



MSU Graduate Theses

Fall 2015

Archaeological and Historical Research to Establish the Jasper County, Missouri Civil War Museum and Park

Christopher Dennis Dukes

As with any intellectual project, the content and views expressed in this thesis may be considered objectionable by some readers. However, this student-scholar's work has been judged to have academic value by the student's thesis committee members trained in the discipline. The content and views expressed in this thesis are those of the student-scholar and are not endorsed by Missouri State University, its Graduate College, or its employees.

Follow this and additional works at: <https://bearworks.missouristate.edu/theses>



Part of the [Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Dukes, Christopher Dennis, "Archaeological and Historical Research to Establish the Jasper County, Missouri Civil War Museum and Park" (2015). *MSU Graduate Theses*. 973.

<https://bearworks.missouristate.edu/theses/973>

This article or document was made available through BearWorks, the institutional repository of Missouri State University. The work contained in it may be protected by copyright and require permission of the copyright holder for reuse or redistribution.

For more information, please contact [BearWorks@library.missouristate.edu](mailto: BearWorks@library.missouristate.edu).

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH TO ESTABLISH THE
JASPER COUNTY, MISSOURI CIVIL WAR MUSEUM AND PARK**

A Masters Thesis

Presented to

The Graduate College of
Missouri State University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science, Applied Anthropology

By

Christopher Dukes

December 2015

Copyright 2015 by Christopher Dennis Dukes

**HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH TO ESTABLISH THE
JASPER COUNTY, MISSOURI CIVIL WAR MUSEUM AND PARK**

Sociology and Anthropology

Missouri State University, December 2015

Master of Science

Christopher Dukes

ABSTRACT

In May, 1863 a group of Confederate guerillas led by Major Thomas Livingston attacked Union troops at William Rader's farm in western Jasper County Missouri. The guerillas killed eighteen Union troops, who were unarmed at the time, and mutilated their bodies. Most of them were from the first African American regiment of the civil war. The following day Union troops retaliated by burning the town of Sherwood, Missouri and multiple homesteads in the area. These events caused an increase in the brutality of the civil war in Southwest Missouri. To commemorate these conflicts and provide a "living history" site for the public, Jasper County plans to create a museum and park on five acres of property near the historic location of the Rader farm. To assist the county in this project, I performed historical research on the events and an archaeological survey of the park grounds. The survey yielded artifacts, including fired musket rounds, that improve our understanding of the attack at the Rader farm, will enhance the museum displays, and will assist in nominating the site for the National Register of Historic Places. The archaeological evidence suggests that the African American soldiers were more effective in defending themselves than most of the documentary sources indicate.

KEYWORDS: archaeology, civil war, museum, battlefield, Missouri, African American

This abstract is approved as to form and content

F. Scott Worman, PhD
Chairperson, Advisory Committee
Missouri State University

**HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH TO ESTABLISH THE
JASPER COUNTY, MISSOURI CIVIL WAR MUSEUM AND PARK**

By

Christopher Dukes

A Masters Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate College
Of Missouri State University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Science, Applied Anthropology

December 2015

Approved:

F. Scott Worman, PhD, Committee Chairman

William C. Meadows, PhD, Committee Member

Elizabeth A. Sobel, PhD, Committee Member

Julie Masterson, PhD: Dean, Graduate College

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Background.....	3
Relevance.....	10
Historical Review	13
Research Design.....	21
Documentary Research Methods	22
Archaeological Methods	24
Documentary Research Results	34
Source Comparison.....	35
Newspaper Articles.....	35
Book Sources	37
Eyewitness Accounts	39
Military Correspondence	40
Archaeological Results	43
Discussion.....	56
Museum Interpretation.....	66
Conclusion	69
References.....	70
Appendices	74
Appendix A. Artifacts Recovered.....	74
Appendix B. Maps and Photographs for the Museum.....	78

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of southwest Missouri in 1860	4
Figure 2. Map of the relevant area in the region.....	5
Figure 3. Map of Jasper County in 1861.....	6
Figure 4. Drawing of the planned park and museum.....	8
Figure 5. Sign posted at the future museum site.....	8
Figure 6. Satellite image of the research area	9
Figure 7. Location of the Rader Farm and Museum.....	9
Figure 8. Museum map of the locations of the Rader farm and Sherwood	15
Figure 9. Plat map of the research area from 1843	19
Figure 10. Plat map from 1876 of the research area	20
Figure 11. Systematic random survey grid	28
Figure 12. Locations of shovel test pits	28
Figure 13. Stratified random survey grid.....	29
Figure 14. Examples of fired rounds found at the site.....	32
Figure 15. Diagram of test unit.....	44
Figure 16. Map of GPS waypoint locations.....	45
Figure 17. Artifact location waypoints, east/west orientation	46
Figure 18. Artifact location waypoints, north/south orientation.....	46
Figure 19. .44 caliber Colt revolver bullets recovered during investigations.....	47
Figure 20. .50 caliber Smith carbine bullets recovered during investigations.....	48
Figure 21. .52 caliber Sharps carbine bullets recovered during investigations	48

Figure 22. .58 caliber musket bullets recovered	49
Figure 23. .69 caliber musket bullets recovered	49
Figure 24. Union uniform button recovered	50
Figure 25. Canteen spout recovered.....	51
Figure 26. Buckle and Hunting Horn from a Union Kepi hat recovered.....	52
Figure 27. African American soldiers wearing Kepi hats.....	52
Figure 28. African American soldiers wearing Kepi hats.....	53
Figure 29. Locations of fired rounds.....	63

INTRODUCTION

On May 18th, 1863, Rebel guerillas under Confederate commander Major Thomas Livingston massacred and mutilated the bodies of 18 Union soldiers, most of them from the first African American Army unit in United States history (Earl 2003:173). This massacre at Rader Farm touched off a brutal change in the conduct of the Civil War in southwestern Missouri. The day after the massacre, the county's third largest town of Sherwood was destroyed by retaliating Union troops under the command of Colonel James M. Williams and it was never rebuilt (Wood 2003:90). Afterward, the war along the Missouri-Kansas border became much more violent, eventually resulting in the destruction of most of western Jasper County, Missouri.

In a ceremony on May 18, 2013, the 150th anniversary of the massacre, Jasper County officials dedicated land near the Rader Farm site to build a living history museum, which will be the first county-owned public park in Jasper County. The park will commemorate the small military action, and County Commissioner Darieus Adams stated to the Joplin Globe Newspaper that the county government hoped to have an archaeological survey performed at the site (Joplin Globe, 17 May 2013). In this thesis I use Applied Anthropology to provide a comprehensive review of the historical documents relevant to the events of May, 1863, and report the results of a preliminary archaeological survey of the park grounds. Archaeological data gathered in this project will act as Historical Supplementation, adding to what we know about the history of this conflict. Information gathered in this research and all artifacts found during the survey will be used to enhance the museum experience. The artifacts will be curated at the

museum at Peace Church and Fountain Road and available for future study. By performing this research for the county, I have helped them to establish their museum without the cost of hiring someone to perform the archaeological survey. In addition, my research both summarizes previous scholarship and provides new data concerning an important event about which there was previously very little information available.

BACKGROUND

In May of 1863, the region of southwestern Missouri and southeastern Kansas was an important battlefield in the American Civil War. The Union wanted to be able to move troops and supplies around the Confederacy's western flank, in order to bypass the heavily defended areas to the east and threaten the Confederates' food supply by cutting them off from the beef producers in Texas. They attempted to do this by controlling the Mississippi river, and also by moving men, supplies, and equipment from Kansas City south along the eastern border of Kansas (which was part of the Union) and into Oklahoma (which was "Indian Territory" at the time). From there, they would be able to threaten the Confederacy's western flank by attacking either Texas or Arkansas (Belser 1958:3). The Confederacy also realized the importance of this region, but most of its resources were tied up far to the east. Therefore they utilized guerrilla tactics in southwest Missouri, and sent raids into Kansas, threatening Union supply lines (Erwin 2012).

The area of southwest Missouri, including the town of Sherwood located south of present-day Carl Junction, had established a rich farming tradition. Jasper County was plentiful in corn, wild berries, deer, turkey and domesticated livestock (Livingston 1912:32). This prosperity and abundance would eventually lead to the destruction of the county, as both Northern and Southern forces stripped the region of its valuable resources. In addition to the availability of food and provisions, lead deposits had been mined in the area since 1848 and it was an important resource for local confederate guerillas who used it to make musket balls (Livingston 1912:31). The area was not only

targeted by troops from both sides for supplies, but also destroyed by both sides seeking to deny their opponents potential resources (North 1883:40). Figures 1 through 3 show the area as it existed at the time of the Rader Farm Massacre.



Figure 1: map of southwest Missouri in 1860, showing the town of Sherwood (along the left edge, center). Created by the Jasper County Records Center in 2012.

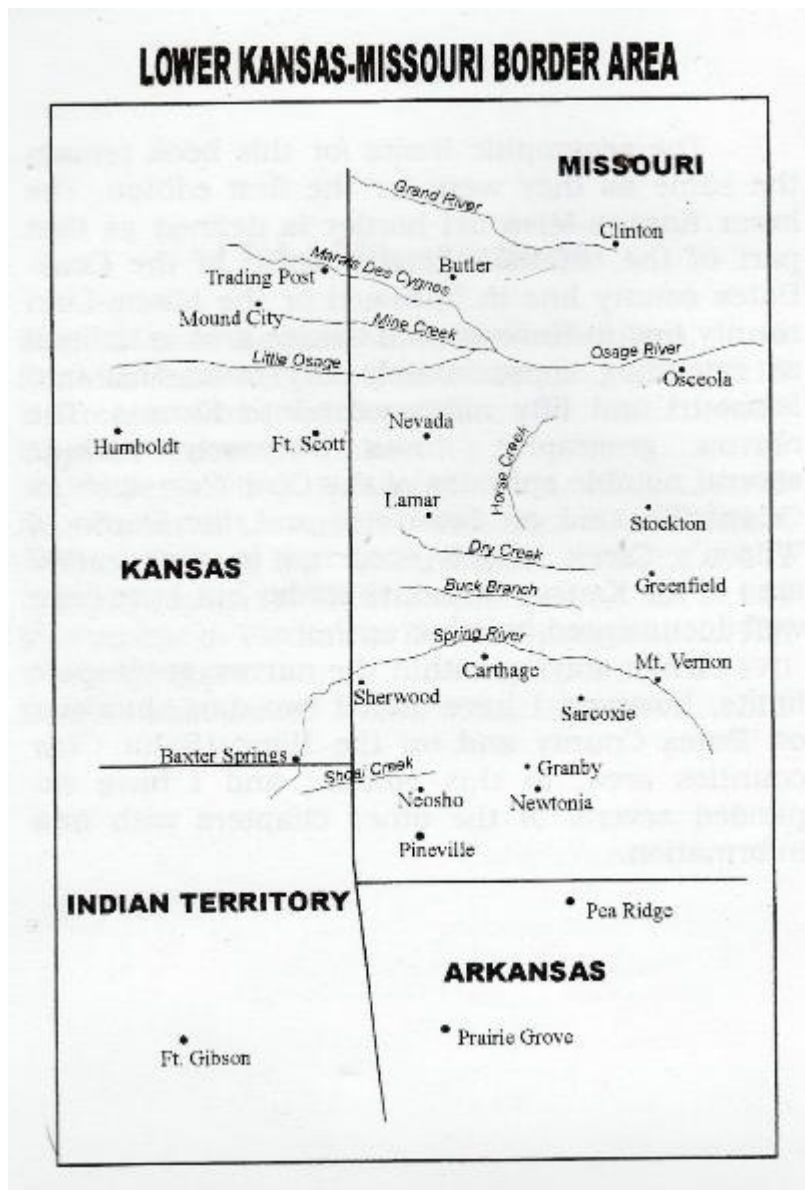


Figure 2: A map of the relevant area, obtained from "The Civil War on the Lower Kansas-Missouri Border" by Larry Wood (2003).

JASPER COUNTY, Missouri 1861

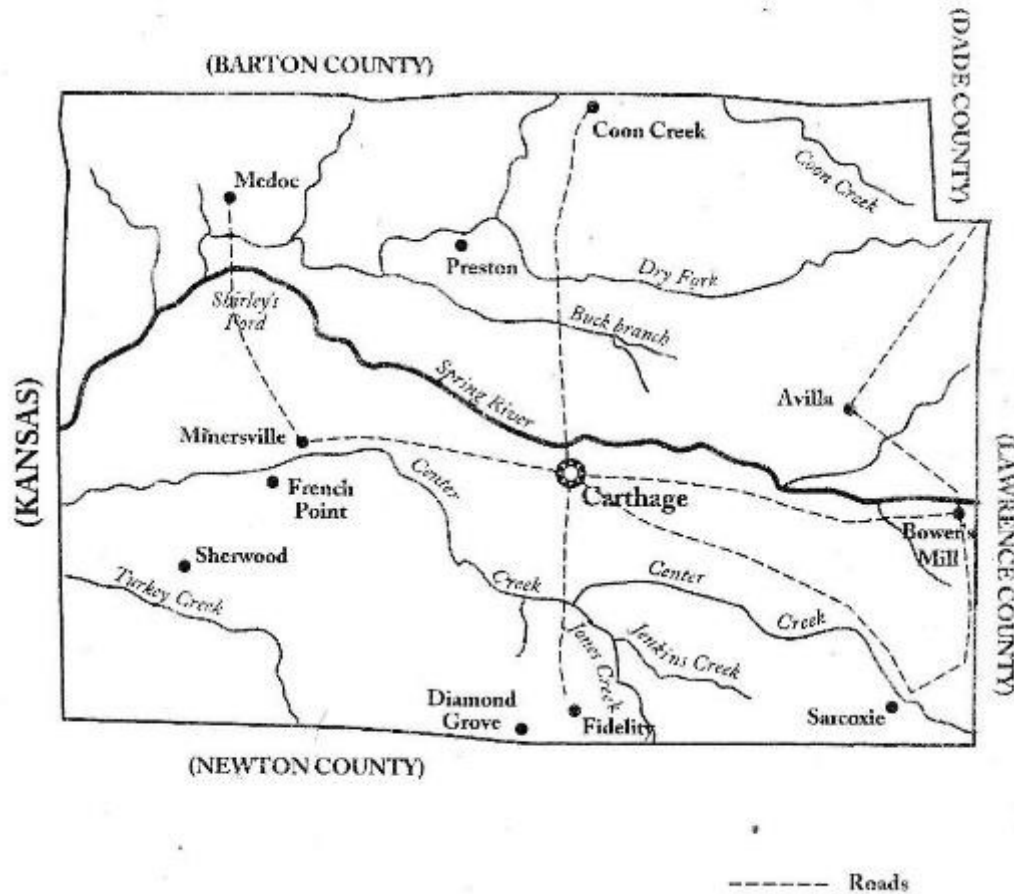


Figure 3: A map of Jasper County in 1861 (Livingston 2004:32).

The proposed "1863 Jasper County, Missouri Civil War Homestead Park" will commemorate these conflicts. It will be located on an abandoned farm at the intersection of Peace Church Road and Fountain Road that the Jasper County archivist, Steve Weldon, says is located just west of the original Rader Farm site. The land was purchased from Joshua Martin using \$25,000 donated by Joplin attorney Ed Hershewe in 2009 and presented to the Jasper County Commissioners. According to plat maps from the 19th

century, the Rader farm house where the fighting took place was located about 300 meters east of the intersection, and accounts of the action by Union and Confederate survivors show that soldiers on both sides crossed the property where the park will be located during the flight of the Union survivors back to Baxter Springs, Kansas.

After the purchase, the land was set aside for a Western Jasper County Civil War Park. The county is seeking funding to complete the park. Currently, a dilapidated red house sits on the corner of the five-acre plot on the northeast side of the intersection of Peace Church and Fountain Road, along with several outbuildings. One shed that is in good condition might be preserved to provide storage space for tools, but the rest of the buildings will be torn down and a permanent marker and other signs will be installed recounting the events of those two days in the spring of 1863. The structures designated for demolition are not historic, as they were built in the 1970's and lack any remarkable architectural features.

The Park will commemorate the Confederate guerrilla attack on the Rader Farm on May 18, 1863, the Union reprisal with the burning of the village of Sherwood and eleven pioneer homesteads on May 19th, and other tragic contemporary events in the area. It will memorialize the lives that were lost, and the lives forever changed by a brutal civil war. By building a replica Civil War homestead, the park will provide a realistic experience for the visitor. Figures 4 through 7 show the plans for the park and its location.

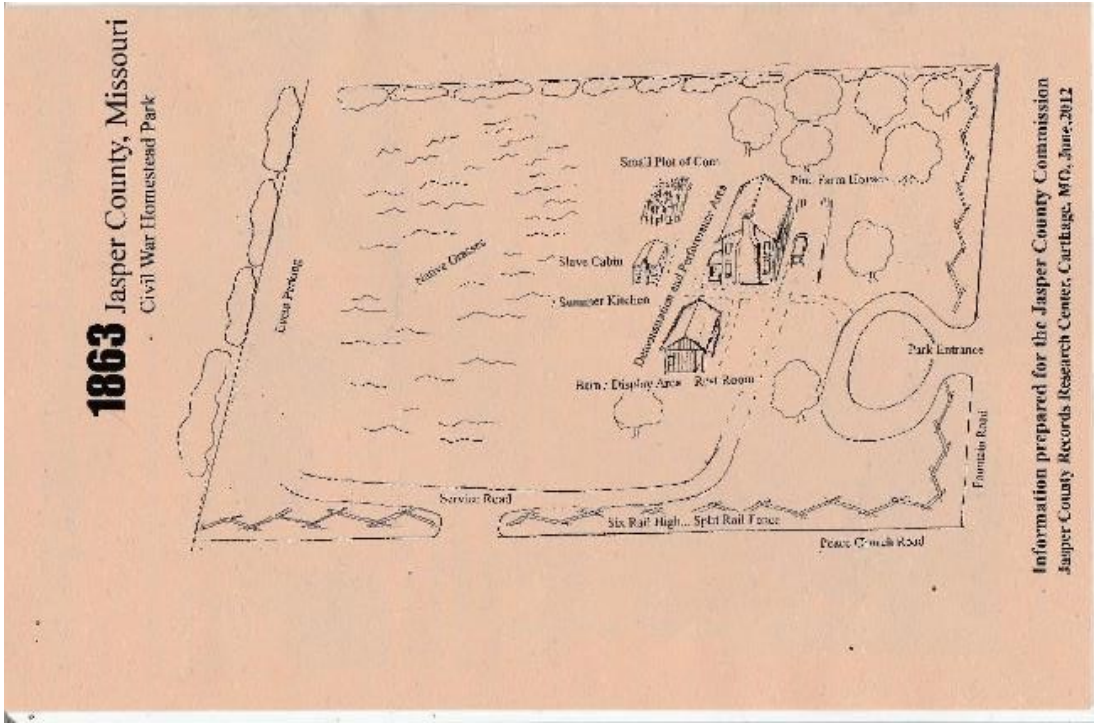


Figure 4: A drawing of the planned park and museum complex, prepared for the Jasper County Commission, June 2012.



