially acknowledging the sign's existence, the White manager would then need to face the ongoing contributions to the whitewashing of the county's history in that Blacks have essentially been left out of the existing White narrative.

In this above example, if White interest groups would have acted on the economic benefits—interest convergence—rather than choosing to continue to deny and erase the history of slavery, acknowledging Blacks and their role could have been a win-win situation for both racial groups. Critical Race theorists, Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (2011), maintain that Whites have very little desire, nor the incentive to eliminate systemic racism. Therefore, if Blacks want to move forward with their counter-stories included in the local narrative, perhaps they need to assist the dominant group to see the potential economic benefits, as well as social, political, and educational gains for both groups. Whites and Blacks could be rewarded economically by developing tourism around the issue of slavery. This collaboration requires that Blacks have a seat at the table to ensure their history and their interests are protected while working to gain equity.

A second example of the potential to expand the narrative would be if the dominant White group in Cass County showed interest in the Black school building, a leftover from the days of segregation. According to CRT interest convergence or the notion that the White dominant group will only concede to people of color when it serves Whites' best interest. Otherwise, they show little concern in changing from the status quo. This tenet is thought provoking when considering the opening vignette to Chapter One regarding the need to reclaim barn wood rather than re-claiming the Prince Whipple Schoolhouse. If White interest is shown in a Black segregated school building, at this juncture, it would require the local narrative to be re-written. The

segregated Black accommodations for education in the county cannot be explained without including the issue of slavery and its role in the Civil War.

The third example of a potentially missed opportunity is an example from Chapter Four concerning the mural of the Civil War hero General Shelby located in Bates County. It appears that the slave, Billy Hunter, is in the painting. If it is Hunter, the artist, Mr. Carter, was intent on purposely hiding Hunter in plain sight. Then this example is another instance of inclusivity within the Bates County historical narrative that is an exception to White normalcy. This example and all the examples within Bates could be marketed to the Black tourists, which would open up the local narrative to Black inclusivity.

The Mandala Research group released a study documenting the impact of Black travelers on United States tourism for 2018. Spending increased by \$15 billion from 2010 to 2018, for an impressive total of \$63 billion spent by Black tourists. “The importance of African American culture and history ... plays a role in destination choice for these travelers. Sixty-four percent of cultural African American travelers, the highest spending segment of travelers, say the availability of African American cultural and heritage attractions is very important to their choice of destination” (African American 2018:np). The report continues by stating that findings reveal that Blacks are interested in their history, and their story “because the story of African Americans is the story of America” (African American 2018:np). Billy Hunter, the slave to General Shelby, is Bates’ history. It is American history. It is Black history.

The final point is that when Blacks are finally at the table to discuss and be included within the narrative, this movement to inclusion may not be all that it appears. So, while Whites are demonstrating a commitment to creating an inclusive narrative, they may be motivated to eliminate any potential negativity for the lack of inclusivity. This could very well be another example of interest convergence. Critical Race theorist Edward Taylor (1998) noted that within the United States, Whites have for too long been willing to sacrifice the welfare of marginalized groups for the overall economic self-interests of the dominant group through the continued subordination granted through the racial hierarchy.

Tenet 4 – Uniqueness of Voice

To effect change, it takes a unique voice of experience to deliver the counter-narratives. Delgado and Stefancic (2001:9) maintain that “the voice-of-color thesis holds that because of their different histories and experiences with oppression, [Blacks] may be able to communicate to their white counterparts matters that the whites are unlikely to know.” The reality of being an insider to the experiences of race and the ensuing racism gives one “presumed competence to speak” (2001:9) on the subject.

The mere inclusion of Blacks in the murals and monuments does not necessarily provide a sufficient narrative of Black history. Examining these presentations through CRT exposes the interests of Whites. This examination reveals the perpetuation of the racial hierarchy and the mythical notion of the faithful Black individuals. The point of

tenet four is to acknowledge not only Black voices into the conversation but also their significance for a fuller and richer local narrative with developing histories and counter-stories.

LatCrit theorist Dolores Delgado Bernal (2002) asserts that the experiential knowledge of people of color, in this instance, Blacks, is appropriate, legitimate, and is central to analyzing and understanding racial inequality. These lived experiences give the narrative profound meaning. Such voices can only come from individuals who have experienced marginalization. Their stories often go unrecognized and unacknowledged in predominantly White local histories. Blacks bring with them voices of experience. Critical Race theorists recognize that when Blacks supply their counter-narratives, they are challenging the racial dominance of the White hierarchy and are changing the narrative (Tate 1995). The intentional method of inclusivity through the uniqueness of voice places authority within the Black community.

