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Chapter 15

"William Quantrill Is My Homeboy": Or, The Border War Goes to College

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In a nation besotted with college athletics, the University of Missouri and the University of Kansas share a mythology unique in sports. Their rivalry goes beyond the bounds of traditional college contests, according to modern-day sports journalists, university publicity departments, and fans. Whether on the football field or basketball court, their competitions actually are the sublimation of historical antagonisms, a peaceful way to act out hostilities that began in the violence of Bleeding Kansas in the 1850s—or so today's followers would have us think. Modern-day observers have come to believe that the encounters between the two schools are so intense, so historically predetermined, that the rivalry bears a name that is itself drawn from the Civil War era: the Border War.

It's a marvelous, meaty, historically appealing story. There's just one problem. It is not true. To the contrary, "The Border War," with a capital "T," is a relatively recent moniker that emerged in the 1990s and was adopted officially by the two schools as a marketing gimmick in 2002 and gained broad acceptance in the mid-2000s, when both schools fielded nationally ranked football teams. The story of The Border War as a sports phenomenon is a lesson in historical memory, how quickly it can be shaped and transformed, and how eagerly the public will grab onto a good history story, regardless of its accuracy.

Kansas and Missouri first met on the gridiron in 1891, making theirs the oldest Division I college rivalry west of the Mississippi River. The names of both teams had historical roots. Kansas had taken the name of the Jayhawkers in honor of the antislavery forces, a.k.a. guerrillas, during the Bleeding Kansas period and the Civil War. The name was later shortened to the Jayhawks, which combined the names of two birds: the blue jay, "a noisy, quarrelsome thing known to rob other nests," and the sparrow

hawk, "a stealthy hunter," according to KU's web site. "The message here: Don't turn your back on this bird." The school's hometown, Lawrence, had been at the center of Kansas' free-state movement in the 1850s, which had brought all kinds of heartbreak on the community during the Bleeding Kansas and Civil War periods. Founded in 1854 by the abolitionist New England Emigrant Aid Company, the city was such a potent symbol of the antislavery movement that it was sacked twice. In May 1856, Douglas County proslavery sheriff Samuel J. Jones led a posse into Lawrence—the county seat—that burned the Free-State Hotel (one man died there from a stone falling from the building), ruined the equipment of two antislavery newspapers, and looted several other businesses. Seven years later, in August 1863, William Quantrill's Confederate guerrillas burned most of the businesses in Lawrence and about 185 homes in four hours, and killed an estimated 150 to 200 men and boys in an event that came to be known as the Lawrence Massacre. These events so scarred the town that it still observes the anniversary of Quantrill's raid each year, uses an image of flames rising like a phoenix from a building as its crest, and has adopted "from ashes to immortality" as the city motto. The university itself, however, had no direct Civil War connection, having opened in 1866, a year after the war ended.[1]

The University of Missouri has a more obvious tie to the Border War era. It was founded in 1839, and its second president, James Shannon, spent the summer of 1855—the year after the Kansas-Nebraska Act—touring Missouri and making speeches that justified slavery by citing the Bible and natural law. The federal government, he argued, did not have the authority to ban slavery from the territories, and he went so far as to encourage Missourians to invade Kansas to guarantee that the peculiar institution would extend to the new territory. Eight months after the Civil War broke out, federal forces occupied the University Building, the main academic structure on campus, and turned part of it into a prison for people who would not or could not prove their fealty to the United States. After Major General Henry Halleck announced that the university's board and faculty members had to take a loyalty oath, two professors resigned and joined the Confederate army. The military takeover of the campus, meanwhile, was nearly total. Officers used President Benjamin B. Minor's official residence as their headquarters after the Board of Curators ordered him to evacuate the home, the grammar school was converted into a hospital, and the grounds were turned into a giant corral for military horses. During the occupation, the fence around the campus was torn down, the landscaping destroyed, and building fixtures broken. Soldiers were blamed for stealing 467 library books and destroying scientific apparatus. In all, a curators' committee determined that before leaving in mid-August 1863, the military had inflicted more than $3,000 damage to the university, a figure that university historian Frank F. Stephens says was "probably a gross understatement."[2]