Figure 5: A photograph of the sign currently posted at the future location of the park and museum complex.



Figure 6: A satellite image of the research area (Google Earth, 2014). The left hand (yellow) box indicates county owned land, where I completed a phase I archaeological survey. The right hand (orange) box indicates private land, where the Rader Farm was located. The water tower is County-owned, and no Section 106 archaeological or historic preservation review was done when it was constructed. The ponds date from the 1960's.

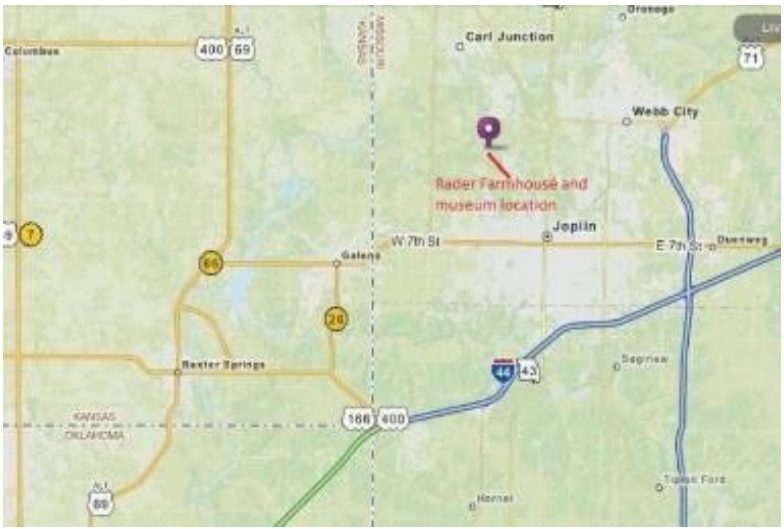


Figure 7: Location of the Rader Farm and Museum (MapQuest, 2015).

RELEVANCE

The primary function of the museum complex will be to tell the stories of the people who lived in the area during the Civil War and of the events that occurred near the park's location. To assist the county in building a museum that will achieve these goals, I used historical research methods to create a comprehensive review of the events of May 1863 and the figures involved. In addition, I used archaeology to add to, and even challenge, the historical record and I am helping the county file a nomination for inclusion of the site on the National Register of Historic Places. I recovered 57 artifacts that verify the site's location as a battlefield, and they will be used to enhance the visitor's experience of the museum.

Historical accounts and written documentation are the basis for almost all of our knowledge about the Civil War, but this knowledge can sometimes be modified or contradicted by the work of historical archaeologists. In recent decades, there has been a shift in the traditions of historiography from simply looking at the great men and battles to one that emphasizes social history. By studying the physical record created by past human actions, archaeology can make important contributions to understanding the Civil War era. Specifically, it can provide evidence independent of documentary research and information relevant to social history. Archaeology can also help to develop new directions for scholarship (Geier and Potter 2003:122-123). By incorporating archaeological research, we are able to define "real" battlefield boundaries and augment the written records of battles. Not only can controlled archaeological investigations of

battlefields potentially assist in revising interpretations, they also assist land managers in becoming better stewards of battlefield sites (Geier and Winter 1998:121-124).

Archaeological studies of the Civil War are not just related to battlefields and encampments. Archaeology can make significant contributions to understanding the Civil War by looking at it as more than simply a military affair, and viewing it as an episode in American history that continues to shape our cultural landscape (Geier and Winter 1998:121-124). For example, archaeology contributed to the social history of the Civil War when students at Georgia Southern University in Statesboro discovered the site of Camp Lawton in 2010. It was a prison camp built late in the war. Because it was previously undisturbed, the Camp Lawton site has provided excavators with a more complete understanding of how Americans treated prisoners of war than what was known through historical records alone (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service 2010).

Historical archaeology in general can address questions related to ideologies of nationalism, colonialism, gender, race, and class (Orser 2010:111), and this project has particular importance for understanding racial relations in our history. For projects such as this to be meaningful to the local community, archaeologists must understand and engage the historical construction or context of these ideologies and the local communities. Sites such as the Rader Farm not only represent our national history and our collective past, they also represent the heritage of a minority group within the nation. In order to engage the local community, I attempted to find out if there are any African American people living in the area who are direct descendants of members of the 1st Kansas Colored Infantry. Although I did not identify any direct descendants of the African Americans involved in the conflict, I have formally suggested to the park and

museum planning committee that they continue to reach out to the local African American community while planning this park, and they have agreed that this is important to do.

This Applied Anthropology project contributes to public archaeology, provides a more complete history of aspects of the Missouri-Kansas border wars than is currently available in print, and tells the story of a pioneering group of African American soldiers who were not able to document their own history. The events surrounding the Rader Farm Massacre are important to the Civil War and are important to African American history. Applying an anthropological perspective to this project highlighted both the potential contributions of archaeology and a people-centered approach to social history that is especially well suited to public presentation.

HISTORICAL REVIEW

Carthage is the capital of Jasper County, and it had approximately 500 residents in early 1861. The Battle of Carthage on July 5, 1861 was the beginning of a protracted four-year conflict that ended with hundreds of residents of Jasper County dead and nearly all survivors forced to flee from the area. It has been considered the first “major” battle of the entire Civil War (Hinze 2004:215). The importance of this overlooked Southwestern Missouri operation is difficult to overstate, because the outcome was important to the course of the rest of the war west of the Mississippi River (Hinze 2004:1). It allowed the Confederacy to mine a supply of lead for bullets relatively unmolested, but also gave the Union control of the northern part of Missouri, between St. Louis and Kansas City. The initial Southern Retreat exposed the counties along the Missouri River to Federal occupation for the rest of the war, allowing the Union to control the area between St. Louis and Kansas City. It also allowed the Missouri Confederate army to join with another Confederate army in Arkansas, and gave the Confederates the breathing room to safely mine lead for military use from the Granby mines south of Carthage (Hinze 2004: 215-216). Lead was a vital resource for the war effort, and after the Battle of Carthage, the mines of southwest Missouri were able to supply the Confederacy for two years until the Union could fully control the Mississippi River beginning in 1863.

The Civil War in Jasper County started out relatively civil. At the time, armies had rules concerning how they fought that included the preservation of civilian infrastructure (Gerteis 2012:3). Following the Confederate defeat at Pea Ridge Arkansas in March of 1862, Jasper County and the rest of Southwest Missouri became embattled in

devastating guerrilla warfare. The massacre at Rader Farm, on the 18th of May, 1863, caused an increase in this type of warfare (Nichols 2004:102). The massacre also changed the tone of the conflict from a somewhat civilized one to a more brutal war.

One of the reasons that the conflict was so brutal is that there were large numbers of Confederate sympathizers in the area. Both the Union and the Confederacy claimed Missouri, but most of the rebel forces were in the southern part of the state. The foremost Confederate partisan in Jasper County and along the border region of Southwest Missouri was Major Thomas R. Livingston. From his base of operations at French Point on Center Creek north of present-day Joplin, Livingston's Southern Sympathizers threatened the Union Militia and supply trains that were transporting material for Union troops along the Military Road from Ft. Scott to Baxter Springs in Kansas, and on to Ft. Gibson in the Indian Territory. By the spring of 1863 Tom Livingston had become such a vexation to Union Leaders in the region that they sometimes falsely sighted him or exaggerated his force (Wood 2003:99). Confederates like Livingston conducted raids throughout the region, and as far west as Humboldt, Kansas in an attempt to regain land, but they proved unsuccessful in that endeavor. Bushwhackers, or those who were not officially aligned with either side, took advantage of the chaos for their own benefit. These bands of men were responsible for huge amounts of violence and destruction in the county.

In 1863, the town of Sherwood was one of the largest in Jasper County. It was founded in 1847, and in 1856 it was formally platted. At the beginning of the Civil war it had perhaps two hundred inhabitants and several good stores, and a brick school house was being built (Livingston 1912:39). The people of Sherwood were seen by the Union as southern sympathizers who were supporting and supplying Livingston's troops

(Nichols 2004:87). There is evidence that the town of Sherwood was, in fact, strongly southern, because a company of the Eleventh Missouri State Guard (which later became a part of Livingston's command) had been recruited there (Livingston 1912:60). The town was destroyed the day after the Rader Farm massacre by Union troops dispatched from a fort in Baxter Springs, Kansas and can be considered one of America's "lost cities."

Figure 8 shows the location of the Rader Farm, Sherwood, and Livingston's base.

The homes of several other Southern sympathizers in the area were also burned to the ground on the same day (Wood 2003:101). In the subsequent carnage, cities such as Carthage, which had seen battle but were still intact, faced complete destruction. The Courthouse in Carthage (which is the County Seat) was burned after these events in 1863 and the rest of Carthage was burned in 1864. One contemporary observer noted that by the end of the war,

Only five dwellings had escaped destruction. Ruins made the place unsightly. The old chimneys became the nests of owls, which hooted gloomily and forebodingly over the silent and desolate scene. The deserted public square and streets, overgrown with weeds, were given up to wolves and deer, except when wandering bands of marauders, the only human visitors, would stop to feed their horses and then mount and ride away. (*An Illustrated Historical Atlas Map of Jasper County*, Brink-McDonough & Co., 1876, cited in Livingston 2004:1).

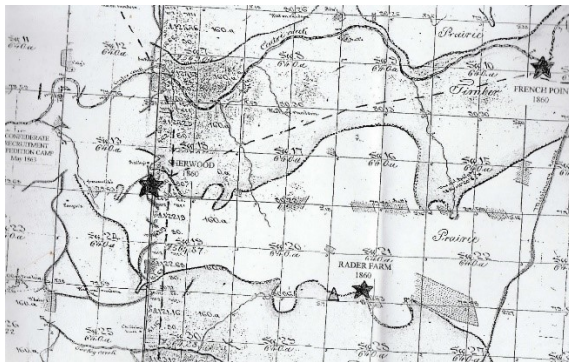


Figure 8: A map showing the location of the Rader Farm in relation to the town of Sherwood and Major Livingston's confederate base camp. Obtained from the Jasper

County Archives, image created for the Jasper County Records Center in 2011 for use in the museum.

Most of the Union soldiers massacred at the Rader Farm site by Livingston's soldiers were members of the "First Kansas Colored Regiment", which was the first African American military unit to be formed during the Civil War. The regiment also had the distinction of having the first black officer in the U.S. Army, William D. Matthews, who was mustered into the Federal service on July 7, 1864 as a second lieutenant. The First Kansas became the first black unit to fight in the Civil War during the Battle of Island Mound in Butler, Mo., in October 1862 (Spurgeon 2014:97). Many mistakenly bestow this distinction upon the 54th Massachusetts, the black regiment immortalized in the 1989 film "Glory." This misconception stems from the fact that the First Kansas wasn't federally recognized at the time of its formation.

Controversy erupted when the First Kansas Colored began to form in August 1862, because the Union leadership and troops were highly skeptical of the competency of the first black regiment in the U.S. Army. Although the Union Army was fighting to end slavery, racism was rampant in Northern states just as it was in the South. As a result, five months would pass before the First Kansas Colored was accepted into federal service. The delay was due to opposition to the arming of black troops among many in the North and federal policy that reflected this prejudicial attitude. Many of the men were fugitive slaves from Missouri and Arkansas, faced their previous owners in battle, and had a price on their head for joining the Union Army. A substantial number of black men from Jasper County enlisted. This idea infuriated the Confederates who adamantly rejected the abolition of slavery (Livingston 2004:84-85).

On October 28 of 1862, a detachment of 225 men from the First Kansas Colored engaged 500 Confederates at Island Mound near Butler in Bates County, Missouri. This gained them the distinction of being the first colored soldiers in the Union army tested in battle (Jenkins 2002:26). Ten were killed and 12 wounded, but the Confederates were driven off. The regiment's first taste of action had been a success. The 1st Kansas went on to fight in many more battles from 1863-1865, showing dedication and bravery. When the Civil War ended, the regiment held the dubious honor of having the highest casualty rate of any Kansas unit (Glatthaar 1990:135).

When Major Charles W. Blair replaced Major Henning as post commander at Fort Scott in the spring of 1863, one of his main charges was the task of quashing Livingston. To this end, troops from the First Kansas Colored Infantry Regiment were stationed under the command of Colonel James M. Williams at Fort Blair in Baxter Springs Kansas, a Union outpost on the Military Road between Fort Scott, Kansas, and Fort Smith, Arkansas (Wood 2003:100). Confederate sympathizers deeply resented the enlistment of blacks into the Federal army, and partisans in the Jasper County area especially resented the presence at nearby Baxter Springs of Williams' troops, some of whom had formerly been enslaved in southwest Missouri (Wood 2003:101).

On May 18, 1863, Major Livingston's Rebel guerrilla unit of about 70 men ambushed a foraging party of the First Kansas that was collecting corn from the Rader farm to feed soldiers at Fort Blair. The African American soldiers, commanded by white soldiers from a Union artillery battery, were moving corn from the attic in the Rader farm home to wagons when Livingston's soldiers attacked from the woods. The home belonged to Confederate sympathizers, but Captain Rader was away from home serving

with the Confederate army. His son, William Rader, was fighting with Livingston, so the Union troops had chosen to raid the home of one of Livingston's men (Livingston 2004:89). The Rader home was at that time the finest house in the western part of the county, being a two-story ten-room structure (Livingston 1912:59). Captain Rader's mother and sisters were driven from the house. Historical documents indicate that Livingston's forces surprised the Union troops and killed most of them, then proceeded to mutilate the bodies of the African Americans (Steele 2009:90).

The First Kansas Regiment commander, Col. James Williams, was enraged to find that the bodies of his ambushed troops had been severely mutilated. He would later write:

I visited the scene of the engagement the morning after its occurrence, and for the first time beheld the horrible evidences of the demoniac [sp] spirit of these rebel fiends in their treatment of our dead and wounded. Men were found with their brains beaten out with clubs, and the bloody weapons left at their sides, and their bodies most horribly mutilated (Livingston 2004:93).

The mutilation appears to have prompted a swift and particularly vicious retaliation. Union soldiers from the fort in Baxter Springs marched into Jasper County the day after the massacre and burned the town of Sherwood.

Because of the warm weather and the mutilations, the colonel decided that it would be best to simply cremate the remains of the soldiers. The corpses were placed in a pile in the Rader house, but before the flames were ignited a Rebel prisoner who had apparently participated in the ambush the day before was brought before the colonel. The colonel had him marched into the house and shot dead, his body was thrown upon the pile of African American soldiers and the structure was set ablaze. Major Livingston and Colonel Williams tried to negotiate a prisoner exchange after these events, but the

incident at the Rader farm and its aftermath had soured whatever good faith had previously existed (Wood 2003:109).

Because the Civil War disrupted government functions in Southwest Missouri, there are few property plat maps from the time. Maps of the Rader Farm area were drawn in 1843 and 1876, but none is known to have been created any time closer to the events in question. While few people moved into the area during the conflict, mining resources caused the population to boom soon after (Livingston 1912:67-68). The population of the area therefore increased dramatically after the Civil War, resulting in two completely different maps (see Figures 9 and 10). Although neither was drawn within a decade of the massacre, they provide clues about the setting that are useful for interpreting both the documentary and archaeological record.



Figure 9: A plat map of the research area from 1843, obtained from the Jasper County Archives. The circle represents the targeted area around the Rader Farm.

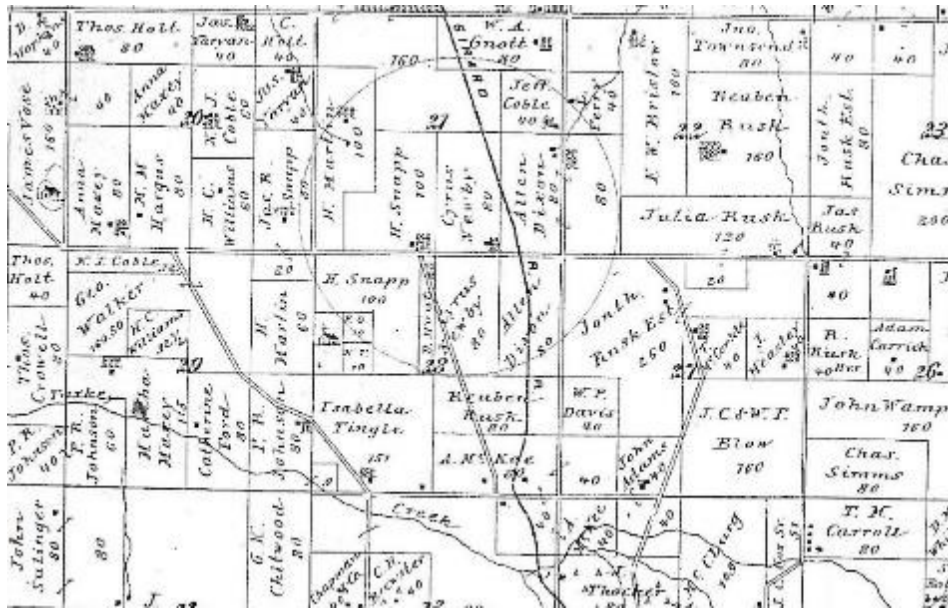


Figure 10: A plat map from 1876 showing the target area of my research, obtained from the Jasper County Archives. The circle represents the same area around the Rader Farm.

RESEARCH DESIGN

I combined archaeological and historical research methods in this Applied Anthropology project to produce four outcomes. First, I reviewed the documentary record and summarized this information to assist in developing interpretive materials for the museum. Second, I completed and produced a report on the archaeological investigations in the location of the proposed park. Third, I was involved in planning museum exhibits, and fourth, I assisted in nominating the site for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places with the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office. This thesis reports and synthesizes the first two outcomes, the information presented here formed the basis of the National Register nomination, and I continue to be involved in planning and outreach efforts for the museum. An anthropological perspective enhanced this project by focusing the study on the experiences of a mostly illiterate group of people, formerly enslaved people fighting for the Union (Garringhan 1973:81), while also placing those stories and the events surrounding the massacre in a broader context by emphasizing the course of social and cultural change during the war.