Tenet four, the uniqueness of voice honors the silenced voices of the oppressed people of color and their narratives versus the voices of the White narrative. Counter-stories seek to cast suspicion on the legitimacy of accepted premises or myths, especially those held by the majority (Delgado & Stefancic 2001). As stated in Chapter One, “those involved in the preservation of the local history have internalized a mythical understanding or perception of their ‘history.’”

The ultimate purpose of a counter-narrative is the deconstruction of the hurt of erasure, the silence of voices and narratives. This deconstruction of the single White

narrative is to create a counter-narrative to embed itself within a larger narrative and replaces the dominant single narrative. One example of this revision of the history of the single-story White narrative is the Bloody Sunday White narrative of many residents of Selma, Alabama. The dominant White narrative speaks of troublemakers stirring up the local Blacks, which required local lawmen to utilize physical force on the out-of-control demonstrators (Brantley & Grace 2019). However, with the uniqueness and expertise of Black voices, the narrative changes the story of Selma from one of a single-story narrative to one of inclusivity. Filmmaker Ava DuVernay released the historical depiction of Bloody Sunday in her film entitled *Selma* (2014). While not a documentary, the film shows the historical footage of state and local police enforcement moving on the peaceful protestors in an overtly aggressive and violent manner. The marchers, both Black and White—men, women, and children—were whipped, clubbed, beaten, and chased down by White law enforcement on horseback. No one escaped the violence. In 2015, the year following the release of the film, the United States' Congress approved a resolution conferring the Congressional Gold Medal on “the foot soldiers,” who peacefully marched for the Black right to vote. Selma is no longer a single White narrative; it is now inclusive with the expertise of Black voices.

The “danger of the single story,” from Chapter Three, is evident in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s (2009) argument that the root of the issue lies in the creation of a single-story and is one of power. This “power is the ability not just to tell the story of

another person, but to make it the definitive story of that person.” The uniqueness of voice along with counter-storytelling is of important and powerful to challenge this power of the White narrative. Recognizing the controlling power of the White dominant group, Critical Race theorists maintain that it is time for people of color to include their voices and narratives. Critical Race theorists argue that counter-narratives are the paths by which the deeply rooted White single-story narrative must be challenged to reveal the engrained systemic racism resulting in a full and complete history.

The fourth and final element of the uniqueness of voice only comes from experience gained by people of color. They are the people who possess the authority to confront the oppression of racism directly. Acting from their vantage point and experiences, Blacks can challenge the dominant Whites, who write the single-story history that erases the history of racism and the contributions of people of color. While I acknowledge that scholarly historians are needed to “do history,” White historians cannot exclude Blacks from the process. This is a challenge to balance the professionalism required along with the uniqueness of voice. Blacks need to be central in this endeavor as they and only they possess the experience and voice to tell their unique story from their reality of oppression.

Concluding Commentary on Critical Race Theory

This chapter analyzes the research findings of chapters Three and Four within a Critical Race Theoretical framework. The central research questions of this study were answered through the tenets of CRT: race is a social construct; racism is normative, interest convergence, and uniqueness of voice.

Race is not biologically determined but is the socially constructed meaning of race and of being Black, which does have destructive consequences. A local Cass County historian, Gloria Corvus²⁶, who has long since passed, once shared how important it is for families to share their histories internally within the family -- to share the good times and the bad, the trials, the obstacles, the hard work, the persevering, and all situations concerning the family. She stated it was all the little things that mattered, and this is what keeps family histories and families intact. Black families in Bates County and Cass County need the ability to know their families' histories, as well as the chance to visit and show their family members places within the county and communities where the family lived, labored, and worshipped as a slave or a free person. They could tell their family members their histories of good and bad times, trials and obstacles, and joy and laughter. Unfortunately, many Black families cannot place a headstone on their loved one's grave in the Orient Cemetery at Harrisonville for fear it will be desecrated, or worse, destroyed. This reality is an example of tenet two,

²⁶ As noted in Chapter One, to ensure confidentiality, the name is a pseudonym to protect the individual in that this information was outside the purview of research, obtained through casual conversations.

racism as normative. Racism oppresses Black voices; in turn they are silenced, whitewashed, and vanquished.

Whites also experience consequences due to the normality of race and racism. Their outcome is that of the normative privilege granted to them due to their Whiteness. This privilege is the unseen, unconscious advantages and benefits that Whites enjoy. Even when such privilege is noted, Whites often continue to live with the status quo unwilling to acknowledge they are the beneficiaries of unearned White privilege. This unwillingness to concede to White privilege is racism, and is evident of tenet two that racism is normative. At present, the dominant White group's voices and perspectives continue to maintain the single-story narrative for the counties. Blacks have little presence within the local historical narratives. Whites are the central figures along with their adventures found within their history records and thus, Whites are celebrated.

