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Review of *For God and Mammon: Evangelicals and Entrepreneurs, Masters and Slaves in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1860* By Gunja SenGupta

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For God and Mammon: Evangelicals and Entrepreneurs, Masters and Slaves in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1860. By Gunja SenGupta. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996. Maps, index. xi + 219 pp. \$35.00.

This is the first detailed examination of conditions in Kansas Territory in almost forty

years. Although library shelves are crowded with dramatic accounts of border warfare, until now few scholars have ventured into the manuscript and census materials to profile all the groups represented among migrants to the territory during this turbulent period. Gunja SenGupta has produced an intriguing and well-researched portrait of life in the territory which will invite future scholars to delve even further into the subject.

SenGupta argues that the free state and slave state forces in Kansas acted out of mixed motives with mixed results. Although the free/slave polarities in the territory were well-defined, all the settlers shared a common political rhetoric of republicanism and a common set of motivations beginning with the desire for land and material advancement. Thus, proslavery settlers expected that their chattel would bring them wealth and status; antislavery migrants expected that free family farms constructed on the New England model would do the same. Both agreed that Kansas was to be white man's country—completely white if it was to be a free state. And in the end, the victory of free-staters heralded a new set of alliances between old enemies as former proslavery settlers became deeply involved in developing the new state's economy.

Although the author emphasizes how broad entrepreneurial, religious, and political attitudes ran through all quarters in the struggle, her chapters detail the divisions within each group. Thus, free state evangelicals in the American Missionary Association pressed a more egalitarian agenda than did the business-oriented entrepreneurs in Eli Thayer's New England Emigrant Aid Company. Proslavery settlers broke into rival groups racing for pelf and power in new settlements along the Missouri border; their proslavery zeal, SenGupta argues, was heavily flavored with commercial and profit-seeking motivations, a far cry from the seignorial world view of proslavery apologists back East. Her argument reinforces the conclusion among historians that Missouri exported slavery to Kansas along with the institutions necessary to support it: the Demo-

cratic party, vigilantism, and townspeople favorable to its growth.

Of special interest in this portion of her study is a detailed and informative examination of the conditions of slaves and of slavery in the territory, the first such close look at slavery on the frontier at the eve of the Civil War. The vast majority of the less than two hundred slaves in the territory just before statehood were in their twenties or under, brought there in family groups, and employed in a variety of semiskilled tasks. The author's research argues that slavery had a precarious existence and even more dubious future in Kansas when the settlers opted for free state status.

SenGupta encases these and other valuable findings within a conventional, occasionally overwritten, narrative of the struggle for Kansas, more notable for wealth of detail than for the novelty of its conclusions. *For God and Mammon* is a valuable addition to the literature and should take its rightful place as the standard work on the subject.

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