I used documentary research to illuminate the stories and perspectives of some of the individuals involved in the massacre at the Rader Farm, to create a timeline to be used in museum displays, and to help the park present the overall picture of these events and their significance to the general public. This included a review of the published literature and examination of primary source documents archived in the Jasper County Historical Archives, at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, and in the collection at the Fort Scott National Historic Site in Fort Scott, Kansas. The only official mention of the Rader Farm

massacre is from a Kansas Adjutant General report. The event is conspicuously absent from other Union reports, so I widened the scope of my research to include other types of documents. I investigated all the primary source documents available to me in order to find relevant information. Some of that information is included here but otherwise only available in primary source documents, including previously unreported eyewitness accounts that provide additional information about the massacre. This information will become part of the museum displays that I was involved in creating.

I performed a basic archaeological survey on the park grounds, combining pedestrian survey and shovel testing, and then followed up with a one-meter square test unit and remote sensing using a metal detector. The archaeological survey will provide Historical Supplementation by verifying whether or not the battle crossed this plot of land, establish the site boundaries, and possibly adding additional information on the events that the museum will commemorate.

Documentary Research Methods

Incorporating documentary research alongside archaeological research is important for understanding what is found in the material record of historical events. There is an immense documentary record that had to be "excavated" for this project: in addition to secondary sources, I consulted census records, military reports and records, photographs, maps, and personal papers.

During historical research, I intended to discover historical events and relations that were previously unknown (Crump 1974:6). Because of this, the researcher needs to be especially concerned with the things that are not mentioned or fully described in the

written record, looking for the points passed over lightly or incompletely, including the weak points and omissions (Crump 1974:13). Ultimately, information in the historical (documentary) record provided a broad context for interpreting the artifacts that I found, which ultimately contributed to a more nuanced understanding – and some reinterpretation – of the documentary record itself.

After I had obtained permission from the relevant archives to look at and copy items in their collections, I looked through military reports, military journals, and newspaper archives, noting all references to the Rader Farm Massacre. In addition, the Jasper County archivist provided me with a source that was written by a local resident, Rowland Diggs, and published with the assistance of the Jasper County Records Center for a very small distribution (I did find one other copy archived at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield). This book is a compilation of primary sources gathered from many Missouri libraries, county courts, and record centers throughout the area and is the most comprehensive research on Major Livingston completed to date (Diggs 2006). This provided me with information from primary sources that is absent from more widely published works on the Rader Farm Massacre without the need to duplicate the work of the author.

For both primary source documents and synthetic works, I had to be aware of who the authors were and how their perspectives might have affected the narratives I read. When using an individual's written account of a person or event, I also investigated the writer of that account because the writer's interests and relationship to the person or event helped me to evaluate the credibility of the account (McCoy 1974:11). Primary source documents in particular are considered historical evidence, but they are not necessarily

"facts." Instead they are testimony about the purported facts, testimony affected by the powers of observation, mental state, perspectives, interests, and veracity of the writer (Shafer 1969:5).

Some of the information relevant to this research is only found in newspapers from the 1860's, and where a newspaper is the only source of information about an important matter I should point out that it also is not guaranteed to be accurate. It is still important because this is the information that was presented to the public at the time. Whatever the facts may have been, a certain portion of the population received the information as relayed by the newspapers, which likely affected people's behavior and subsequent events (Vincent 1974:216).

Archaeological Research Methods

While the historical record is an important data set, it is just one of several data sets that can be used in studying the past. Oral histories and historical documents are the impressions of those who pass them along or set them down. The archaeological record is an independent line of evidence that can be compared and contrasted with other records to achieve a better understanding of the past. Archaeology enables us to find battle-related artifacts and patterns in their spatial distribution that can be analyzed, giving us the potential to better understand the details of that battle. The details that can be teased out of archaeological data regarding individual behavior on the battlefield add a level of precision to site specific interpretations that is often difficult to find in the written sources. This can be especially valuable for use in public interpretation as it can help bring the story to life for a visitor.

Beyond the value of specific interpretation of a site, battlefield archaeology is useful for seeking answers to larger questions such as patterns of combat over the battle space. These patterns aid us in understanding how combatants used the terrain, what tactics they may have used (such as concentrations of fire), the extent of command and control or the loss of command and control, and identifying tactical disintegration or avenues of retreat (Fox 1997:3-4). The condition and location of artifacts can help us to pinpoint specific locations on the battlefield, such as a concentration of chewed musket balls that would show where a field hospital might have been located.

County officials tried unsuccessfully to help me obtain permission to survey the location of the Rader Farmhouse adjacent to the county property, where the property owners claim to have found historical artifacts. Specifically, permission was sought to examine the artifacts the private property owners claim to have collected from the land and to perform a pedestrian survey and metal detection in the area, but the property owner denied permission out of fear that he would lose his land to the government. (Despite the landowner's concerns, there is no legal mechanism in place by which that is a potential outcome of the survey).

Having been denied access to the location of the Rader Farm itself, I began my archaeological research by completing basic background research and a pedestrian survey of the adjacent county-owned land using standard methods. First, I measured the accessible areas of the county property to become familiar with the terrain and to determine the site dimensions. I established a permanent site datum and base line, from which I measured a reference grid (Hester *et al.* 2009:54). This grid measured 85 meters East-West by 175 meters North-South and encompassed the county property. I used this

grid to determine spatial relationships between site features, shovel test pits, and excavation units, providing both spatial control and data concerning patterns in the archaeological record (e.g. Joukowsky 1980:138, Hester *et al.* 2009:31). I took GPS waypoints at the southern entrance of the property (roughly midway along the southern border of the site), the four corners of the property, and the four corners of the single building on the site. The first waypoint at the southern entrance served as my site datum reference point for my test unit. I then performed a pedestrian survey of the property, noting that there was an area of dense wood and brush that could not be surveyed in the northern part of the site.

I did not locate any artifacts during the pedestrian survey, so I performed a shovel-test survey. Beforehand, I attempted to find out what type of farming the land was used for in order to help me determine the plow zone depth, which would help me to know how deep my shovel tests should be and might help in identifying post-depositional disturbance of the archaeological record, but I was unable to get any verifiable relevant information. The site area measures 87 meters (East/West) by 178 meters (North/South) and is relatively flat so that topography and landforms did not create separate zones to sample or complicate a grid layout. I staked out a four-sided area with pegs in each of the corners of the plot of land, and recorded the position of the pegs in relation to two prominent landmarks (the county water tower and the property's building) using a compass (Joukowsky 1980:140). The points on my grid were 5 meters apart, making rows of 17 grid points and columns of 35, for a total of 595 grid points.

The shovel test pits (STPs) were small excavations generally measuring no more than 40 to 50 cm across. The soil was silt loam for about the first 20 cm, and turned to

rock and clay at deeper levels. STPs were excavated to depths of at least 30 cm, but most were not substantially deeper because the rock and clay deposits appeared to be soil parent material devoid of cultural deposits. Excavated sediments were screened through ¼-inch hardware cloth and counts of the artifacts recovered from each were used to identify and define artifact distributions.

By using Randomized Systematic Sampling, I was able to guarantee a more uniform coverage of the area than would likely have occurred with simple random sampling (Hester 2009:28). I chose units at regular intervals on a grid, making a checkerboard effect (White 2007:97). The first unit was selected randomly from the first row of grid points, and I determined the others with a spacing rule of selecting every 10th subsequent point (Banning 2000:78). I used a computerized random number generator to get a number between 1 and 17, which turned out to be 9, and started my first shovel test unit on the 9th grid point in the first row, and then excavated an STP at every tenth point from then on (19th, 29rd, 39rd, and so on).

I began my shovel test pits (STPs) at the southeast corner of the property, walking north along the eastern edge of the site and excavating an STP at every tenth grid point (see figures 11 and 12). Once I had reached the northeast corner, I moved west to the next column in the grid and walked south along the second column and so on, ending at the 595th grid point in the northwest corner. This resulted in a total of 53 shovel test pits for the systematic sampling portion of my survey, with an average of three test pits per grid column. In the northeast quadrant of the property there was a dense pile of brush and fallen trees that could not be tested; I had to avoid this woodpile and was unable to survey beneath it. This woodpile measured 48 meters by 20 meters, running east to west

near the northern part of the property. All shovel test pits were back-filled before I continued to the stratified random survey.

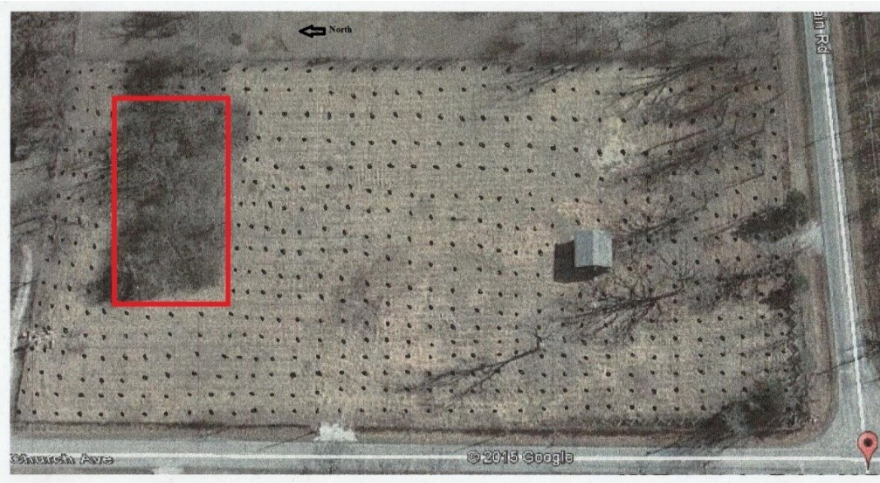


Figure 11: Systematic Random grid, 17 columns of 35 rows, a total of 595 grid points 5 meters apart, the red square indicates the wood and brush pile that was too dense to survey.

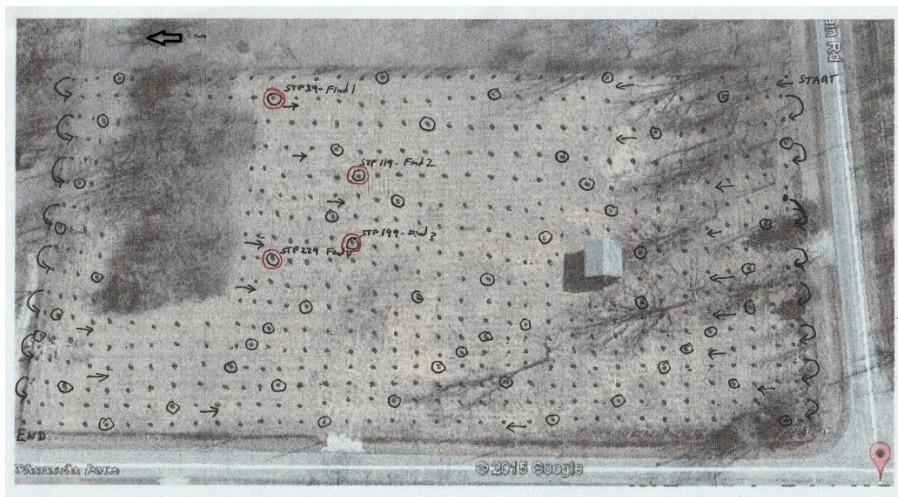


Figure 12: Locations of Shovel Test Pits on the grid. The black circles represent shovel test pits, red circles indicate the locations of artifacts, and the arrows show the direction of the survey.

Once the systematic sampling was completed, I analyzed the information gathered from the initial shovel test pits and used it to create a stratified random sampling strategy. I looked for evidence of patterned distributions of artifacts in the shovel tests that had already been performed (i.e., artifact concentrations) and used that to divide the area into six zones based on the number of artifacts recovered. Then I selected locations to excavate more shovel tests. Since I had divided the site into 6 sections, I labeled them A through F (see Figure 13). The artifacts that I recovered during my systematic random survey were all located in section “B”. Twenty additional shovel test pits were dug for this stratified random sample, digging 5 test pits at randomly selected locations in section “B” and 3 test pits at random locations in each of the five other sections. Once I had completed the 20 stratified random test pits, they were back-filled. The benefit of this staged approach is that I systematically covered the entire site and then focused on promising areas, improving the likelihood that I would recover archaeological materials while minimizing the time and effort spent on excavation (Hester 2009:31).



Figure 13: For the Stratified Random Survey, I divided the site into 6 sections, labeled A through F. The black dots indicate shovel test pits, the red circles indicate artifact locations.

I recovered artifacts from six STPs located in section “B” of the site, so I determined to dig a one-meter square test unit in between the locations of the STPs, near the center of the apparent cluster. I excavated the one-meter square test unit to a depth of 30 cm (three 10 cm levels) in 4 quadrants (each 50 x 50 cm). I recorded the location of the test unit in relation to waypoint 1, at the center of the southern property border. The base of the plow zone was at 22 cm below surface, where the soil abruptly changed from silt-loam to chert rock and clay, and because all the artifacts found during shovel testing were within 20 cm of the surface I chose not to complete the 3rd level of the test unit.

After back-filling the test unit, I began a remote sensing survey of the entire property using a Gold Digger n622-gdp metal detector to look for additional artifacts. Metal detectors can often be extremely useful during excavation, particularly in locating fragile metal objects just before they are reached while trowelling in order to prevent accidental damage. I followed this procedure during my 1x1 test unit excavation. Metal detectors are also useful for locating small metal objects, concentrations of metal, and old floors below the modern ground surface (Goodyear 1971:204). In 1984, archaeologists Douglas Scott and Richard Fox pioneered a method to study the Little Bighorn Battlefield by using metal detectors (Fox 1997). The work that Scott and Fox performed showed that large areas such as battlefields could be surveyed efficiently with systematic metal detecting sweeps. Scott calculated that of the 5,000 artifacts excavated by metal detectorists at Little Bighorn, only about 10 artifacts would have been found using traditional 5x5' squares (Battlefield Restoration and Archaeological Volunteer Organization 2010).

Throughout the process, I recorded artifact locations using a Garmin Dakota 10 GPS unit. When I found an artifact in a STP excavated during the initial testing, I created a GPS waypoint and labeled it with a number such as “STP-4”, which represents an artifact found in the 4th shovel test pit. Similarly, I created waypoints and labeled artifacts found during the stratified random survey as “SR”, the test unit “TU”, and those found with the metal detector as “MD”.

The artifacts initially were identified by measuring them and comparing them to examples in identification guides (Crouch 1995; Thomas 2013). Upon discovery of an artifact, either in a STP or when using the metal detector, I identified the item, recorded its provenience including the depth below the surface, and placed it in a labeled plastic zip-lock bag to be cleaned. I had permission to take artifacts found on the site to my home for cleaning and examination. Cleaning involved removing loose dirt by brushing with a soft brush, with care taken to avoid damaging the item. If the dirt was hard and the artifacts were able to withstand water, I used water to soften and loosen adhering sediments before and during brushing and other mechanical removal.

To determine function, I compared the cleaned artifacts with written and photographic identification guides such as Crouch (1995). I also compared them to artifacts in the Carthage Civil War Museum, the Baxter Springs Museum, the museums at Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield and Pea Ridge National Battlefield, and the Fort Scott Civil War Museum. This allowed me to identify all of the recovered artifacts, including the Union button and hat ornament, the canteen spout, and bullets.

I determined whether or not a bullet was a fired or unfired round by examining the bullet for signs of damage, and comparing it to examples in books (Crouch 1995;

Thomas 2013) and the local museums. The location and type of damage is important. Rounds that have been fired are distorted and often have a “mushroom” shape at the end, because high-powered impact will usually distort and disfigure the bullet (see Figure 14). Non-military activity such as plowing, trampling by horse and mule shoes, and so on can damage soft lead bullets, but they typically do not produce the mushroom shape. Dropped rounds are either in good condition, being unfired and undamaged, or they exhibit a different kind of damage somewhere on the artifact, such as being flattened, cut or scratched from being run over or scraped by something.

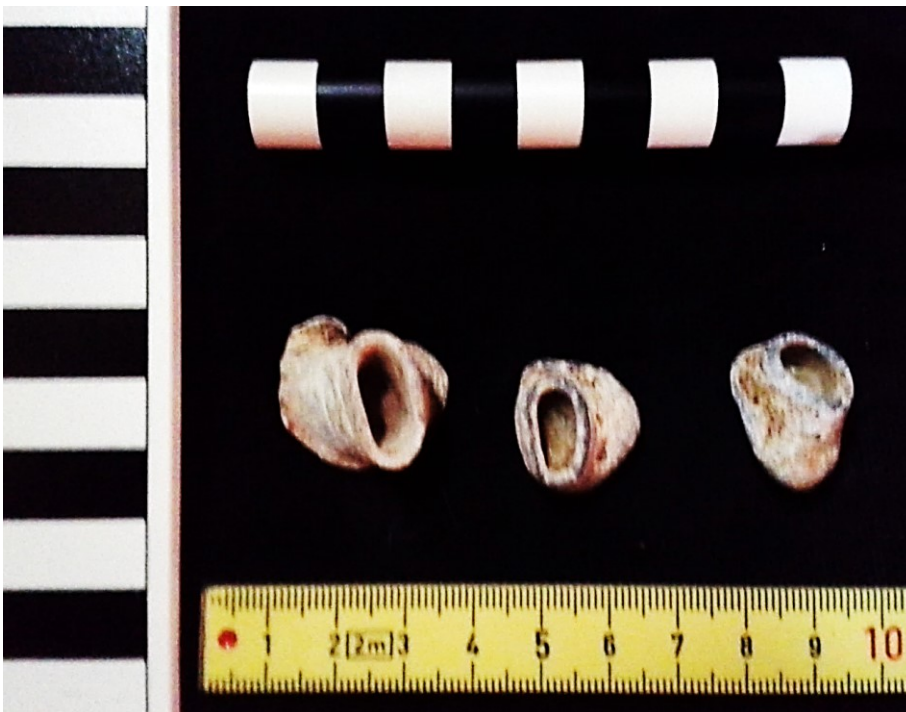


Figure 14: Examples of fired rounds found at the site.

County officials have agreed that the artifacts recovered from the county-owned property will be displayed in the planned museum or curated by the county. I have also

advised the planning committee to include a display highlighting the problem of looting, to educate the public about this issue and discourage people from digging for artifacts on their own. I have also suggested that the area in which the artifact concentration was found be preserved, so that it is not destroyed by the construction of the museum. To this end, the committee is going to plant prairie grass in that portion of the park where artifacts were found and fence it off.

DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH RESULTS

In the course of my research I identified two eye-witness accounts, four military reports, and three newspaper articles from the time of the incident, as well as references in 11 books. These sources vary substantially in their accounts of how many troops were involved and how many died, but the official list of fatalities in the massacre at the Rader Farm as listed at Fort Scott National Battlefield, on the monument in Fort Scott National Historic Cemetery, and in printed sources (Livingston 2004:99) is as follows:

1st Kansas Colored Infantry:

Riley Young, Pvt. Co. A
William Grisby, Pvt. Co. D
George Webb, Pvt. Co. D
Edward Cockerell, Pvt. Co. E
Dennis Lyons, Pvt. Co. E
William Smith, Pvt. Co. E
Peter White, Pvt. Co. E
Henry Aggleson, Pvt. Co. F
Greene Allen, Pvt. Co. H
John Booth, Pvt. Co. H
Frank Haze, Pvt. Co. F
Milton Johnson, Pvt. Co. F
William Knight, Pvt. Co. F
George Michell, Pvt. Co. F
Minor Porter, Pvt. Co. F
(2 were captured and then executed)

2nd Kansas Volunteer Artillery Battery:

Van Renseller Hancock, Corp.
Cameron Garret, Pvt. – Killed after capture
Joseph Endecott, Pvt.

Note that there are 15 black soldiers of the 1st Kansas Colored, and 3 white soldiers of the 2nd Kansas Artillery. Two of the black soldiers were killed as prisoners, which means that 13 1st Kansas troops fell at the battle. There are many differences in

sources regarding the number of troops involved in the fight, but even given the smallest numbers (25 black and 20 white soldiers, plus 5 wagon drivers), there would still have been at least 10 men of the 1st Kansas Colored who survived and may have made it back to Baxter Springs. Documentary sources disagree not only on the number of survivors but also concerning what happened during and after the massacre.

Source Comparison

The following is a series of quotes from primary and secondary source documents detailing events relevant to the Rader Farm engagement. They are grouped by source type: newspaper articles, book sources by author, eyewitness accounts, and military correspondence. It is instructive to compare them with one-another and then to examine how they relate to the archaeological record. There are significant differences in the various accounts regarding the number of troops involved, as well as how many were killed, what weapons they carried, and so on. Military commanders often overestimate the number of enemy they killed and downplay their own losses. In addition, the sources do not agree on whether the Union forces fled or resisted. The artifacts found at this site provide an independent way of evaluating which of the written accounts is most accurate.

Newspaper Articles. The following newspaper articles describe the events at the Rader Farm. The first is from a Union source and is one of the few accounts of the Union troops having resisted, and not simply having fled and then been run down. It was written less than a month after the events in question. However, as noted it is from a Union newspaper, which could be biased.

The June 4, 1863 newspaper article by an unnamed author is from the Lawrence State Journal (Lawrence, Kansas):

Col. Williams sent a detachment of twenty mounted and twenty-five infantry, under command of Maj. Ward, Capt. Armstrong, and Lt. Edgerton, with orders to proceed to a place near Sherwood for corn for our teams. They had hardly halted before they were charged upon by more than 200 bushwhackers led by the notorious Livingston. So sudden was the attack and with such odds, that our little force was soon scattered; yet they fought for half an hour against all hope of success, when they were obliged to fly to save their lives. Some took to the woods; but the mounted men started from camp, pursued by fifty bushwhackers, who kept up a running fight for eight miles. The troops at the house, when coming to a narrow lane, 6 of our men made a stand and with their Sharp's rifles poured volley after volley, completely checking them, killing six and losing two of our own boys. By the time some of the mounted men made it back to Baxter Springs to report the action, they had been proceeded by a messenger who had told that our boys had all been cut to pieces.... There are yet three men of our regiment and four of the battery boys missing. We are in hopes they are alive and will make their way back to camp. May 21st, P.M. A messenger has arrived from Livingston.....He has four of our men, two white and two black, the remainder of the missing were shot, making ours sixteen killed and four prisoners... (Diggs 2006:125).

The second newspaper account is from a Confederate source and it implies that the black troops put up little resistance and were killed. It is an article written by Stephen A. Smith Jr., and published in the May 28 1916 Joplin News, and it is an account of the events as told by W.E. Johnson. Mr. Johnson was in Livingston's command, and he claimed to have been present at the Rader farm.

The [Confederate] men quickly recognized them as supply wagons and immediately charged the house. The alarm was given to two white men, and twenty-three Negro troops inside. The white men made their getaway. However, when the Negroes began to rush from the house they were shot down before taking a dozen steps. Two of them managed to reach the woods a short distance away, but twenty-one fell in their tracks. The two Negroes that escaped were hunted like wild animals. Each fell pierced with a dozen bullets a short time later (Diggs 2006:121).

Book Sources. The following quotes come from secondary sources, all of them books. They are listed by author and are representative of the range of views published to date about the Rader Farm incident. Note again the many discrepancies in numbers of troops involved and number of casualties:

Colonel Williams sent out a forage detail of forty to fifty white and colored soldiers with five or six mule teams to the vicinity of Sherwood, Missouri. Twenty Negroes and three white men of Captain E.A. Smith's Second Kansas Battery were killed, the Negroes being shot down without being given any quarter (Britton 1994:78).

Major Livingston surprised the Negroes, killing twenty-three and wounding seven in a running fight which was kept up from the Rader place to the Spring River Crossing, a distance of about 8 miles (Livingston 1912:60).

About 60 men of 1st Kansas Colored Infantry and 2nd Battery Kansas Light Artillery led by a Captain Baker were gathering forage on Center Creek Prairie near the Rader farm when Livingston heard about it. As the rebel chief maneuvered his 67 bushwhackers to attack positions he detained William T. McKee of Carthage to prevent him from alarming the Federals. McKee was on the prairie looking for his lost horses, and he became a reluctant witness to the attack that followed. The bushwhacker attack was so swift and unexpected that the Union troops panicked and fled while the southerners chased them about eight miles to the crossing at Spring River. Livingston's casualties were two officers slightly wounded whereas Federal losses were about 30 killed, 28 wounded or injured, and several captured (Nichols 2004:102).

On May 18, about twenty-five enlisted men and officers from the regiment set out to forage for corn near Sherwood, Missouri (Spurgeon 2014:137).

Williams assigned a contingent of fifteen mounted white soldiers of the Second Kansas Battery for support. Kansas cavalryman Wiley Britton wrote "The guerilla leaders in that section declare that they will not take the colored soldiers nor the officers under whom they are serving as prisoners of war." Standard Union cavalry weapons included a pistol, a sword, and a carbine, Livingston's men carried three or four revolvers, supplemented by shotguns, carbines, and any other weapon they could carry (Spurgeon 2014:138).

The Confederates attacked, achieving complete surprise. The Union soldiers could offer little resistance, especially the twenty black infantrymen whose muskets stood out of reach (Spurgeon 2014:139).

Captain John Graton of Company C, 1st Kansas Colored, wrote his wife “The Artillery boys and our officers being mounted were able to get out of [the] way, but the black boys being on foot had to take it and most of them were killed.” The mounted officers and artillery soldiers rode for their lives, pursued by guerillas on excellent horses. At least two of the artillerymen were killed, presumably when their horses gave out. Livingston’s men chased the rest some eight miles before reining in their mounts. The attack so overwhelmed the Union detachment that survivors estimated Livingston’s force to number as high as 200 men (Spurgeon 2014:139).

When Williams and his detachment returned to Baxter Springs [after burning Sherwood] they found survivors from the previous day’s attack filtering back into camp. During the melee, several black soldiers had escaped into the thick brush. Fearful of being discovered by roving guerrilla patrols, most had remained hidden near the Rader house during the night. Livingston claimed his men killed twenty-three black soldiers and seven white soldiers. A regimental tally recorded thirteen black soldiers killed, two missing, and the loss of thirty mules and five wagons. Two days after the attack a message from Livingston arrived in the Kansans’ camp. “I have five of your soldiers prisoners, three white and two black men.” The guerrilla leader proposed a prisoner exchange, offering the white soldiers only. Williams wrote back that he only had two missing white soldiers, offered to exchange for two confederates, told him to write to Ft Scott for the third, wanted the blacks treated as prisoners of war (Spurgeon 2014:141).

The Yanks were routed with 18 of their number shot dead. The guerillas had only two men wounded in the action and captured five wagons, 30 mules, and a good supply of ammunition (Steele and Cottrell 2009:90).

When Livingston’s scouts reported sixty soldiers and a mule train from Colonel Williams’ Negro regiment foraging on the Center Creek prairie near Sherwood, Livingston saw a rare opportunity for vengeance on the hated black troops. He promptly led sixty-seven of his “best mounted men” toward the scene and came upon the Federals at the home of Mrs. Rader. The foraging party was led by Major Richard G. Ward and numbered, according to Union reports, from twenty-five to thirty-two Negro soldiers and from twenty to twenty-two white artillery men from the Second Kansas Battery. “I charged them at the house,” said Livingston in his May 28 report, “flanking them on the right, routed them, and pursued them about 8 miles, to the crossing of Spring River (Wood 2003:105).

Most of Colonel Williams’ black soldiers, on foot and unarmed, were shot before they could flee or reach their weapons. The pursuit mentioned by Livingston involved mainly the mounted troops. These were the white officers and some of

the “battery boys” who’d come along on the expedition. During the chase, three men from the battery were killed and two captured. A third white soldier and two of Williams’ black soldiers were also captured. Livingston put the enemy loss at “negroes, 23, and 7 white men” while his own command “sustained no loss.” The guerrillas also captured the mule train and a good deal of guns and ammunition (Wood 2003:106).

Eyewitness accounts. The following quotes were compiled by Diggs, and come from primary sources, specifically the few eyewitness accounts we have, and military correspondence.

There are two eyewitness accounts that are relevant to the events, one from a Union soldier and one from the Confederate point of view. This first reprinted here is Hugh Thompson’s eyewitness account, from his book “Baxter Springs as a Military Post.” The date published is not listed, but Diggs states it was written “some 30 years” after the event:

...there were twenty-five infantrymen with their muskets only, twenty-two battery men with only one revolver to the man, they being for the time mounted, five teamsters, as I understood it, unarmed, Maj. Ward, Cpt. Armstrong, Lt. Edgerton, and myself.” “...and then turned west to the Rader place (Hiram Snapp now lives there). Maj. Ward and Cpt. Armstrong went in different directions to station pickets, three men at each post.” “...Just as I had saddled the other horse the Major and Captain rode up. Someone had reported that I had called for one or the other when I came out of the house, so they both rode up to me and inquired what I wanted. Before I could reply shooting began in the rear, and almost instantly all around us. In surrounding us the enemy had cut off the six men on the pickets. Some twenty unarmed men loading corn and five teamsters also unarmed, leaving but twenty-nine men hemmed in a short narrow lane with a gate at the end, with no arms to fight our way out. Without knowing we had rode into a trap... Thirteen men were killed, mostly, if not all unarmed. Near the house Cameron Garrett... was captured in the pursuit and murdered. Corporal V.R. Hancock and Joe Endicott, both of the 2nd Kansas Battery were also killed in the pursuit. I don’t remember the names of the colored soldiers killed, but Haley Pipkins and David Whetstine of the battery with Thomas Akers, of the 6th Kansas Cavalry, with two Negro soldiers, were captured. The white men were afterwards exchanged, and sometime after, the Negroes were killed. After I had passed through their line about 100 yards, I was dismounted with four to five bullets striking me. Two or three of them lodging in my body, mostly there still, this was

about 4 p.m., in falling I gave Livingston a shot in the right hand, at least he said so afterwards. I lay as I had fallen for some time, on looking up I saw a bushwhacker with a double-barreled shot gun pointed at the head of a Negro soldier who had been shot in the face and was not armed. He asked the bushwhacker not to shoot him, saying "Massa, don't shoot, I'll give up." Not expecting to escape any way I drew my other revolver, not knowing the one in my hand had fired, but it had fired two loads, I rose on my left hand and knees taking as careful aim as I could, fired for his heart. He dropped his gun, threw his hand up to the spot fired at, the blood flowing freely from his mouth and nose, he fell from his horse, and I believed, dead. The Negro, casting one look at me, cut dirt for the timber. After firing I took a revolver in each hand and dropped down exhausted on my breast, laying across my carbine, which had miss fired three times when I had a good sight on Livingston's head.... After lying there some time, I looked up again seeing no one moving, I got up and started into the timber. Going about one quarter of a mile I came in sight of two Negro soldiers, one was the wounded one whose life I had saved, and still unarmed (name forgotten) the other, Sam Smith, had his musket. I handed the wounded man one of my revolvers, and they helped me about one quarter of a mile further, when I gave out and we all crawled into a fallen treetop.... After getting into camp I learned our losses; in addition to the killed and prisoners were seven or eight wounded, among them Maj. Ward, Capt. Armstrong, Sgt. Peter Teel, who was in command of the battery boys (Diggs 2006:116-119).

The second eyewitness account is a story from Tom Crowell, who was 14 at the time and an eyewitness to the events:

They were engaged in carrying supplies downstairs and loading wagons, having stood their guns against the fence. Livingston's men had occupied the woods to the south of the house without being discovered. When attacked, the Union men fled north to [Mrs.] Vivion's and to Baxter Springs, [which is to the west] pursued by Livingston, leaving many dead, abandoning seven wagons and many mules, arms, ammuniton and supplies (Diggs 2006:123).

Military Correspondence. The following are letters and reports from military members about the Rader Farm events, from both sides of the conflict.

A Union report, from 1st Lt. E. A. Smith, Commanding the 2nd Kansas Battery, dated June 30, 1863, states:

On the 18th day of May, 1863, a forging [sp] party from the camp of Col. Williams, 1st Colored Volunteers, Baxter Springs, Kansas, consisting in part of men belonging to my battery, was attacked in the vicinity of Sherwood, Mo., by a

party of rebel guerrillas, and Corporal Van Renisler Hancock, Private Joseph Endicott, and Private Cameron Garrett were killed (Diggs 2006:122).

A letter dated May 22, 1863 from Capt. J. H. Graton, a white officer of Company C of the 1st Kansas Colored Regiment, to his wife from the Baxter Springs military camp states:

A party of our boys got badly whipped on the afternoon of the 18th. A party of our men of about twenty five and some fifteen of the artillery boys mounted horses with five six-mule wagons went to Sherwood, Jasper County, Mo. About fifteen miles from this place to get corn. The officers in charge were Maj. Ward, Capt. Armstrong and Lt. Edgerton. They had just arrived at the place and four or five were engaged in loading corn, and of course were away from their guns when surprised by a force of Bushwhackers numbering some one hundred and fifty to two hundred men, coming from timber opposite the house, and came upon them before many of them could get their guns, and as a matter of course our men were used up. The Artillery boys and our officers being mounted were able to get out of [the] way, but the black boys being of foot, had to take it and most of them were killed. They chased the mounted men some six miles, some of the Artillery horses giving out; two of the artillerymen were killed.... After getting into camp we found that several of the black men had got in, having been so fortunate as to get into the brush. Several of the men had narrow escapes, lying in the brush near the place nearly all night. Some did not get in until the second day. The result of the expedition is the loss of thirteen black men killed, two missing, two prisoners. With two or three white soldiers killed, three prisoners, five or six horses lost, and about twenty-three mules and harnesses lost, five wagons, about twenty-three guns and equipment, mostly the result of a want of foresight (Diggs 2006:128-129).

Major Livingston wrote a letter to General Sterling Price about the day's events that says:

On the 18th, my scouts reported 60 negroes and white men, belonging to Colonel [J. M.] Williams' negro regiment, with five six-mule teams, foraging on Center Creek Prairie. I ordered out 67 of my best-mounted men. I came upon them at Mrs. Rader's, pillaging her premises. I afterward learned that they were ordered not to take more plunder than they could take with them. I charged them at the house, flanking them on the right, routed them, and pursued them about 8 miles, to the crossing of Spring River. The enemy's loss in killed was, negroes 23, and 7 white men, wounded, unknown; and-prisoners: also captured 30 mules and 5 wagons; a box containing 1,400 cartridges and caps, a good many guns, pistols...I

sustained no loss.” He added in the P.S. “Captain Estes and I were both slightly wounded in the last fight (Livingston 2004:90).

The journal of Captain Ethan Earle, a white officer with Company F, 1st Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry Regiment states:

While [stationed at Baxter Springs] a forage party was sent into Missouri at Sherwood. The party consisted of about thirty men, mostly from my company. While loading their wagons with corn they were suddenly rushed upon by a large party of bushwackers. In the terrible fight that ensued all the wagons and mules were taken, and five of my company killed, piled up in an old log cabin and burnt. The others made their escape in the woods and found their way back to camp in the course of two days (Diggs 2006:120).

None of these sources agrees on the number of troops involved, the number of dead, or the details of what actually happened in the battle. Estimates for the size of the Union force range from 15 to 60 with 7 sources having a number over 40, and the size of the Confederate force ranges from 67 to 200. As Major Livingston himself states that he used 67 troops, the higher estimates may be from the confusion of battle. The number of casualties are also different from source to source, ranging from seven to 30 Union soldiers killed and zero to six confederates killed. The sources that include relevant information agree that the Union troops were pursued to the west, and several of them mention that at least some were able to make it to the brush or the woods. Archaeology may clarify some of what happened by investigating the areas referenced in these accounts and by recovering physical evidence of the events in question.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESULTS

Beyond simply completing a survey of the area where the park and museum will be built, the primary goal of my archaeological investigations was to recover material evidence of the battle and massacre in the hopes that it would provide insight into the events that the museum commemorates. Artifacts that are identifiable as being either Confederate or Union could tell us which troops were at different locations on the battlefield, and spatial patterns in the artifact scatter could provide additional information about the fight.

In the fourth shovel test pit that I dug, at grid point number thirty-nine, I found a single musket bullet at a depth of seven cm below the surface. It was a .69 caliber round, and was unfired or “dropped”. I continued to dig shovel test pits on the grid, finding nothing until the 14th test pit (at grid point 119) where I recovered two .58 caliber “Minié-ball” musket rounds at a depth of 9 cm and 10 cm (one right below the other), both unfired. In the 22nd shovel test pit that I dug (at grid point 199) I also found two bullets in close proximity to one another, unfired .58 caliber Minié-ball rounds at a depth of 9 cm, and 3 cm apart from each other. I continued to dig shovel test pits in a systematic manner, and in the 26th test pit that I dug (at grid point 229) I found a single bullet, a .52 caliber Sharps carbine round at a depth of 6 cm below the surface.

After finishing the systematic survey, I moved on to the stratified random survey. I found no artifacts until the fourth test pit that I dug, the first one I dug in section “B”, where I found a single flattened .58 caliber musket Minié-ball round at a depth of 7 cm below the surface. In the next pit that I dug (the 5th one of this part of the survey) I found

a single dropped .58 caliber mini-ball round. I continued to dig stratified random test pits, but found no additional artifacts at this stage.