While many Whites do not see themselves as racist since they do not harbor prejudicial or discriminatory attitudes directed at people of color, they do receive the benefits of racism. These benefits are what Critical Race theorist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva claims are part of the "racialized social systems" (2015:75). These systems organize society's institutions in such a way that they continue to benefit the dominant group. The privileges granted Whites via the racialized hierarchy is built into the institutions of the United States. "Whiteness maintains power and privilege by perpetuating and legitimizing the status quo while simultaneously maintaining a veneer of neutrality,

equality, and compassion” (Castagno 2014:5). To preserve White culture through White privilege does not require individual racialized hatred. Apathy toward systemic racism is all that is required for the hierarchy and its manifestations to continue. Bates County and Cass County need a more inclusive equitable historical narrative; however, first the barrier of indifference needs to be broken, new systems envisioned, and inclusion at all levels enacted.

Inclusion will require multiple voices, which can only come from the knowledge and understanding gained through experience. The A.M.E. parishioners in Butler are a perfect example of uniqueness of voice adding to the existing narrative with a counter-narrative. Whites will need to realize the economic value-added if an inclusive narrative is offered within Bates and Cass. The Bates County newspaper, *news-Xpress* (2007) reported The AMEN Society as stating, that the statue honoring the First Kansas Colored Volunteers “would not only commemorate these brave men, ... [but they] expected and anticipated that the monument might possible [sic] draw many tourists to our area” (3).

Many examples of interest convergence were noted including the possibility of future endeavors for increasing Black tourism. However, the tenet of interest convergence would view the dominant group’s future intentions with skepticism. Derrick Bell, Jr. unequivocally states, “even the most basic rights for blacks requires a perceived benefit for Whites” (1989:62). If the Black interest in achieving equal representation within the local historical narratives of Bates and Cass is to be realized,

then it would signal an overlap of interest between Blacks and Whites. The equality within the narratives will only occur when the interests (economic interests) of Whites converge with Black interest. It will take Whites realizing the potential tourist opportunities to motivate White business and economic interests. Only then will Black history be added to the murals of both counties and the Cass County monument (Whites in Bates needs to be cognizant of a fuller history than the Black Volunteers), thus placing the question of slavery as the central cause to the Civil War.

To aid in cultural tourism marketed to Blacks, this type of experience will require the uniqueness of voice that only comes through the Black experience. An inclusive historical narrative would take a collaborative effort of Blacks and Whites working in a partnership. This collaboration may create uneasiness for some; however, acknowledging the need for inclusivity “is an act of moral engagement, a declaration that there are other American lives too long forgotten, that count” (Linenthal 2006:224). White groups need to divest their privilege and invite a diversity of groups to the table. If there is any kind of decision making necessary and diverse voices are not included, wrong decisions will be made, since they will not have a diversity of perspectives, experiences, and insights. The ugly, hard history of slavery’s past, as well as its present-day implications, could be revealed with a positive outcome for both groups.

The story Black tourists are looking for is not the Lost Cause nostalgic accounts of the antebellum era, which exclude the enslaved, or where Blacks are ancillary to the

narrative portrayed as the good and faithful slave. Black cultural tourists expect an inclusive narrative, one that includes Blacks as primary historical actors, a narrative ripe with the slave experience, their resilience, a full truthful narrative, not the apparitions propagated by the Lost Cause. Dr. Tony Seaton (2001), professor of tourism, writes, “one of the sinister and poignant features of slavery is that it ... lies in people, long since dead” (117). Black tourists are not interested in the myth of the figment of the dominant White group, which has been governed and manipulated by a White culture via intentional amnesia, silencing, or whitewashing. Silence and alternate histories have long been the norm for Blacks. What is required is to create a diverse inclusive local history from counter-narratives that are fashioned by the uniqueness of voice only gained through experiential knowledge. The voice of one is not the voice of all.

This dissertation utilizes Critical Race Theory placing race and racism at the center of the analysis. With the use of CRT it challenges the single-story as written and perpetuated by the dominant White narrative. The existing single-story narrative continues to send the message of the supremacy of Whiteness at the expense of all others, especially Black voices. The degree of White power evident within this study is too significant to not point out the resulting racial disparities that are reinforced and supported within the systemic racist White narrative. While there may be little interest for change, unless and until White interests converge with the interest of Blacks, the White narrative will be the norm.