Columbia was a town with divided loyalties during the war, but it was the militia unit that held off Confederate General Sterling Price's forces that inspired the school to adopt the tiger as its mascot. In early 1864, many of the Union troops in Missouri were ordered east or south to reinforce the federal war effort outside of Missouri. Seeing an opportunity, Price responded by moving from Arkansas into Missouri in the late summer and fall of 1864. After abandoning his original plan to attack St. Louis, Price targeted Jefferson City in central Missouri, but veered toward Boone County instead after learning of how heavily fortified the capital city was. In Columbia, every man who was physically able had been drafted into the local militia, the Columbia Tigers. Heavily armed and supported by cavalry troops out of Iowa, the city deterred an attack. Price headed west, which ultimately led him to the battle at Westport, Missouri, and the doom of his army.[3]

A generation passed before the two universities met in Kansas City, Missouri, for their inaugural football game. College football was beginning to broaden its appeal in the 1890s. The first college game had been in 1869, between Princeton and Rutgers, and football had remained largely an East Coast game dominated by the elite colleges and universities that now populate the Ivy League. Football grew increasingly attractive to Americans as worries increased about the state of masculinity. The growth of white-collar jobs, work done by machines, and the closing of the frontier caused many to fret that Americans' interest in violent sports rose as an antidote for their anxieties. Athletics also came to be seen as a peacetime alternative for war and a way to imbue men with qualities—competitiveness, teamwork—they would use throughout their lives, historian Anthony Rotundo points out. Boxing, which became a vehicle out of poverty for immigrants, poor whites, and African Americans, enjoyed wide popularity. So did football, although its participants tended to be from the more elite classes of society, higher education still being out of reach of most Americans. Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt advocated the sport. From its earliest days, football

was brutal and bloody. Eighteen players died of injuries suffered on the field in 1905, thirteen in 1908, and twenty-six in 1909, including ten at the college level. This prompted some college administrators to ban the game on campus (TR summoned the presidents of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale to the White House and told them to modify the game before Harvard did away with its team) and others to try to protect players with pads, helmets, and stricter rules. The ideal balance between onlookers' bloodlust and the well-being of the players is one that still eludes those who make the rules on both the professional and college levels.[4]

Each school had fielded a football team for only about a year when the first Kansas-Missouri game was held in Kansas City over Thanksgiving weekend in 1891. Both the timing and the location were meant for more than the convenience of the fans, historian John Sayle Watterson says. Having the game over a holiday weekend in the biggest city between the two schools was a choice designed to bring the largest turnout and generate maximum revenue.[5] (As with safety, money has long been a point of controversy in college football.) The inaugural meeting, which Kansas won, 22–8, drew a crowd of 3,000, but outside of the Kansas City area the game attracted little attention. The *Abilene Weekly Reflector*, for instance, covered the contest in a single sentence—not even a headline—in the bottom right corner of the newspaper's last page: "The Kansas university beat the Missouri team at football at Kansas City, Mo." What are now the Ivy League schools, and particularly the programs at Harvard, Princeton, and Yale, dominated college football, and their games drew considerably more coverage than Missouri and Kansas in papers in both states. The disproportional coverage of Ivy League teams over local "elevens," as they were called, remained true the next year, when *The Iola Register* reported that 6,000 people turned out to see Kansas beat Missouri, 12–4, in the "grandest struggle for football honors that was ever seen in the west." Along with a very brief account of the game, which also featured overzealous fans crowding onto the field, the story devoted a significant amount of space to the fact that the referee, a man named Cornell, was a Harvard graduate, and the umpire was "a Williams man." By the third meeting, where Missouri "finally down[ed] the haughty Kansans," 12–4, the competition was clearly established. Unlike football games elsewhere, this particular one was "reasonably free from slugging," the *Kansas City Times* reported, while Kansas City police and a squad of Pinkerton agents kept the crowd under control. Even so, one has to wonder whether Kansas and Missouri were the main

attractions. The stands for this game featured special sections for alumni of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale, each area bedecked in the colors for those schools, while "what space that was left . . . was occupied by friends and followers of the contesting teams," according to the *Times*.[6]