Once the stratified random survey was completed, I dug a 1x1 meter test unit where the center of the artifact concentration appeared to be (see Figure 15). In the first level of the test unit, I found a brass hunting horn decoration (a metal emblem from a Civil War hat) and a buckle from a Union Infantry Kepi hat, in close proximity to each other. See Figures 27 and 28 for examples of the hat and emblem. The hunting horn was plotted in level 1, 7 cm below surface, at 42 cm North, 10 cm East relative to the southwest corner of the test unit. The buckle was plotted at 7 cm below surface, at 44 N, 18 E. In the second level of the test unit I found a Union uniform button and three bullets, being “dropped” .58 caliber Minié-ball rounds. The button was plotted in level 2, 12 cm below surface, at 79 N, 26 E. The bullets were also plotted in level 2, in the following locations: (1) 11 cm deep, 36 N, 82 E, (2) 12 cm deep, 39 N, 86 E, (3) 12 cm deep, 44 N, 74 E. No additional artifacts were recovered from the test unit.

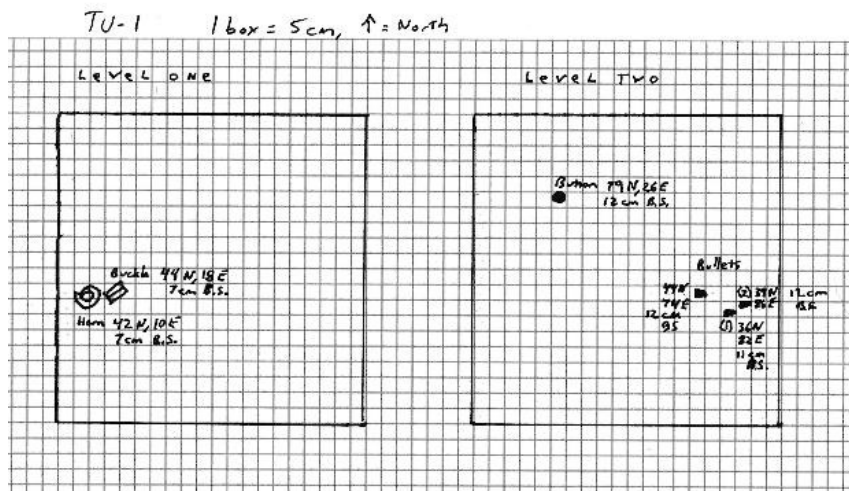


Figure 15: Diagram of the Test Unit, levels one and two, showing the locations of the artifacts found.

After back-filling the test unit, I performed a metal detection survey of the entire property. During the metal detection survey I found artifacts in 29 locations, including 28 bullets as well as a canteen spout. I created GPS waypoints for each artifact recovered (see Figures 16 through 26). Most of the bullets were “dropped” rounds, but I did find eight musket rounds with the distinctive “mushroom” shape that indicates that they had been fired and struck something hard. These were located in the western part of the artifact scatter.

I noted the direction that each bullet faced, in an attempt to see whether there was a pattern. There was no discernable pattern in the directions that the bullets faced. This apparent randomness of bullet orientations is probably the result of past plowing, which would have moved many of the bullets a short distance from where they originally fell on the surface and reoriented them.



Figure 16: Map of the GPS waypoint locations. Waypoint 1 served as my site datum for the test unit. Waypoints 2-4 were the corners of the property, and waypoints 6-9 are the corners of the building on the site. The waypoints in the center of the site represent artifacts.

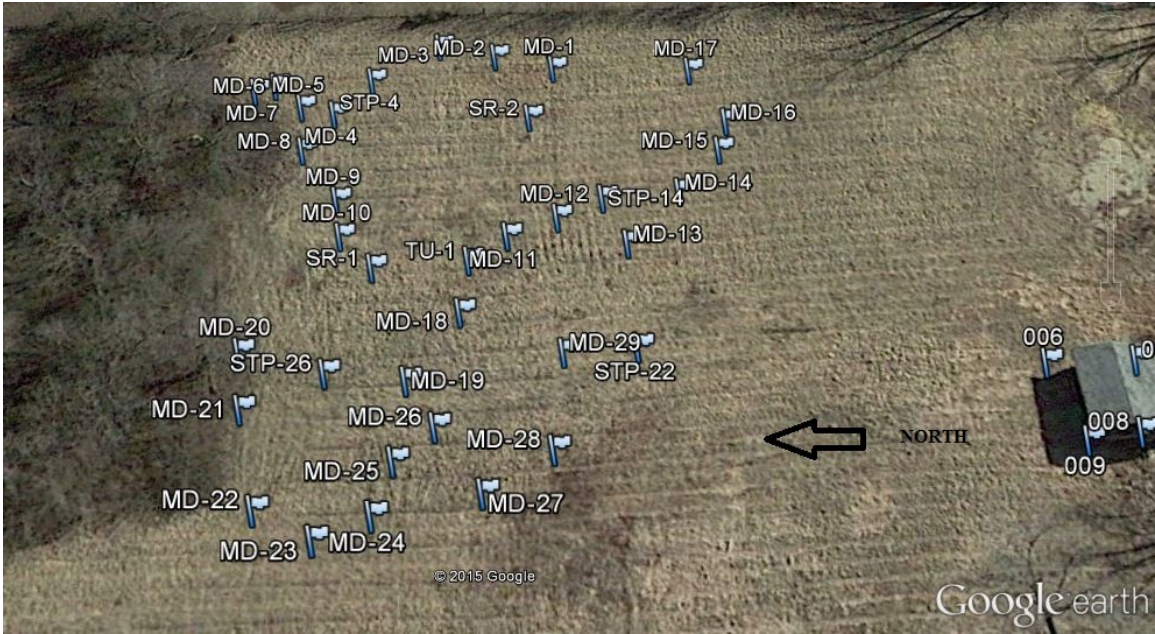


Figure 17: Artifact location waypoints, east/west orientation.

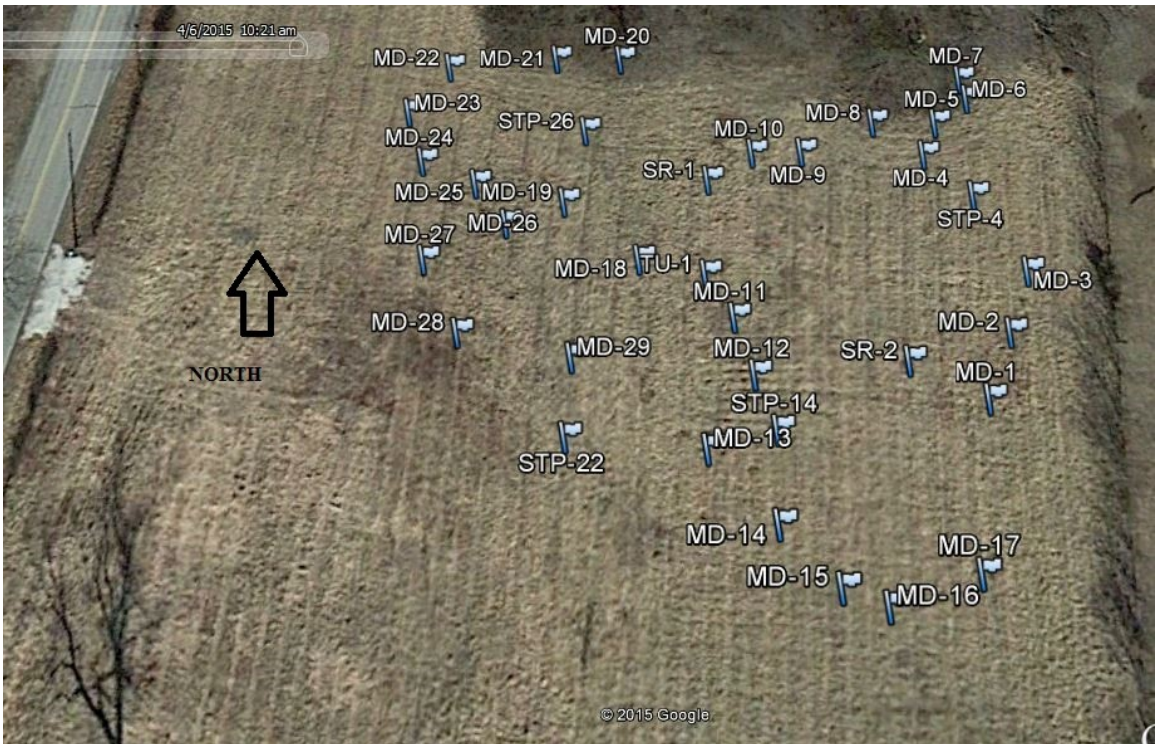


Figure 18: Artifact location waypoints, north/south orientation.



Figure 19: .44 caliber Colt revolver bullets recovered from the site.



Figure 20: .50 caliber Smith carbine bullets found at the site.



Figure 21: .52 caliber Sharps carbine bullets found at the site.



Figure 22: .58 caliber “Minié-ball” musket bullets recovered from the site.



Figure 23: .69 caliber musket rounds found at the site.

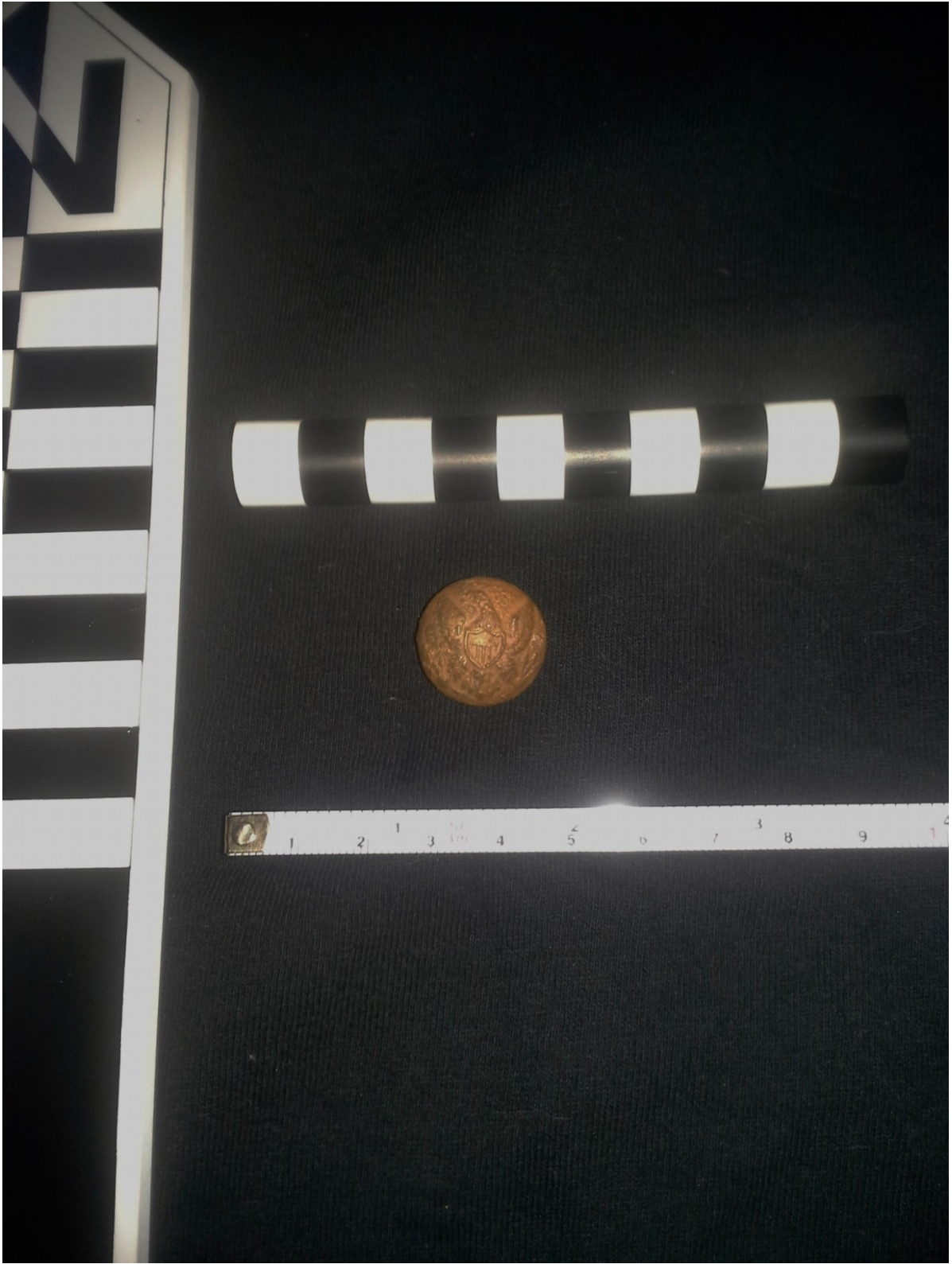


Figure 24: Union uniform button found in TU-1, level 2, 12 cm below surface, at 79 cm N and 26 cm E from the SW corner of the test unit.



Figure 25: Canteen spout found at MD-19

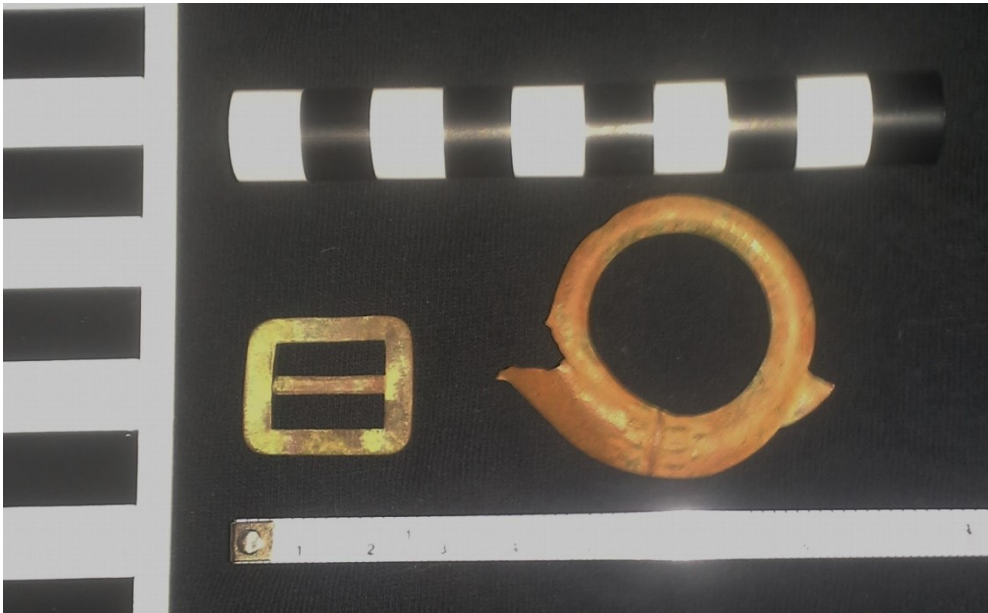


Figure 26: Buckle and Hunting Horn from a Union Kepi hat recovered from TU-1 at Level 1, 7 cm below surface, 42 and 44 cm N, 10 and 18 cm E from the SW corner of the test unit.



Figure 27: African American soldiers wearing Kepi hats (Google Images, 2015).



Figure 28: African American soldiers with Kepi hats (Google Images, 2015).

In total, I recovered 57 artifacts from the site. All were in an artifact concentration that measured 45 meters (north/south) at its widest point and 62 meters in length (east/west). The artifact scatter was near the center of the property, and the fired rounds I recovered were mostly located in the western part of the artifact scatter. There were no artifacts in the southern or northern parts of the property. Once I stopped finding artifacts, I swept the whole site again with the metal detector, paying extra attention to the eastern border of the property (the direction of the historic Rader Farm) in order to see whether the artifact scatter might continue onto the private property to the east. I found no artifacts with this second sweep, so throughout the fieldwork I found no artifacts close to the eastern property line (the closest was at the edge of the artifact scatter, 12 meters from the border fence). There were no artifacts found within 25 meters of the western edge of

the property, which is the direction that the Union forces retreated according to the written accounts.

Of the 57 artifacts recovered, 53 were bullets. There were five types of bullets: 18 were .58 caliber Minié-ball musket rounds, 4 were .69 caliber musket rounds, 5 were .52 caliber Sharps carbine rounds, 7 were .50 caliber Smith carbine rounds, and 5 were .44 caliber Colt revolver rounds. The non-bullet artifacts were a Union uniform button, a canteen spout, and the buckle and hunting horn emblem from a Union Kepi infantry hat (see Appendix A).

The presence of musket rounds, the remains of a Union hat, and a Union uniform button verify that Union infantry were at the location of my archaeological investigations. Cavalry would not have used muzzle-loading muskets, and 36 of the 53 bullets were of that sort. Finding a single button could represent one torn off in thick brush, instead of the presence of a whole uniform, which also applies to finding the remains of a single hat. We know that the 1st Kansas Colored got Federal uniforms after being formally recognized in January of 1863, and that after the men had received their uniforms, arms, and equipment, they “presented a fine appearance” (Britton 1994:78). On January 8, 1863, Brigadier General James Blunt reviewed the regiment in their new uniforms and congratulated them on their soldierly appearance (Spurgeon 2014:109). Since official records and most of the documentary sources show that at least some of the men from the 1st Kansas Colored survived and made it back to Baxter Springs, this could be the force represented by the artifact concentration and by the musket rounds and remnants of a Union uniform in particular. With several recorded estimates of the Union force at 40 or

more men, and 18 official casualties, these musket rounds could have been from a small force of Union troops that was not unarmed and escaped from the Rader Farm.

DISCUSSION

The documentary evidence is contradictory in many places, and archaeological evidence helps us to have a better understanding of how the fight played out. The basic story as told by most secondary sources is that, when attacked, the union infantry fled north to the house of Vivion Lehigh and then west to Baxter Springs, pursued by Livingston. They left behind many dead, also abandoning five to seven wagons and many mules, arms, ammunition, and supplies. Some of the sources specifically say that it was the mounted Union soldiers that fled in this direction. Others, such as Tom Crowell's eyewitness account and Livingston (1912) only say that the "Union men" did this. Several sources, including both newspaper articles, state that the black soldiers took to the woods. The general impression is that the Union troops were overrun by the attack. Some sources indicate that a few were able to resist, and they wounded some of the attackers including Livingston, but most sources portray the resistance as ineffective.