CHAPTER SIX

WHERE TO GO FROM HERE

In 2008 I did a study for a doctoral seminar, which asked the following question ‘Whose history is it?’ To answer this query, I examined Cass County’s Living History Festival from its inception in 2001 until 2007. The festival was an event that took a step back in time remembering a bygone era. I addressed race and gender in the study drawing primarily on newspaper supplements from the festival by analyzing which groups were participants as well as which groups were excluded. The outcome showed this was a man’s version of history since the women, who participated in the festival, overwhelmingly participated within the strict traditional gender roles of the 1800s. The Living History Festival also included a Southern ideology of Whiteness. The festival organizers attempted to be inclusive since they invited a representation of Native American men as well as Black men into the group. Nevertheless, the planners overlooked the lack of representation of Native American women and Black women. This begs the question, Whose history is this? It certainly was not a women’s history since they did not include a single Native American woman or a Black woman. The research revealed that Cass County, “like many sets of communities, has consciously nurtured its sense of the past” (Potts 2002:68) and Cass’s festivities revealed itself as celebratory of White, pro-Southern men and their adventures.

“There is something beautiful about doing race work ... You cannot go back and pretend you don’t know the truth. You have to deal with the good and the bad. You can’t go back.” Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Sociologist and James B. Duke Distinguished Professor (Hill 2018)

Over the course of Chapters Two through Five data from the initial findings along with the ensuing analysis in conjunction with the application of Critical Race Theory provides the answers to the dissertation’s central research questions:

1. In what ways is the continuation of systemic racism evident by the conspicuous absence of the marginalized groups within the local historical narratives as told through the murals and monuments?
2. In what ways do the local narratives reveal systemic racism based on a Critical Race theoretical analysis?

3. What impact does the normality of Whiteness have on systemic racism in the construction of reality and Civil War history in Bates County and Cass County?
4. In what ways can historical analysis aid in the correction of bias and racism as evidenced in the local historical narratives as told through the murals and monuments?

The remainder of this chapter includes a brief summation as well as a proposal for future best practices on how to deconstruct the old narrative, enabling the reconstruction of a new inclusive narrative, which will encourage the reeducation of local history. The implications of this study are presented as to its importance in filling the gap in the existing CRT scholarship when applied to the local historical narrative. I include a commentary on the current discussion regarding the removal of Confederate statues, followed by suggestions for future courses of study. I end Chapter Six and the dissertation with a few reflective thoughts.

Summary with Proposed Practices

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is committed to making change for the elimination of racism and systemic oppression based on race. This research has been one step toward the critique and correction of histories that whitewash and erase the reality and historical reasons for the Civil War that are the foundations that support the systemic racism as evinced in the Lost Cause mythology. To effect change within these local narratives requires a questioning of current practices to begin an interruption of the status quo concerning racism. As Angela Davis (2017) stated, “any critical engagement

with racism requires us to understand the tyranny of the universal. For most of our history the very category 'human' has not embraced Black people and people of color. The abstractness has been colored White" (137-38).

Whites need to understand the complicit biases they carry. These are a type of cultural baggage that conditions individuals from birth, through the socialization received initially by the family unit. The continuation of biases are supported and maintained by a number of different social institutions such as, the educational system, peers, media, and religion. Challenging one's personal biases is difficult; however, challenging the system is even more demanding, but can be revealing if the challenge is realized.

Individual biases carry over into behaviors and interactions within the culture's social institutions. Therefore, members of groups making decisions concerning the local historical narrative need to do so by questioning their frameworks and assumptions. They need to understand how White privilege, and its resulting racism influences a common White narrative (as seen in the local narratives of Bates County and Cass County) is structured and presented. Dr. Melanie A. Adams (2017), the Deputy Director for Learning Initiates at the Minnesota Historical Society, uses CRT to address racial realities, challenging the racial status quo instead of reinforcing stereotypical presentations, or just ignoring the issue of race within exhibits. Adams (2017) offers the following points:

- Create experiences that dismantle racism instead of putting it on display.

- Encourage diverse narratives that benefit people of color without having to appeal to the interest of whites.
- Move away from narratives as told through the eyes of the oppressor.
- Permit artists of color to question the dominant narrative and allow them to remain in the conversation. (P. 294)

Adams' model is encouraged within the field of museum studies for dismantling the old narrative and enable groups to transform the narratives that are more inclusive, based on diverse perspectives. When these principles are employed with the local historical organizations as well as the county museums, then such histories would hold great promise and show the significant movement of inclusivity that can enable a history that holds freedom. Such narratives do not seek to rewrite history but honor the truth.

The onus of change is on the White dominant group. As the purveyors of power, they need to reposition the narrative, the "story" of – the White people, the White institutions, the White social constructs, and the White history. This domination as demonstrated through the murals and monuments continues to oppress Blacks, marginalizing their voice as well as their very presence, and limits society's understanding of a fuller historical narrative, such as needed within the counties of Bates and Cass. Whites need to be held responsible for their systemic discrimination as witnessed in the continuation and promotion of the Lost Cause mythology. The mythology permits a lack of inclusion and a proportional representation of all people, which needs to be dismantled. To begin this process means that the museums and local historical organizations of Bates and Cass need to be inclusive as well.