Although the MU-KU meetings did not attract nearly the press that they would a century later, these early clashes on the football field have sparked tremendous historical imagination among some in the modern-day press booth. Blair Kerkhoff of the *Kansas City Star* has covered the rivalry extensively in his years with the paper and by his own account is "fascinated by the subject." More than any other single journalist, he seems to have done most to advance the story line in the 1990s and early 2000s that The Border War matchup was an extension of nineteenth-century animosity. In a lengthy article in 2007 about the history of The Border War, for instance, he explained that the hostilities between the two states "date to pre–Civil War days and involve the issues that tore apart a nation," and he speculated that "there had to have been direct descendents of the chaos sitting among the 3,000 at Kansas City's Exposition Park in 1891," at that first game. Bad feelings may have existed between the two states, but they seem not to have made their way onto the playing fields, at least not according to contemporary accounts.[7]

The lack of early references to the actual border war is not to suggest that the two schools were not highly competitive, even at the beginning of the rivalry. The schools' meetings were so intense by 1895 that Missouri's yearbook said that "Missouri and Kansas are rivals in so many things that each would rather defeat the other than gain victories over all the rest of the world." The rivalry was so established by 1900 that the alternative student newspaper at MU called the football matchup with KU "The Great Game." The significance of the matchup was evident six years later when the same student previewed that year's contest: "Missouri and Kansas are putting on the gloves, figuratively speaking, for their great annual battle in Kansas City," the *Independent* said, and it suggested a special ferocity to this game when it reported that every Missouri player was "ready to put up the fight of his life." After that particular encounter, in which neither team scored, the *Kansas City Journal* splashed this headline across its front page: "Missouri-Kansas Record: No Dead, No Score; No Injured, No Red Cross; Simply Mud."[8]

Context here is important, though. While the Kansas-Missouri matchups may have been intense, each school had other rivals that for

many years were equally important: Kansas with Kansas State University, the first university in the state, though not the flagship; and Missouri with Washington University until the St. Louis school refused to play any more and then with the universities of Iowa, Nebraska, and Oklahoma. These other rivalries are important to note not just for their own sakes but also to underscore the fact that neither KU nor Mizzou regarded their competition as having any historical roots outside of athletics. Indeed, the first time that Missouri's yearbook, the *Savitar*, referred to a "border war" was in 1995, and the opponent was Illinois.[9]

For decades, the Missouri-Kansas rivalry seemed to play out along the lines of any other memorable college matchup (think Army-Navy, Harvard-Yale, Stanford-Cal, Ohio State–Michigan). The opponents had a special traveling trophy that went to the winner of the football game each year. For MU and KU, this tradition began in the mid-1930s (dates vary from 1935 to 1937). Interest in the annual faceoff had been declining for some time because of the Depression and the Tigers' lack of success on the field. The trophy was a war drum that supposedly had been crafted by the Osage Indians, who had long roamed the area that became Kansas and Missouri. It was a romantic story, but untrue. The drum was from a pawnshop in Kansas City, Missouri. When it was lost in the 1980s, Taos Indians from New Mexico replaced it. (The original was discovered in the basement of Read Hall at MU and is now in the College Football Hall of Fame.) The Taos drum has since been replaced with a standard-issue snare drum.[10]

Football may have been where the rivalry began and where it remained most intense, but the competition between Kansas and Missouri spilled into other endeavors, including debate, women's sports, and athletic competitions that attracted smaller audiences and less money. Even charity got involved, as the two schools engaged in the early 2000s in a "Border Hunger Showdown" to see which university could collect more food for the needy. After football, though, the KU-MU fight played out most prominently over the years on the basketball court. The first men's hoops matchup between the two schools was in 1907, sixteen years after Kansas coach James Naismith had invented the game in Springfield, Massachusetts, and nine years after KU fielded its first men's team. And it was a basketball coach, KU's legendary Forrest "Phog" Allen, who is the first coach on record who was willing to twist history to inspire a player. Allen took aside one of his key players, Tusten Ackerman, during a game in 1923. He knew that as a boy Ackerman had idolized KU's first great football player,

Tommy Johnson, who had died in 1912. Two years before Johnson's death, a pair of Missouri players had delivered a "vicious hit" on him during a game. There was never any evidence that any connection existed between that hit and Johnson's death, but Allen told Ackerman: "I thought they had done Tommy Johnson wrong. Tonight, you're Tommy Johnson." Ackerman bit on Allen's fable and scored a game-high 11 points.[11]