Because of the rapidity of the attack, most of the mounted escort were barely able to escape, taking a route to the northwest. Meanwhile, the written documents indicate that the black infantry inside the Rader house at the time of the attack found themselves in an impossible situation. With their muskets against a fence outside and the mounted Federal escort fleeing for their lives, these black soldiers had practically no chance for survival. Some made it to the woods near the house but were hunted down and murdered. Others tried to surrender and were cut down without mercy. The battle turned into a massacre and then to macabre brutality. The black dead and wounded infantry

were stripped of their clothing and then clubbed – cracking open their skulls and most horribly mutilating their bodies.

The county property is located to the west of the historical Rader farm, in the direction that most documents suggest the Union troops retreated.

The archaeological survey showed that the Civil War artifacts were concentrated in the center of the county property. There are several possible explanations for this pattern. The locations of these artifacts could have been affected by natural and/or cultural transformations (Kelly and Thomas 2014:70-71). One possibility is that the concentration could have been the result of a “wash”, in that water runoff might have moved the artifacts into a small area. This hypothesis is not supported because the artifact scatter is at a slightly higher elevation than other parts of the property, and the artifact location waypoints (many for individual bullets) are 4 or more meters apart.

Farming and other human activities since the civil war might have caused post-depositional alterations of the initial locations of the artifacts. The first plat map of the area (from 1843) shows that the property was “timber” and the location of the historical Rader farm (about a quarter mile away) was “prairie”. The mentions of wooded areas in the documents suggest that the area that is now county property remained forested at the time of the battle. The second (post-war) plat map from 1876 does not show the property as timber, and the property at present is sparsely wooded. Therefore the forest must have been cut down and stumps removed sometime after the civil war, which would have resulted in ground disturbance. I was not able to find any information relevant to determining the timing of that ground disturbance, but it does not seem likely that it would have moved artifacts into a centralized location. A concentration could occur if

some of the fired rounds were in tree trunks or branches that were later pushed together (for example to burn them), but this would not affect the dropped rounds which comprise most of the artifacts.

I was unable to verify what type of farming was performed on the property in the time between the civil war and now. Steve Weldon, the Jasper County Archivist, suggested that there could have been apple orchards at one time, and also pig farming. Both of these activities could affect the position of artifacts, as the growing roots of trees or the digging of animals could push the artifacts around, but both processes would move the artifacts more-or-less randomly horizontally while root throw when a tree is uprooted would move them upward and create small, localized concentrations near the surface. With the exception of the test unit, the artifacts were over a meter apart and scattered over the center of the property and none was at the surface or even within the uppermost few centimeters of the soil, so it is unlikely that these natural transformations created the observed concentration.

There was a wood pile on the surveyed area, and the trees on the property today are not large enough to have been there since the time of the civil war more than 150 years ago, meaning that trees had grown up and some brush clearing has occurred since the time of the Rader Farm massacre. I concluded that the land had been cleared of forest since the pre-war map was produced, and based on my observations during the excavation of the test unit, it also was plowed no deeper than about 20 cm since the civil war. Since the physical and cultural transformations acting on the site would be unlikely to move artifacts more than a meter horizontally or into a recognizable concentration, and

the artifacts were more than a meter apart in an area measuring 45 meters by 62 meters, I concluded that the artifacts are somewhat near their original depositional locations.

The presence of .69 caliber musket rounds indicates that at least one infantryman carried an older, smooth-bore musket. Some black troops might have been issued older weapons; there are no surviving quartermasters' records from the 1st Kansas Colored. Although the Confederate Guerillas are known to have used a wide variety of weaponry, they were all mounted and are therefore unlikely to have carried muzzle-loading rifles. Sharps and Smith carbines and Colt revolvers were commonly issued to union troops, but were also used by the confederate guerrillas. Therefore, the presence of other calibers of ammunition (.44 Colt revolver, .50 Smith carbine, and .52 Sharps carbine) could indicate either confederate guerrilla presence (as they had multiple types of weapons) or they may have been the weapons of the men of the 2nd Kansas Artillery, who were issued revolvers and carbines. We know that the 1st Kansas soldiers had muskets (Spurgeon 2014:112), but we do not know what other weapons they may have had.

Due to the conflicting information presented in the written record, there is some ambiguity regarding how the archaeological record can be interpreted. For example, the dropped rounds that are not musket rounds could have come from either the Union soldiers who were issued those types of weapons (white or black), or from the guerillas who were also known to carry those same types of weapons. I have interpreted them as being from the Union force, rather than the Confederates, because they are unfired and dropped among many dropped musket rounds that almost certainly came from Union infantry. Thirty-six of the 53 bullets are from muzzle-loading rifles that would not have been used by the mounted guerrillas, and they are associated with the Union button and

hat ornaments, so the most likely interpretation is that the majority of the bullets belonged to the Union force. Since 45 of the 53 bullets were dropped rounds, it is likely that the artifact concentration represents the location of the troops instead of what they were shooting at. This matches the parts of the narrative where the historical documents are largely in agreement in that I would expect that closer to the historical Rader farm (to the east of the county's property) there would have been a higher concentration of confederate rounds because this was where the initial attack happened. Presumably, there would be more dropped Union rounds farther away, assuming that they were able to flee, regroup, and react.

The eastern edge of the scatter, closest to the location of the Rader Farm, was composed entirely of "dropped" rounds at the edge of what was then woods based on the oldest plat map of the location. The rounds that had been fired were all found at the western edge of the scatter, which would have been farther into the forest because the original plat map shows woods stretching westward from the "prairie" area where the Rader Farm was located. This supports the historical narrative that the infantry took cover in the brush and retreated west toward Spring River. The dropped rounds could have been due to the haste of the men running (as well as someone losing their hat and canteen) and digging out their ammunition once they reached cover. Civil war ammunition pouches had a single flap to hold the bullets in, and a soldier could easily pull out more than one if he were in a hurry. The 1st Kansas Colored were also relatively new and inexperienced soldiers, having seen only a few actions prior to this, which would probably increase the number of rounds they would drop while trying to load on the run. The close proximity of the dropped artifacts could be explained by the soldiers trying to

stay together in a group, as crowds of people running from danger will often do. More importantly, civil war era soldiers were trained to form up in a line and fire a volley; they were trained not to be separated in battle, and to stay with the group. The pattern is consistent with the eastern portion of the artifact scatter being at or near what was the edge of the wooded area at the time of the battle. The retreating Union soldiers likely paused once they reached cover to load, form a line, and fire a volley back in the direction of the Rader Farm.

Since the confederate guerrillas were all mounted, it is unlikely that they were trying to fire muzzle loading rifles from horseback because they would be long, awkward, and virtually impossible to reload without dismounting for an extended period of time. The tactics of the confederate “partisan rangers” (as Livingston’s men were called) were to pre-load multiple pistols and carbines, and attack suddenly in ambush. When a weapon was empty of ammunition they would grab a spare to avoid having to reload. The Union forces were infantry who carried muskets, which fired the types of ammunition that matches all the “fired” bullets recovered. It seems at best highly improbable that the Confederates would have picked up and used muskets even if they were left at the Rader Farm as Union troops retreated; the muskets were slow, and unwieldy compared to the weapons they already carried. It is for these reasons that I concluded the fired rounds also were from Union forces, rather than the guerillas.

Every bullet that showed evidence of having been fired (a total of 8 bullets) was a muzzle-loading musket round. These “fired” bullets were found farther into what was then forest than many of the dropped rounds. One plausible explanation for this pattern could be that these rounds were fired from other locations toward what is now the county

property, (i.e. aiming at something or someone at the location of the county property). However, assuming that these are Union bullets as outlined above, they were recovered in an area that is not the location of any known or likely tactical or strategic target. Another possibility is that they are shots fired through the trees by the Union troops back in the direction of the attack, once they had gotten farther westward and therefore deeper into the woods. While it seems counterintuitive to suggest that the fired rounds were found near where they were fired, this also is consistent with what is known of military training and tactics during the Civil War; soldiers were trained to form up a line, fire, reload as rapidly as possible, and repeat. The basic idea was to fill the air with as many bullets as possible as quickly as possible, and aiming at a specific target was discouraged. Assuming that they fired an initial volley from the edge of the wooded area, the bullets would have traveled a good distance toward the Rader Farm before hitting anything. Once in the woods, however, at least some of the bullets in subsequent volleys would have hit branches or tree trunks nearby.

In other words, the “fired” rounds could have come from any direction. However, because the Rader Farm was east of the location of the fired bullets and retreating Union soldiers would likely be firing back toward the attackers at the Rader Farm, it is likely that the guns were fired from a position near and somewhat west of where the fired rounds were recovered. The fired rounds are about 50 meters west from the eastern edge of the artifact scatter, making up part of the western edge of the artifact scatter (see Figure 29). Since fired bullets end up some distance away from the gun that fires them, the soldiers would have been west of the location of the dropped rounds. For reference, present-day Peace Church Road is approximately 50 meters west of the fired rounds, in

the direction that they retreated. Muskets of the type that fired the bullets had an effective range of 90 meters or more, so if the soldiers were in fact moving westward they could have fired at the very farthest from where Peace Church Road is now or perhaps just west of it.

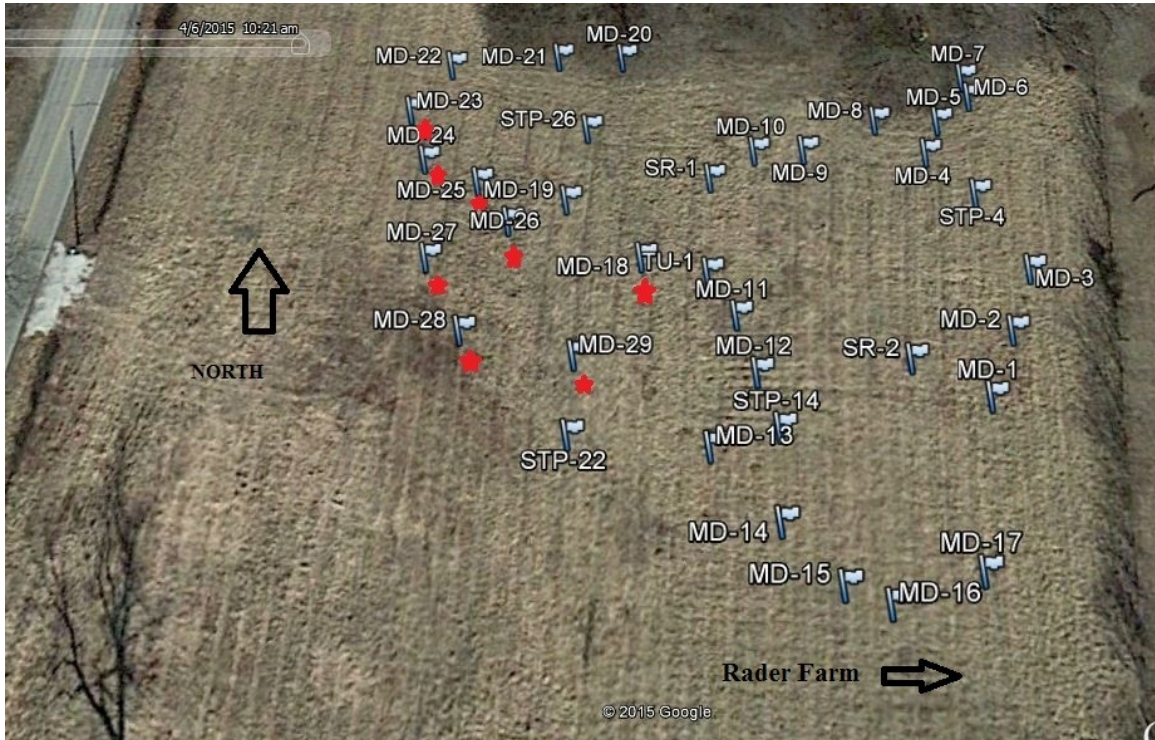


Figure 29: The GPS locations of the artifacts. The locations of the fired rounds are highlighted with red stars.

Documentary sources suggest that the guerrillas would have wanted to kill all of the black soldiers, but they chose instead to chase the white cavalry. When the government began enlisting African Americans into the Union army it enraged the southern soldiers, and they generally fought them with fury when they encountered them (Livingston 1912:59). Even before these African American troops were deployed, many Southern officers threatened to show them no quarter, claiming that they would not take

black soldiers prisoners (Britton 1994:78). While the confederates were angry at the white “traitors” who would fight with black infantry, they were seen as valuable hostages who could be traded to free captured confederates. Livingston did not value the black soldiers in the same way, and would not trade the captured colored troops he had, creating more tension with the Union command (Livingston 2004:96). So why do Spurgeon (2014) and other sources indicate that the confederates chased the Union horsemen for 8 miles instead of running down the remaining black troops? Why not at the very least split up and send one group after the handful of mounted troops and have another dispatch the infantrymen?

Documentary sources such as the May 1916 Joplin News article suggest that the union troops retreated to the west, in the direction of the artifact scatter. The archaeological evidence is consistent with a fighting retreat into heavy brush which could also explain why half of the infantry got away from the mounted guerrillas, and why the guerrillas chased the mounted white soldiers instead of running down the black infantrymen who would seem at first glance an easier target. The mounted men would have been an easier target than the infantrymen only if the infantrymen made it to the cover of the forest with some arms and ammunition and were putting up an effective resistance. Further, the diversion created by a fighting retreat would have allowed the mounted union soldiers to get a head start, explaining why some escaped even though accounts generally indicate that Livingston’s men had better horses.

The archaeological record, then, indicates that at least some of the 1st Kansas soldiers made it to cover with at least some of their weapons and put up enough resistance that they were able to turn the attackers’ attention toward the mounted men.

This fits with many accounts of the valor of black soldiers in the civil war in general. The desperation with which black troops fought is said to have put fear in the hearts of Confederate soldiers. There are numerous reports of black soldiers continuing to fire until their ammunition was spent, then fighting with bayonet and clubbed musket, or picked up weapons and ammunition from the ground or from the fleeing or dead (Jenkins 2002:39).

The physical evidence suggests that the soldiers from the 1st Kansas were more effective in defending themselves than most of the documentary sources indicate, having made a fighting retreat once they reached the tree line. They may have been accompanied by one or more soldiers from the 2nd Kansas Artillery. The guerrillas chased after the 2nd Kansas Artillery troops that were on horseback and seized the wagon train. Contrary to the many documentary sources that recount a completely one-sided conflict, it appears as though the black soldiers put up an effective resistance in an extremely difficult situation, and the path of that resistance crossed the land that will become the Jasper County Civil War Park.

MUSEUM INTERPRETATION

This project involved presenting the results of historical and archaeological research to the public by creating interpretations for museum exhibits. Several bodies of thought guided my approach to interpreting information for the public. First, I used a theoretical orientation that other battlefield archaeologists have used called "historical supplementation," which is the idea that historical archaeology provides a mechanism to increase historical knowledge about a site, property, or region and the individuals and social groups who inhabited them (Orser 2010). I combined this with archival research in order to get a broader view of the site that I was studying, researching historical context simultaneously with the field effort (Smith *et al.* 2003).

Critical theory is directly relevant to this project, and I intend to work with the museum to create sensitive interpretive materials. Since I was researching historical events, including racial violence, that remain highly relevant to living people, it is my responsibility to be clear about the ethics and politics of who I am working for and why (Jeske 2003:301). This requires a perspective which recognizes that knowledge of the past is produced, and that I should be mindful of my role in this production (Orser 2004:8). I tried to be as objective and sensitive as possible in gathering and presenting the information. The meanings we produce are always in the political present, and always have political resonance, because interpreting the past is a political act (Johnson 2010:199). For example, I have emphasized to the museum committee that all sides of the conflict should be represented, and provided them with information on the guerillas as well as the victims of the massacre. My research has also shown that the 1st Kansas

troops were not simply passive or hapless victims despite suffering many losses in a surprise attack.

In presenting information to the public, it is important to look at the thoughts and values people had in the past, in order to place the information in a rich context that helps to explain how and why historical events occurred, and to begin building an understanding of how they may have been perceived at the time (Johnson 2010:79). An anthropological perspective helped in understanding and presenting multiple perspectives on this information to the public. Exploring these perspectives helps me to take agency into consideration; considering the individual social actors and their strategies is important to understanding what happened and why (Johnson 2010:87). For example, attributing the bullets found to be the results of the actions taken by the black soldiers in defending themselves ascribes to them a much higher level of agency than appears in the historical documents.

When I presented my information to the museum planning committee I presented multiple perspectives on the events of 1863, noting that the contrasting emotions, attitudes, and world views of formerly enslaved people and southern sympathizers will be important to include in museum displays. It is not news to historians that Kansas Free Staters committed as many illegal actions as, or more than, the so-called Missouri Border Ruffians, contributing to the cycle of violence in the Missouri-Kansas border area (Gilmore 2008:183-185). However, that fact cannot be taken as some kind of justification for romanticizing slavery or portraying the institution as just a small part of the Civil War or the antebellum Southern lifestyle.

The research reported here will help to set up what Jasper County officials are calling a “classroom” experience for the museum complex; my research will be used in creating the final displays of the museum. Telling the narrative story of these events is one of the primary goals of the museum, and this project helps to accomplish this by combining a historical review of the events with displays of the artifacts that were found during my archaeological survey. The historical research has also yielded photographs of members of the 1st Kansas Colored Infantry and some of Livingston’s guerillas, which can be used in displays (see Appendix B). Maps will be another part of the museum exhibit, and I have helped to create them for the museum in collaboration with the museum planning committee. The parks’ planning committee chairman, Brad Belk, has asked me to continue as a member of the planning committee, in recognition of my work on this project. The museum planning committee has also asked me to present my findings to the public at Missouri Southern State University, and intends to advertise my presentation to the public. I searched property records and online ancestry databases and contacted several African American organizations looking for resources to look through, but was unable to find any definite descendants of the Rader Farm massacre. However, these organizations are now aware of the museum project and have voiced their support. In addition, my research has prompted the committee to begin planning a reenactment of the Rader farm events on the park grounds, which will incorporate the information contained in my report, be video recorded, and advertised to the public. The recovery of artifacts related to the Rader Farm event has revealed new information about the actions of the 1st Kansas Colored troops that were there and made an important contribution to reinterpreting the historical record.