The German sociologist, Max Weber (1978) coined the term “life chances” where one’s access to basic opportunities are shaped by a myriad of aspects tied to one’s social position with race being one factor. In a society where the dominant race is White, privilege is afforded to those “fortunate” enough to be White. If one is Black, life holds many more obstacles. As pointed out by Alexander (2010) and DuVernay (2016) systemic racism based on the hierarchy of Whites as the dominant race, did not cease to exist when slavery ended, but rather was fortified. Racism remains normative. The institutionalization of racism is present from the massive incarceration of Blacks to the issue of this dissertation – the perpetuation of racism through the lack of the inclusivity in local murals and monuments.

Deconstruction, Reconstruction and Reeducation

The previous chapters are overwhelming full of discussion concerning the deconstruction of the racist Lost Cause narrative. Searching out and making room at the table for Blacks as well as the inclusion of their uniqueness of voice is in fact a step towards reconstruction of the narrative. The reeducation is essential for continued deconstruct and reconstruction as new narratives emerge. These three elements can be likened to a three-strand cord. The three elements can aid in building trust.

Deconstructing the narrative of mistrust will need to be reconstructed and reeducation applied. Race is not the only socio-historical narrative that requires deconstruction.

There are many narratives, which need review however the White male-centric history present in the murals, monuments and booster texts begs to be examined.

Implications

By 2044 dominant White Americans will no longer be the majority race. Projections by the United States Census Bureau reflect that the so-called “minority groups” will no longer be the minority since they will make up 50.3 percent (2044 2014) of the populace. Whites will fall below 50 percent of the total United States population making them a numerical minority. With this shift brings a fearful time for the dominant group, as they are nervous of losing their privileged position of power in society.

When the White Southerners’ culture was turned upside down with the ending of slavery, they portray themselves as victims of the government as they mourned their losses. They demonized the Reconstruction era and retaliated by implementing the Black Codes and later by the laws of Jim Crow. Whites used lynching and rape as social control measures. The KKK utilized terroristic methods, again as a reminder to Blacks of who held sway over them. The United Daughters of the Confederacy and Sons of the Confederate Veterans began to script the Lost Cause mythology. Their constructions of monuments became weapons and vehicles of intimidation as a way to remind Blacks who wields the power.

The modern-day Civil Right Movement brought years of anxiety for Whites, as Blacks demanded their place within society. The *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka* Supreme Court decision declared segregation as “inheritably unequal” and therefore unconstitutional. The Brown decision was disconcerting to many members of the White population. In one backlash effort, Whites brought the Confederate flag back to life. Using the flag as a bullying mechanism, Whites sought to remind Blacks that they were intent on maintaining their position of superiority. This White apprehension also brought a resurgence of Confederate monument building. The move towards equality of Blacks was met with violent resistance from Whites in numerous backlash attempts to maintain their position and power (Hampton & Fayer 1991).

Fast forward to present day, 25 years away from the anticipated shift in demographics. Whites are fearful of losing their position as the dominant racial group. The current president has induced an environment of fear of the Other. He has done nothing to impede the growing swell of hatred, discrimination, and resulting violence. He espouses the “Make America Great Again” mantra while his followers hear his coded language of – “Make America White Again.” His base of White supporters believe nationalism equates to patriotism, when historically overzealous nationalism was foundation for the rise of fascism and racism. In fact, nationalism equates to racism and xenophobia.

Many Whites are anticipating a sense of lose as they descend into a state of disorientation and chaos. Émile Durkheim (1972) terms this breakdown, anomie – a

sense of normlessness, a collapse of the existing social norms and values. In the same vein as the resistance by White Southerners to retain their position in the racial hierarchy, some Whites Americans are striking out in an effort to fight against the changing tide.

Commentary on Removal of Confederate Monuments

A dissertation covering a topic such as this cannot go without a discussion of the current undertaking to remove Confederate monuments from public display. Additionally, one must address the ensuing factions protesting the removal, specifically the Neo-Confederates and White supremacy groups. In 2018 the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC:⁷) identified over 1,500 Confederate place names and other symbols that occupy public spaces. These remembrances are not only memorials, monuments, and statues honoring those who fought for the Confederacy but also include the designation of public schools, county, and city names as well as streets and highway designations after Confederate icons. Nearly half of the over 1,500 remembrances are in the form of statues and monuments (SPLC 2018).

The struggle to remove Confederate remembrances is nothing new. In 2000, the fight to eliminate the Confederate flag from public land flared up in South Carolina when it was removed from atop the State House in Columbia. The flag instead was relocated to a Confederate war memorial on public land just steps away from the entrance of the State House. In 2015, after the mass murder of nine Black Charleston

parishioners by a White man who held White supremacist ideologies, the flag finally came down. Then Governor Nikki Haley (Kim 2015:np) during a television interview stated, “In South Carolina we honor tradition, we honor history, we honor heritage, but there’s a place for that flag and that flag needs to be in a museum, where we will continue to make sure people can honor it appropriately... But the statehouse, that’s an area that belongs to everyone. And, no one should drive by the statehouse and feel pain. No one should drive by the statehouse and feel like they don’t belong.”