Partly because of the crowd's proximity to the court, basketball games seemed to be where the most frightening clashes between the two schools took place. In 1951, Missouri's basketball coach, Sparky Stalcup, prevented angry partisans from starting a large fight after a Jayhawk player stepped on the stomach of a Missouri guard. The referee ejected the Kansan, but the Tigers in the crowd would not be placated. Finally Stalcup stepped up to a microphone, commended KU's Phog Allen on his coaching, and inspired his own players to make peace spontaneously with the Jayhawk team. Norm Stewart, who would later coach Missouri's basketball team, recalled that in his own days on the team in the mid-1950s, Tigers would run through the Allen Fieldhouse before games with Kansas to practice ducking cans and other objects that Jayhawk fans would throw at them. In the fall of 1960, the KU football team had beaten Mizzou, which to that point had been ranked No. 1 in the country. The loss ended MU's chance at a national title. Then officials discovered that the Jayhawks' running back had violated NCAA rules by accepting a plane ticket. Kansas fans suspected that someone at Missouri had discovered this and reported it as a way of getting back at KU. At the basketball game the following March, the benches of both teams cleared in a wild fight that featured punching, kicking, and wrestling and drew hundreds of fans onto the floor of Missouri's field house. By beating the Jayhawks, 79–76, the Tigers robbed KU of its shot at a conference title and ended a ten-game winning streak that KU hoopsters had begun in 1959.[12]

Judging the historical importance of that game is difficult. Did it mark the end of a gentler era, or was it an anomaly more in line with the 1951 episode? Were the objects flying at the Mizzou players in mid-decade something new, a harbinger of what was to come? That is murky from this distance, but the 1960s certainly marked the time when what had been mostly a civil rivalry began to degenerate into pure animosity. The coaches bear much of the blame for this trend. Consider, for instance, that in 1952, Mizzou's football coach, Don Faurot, whose team had just edged out Kansas, 20–19, adopted a humble tone when he told reporters: "We are happy to

win, but it's no discredit to Kansas. The Jayhawks lost [two players], and that hurt. If we lost [two] from our backfield, picture our position." This sportsmanlike statement was typical for coaches for most of the twentieth century. Compare that, then, with the 1969 gridiron matchup of the two teams. Before the game, Jayhawk coach Pepper Rodgers had bad-mouthed Mizzou's Dan Devine in an interview with *Sports Illustrated.* After MU won that game 69–21, "I gave Dan the peace sign and got half of it back," Rodgers said. Devine denied that he had flipped off Rodgers and added that his own fans were upset that he hadn't rolled up the score to an even 70. In 1995, Kansas threw a touchdown pass with 88 seconds left in the game, despite its already dominating, 42–23. Furious, Missouri coach Larry Smith "offered a one-armed salute" to KU's Glen Mason. "Good," Mason told reporters. "Maybe this is getting to be a heated rivalry again." Note, however, that nothing the coaches said had any sort of historical reference, and certainly not to the 1850s or 1860s. In basketball, meanwhile, Norm Stewart, who had become a coaching legend, famously hated Kansas to the point that he would not spend a penny in the state. Whenever his team faced the Jayhawks they spent the night before in Kansas City, Missouri, and gassed up the bus before crossing the state line.[13]

Don Fambrough, who coached Kansas football from 1971 to 1974 and 1979 to 1982, appears to have been the first person to introduce historical memory into the rivalry. For him, there was never a moment when the rivalry was anything but white-hot. "I dislike 'em," he told a reporter, "and I don't give a damn who knows it." Like Stewart, he did not like to cross the state line, even refusing to see a recommended surgeon in Missouri. "I wouldn't go," he said. "I'd rather die. I'd rather die than have some Missouri bastard cut on me." He was well known for his annual pep talk to the football team before games. By the early twenty-first century, his message went about like this: "It's (expletive) war! They started the war! They sent that (expletive) (William) Quantrill over here! That (expletive) killed all the men, raped all the women, burned the town down!" He once told the team that Quantrill was a Missouri graduate, although that was not true. He was amused when the history department objected to his interpretation and promised to leave history to the historians. But he did not.[14]