CONCLUSION

The planned park and museum complex will commemorate the Rader Farm Massacre and subsequent events, and my research has contributed to developing the museum and expanding the body of knowledge about this part of the Civil War. The artifacts recovered at the study location verify that a battle happened here, and they add previously unknown information that suggests reinterpreting aspects of the battle in new ways. My research has increased our knowledge of the Kansas-Missouri border wars, made a public archaeology contribution to a museum, and helped to preserve and interpret an important site with a combination of archival research and some basic archaeological field work. In addition, this project has added to our understanding and appreciation of African American history. The information that I have gathered will be used to complete a nomination of the Rader Farm site for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, it will improve the visitor's museum experience through engaging displays of artifacts, and it fills in gaps in our knowledge of this part of the American Civil War and African American history. More broadly, working with the museum has contributed to our understanding of race relations in the Ozarks and the lives of formerly enslaved people along the border between Kansas and Missouri, and helped shed some light on how the conflict in this area of the country contributed to the overall war.

REFERENCES

- Banning, E.B.
2000 *The Archaeologist's Laboratory: The Analysis of Archaeological Data*. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, Toronto, Canada.
- Battlefield Restoration and Archaeological Volunteer Organization
2010 What is Battlefield Archaeology, electronic document
<http://bravodigs.org/battlefield.html> Accessed June 16, 2015
- Belser, Thomas A. Jr.
1958 *Military Operations in Missouri and Arkansas, 1861-1865*. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Britton, Wiley
1994 *The Civil War on the Border, Volume II 1863-1865*. Kansas Heritage Press, Ottawa, Kansas.
- Crouch, Howard R.
1995 *Civil War Artifacts: A Guide for the Historian*. SCS Publications, Richmond, Virginia.
- Crump, C. G.
1974 *History and Historical Research*. Lenox Hill Publishing, New York, New York
- Diggs, Rowland C. Sr.
2006 *Thomas R. Livingston: Partisan Ranger. His Life and Times*. Two Trails Publishing Press, Independence, Missouri
- Earl, Jonathan and Burke, Diane Mutti
2013 *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri: The Long Civil War on the Border*. University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
- Erwin, James W.
2012 *Guerrillas in Civil War Missouri*. The History Press, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Fox, Richard Allen Jr.
1997 *Archaeology, History, and Custer's Last Battle*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma.

- Garrighan, Gilbert J.
1973 *A Guide to Historical Method*. Fordham University Press, New York, New York.
- Geier, Clarence R. and Stephen R. Potter
2003 Archeological Perspectives on the American Civil War. *Southeastern Archaeology* 22: 122-123.
- Geier, Clarence R. and Susan E. Winter
1998 Look to the Earth: Historical Archaeology and the American Civil War. *Historical Archaeology* 32: 121-124.
- Gerteis, Louis S.
2012 *The Civil War in Missouri: A military History*. University of Missouri Press, Columbia, Missouri.
- Gilmore, Donald L.
2008 Civil War on the Missouri-Kansas Border. *The Journal of Southern History* 74: 183-185.
- Glatthaar, Joseph T.
1990 *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers*. The Free Press, New York, New York.
- Goodyear, Frank H.
1971 *Archaeological Site Science*. American Elsevier Publishing Company, New York, New York.
- Hester, Thomas R., Shafer, Harry J., and Feder, Kenneth L.
2009 *Field Methods in Archaeology*. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.
- Hinze, David C. and Farnham, Karen
2004 *The Battle of Carthage: Border War in Southwest Missouri, July 5, 1861*. Pelican Publishing Company, Gretna, Louisiana.
- Jenkins, Wilbert L.
2002 *Climbing Up to Glory: A Short History of African Americans during the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Scholarly Resources, Inc. Wilmington, Delaware.
- Jeske, Robert J. and Charles, Douglas K.
2003 *Theory, Method, and Practice in Modern Archaeology*. Praeger Publishers, Westport, Connecticut.
- Johnson, Matthew
2010 *Archaeological Theory, an Introduction* 2nd Ed, Wiley-Blackwell, Malden, Massachusetts.

- Joukowsky, Martha
1980 *Field Archaeology: Tools and Techniques of Field Work for Archaeologists*.
Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.
- Kelly, Robert L. and David H. Thomas
2014 *Archaeology, Down to Earth, Fifth Edition*, Wadsworth, Belmont,
California.
- Livingston, Joel T.
1912 *A History of Jasper County Missouri and its People, Volume I*. Lewis
Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois.
- Livingston, John C. Jr.
2004 *Such a Foe as Livingston*. The Gregath Publishing Company, Wyandotte,
Oklahoma.
- McCoy, F. N.
1974 *Research and Writing in History, a Practical Handbook for Students*.
University of California Press, Los Angeles, California.
- McPherson, James M.
1965 *The Negro's Civil War*. Pantheon Books, New York, New York.
- Nichols, Bruce
2004 *Guerrilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri, Volume II, 1863*. McFarland and
Company, Jefferson, North Carolina.
- North, F. A.
1883 *The History of Jasper County, Missouri. Including a Condensed History of
the State, a Complete History of Carthage and Joplin, and Other Towns and
Townships*. Mills and Company, Des Moines, Iowa.
- Orser, Charles E. Jr.
2004 *Race and Practice in Archaeological Interpretation*. University of
Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- Orser, Charles E.
2010 Twenty-First-Century Historical Archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological
Research* 8: 111-150.
- Shafer, Robert Jones
1969 *A Guide to Historical Method*. The Dorsey Press, Homewood, Illinois.
- Smith, Stephen D., Christopher Ohm Clement and Stephen R. Wise
2003 GPS, GIS and the Civil War Battlefield Landscape: A South Carolina Low
Country Example. *Historical Archaeology* 37: 14-30.

- Spurgeon, Ian Michael
2014 *Soldiers in the Army of Freedom*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma.
- Steele, Phillip W. and Cottrell, Steve
2009 *Civil War in the Ozarks*. Pelican Publishing Company, Gretna, Louisiana.
- The Joplin Globe* [Joplin, Missouri]
2013 [County Commissioners' comments at the dedication for the park]
17 May. Joplin Missouri.
- Thomas, James E. and Dean S.
2013 *A Handbook of Civil War Bullets and Cartridges*. Thomas Publications, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.
- U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service
2010 Camp Lawton Archaeological Site, electronic document
<http://www.fws.gov/camplawtonsite/chapman.html>
Accessed February 1, 2015.
- Vincent, John Martin
1974 *Historical Research*. Lenox Hill Publishing, New York, New York
- White, Gregory G. and King, Thomas F.
2007 *The Archaeological Survey Manual*. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.
- Wood, Larry E.
2003 *The Civil War on the Lower Kansas Missouri Border*. Hickory Press, Joplin, Missouri.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Artifacts Recovered

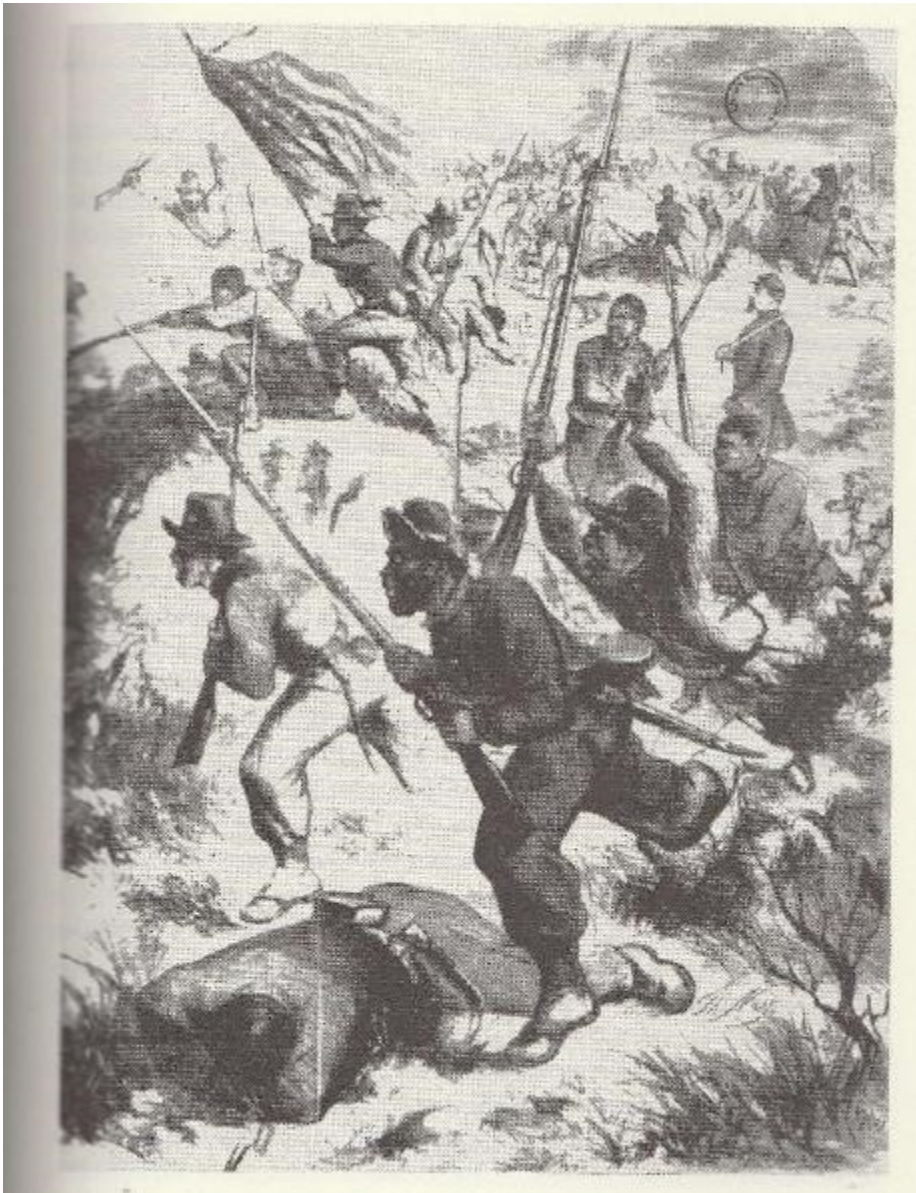
GPS Waypoint Number	Artifact	Depth (cm below surface) and Location	Comments
STP-4	1 bullet, dropped .69 caliber musket round	7 cm	Found at the 39 th grid point
STP-14	2 bullets, two dropped .58 caliber Minié-ball rounds	9 cm (1) and 10cm (2) one directly below the other	Found at the 119 th grid point
STP-22	2 bullets, two dropped .58 caliber Minié-ball rounds	9 cm each, 3 cm apart	Found at the 199 th grid point
STP-26	1 bullet, dropped .52 caliber Sharps Carbine round	6 cm	Found at the 229 th grid point
SR-1	1 bullet, flattened .58 caliber Minié- ball round	7 cm	1 st stratified random shovel test pit artifact find, found in the 4 th stratified random test pit dug, in grid B
SR-2	1 bullet, dropped .58 caliber Minié- ball round	12 cm	2 nd stratified random shovel test pit artifact find, found in the 5 th stratified random test pit dug, in grid B
TU-1	1 hunting horn from a Union Infantry Kepi hat, 1 buckle from a Union Infantry Kepi hat, 1 Union button, and 3 bullets, dropped .58 caliber Minié- ball rounds	Hunting horn plotted in level 1, 7 cm below surface, at 42 N, 10 E. Buckle plotted at 7 cm below surface, at 44 N, 18 E. Button plotted in level 2, 12 cm below surface, at 79 N, 26 E. Bullets plotted in level 2, in	A one-meter square test unit was dug to a depth of 30 cm (3 levels) in 4 quadrants (each 50 x 50 cm). The SW unit datum was waypoint 1, at the center of the southern property border. At 22 cm below surface the soil changed from silt-loam to chert rock and clay

		the following locations: (1) 11 cm, 36 N, 82 E, (2) 12 cm, 39 N, 86 E, (3) 12 cm, 44 N, 74 E	
MD-1	2 bullets, dropped .58 caliber Minié-ball rounds	7 cm (1) and 9 cm (2), 4 cm apart laterally	1 st metal detector find
MD-2	3 bullets, dropped .58 caliber Minié-ball rounds	8 cm (1), 8 cm (2), and 9 cm (3), 2 cm apart laterally	2 nd metal detector find
MD-3	2 bullets, dropped .58 caliber Minié-ball rounds	11 cm (1) and 13 cm (2), 4 cm apart laterally	3 rd metal detector find
MD-4	1 bullet, dropped .69 caliber musket round	9 cm	4 th metal detector find
MD-5	2 bullets, dropped .58 caliber Minié-ball rounds	8 cm (1) and 10 cm (2), 9 cm apart laterally	5 th metal detector find
MD-6	3 bullets, dropped .58 caliber Minié-ball rounds	8 cm (1), 9 cm (2), and 12 cm (3) below surface, 4-5 cm apart laterally	6 th metal detector find
MD-7	2 bullets, dropped .50 caliber Smith Carbine rounds	11 cm (1) and 13 cm (2), 14 cm apart laterally	7 th metal detector find
MD-8	2 bullets, dropped .50 Smith Carbine rounds	9 cm (1) and 11 cm (2), 8 cm apart laterally	8 th metal detector find
MD-9	2 bullets, one .69 caliber musket ball (sphere, flattened on one side), and one dropped .58 caliber Minié-ball round	7 cm (ball) and 11 cm (mini-ball), 16 cm apart laterally	9 th metal detector find

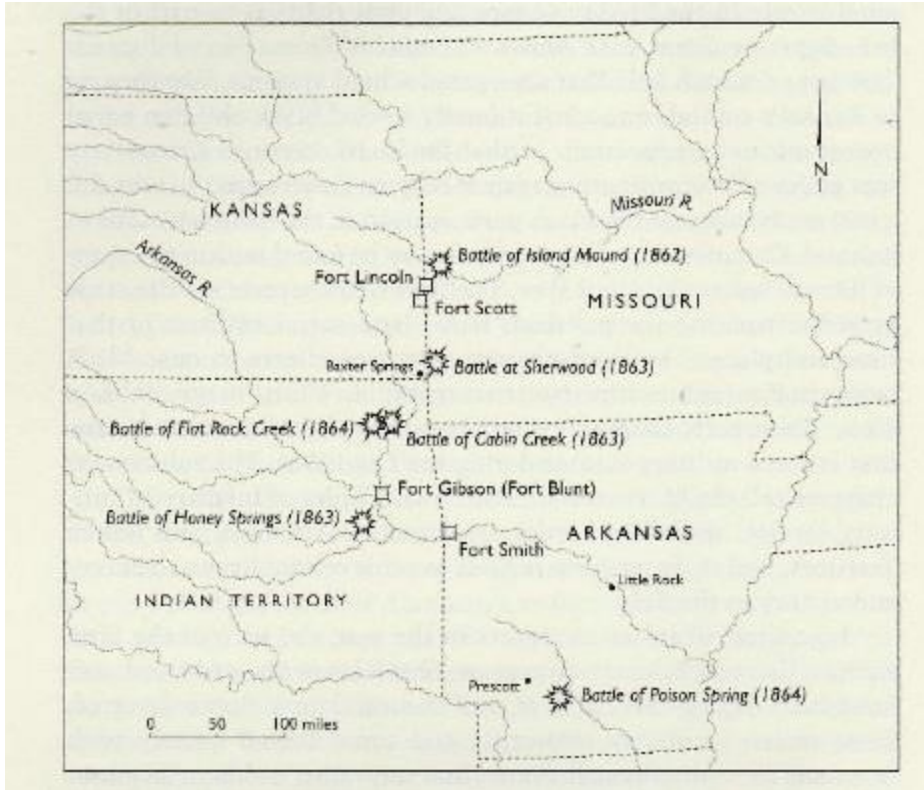
MD-10	3 bullets, dropped .50 caliber Smith Carbine rounds	All 3 found 10 cm deep, less than 2 cm apart	10 th metal detector find
MD-11	1 bullet, dropped .44 caliber Colt revolver round	7 cm	11 th metal detector find
MD-12	2 bullets, dropped .58 caliber Minié- ball rounds	Both 11 cm below surface, 3 cm apart laterally	12 th metal detector find
MD-13	1 bullet, flattened .58 caliber Minié- ball round	9 cm	13 th metal detector find
MD-14	1 bullet, dropped .52 caliber Sharps carbine round	8 cm	14 th metal detector find
MD-15	2 bullets, dropped .44 Colt revolver rounds	6 cm (1) and 8 cm (2), 7 cm apart laterally	15 th metal detector find
MD-16	1 bullet, dropped .44 caliber Colt revolver round	10 cm	16 th metal detector find
MD-17	1 bullet, dropped .44 caliber Colt revolver round	8 cm	17 th metal detector find
MD-18	1 bullet, fired/impacted .58 caliber Minié-ball	12 cm	18 th metal detector find
MD-19	Canteen Spout	11 cm below surface	19 th metal detector find
MD-20	1 bullet, dropped .52 caliber Sharps carbine round	8 cm	20 th metal detector find
MD-21	1 bullet, dropped .52 caliber Sharps carbine round	13 cm	21 st metal detector find
MD-22	1 bullet, dropped	9 cm	22 nd metal detector find

	.52 caliber Sharps carbine round		
MD-23	1 bullet, fired/impacted .58 Minié-ball round	11 cm	23 rd metal detector find
MD-24	1 bullet, fired/impacted .58 caliber Minié-ball round	11 cm	24 th metal detector find
MD-25	1 bullet, fired/impacted .58 caliber Minié-ball round	14 cm	25 th metal detector find
MD-26	1 bullet, fired/impacted .69 caliber musket round	12 cm	26 th metal detector find
MD-27	1 bullet, fired/impacted .58 caliber Minié-ball round	10 cm	27 th metal detector find
MD-28	1 bullet, fired/impacted .58 caliber Minié-ball round	7 cm	28 th metal detector find
MD-29	1 bullet, fired/impacted .58 caliber Minié-ball round	11 cm	29 th metal detector find

Appendix B: Photographs and maps that will be used in museum displays



A drawing from Harper's Weekly, March 4, 1863, depicting the 1st Kansas' first battle at Island Mound (Earle 2013:161).



A map of 1st Kansas Colored battles (Spurgeon 2014:8).

THEATER OF OPERATIONS ◊ LIVINGSTON'S BATTALION
1860-1863



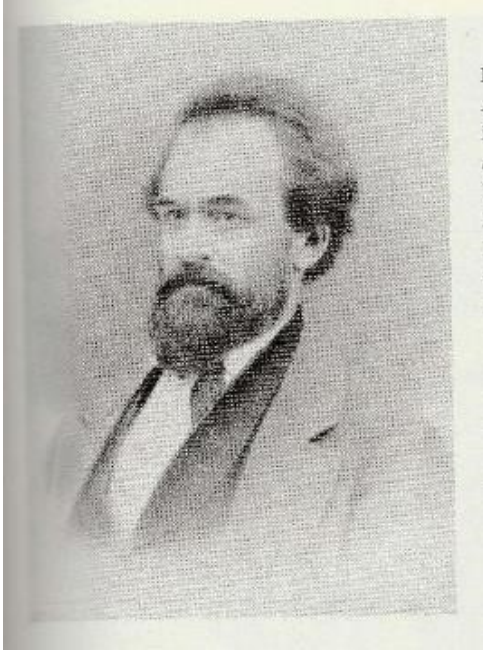
A map of Livingston's theater of operations (Livingston 2004:12).