In August of 2017, opposing sides faced off in Charlottesville, Virginia as the city made ready for the removal of a monument honoring the Confederate General Robert E. Lee. On one side there was a confederacy of sorts made up of various extremist groups joining together under the banner of “Unite the Right” -- all proclaiming loyalty to a White nationalist ideology of racial supremacy. Their opponents were comprised of progressive activists and protestors there to counter the extremists’ ideologies as well as to support the city’s decision of removing the statue of what many believed to be a symbol of oppression.

No matter whether it is a flag, a statue or the renaming of a public use area, these symbols evoke emotion. The icons and place names are symbols that represent various sentiments and reactions. For instance the Confederate flag may arouse pride for some, for other people it can conjure up fear or anger, while for some groups it is nostalgic and for many others it is a reprehensible symbol that is disgusting. The symbols of the Confederacy, especially the flag have a complex history and meaning.

Governor Haley's statement could be essentially claimed by either side of the discussion as an explanation in dealing with Confederate icons. President Donald Trump (Taylor & Farrington 2017:np) was drawn into the debate via Twitter posts. One of his tweets concerned the incident in Charlottesville, "Are we going to take down statues of George Washington? How 'bout Thomas Jefferson? What do you think of Thomas Jefferson? You like him? OK, good,." He continues, "Are we going to take down the statue because he was a major slave-owner? Now we're going to take down his statue. So you know what, it's fine. You're changing history; you're changing culture." Two days later he (Trump 2017:np) tweets, "Sad to see history and culture of our great country being ripped apart with the removal of our beautiful statues and monuments."

Perhaps this would not be an issue if the United States historical narrative were an all-inclusive narrative. Had the North not yielded to the South, perchance the monument building would not have taken place under a whitewashed, amnesiac version of history. Perhaps the building manager in the opening vignette was in her own way erasing the ugly history of the area. By not admitting to the existence of the sign, she and others would not be forced to deal with the past – the commodification of human bodies. Or perhaps the notion of slavery does not bode well when pursuing present-day economic gains for local business. Therefore, this part of local history is best forgotten, erased. At its best the historical narratives of Bates County and Cass County are whitewashed, at its worse, it represents amnesia.

This study sheds light on an exclusionary history disseminated by a racist narrative. The narrative is perpetual in nature in that the booster texts are the histories that are still trusted for past accounts of the dominant White group -- written by Whites for Whites. The roots of racism run deep. The narratives have continued to be passed through the generations since the years following the end of the Civil War. Long before the War erupted, the buying and selling of Black slaves was pervasive in American culture. Nonetheless, in the face of Jim Crow, the re-emergence of the KKK, and segregated schools, the United States has continually ignored racism. Due to its pervasiveness, racism has yet to be abolished. Only when Americans recognize the depth of racism can it be properly eradicated. This is also true within the local historical narratives, as they must be constructed with an inclusionary history and not over the exclusion of some groups.

To assist in accomplishing an inclusive narrative, every group needs representation. Having a seat at the table indicates a position of power and influence, a vote and a voice in the matters at hand. With new voices come new perspectives, which can effect change. There is need for more than making room at the table for new voices and faces. Whites need to come to the realization that the current narrative is marginalizing entire groups of people.

Recommendations for Future Study

Utilizing Critical Race Theory is quite beneficial when critically examining the subject matter of murals and monuments found within this dissertation. Nevertheless using Critical Whiteness Theory (CWT) in the future to support CRT would be advisable. W.E.B. DuBois believed “the problem of the twenty century” to be the color line. (1881). Not much has changed since he penned those words over 130 years ago. The racial hierarchy is firmly in place, at the heart of social issues. The notion of race for Whites is something for others to experience, as Whites are seen as having no race since Whiteness is normalcy, therefore they have no racial identity. As such, race does not factor into their everyday life. However, Blacks and other people of color have been dehumanized and demonized as the race problem, finding themselves near the bottom of the racial hierarchy. Whiteness manifests as one’s inability to see racism. Or, Whiteness is utterly ignored, as it is an abstract concept, completely obscured. Critical Whiteness aids by engaging a critical lens to examine Whiteness at its core, identity, constructs, and ideology. This analysis reveals the crucial role of White supremacy and White privilege to the resilient relationship and the ensuing continuation of systemic racism.