Despite Fambrough's analysis, the historical angle to the rivalry did not seep into the popular imagination until the 1990s. The earliest mention of a "border war" between the two schools appeared in 1990, and it showed up in two venues. One was *Sports Illustrated*, which mentioned the Civil War experience as a backdrop for the modern rivalry. But the reference was brief and oddly light-hearted as the reporter described the 1863 attack on KU's home town this way: "Quantrill's Raiders—now we're talkin' serious woofing—slam-dunked across the border from Missouri and burned Lawrence to the ground." The other reference, in the *Kansas City Star*, was even more brief, as Kerkhoff wrote that the hoops "battle for the nation's No. 1 ranking boils down to a border war" between the two schools. But the notion of this being a rivalry that always had historical roots did not take hold until the middle of that decade. It is hard to know quite why that is, but it may be the interest that Kerkhoff has in history. In his years with the *Kansas City Star*, he has written repeatedly about both the historical and the more sports-oriented Border Wars and claimed that history has infected the rivalry. For the 1995 meeting, for instance, his lead referred to the matchup as the "104th Border War." By about 1997, there is considerable evidence that both sides began to regard the animosity as being historically predetermined. The periodization squares with the memories of Erik Ashel, who would later produce a documentary about the football game:

> I grew up loving Kansas and hating Missouri, but until I got to KU in the fall of 1996, I never really knew why. I figured proximity was probably the best explanation for the animosity. I was only half right. When you get to Lawrence, just as I assume is the case when you arrive in Columbia, it doesn't take long to be indoctrinated into the bitter feud that existed prior to either university.[15]

The open animus of the coaches and the appeal of this being a rivalry with deep historical roots infected the fans. For many, what had been a standard athletic rivalry with great sportsmanship was replaced by a historically determined hatred of the opposition. The 1996 Missouri yearbook, for instance, wrote about the Jayhawks as the Tigers' "hated rival," even as it described the annual gridiron meeting as "a classic." The new, hardened attitude left older observers puzzled. Van Robinson played football for the Tigers in 1944. He was shocked when he attended a Missouri-Kansas game in the early 2000s and encountered considerable hostility on the part of KU fans toward Missouri. "This was stuff I never heard when I was playing," he said. He was especially offended by Jayhawks wearing T-shirts that said, "Muck Fizzou." Bewildered, someone in his group finally asked a

Kansas fan why they were so angry. "Because you had slaves," the man said. Robinson said he thought, "My god, they're living in the 19th century. What's going on?"[16]

In 2002 the two schools decided to declare war officially. They adopted "The Border War" as the formal title of almost every athletic meeting and established a Border War Series. This awarded points to each school for winning head-to-head contests in baseball, basketball, football, soccer, softball, women's swimming, women's tennis, and volleyball. More points would accrue to whichever school's cross-country, golf, or track team finished higher at Big 12 championship events. Bonus points were given for postseason competitions that involved the two universities.

This was about more than sports, however. The institutions had figured out a way to exploit the competition financially. The Midwest Ford Dealers paid to underwrite the new program, in which a traveling trophy was awarded, and the schools could collect royalties on "The Border War" for every T-shirt or other item with the term. As has been the case since the early days of college sports, the universities found a new way to generate revenue from their teams. This was not even the first time one of these two schools in particular had capitalized on their rivalry to boost income. Missouri had used the opportunity of the 1911 meeting of the teams to invite its alumni to come back and attend the game. One of the great benefits of homecomings, of course, is that they tend to prompt nostalgic alumni to give money to the institution.[17]

Two years later, however, the schools backed off the phrase in favor of "The Border Showdown." In a perplexing statement, given that "The Border War" had been adopted after the September 11 terrorist attacks, KU athletic director Lew Perkins said, "We feel that in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, and the ensuing events around the world, it is inappropriate to use the term 'war' to describe intercollegiate athletics events." Ashel, the television producer and KU alumnus, decried the "political correctness" that led the schools to rename the rivalry, writing: "If any series deserves to be called a 'war,' it's this one. A rivalry with so much meaning to so many people needs a name that represents its level of historical importance." And then Ashel quoted former Kansas coach "and legendary Missouri hater" Fambrough in saying, "Border Showdown sounds like we're going to a tea party . . . not a football game."[18]

"The Border Showdown" has never taken hold in the public imagination, though. In 2007, the Jayhawks were ranked No. 2 nationally and the

