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Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854–1890. By Paul Wallace Gates. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. 311 pages. \$24.95 cloth; \$14.95 paper.

There are several classic works in the field of public land policy during American westward expansion, namely Hildegard Binder Johnson's *Order upon the Land* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), William D. Pattison's *Beginnings of the American Rectangular Land Survey System, 1784–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), and this work by Paul Gates.

Originally published by Cornell University Press in 1954, this reissue remains a welcome and innovative contribution worthy of its recent re-release. With this volume, Gates delves into the problems surrounding land distribution in Kansas. While his contemporaries often restricted their focus to the patterns of land distribution and left the research concerning subsequent problems and impacts upon Indians, settlers, and politicians to other scholars of these particular groups, Gates attempted a study of both the patterns and consequences concerning land at the height of American westward expansion. The author chose Kansas for several reasons. He found that no other state drew so many settlers seeking land (p. 243), that the opening of Kansas to white settlement and railroads in 1854 made a greater national issue of public land distribution than any other new state, and that in-depth research of land policies at the state level was sorely lacking and necessary for understanding American land policy in general. These reasons still hold true today.

The book is organized into eight chapters, preceded by a preface and introduction in which the author makes a startling and controversial claim: land hunger, not slavery, lay at the root of "Bleeding" Kansas. The purpose set forth is to support this argument by showing how severely the federal government, railroads, and speculators frustrated Kansas settlers in their attempts to homestead or acquire public land cheaply and generated tremendous conflict between and within these groups. In the beginning chapters, Gates discusses the types of lands in Kansas and settler attempts to acquire them. Indian Allotments and Trust Lands, for example, were unmarked or ceded when Kansas opened in 1854, spurring many settlers to squat on these lands before being sold or opened for settlement on the chance they would be allowed to homestead or buy at preemption cost (chapter 1). Their gamble often failed, but some squatters organized claim associations to prevent auctioning of these lands so they might purchase at the minimum appraised price (chapter 2). Public Lands were not easy to acquire either, according to Gates. In 1858, the government demanded millions of acres go up for sale to raise federal funds, forcing many settlers to pay up early, take high interest loans from speculators, or forfeit their claims (chapter 3). In addition, railroads competed to acquire lands via treaty or federal grant and forced squatters and settlers to buy at auction price or leave (chapter 4).

The author next examines land conflicts within the Cherokee Neutral Tract and Osage Reserve, the two biggest Indian reserves, to demonstrate how pro- and anti-slavery interests in Kansas dissolved into new factions over the demand for Indian removal and railroad competition. Gates shows how squat-

ters and settlers in the Neutral Tract were angered over losing their lands or paying high prices to the Fort Scott Railroad and formed the Cherokee Neutral Land League to raid surveyors and land offices, destroy rail, and prevent other settlers from paying the railroad (chapter 5). He then discusses the settler uprising on the Osage Reserve following the Osage Treaty of 1867 that granted 8 million acres to the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston Railroad at 20 cents per acre (chapter 6). Evidence reveals how squatters' rights were disregarded, Osages were bribed and pressured to cede by the Office of Indian Affairs, and the US Indian policy created the difficulties settlers endured to acquire a homestead.

The final chapters summarize the fraudulence of the Homesteading Act. Using statistics compiled from land office reports and other sources, Gates shows how half of Kansas sold at auction or went to railroads while speculators acquired a considerable portion of the remaining half. Only one-third of settlers who came to Kansas homesteaded successfully, another third were exploited by railroads or speculators, and the remaining third failed completely (chapter 7). In closing, Gates reviews railroads' methods for acquiring and selling lands which led to violence between homesteaders, railroaders, and buyers. He points out that homesteaders formed Land Leagues, buyers formed Purchaser Associations, and they fought each other in court and blood. Not until the 1880s did this cumulative conflict compel the US government to stop granting or selling Kansas land to speculators and railroads, but by then it was too late for too many settlers (chapter 8).

After reading this book, I am left nearly convinced Kansas bled over land, not slavery, but still cautious in accepting this argument. Admittedly, the evidence in favor is strong. The author proves beyond a doubt that millions lost out on land—Indians to squatters, squatters and settlers to speculators and the railroads—and he gives plenty of reason for conflict by discussing the extent of infractions and injustices made amongst these groups and the legal action taken. While he acknowledges the importance of slavery by noting northern speculators competed with southern speculators for control over land and the slavery issue (pp. 98–99), he claims that many pro-slavery men favored making Kansas free because that would increase the worth of their claims (p. 109). This strongly suggests that land value and availability dominated the reason for settling Kansas, and that land policies led to more warfare and violence among railroads, speculators, and settlers than between pro- and anti-slavery interests.

But what leaves me cautious is the fact that Gates offers few examples of bloodshed arising directly over land disputes. His discussion of the Cherokee Neutral League's violent resistance to the Fort Scott Railroad is excellent (pp. 171–172). Moreover, I believe the author's repeated statements that more bloodshed did occur over land, but he fails to give enough examples to support adequately this claim. Newspaper reports of violence over land disputes, complete with a table of body counts resulting from these disputes, would have made compelling evidence. If Gates had difficulty finding such evidence because of the nature of the records, he should have mentioned this in the preface or introduction. Instead, the reader is forced to trust Gates's asser-

tions based on the extent to which Indians, settlers, and squatters were disenfranchised of their right to free or cheap land.