Another possible avenue for further research includes the lack of the presences of Others—people of color—within the historical narratives in both counties. The Native American population was the first inhabitants of the land before the incursion of Whites into the counties. The Indian Removal Acts of the 1800s forced Native Americans into the Indian Territories of Kansas and then Oklahoma. By the 1830s most

Natives Americans were pushed out of Missouri nearly depleting the population of Native Americans. However, some of them may have remained behind or returned to the area later. No doubt there were inter-cultural relationships that may have taken place and assimilation would be essential to meld into the White populace. Allen Glenn's 1917 history of Cass County describes a White woman traveling to Cass County from Texas by horseback in the early 1840s, and she brought with her an "Indian woman" (625). Soon after arriving in the county, the White woman dies; however, Glenn notes that the Native woman "remained here" (625). Seemingly, individuals with Native American heritage were present in the communities. An in-depth look into this possibility may reveal little known histories.

A second group of individuals to explore are those of Mexican heritage. Both Bates and Cass County are in relatively close proximity to what is the Santa Fe Trail. This trail and others like the California and Oregon trails were instrumental in westward expansion. Travelers passed through present-day Kansas City heading in a southwesterly direction out of the Missouri Territory crossing into the Kansas Territory headed down the Santa Fe. The booster texts used for this study list instances of freighting and cartage companies originating from the geographic area studied. Therefore, it is evident individuals formed businesses in the commerce of hauling supplies and goods into and back from the Mexican Territory. Additionally while it only lasted for a short period of time, the Chisholm Trail (as well as other cattle trails) used to drive cattle to market intersected or merged with the Santa Fe. It is not unthinkable

that there may have been individuals who veered off the trail for various reasons in that unlike America's modern highway system, the trail was not paved and there was not signage to direct travelers. With no clear border to prevent those of Mexican descent from "crossing over" into the United States' territory, possibly some Mexicans were present in Bates and Cass County as indicated in O.P. Williams' (1883) booster text. Williams includes a list from the 1880 population of Bates reflecting those individuals born outside of the United States. Of the twenty countries listed, Mexico is one (1016). Williams also shows one individual from Mexico in the Cass County listing (352). It would be interesting to research this aspect of race within the two counties.

Future research into the local narratives concerning women and their roles as recorded in the booster texts would be enlightening. Traditionally women have been ignored within the historical narrative as it has been the chronicles of men and their adventures - - particularly White men of economic means. Women of any race have either been ignored or misrepresented with incorrect and prejudiced suppositions and information. As was mentioned earlier in this study, the representation of women within the murals is quite limited. Men did not live in a vacuum without women and to be certain, they were not peripheral to men. A full accounting of women and their lives within the Bates and Cass Counties' narratives would be beneficial to all.

Last, a comprehensive study would be of interest into the Reconciliation Plaza located in Cass County on the site of the Burnt District Monument. Each of the commemorative paver bricks is purchased by a donor, which is inscribed with the

donor's name and/or in memorial of an individual or group. The "in memorial" groups and individuals are in some way tied to the Civil War; such as the paver inscribed in honor of a guerrilla who sacrificed his life while attempting to save William Quantrill's life – "Hockensmith Clark Killed Saving Quantrill's Life." Each brick is in a way a small monument in and of itself for future generations. As stated in Chapter Three, I can only surmise the plaza is intended as a symbolic representation of the broader theme of unity and reconciliation between North and South. However, further research may reveal the exact nature, the intended objective as well as the latent purposes of this dedicatory area.

Beside the aforementioned future studies there are other lingering questions that further studies could answer. They are as follows:

- Are the celebration of Confederate ancestors, through murals and monuments, a form of intimidation directed at Blacks within both counties? These celebrations may serve as a reminder to Blacks of who possesses the power to remember and forget? Similarly, does the First Kansas Colored Volunteer monument in Bates act as a reminder to Blacks of who had the power to secure the final monies to commission the project?
- These White celebrations are particularly harmful to the Black population and the community in general. So, what are some ways to deconstruct and challenge the Lost Cause and erasure of the fuller history of the county? What role can Black Studies scholars and Public History scholars work collaboratively with the community to locate this fuller history to empower the community, particularly Blacks and women? What funds are available at the local, state, and federal level that could be employed to construct these new narratives?
- Is the connection between history and economic efforts problematic? Does the end goal of tourism and economic growth skew the manner in which history is presented? How can this be prevented?