Tigers No. 3 by the time the teams faced off in late November. For the first time, the rivalry gained national attention, and "The Border War" was a great hook for the sports media. Bewildered by an antagonism that was just coming to his notice, a *Sports Illustrated* writer interviewed two of his colleagues—one a Jayhawk, the other a Tiger—about the contest. Once again, history appeared to be at the bottom of the hostility. "It's more than the schools," supervising producer and KU grad Dan George said, "it's a state thing going back to the Civil War, when William Quantrill's Confederate guerrillas burned Lawrence and murdered nearly 200 people. Neither Missouri nor Kansas folks have forgotten it. As the saying goes, the only good thing to come out of Missouri is I-70." When asked what he would do if the hated Jayhawks won the national title, Adam Levine, SI.com's executive editor, also hearkened back to the mid-nineteenth century. He said he would "lead a war party down to Lawrence and burn that mother down."[19]

With the two football teams performing so well and with such an appealing peg, the media could not stop themselves from drawing dramatic connections between the athletic Border War and the historical one. "Digital bushwhackers and jayhawkers" still fought, the *Kansas City Star* wrote, just without bullets. Now they were using "today's fan weapon of choice—keyboard strokes and the 'send' button." Metro Sports, Kansas City's local sports station, was graver in its approach. "Kansas is no longer a matter of life and death, although to the fans of these two schools, it definitely feels like it," intoned the promotional material for a documentary about the rivalry. This competition is "one of the most heated and historically significant rivalries in all of sports," according to Metro Sports, which produced the film. The hyperbolic tone continued as the anonymous writer claimed that the KU-MU game was "the only American college rivalry derived from actual warfare."[20]

T-shirt vendors helped bring considerable attention to the game through their questionable taste. Now Missouri fans could wear a top that featured a photo of William Quantrill and said "Quantrill Is My Homeboy." Another unlicensed tee showed Lawrence in flames with the word "Scoreboard" and the Tigers' logo underneath. On the back was Quantrill's slogan: "Raise the black flag and ride hard, boys. Our cause is just and our enemies many." The shirt drew attention from across the country, most of it negative. "Talk about going straight past normal levels of fan behavior and making a hard right turn into loony land, that might be the single most offensive game day t-shirt I've ever seen," AOL News blogger Nathan

Fowler wrote in a piece called "We Burned Your Town to the Ground!" Kansas supporters struck back with their own unlicensed shirts featuring John Steuart Curry's depiction of John Brown that said "Kansas: Keeping America Safe from Missouri since 1854." The sartorial imbroglio made Fowler worry what might happen on game day.

> This game is going to be played on a neutral site at Arrowhead Stadium in Kansas City—home to huge parking lots for tailgating and beer sales in the stadium during the game. It's going to be for a berth in the Big XII Championship Game at the very least, and a shot at the National Championship at the most. Liquored up fans sharing the same parking lots and stadium, some who are celebrating their history of brutal violence against each other? Two fan bases who hate each other, with the chance to not only continue their own dream season but also to end the chance of glory for their rivals? Yeah, no way that doesn't end up without at least a few folks in the slammer. It's going to be a fun Saturday for the KCPD and Jackson County Sheriffs.[21]

Happily, his fears of serious trouble did not bear out, but his concern underscored how the rivalry had transformed into something nearly out of control.

Three years and three more hard games on the gridiron did nothing to ease tensions, at least among the players. As the football teams geared up for their annual meeting, the *Kansas City Star* quoted Missouri's safety Jarrell Harrison as saying, "There's hate within that rivalry. They don't want to see us succeed. We don't want to see them succeed. They want to spoil our season. They don't want us to go to any big bowl game." MU coach Gary Pinkel tried to turn down the rhetoric, saying, "Certainly, we don't teach hate."[22]

By 2011, the historical demonization of each side by the other was complete. Convinced that the athletic "Border War" indeed represented the modern extension of the hostilities of the 1850s, the aldermen of Osceola, Missouri, adopted a resolution in September demanding that the University of Kansas drop "Jayhawk" as its name and mascot. Commemorating the 150th anniversary of a raid by Kansans that left the town in ruins, the board of aldermen condemned "the celebration of this murderous gang of terrorists by an institution of 'higher education' in such a brazen and malicious manner." The resolution called on Missouri residents to stop capitalizing