My criticisms of the book are minor. Everything is adequately explained except for how "claim associations" prevented auctioning of Indian lands and enabled squatters to buy at minimum price (p. 63). Eight figures aptly illustrate land advertisements, hindrances, and scams Kansas settlers encountered, and four maps show Indian reserves and railroad lands, but there could be more here. Maps showing the distribution of public lands lost to speculators or of homestead failures are needed, and many of Gates's tables would better illustrate their message if mapped out. Photographs are missing, too. While I recognize university presses typically limit illustrations, certainly a few more would have been just, especially considering the wealth of photographs Gates had access to at the Kansas State Historical Society. Finally, the length to which Gates supports his points is both a strength and weakness of the book. I am convinced that a third of the evidence Gates offers is overkill and occasionally makes for unnecessarily long passages. While researchers may find this evidence useful, the book could have been trimmed to 200 pages and still succeed.

I found far more to compliment about this work, however. First, it is well written with no jargon and makes for an easy read. Gates's writing is organized nicely around clearly introduced points logically followed by appropriate examples of evidence. Second, the research is extremely thorough concerning the various ways thousands of Indians and settlers were dispossessed of their lands or forced to pay high prices, the magnitude of lands lost to speculators and railroads, and the extent of litigation that followed. Third, I found chapter five on the Cherokee Neutral Tract to be a tremendously illustrative discussion on the lobbying, dealing, and deception between powerful railroad owners, speculators, and politicians that worked to disenfranchise Indians, squatters, and settlers. Finally, the statistical compilation is impressive and supportive. There are twenty-seven tables total, which include data on public land sales, land acquisitions by speculators, railroad land purchases and sales, comparison of land sales versus homesteads in Kansas, and the success rate of homesteads. The work that went into compiling these figures is perhaps the greatest and overlooked aspect of this book. Gates is careful not to let the narrative be dominated by a review of lifeless stats that would detract from this book's telling of the human struggle for affordable land. He should be applauded for obscuring his tremendous statistical work to maintain a narrative that better conveys the humanness of this struggle.

This book lives up to its status as a classic. I agree with the assessments of earlier reviewers who praised it for its wealth of information, its pioneering advancement of regional land studies, and its provocative argument. Indeed, the reissue of this book compliments more recent works such as Edward Price's *Dividing the Land* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) on American land policies during the preceding colonial era. Most importantly, it remains the best work to date regarding American land policies and problems during the Manifest-Destiny years of westward expansion and belongs on

the shelf of any student or scholar of the American West. The book is also cheap and readable, which makes this informative work a truly magnificent bargain.

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Gatewood and Geronimo. By Louis Kraft. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000. 290 pages. \$19.95 paper.

In the last twenty-five years, the Apache resistance against the attempts of the United States Army to confine the nation onto reservations in the American Southwest has spawned a seemingly endless stream of books, articles, essays, presentations, and feature films. The vast majority of this literature has focused either on Apache war leaders or the American military leaders who pursued them, often largely independent of one another. In *Gatewood and Geronimo*, independent historian Louis Kraft departs from the norm and seeks to emulate the pioneering work of eminent historian Stephen Ambrose, whose *Crazy Horse and Custer* (1975) set the standard for the application of multicultural biographical analysis to the history of the Plains Indian wars. Although packaged and marketed as a parallel-lives study, Kraft does not offer a complete biography of either United States Army Lieutenant Charles B. Gatewood or the Bedonkohe medicine man Geronimo, but rather reconstructs the pivotal events of the final years of Apache resistance (1884–1886) through the parallel experiences of the two protagonists.

This promising method of analysis unfortunately falls short in *Gatewood and Geronimo*, which does not deliver the balance its title suggests. The bulk of the narrative is devoted to Gatewood, known to the Apaches as Bay-chen-day-sen, or Long Nose. In recounting the actions and perceptions of this relatively obscure cavalry lieutenant and part-time reservation administrator, Kraft mined through an impressive and diverse range of military source material, including important army archival depositories in Arizona, Ohio, and Washington D.C. Kraft's reading of the primary source material leads him to depict Gatewood as an enlightened proponent of morality and fairness in a sea of discrimination and overt racism. Kraft argues that Gatewood's "personal reserve, combined with a keen eye," resulted in fair and equitable relations with the Apaches, an orientation that often alienated him from his military contemporaries and directly hindered his career advancement (p. 22). In support of this interpretation, Kraft carefully reconstructs the difficulties Gatewood faced in the pursuit of this moderate stance on Indian affairs, including numerous quarrels with General George Crook, the man most often paired with Gatewood as a proponent of equitable Indian policies. In Kraft's hands Gatewood emerges from this contentious climate as a unique voice of tolerance among the army command, a depiction that is perhaps overly kind. Gatewood certainly dissented from the hard-line elements of the Indian department and the army, but Kraft's assertion of the uniqueness of