The 1st Kansas Colored flag (Spurgeon 2014:133).



William D. Matthews, the first black officer in the U.S. Army and a member of the 1st Kansas Colored (Spurgeon 2014:128).



A photograph of Joseph Gardner, an officer in Company F, 1st Kansas Colored (Spurgeon 2014:129).



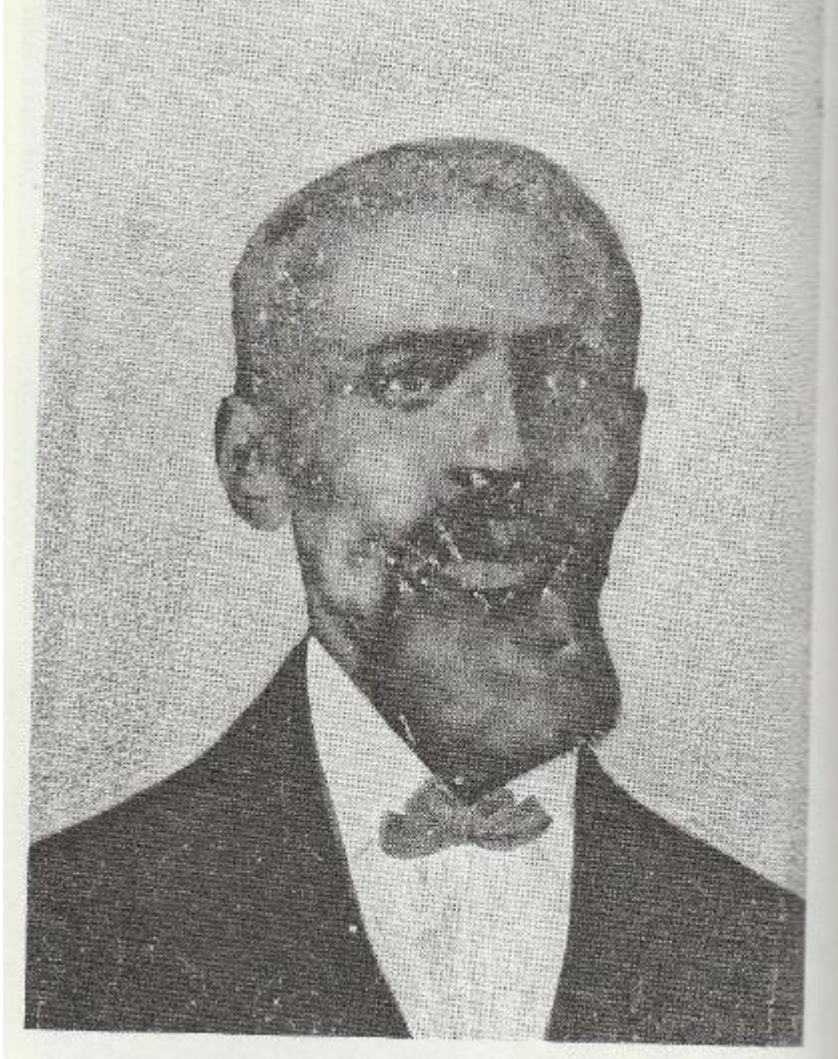
A photograph of Harrison Miller of Company C, formerly a slave from Lexington, Missouri (Spurgeon 2014:129).



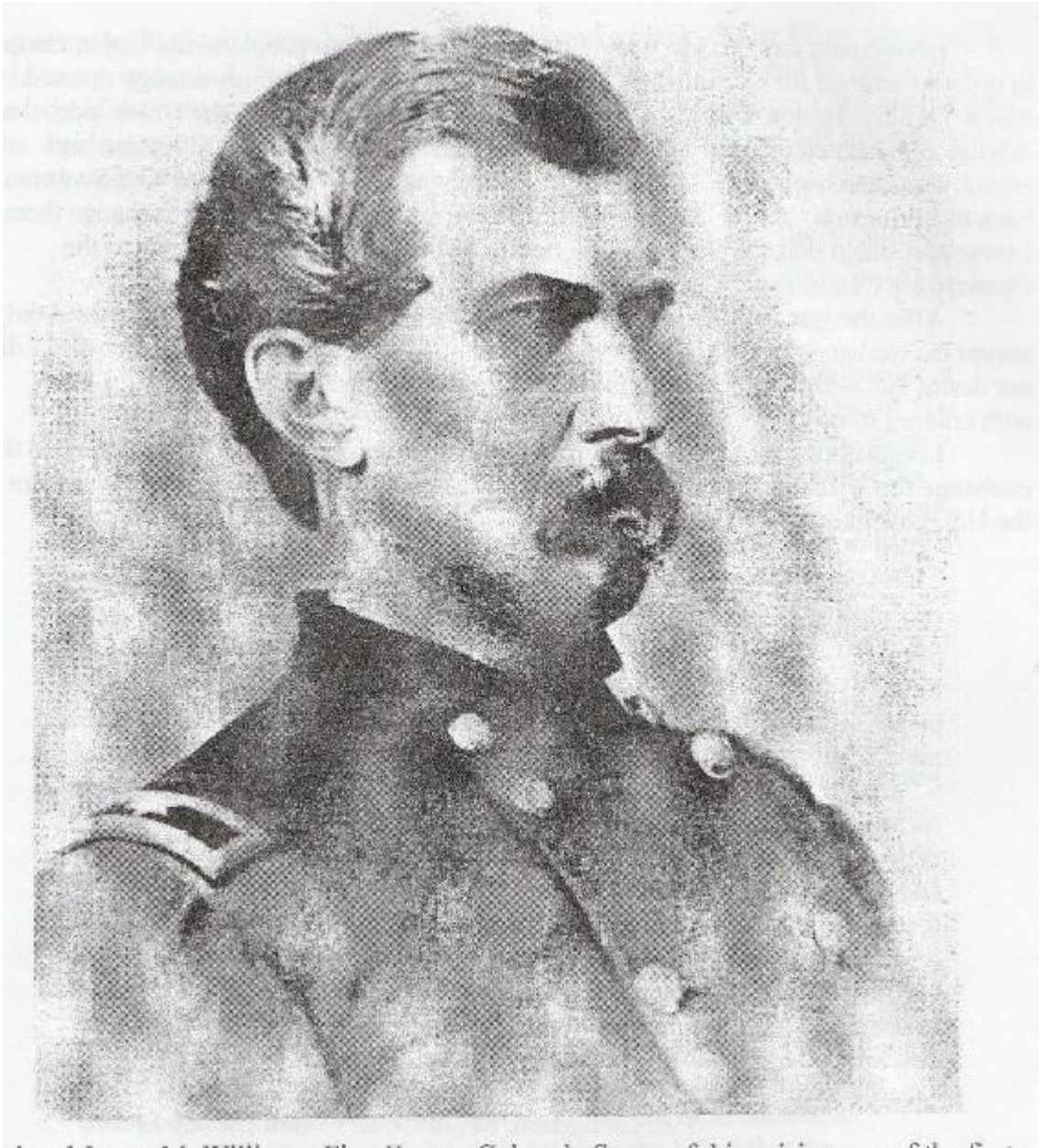
William Gordon of Company E, former slave from Marshall, Missouri. (Spurgeon 2014:130).



James Whitfield Ross, Corporal in Company F, and a former slave from Missouri. (Spurgeon 2014:131).



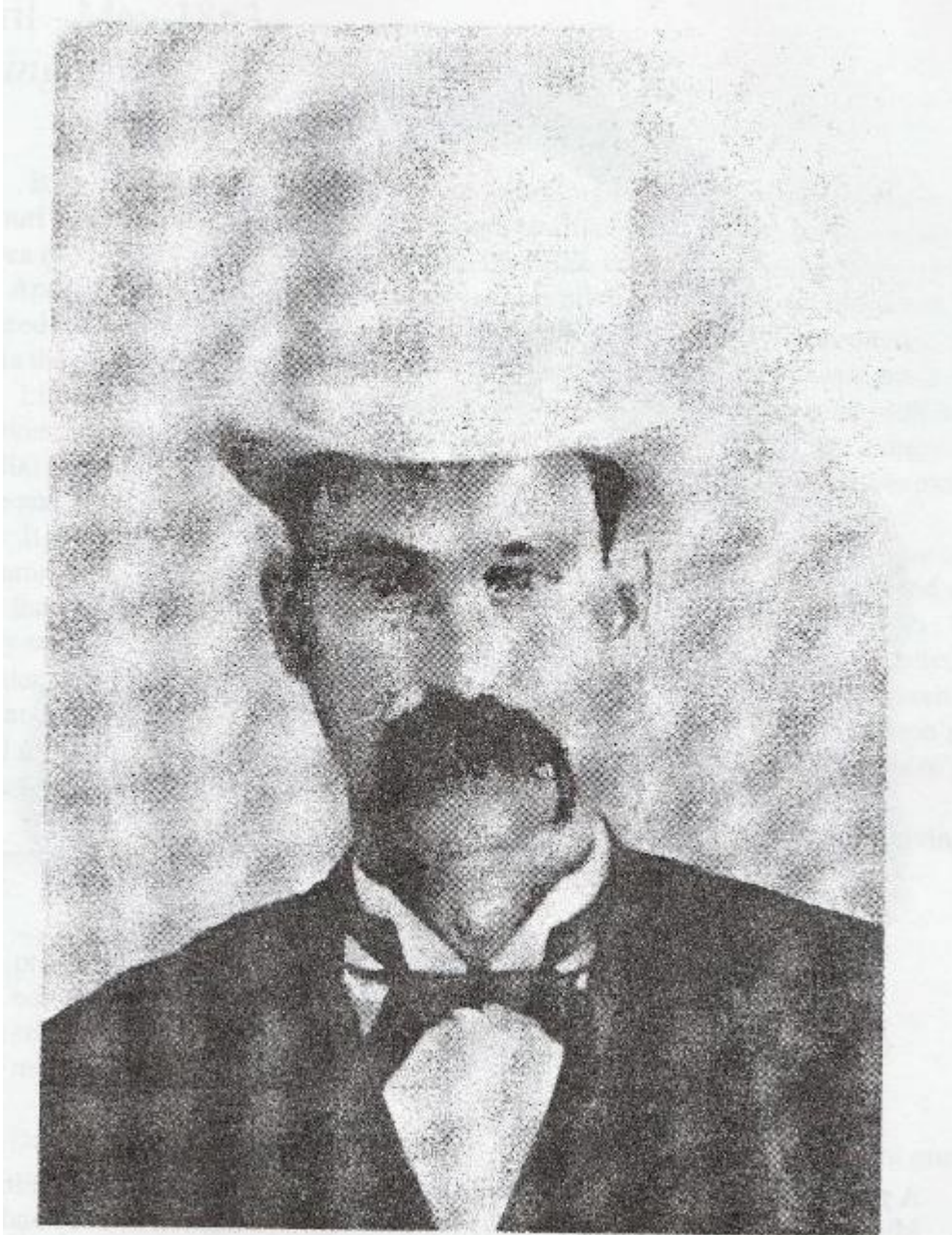
Jackson Donald, Company B, who served with the 1st Kansas throughout the war. (Spurgeon 2014:132).



Colonel James M. Williams, commander of the 1st Kansas Colored. (Spurgeon 2014:127)



James Henry Lane, a Senator from Kansas who organized the first African American regiment in a Northern state, the 1st Kansas Colored Infantry. (Spurgeon 2014:125).



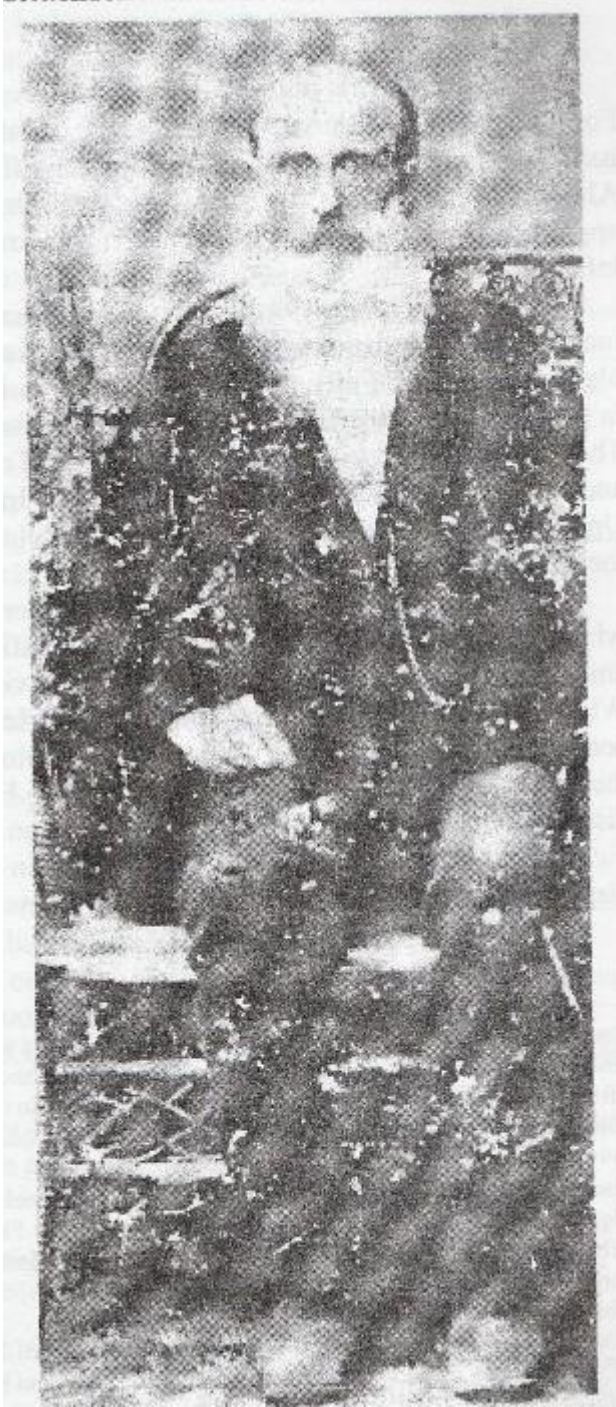
Whit Hyden, who once rode with William Quantrill's guerrillas and later joined Major Livingston's band (Livingston 2004:69).



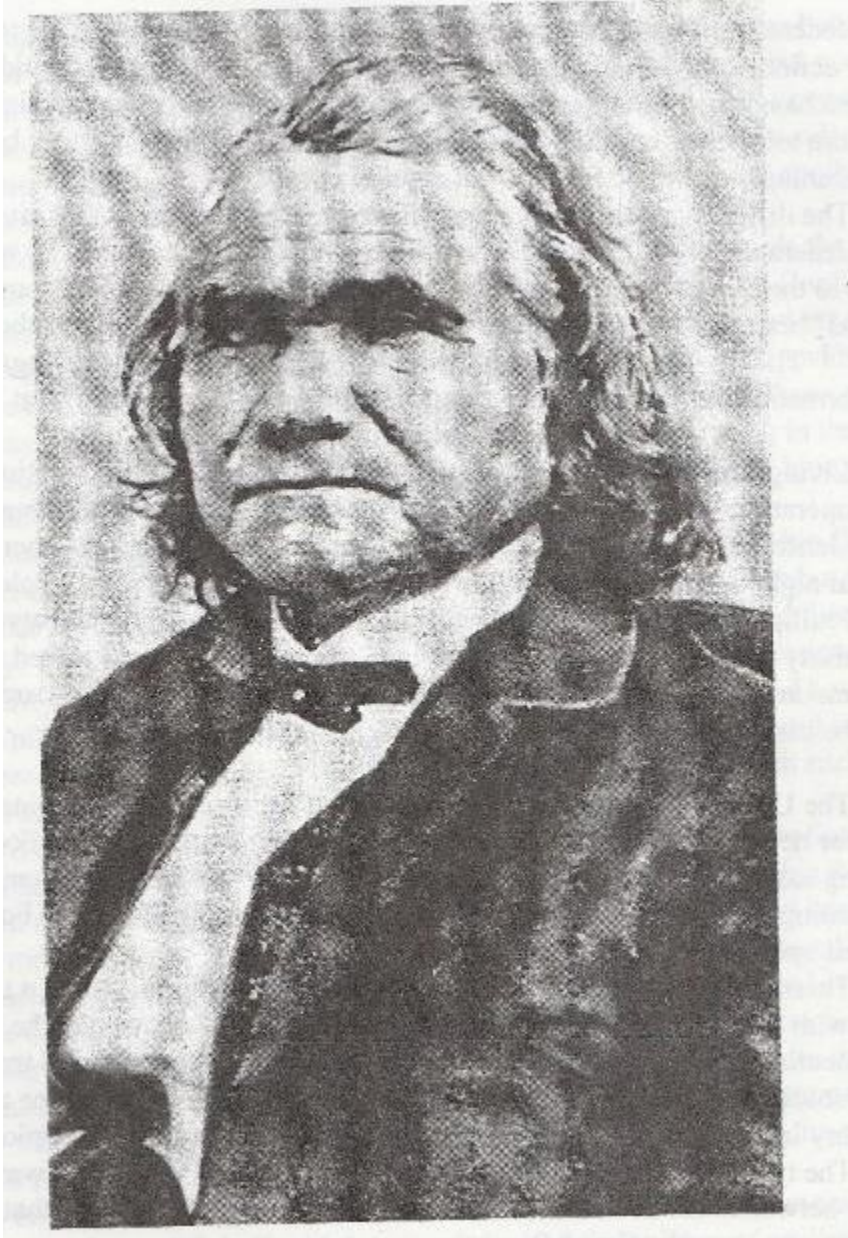
William E. Hall, who served with Major Livingston in 1863 and fought through the end of the war. (Livingston 2004:70).



Dave Rusk, a Captain under Livingston, and one of his most trusted men. He later became a U.S. Deputy Marshall in Indian Territory. (Livingston 2004:78).



William A. Houchin, a resident of Jasper County and a member of Livingston's guerrillas. (Livingston 2004:83).



General Stand Watie, Livingston's commander. He was also leader of the Cherokee Nation and the First Cherokee Mounted Rifle Regiment in Indian Territory. (Livingston 2004:111).