University of Kansas Students, Allen Field House, 2009. *University of Kansas students displayed an enlarged (and modified) version of John Steuart Curry's "Tragic Prelude" mural, featuring abolitionist John Brown holding the 2008 National Championship trophy instead of a rifle, during a 90–65 basketball victory over the University of Missouri at Allen Fieldhouse in 2009. Photo Nick Krug. Courtesy of the* Lawrence Journal-World

Kansas or KU, as "neither is a proper name or a proper place." And it asked the University of Missouri to make the public more aware of the broader history of the border war beyond Quantrill's raid. The aldermen noted that during the attack on Lawrence, many guerrillas shouted "Remember Osceola!" "I don't expect [KU] to do anything," said Rick Reed, who introduced the resolution. "They are so arrogant and uppity."[23]

Though both schools reveled in the rivalry for decades, the contest is now dormant and perhaps dead. When Missouri left the conference it had shared with Kansas since 1907 and joined the Southeastern Conference in 2012, the Jayhawks announced they would no longer compete with the Tigers, even in nonconference games. Kansas was not particularly gracious in sending off its old adversary. The school's public relations office posted this online through @KUNews: "Missouri forfeits a century old rivalry. We win."[24]

25. *Kansas City Post*, Aug. 22, 1914; Frances Fitzhugh George Kabrick to A. J. Adair, Mar. 1, 1897, in George B. James Sr. Collection (C3564), State Historical Society of Missouri, Manuscript Collection, Columbia (hereafter SHSM); Cole Younger, *The Story of Cole Younger By Himself* (Chicago: Press of the Henneberry Co., 1903), 9–31.

26. Quotes from *Kansas City Post*, Mar. 31, 1923; William H. Gregg, "A Little Dab of History without Embellishment," 1906, William H. Gregg Collection (C1113), SHSM; Miller, "Memoirs," 48–63.

27. Quotes from Dalton, *Under the Black Flag*, 99, 102; *Kansas City Post*, Aug. 22, 1914.

28. *Oak Grove Banner*, Dec. 24, 1903; *Kansas City Times* Aug. 26, 1905; *Independence Examiner*, Aug. 22, 1908; Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*, 123, William Elsey Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 310; *Pleasant Hill Times*, Sept. 5, 1924; *Kansas City Star*, Aug. 20, 1931.

29. Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 263–309.

30. Quotes from UDC, *Reminiscences*, 131–132, 75; Diane Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border: Missouri's Small Slaveholding Households, 1815–1865* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 269–300; Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 284–291.

31. *Twelfth Census of the United States, Population, Part One*, United States Bureau of the Census, 241; *Independence Examiner*, Sept. 17, 1898.

32. Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 159–195; Rubin, *A Shattered Nation*, 247–248.

33. Quotes from Dalton, *Under the Black Flag*, 251.

34. Quotes from *Kansas City Journal*, Sept. 1, 1918.

35. Quote from *St. Louis Republic*, Oct. 2, 1898.

36. Quote from Katie H. Armitage, *Lawrence: Survivors of Quantrill's Raid*, 78–87.

37. Quote from Armitage, *Lawrence*, 112; Richard B. Sheridan, "A Most Unusual Gathering: The Semi-Centennial Memorial of Survivors of Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence," *Kansas History* 20, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 176–191.

38. Quote from Sheridan, "A Most Unusual Gathering," 189.

39. Quotes from Sheridan, "A Most Unusual Gathering," 186–187.

40. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 383–384.

41. Quotes from Edward E. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride: The True Story of William Clarke Quantrill and His Confederate Raiders* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), 426.

42. Quote from *Independence Examiner*, Aug. 26, 1905; *Oak Grove Banner*, Aug. 14, 1908; *Independence Examiner*, Aug. 22, 1908.

43. Quote from Sheridan, "A Most Unusual Gathering," 189.

44. Quotes from Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 425; George W. Martin, *The First Two Years of Kansas: or, Where, When, and How the Missouri Bushwhacker, the Missouri Train Robber, and Those Who Stole Themselves Rich in the Name of Liberty, Were Sired and Reared* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Office, 1907), 29.

45. *Independence Examiner*, Sept. 29, 1916.

46. Quote from *Kansas City Daily Journal*, Sept. 1, 1918.

47. *Independence Examiner*, Aug. 31, 1929; *Lee's Summit Journal*, Sept. 5, 1929.

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