- Before the application of CRT to Bates' data, the county seemed more progressive in their remembrances. Perhaps Cass's lack of inclusivity in the local narrative is a reaction to a shift in racial demographics. Does the consistently low number of Black residents in Bates permit a sense of comfort, a feeling of "freedom" to permit the high number of representation of Blacks? Articles and research based on this query could in itself be a foundation for furthering a CRT reconstructive of the local narrative.
- What if Black voices do not want to participate in expanding the present narrative? How could Blacks interested in these counties find the support for the development of their historical narratives?
- Are the local historical societies' members/directors, Civil War roundtable members/directors, museum volunteers/directors and genealogists wielding oligarchy tendencies in their respective county? Is this the group responsible for deciding who and what is remembered? Are they power brokers within the county concerning the historical narrative?
- Are there individuals within the above-mentioned groups who are employed in the role of the gatekeepers of the local history? What ancestral connections, if any, do the gatekeepers possess and why are "outsiders" interested in the local history of the county when there is clearly not a familial link? Why do the gatekeepers make it difficult for researchers to research, especially those gatekeepers without a prior connection to the local history?

Reflection

As a budding historian I mainly seek to make the past useful to the present. This is accomplished through analysis and interpretation of the past, which enables historians to study continuity and change over time. As a sociologist, I am primarily interested in the meanings and implications associated with interactions. By utilizing

the sociological imagination, which opens a window into the world beyond our immediate confines, we as sociologists seek to understand the broader social and historical forces at work in our lives allowing us to grasp the connection between history and biography (Mills 1959). As a sociologist and a historian I am interested in the meanings, interpretations and the resulting consequences of the constructed history, whether it is whitewashed, forgotten, or perhaps even left out of the historical records.

My sociology idol, Dr. Peter Berger in his seminal work, *Invitation to Sociology* (1963) states that the first wisdom of sociology is that “things are not what they seem” (3). Looking beyond the “facades” questioning everything that has been taken for granted by employing the sociological imagination where one can examine the “relationship between [the] individual experiences and the forces in the larger society that shapes our actions” (Mills 1959:194). Like the commentary surrounding the Banksy mural in the opening vignette, this dissertation study is a quest that sought to analyze the local power structures and the resulting systemic racism. “If we wash our hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless we side with the powerful – we don’t remain neutral” (Banksy 2015). As stated in the first chapter, I do not view myself as a White savior. I am a sociologist. I believe it is my calling, my responsibility as a sociologist to shine the light on social issues – exposing the disparity, inequality and inequity in society and, to work towards social justice.

Malcolm X is correct. Education is the passport to the future; however, it is the application of the knowledge and the understanding, which leads to the full benefit of the learning. An inclusive narrative is needed, where all voices and all perspectives are incorporated so as to engage a full accounting of American history. Noted Southern historian, James Cobb (2005) eloquently notes the significance of history in *Away Down South* describing the collective meaning of groups, “be it real or imagined ... the most common foundation of group identity is a shared sense of a common past.”

Philosopher Walter Lippmann (1922) stated, "Whatever we believe to be a true picture, we treat as if it were the environment itself" (4). Sociologist duo, William I. and Dorothy S. Thomas posit in their theorem, “If [individuals] define situations as real, they are real in their consequences” (Merton 1995).

People form pictures in their head regarding the way events are seen and from that, they act accordingly much in the same fashion as Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman’s (1966) theory of the Social Construction of Reality. If it is believed, it is real. Whether intentional or not, the local history of Bates and Cass is whitewashed or hidden, as not all voices are present in the local narrative. The result is mythmaking, such as the Lost Cause. This mythology of the past that people view as real, and promotes the racism of the erasure of the history of truth, namely the horrors of slavery and the real reasons for the tragedy of the Civil War. The continuation of the false history is not benign and as such it carries the stain of continuing systemic racism into present-day. Real lives are being damaged. Black LIVES Matter.

In this chapter's opening quote by Eduardo Bonilla-Silva he states that one cannot go back and un-see what one has seen in regard to the truth concerning race. While this truth can be painful, it must be faced so that we do not repeat past mistakes.

History, despite its wrenching pain, cannot be unlived, but if faced with courage, need not be lived again. (Angelou 1993)

APPENDIX A

MURAL/MONUMENT ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

Mural/Monument Analysis Worksheet

Mural Title/Short Description:		County, City:	
Artist:		Location:	
Dated Displayed:		Photo Taken:	
Observation/Explanation			
People/Figures	Objects/Buildings	Activities/Actions	Symbols/Meanings
Inferences			
Queries			

APPENDIX B

PRIMARY TEXTS ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

Primary Text Worksheet

Text Title:	
Author/Editor:	Publisher:
Date Published:	
Social Location of Author/Editor	
Birth Year	
Birth Place	
Race	
Gender	
Education	
Profession	
Father's Profession	
Father's Place of Birth	
Mother's Place of Birth	
Religion's Affiliation	
Inferences	

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VITA

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Ms. Taylor has over 15 years of teaching experience in both private and public institutions. She has taught courses spanning a wide area of topics including various Sociology courses, American History (1865-present), Cultural Anthropology and Women, Gender & Sexuality studies. Upon completion of her Ph.D., Ms. Taylor plans to pursue a tenure-track position to teach Sociology while continuing her research interests.