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A CHAPTER IN THE LIFE OF CHARLES ROBINSON, THE
FIRST GOVERNOR OF KANSAS.

BY

PROF. FRANK W. BLACKMAR,
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS.

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XII.—A CHAPTER IN THE LIFE OF CHARLES ROBINSON, THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF KANSAS.

By Prof. FRANK W. BLACKMAR, of the University of Kansas.

Next to the settlement of the first colonies on the Atlantic Slope, there is no more interesting illustration of the actual development of government and law and the building of States than that of the settlement and development of a Western State by Eastern immigrants. Coming from all the different States of the Union and from Europe, and entering suddenly an unimproved country with no means of wealth except the fertile soil and other bounties of nature, they form themselves into organizations, they develop government, make law, and establish system and order of association. More peculiar than perhaps that of any of the older States of the West, on account of the rapidity of settlement and the special struggle which went on dividing the settlers into different groups on each side of the Free-State policy, was the founding and building of Kansas. It sometimes happens in the history of nations that a single law throws burdens upon a community and makes the settlement of questions impossible without bloodshed and strife. Such was the condition following the agreement known as the religious peace of Augsburg, of 1555, when the struggle of the great powers over religious doctrines was relegated to local authorities to settle as best they might. It ended in throwing a greater part of Germany at the mercy of marauding bands and tramping armies and crushing out much of the best life of the people. It was so in Kansas when the Missouri Compromise was repealed and there was submitted therefor the Kansas and Nebraska bill, which made Kansas a Territory and allowed the settlement of a great national issue by the citizens of the local territory. Bloodshed, war, and strife were inevitable, and the facilities and conditions of these were enhanced

by the attitude of both North and South, as each section strove to send into this Territory the largest number of opposing factions on both sides of this great question.¹

In this great struggle, while the rank and file of the people, as is usual, fought the battles and endured the hardships which made Kansas a free State, there were leaders in the Free-State cause. Among others were the fanatic agitator and fighter, Brown, the fiery, erratic, and eloquent Lane, and the wise, conservative, and courageous Robinson.²

As the influence of the last named was perhaps greater in the founding and building of the State of Kansas than that of any other single individual of those who dwelt within its borders, he is made the central figure in the bit of history presented in this paper.

Robinson was well calculated for leadership of the people. He was of sturdy New England stock, a descendant of John Robinson, of Plymouth Company fame. He appeared in Kansas in June, 1854, as general agent of the Emigrant Aid Society of New England, whose purpose was to furnish Free-State settlers for the Territory of Kansas, to settle, to build homes, to establish freedom by living and voting, and, if necessary, by fighting. There were strong backers to this movement, among whom were Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston, and the intrepid Eli Thayer.

¹ See annual report of American Historical Association: "Annals of an historic town," by F. W. Blackmar.

² Governor Charles Robinson was born at Hardwick, Mass., July 21, 1818. His father was a farmer; in politics a strong Abolitionist. The son was educated in the schools of Hardwick and at Amherst College. After taking a thorough medical course, he practiced his chosen profession at Belchertown and Fitchburg. At Springfield, Mass., he opened a hospital in connection with Dr. J. G. Holland. His health failing, he went to California in 1849, where he remained two years, returning in 1851. On the journey out he acted as physician to a Boston company; on his return he was shipwrecked on the coast of Mexico. While in California he became identified with the settlers and miners in their struggle against the "land grabbers," in which he took the part of the settlers. The settlers were victorious. Although Dr. Robinson was wounded and imprisoned, he was acquitted of all charges preferred and set at liberty, subsequently taking his seat in the California legislature, to which he was chosen while he was a prisoner. After returning to Massachusetts he was editor of the Fitchburg News for two years. Soon after he became agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, and entered Kansas in June, 1854. From that time on he was identified with the Free-State movement in Kansas. He died at his home near Lawrence, Kans., August 19, 1894.

Robinson's field was in Kansas, with occasional visits to the center of supplies for instructions. He had been through Kansas before, in 1849, along with a party of Bostonians on their way to California to seek gold; hence he knew something of the country. His thorough education in Massachusetts and his marked ability as a practicing physician prepared him for dealing with men; his experiences on his California trip and while in that State prepared him for leadership. On his way from St. Louis to Kansas he had fallen in with a class of emigrants from the South who were to be his enemies, and he thus found out something about the people with whom he was to come in contact in the future.

As a leader Robinson was always conservative. It is true he was stubborn, courageous to a fault; but not blindly partisan in anything. He was too intelligent and fair minded to follow a cause unless he was convinced that it was right. It was his conscientious adherence to a line of right conduct, according to the dictates of his conscience, which led his friends to accuse him of vacillation; but he was following a well-marked path of rectitude according to his own judgment. Parties and conditions might change from side to side; he would antagonize all or any of them if they came in his way. He was in Kansas to make Kansas a free State, and to this greater ideal he was ready at any time to subordinate or sacrifice smaller plans. Other men were better subjects for the orator, but not for the historian. His head was always clear, his judgment sure, his advice sound; and in the troubled condition of Kansas at this period these were essential qualities.

Strong partisan bias struck deep into the institutions and soil of Kansas. Much of the history of the State has been written from a basis of hero worship. Even to-day there are many conflicting statements concerning its early history, just as there were conflicting parties in the guerrilla warfare of those days. How could it have been otherwise, with the hustling of the thousands from the different parts of the country; with the incoming of Abolitionists, Free-State and Proslavery men, Whigs, Free-Soilers, National Democrats and local Democrats, and voting squatters? Every shade of political opinion was represented here. How could it have been otherwise, with eight governors appointed by the National Government within six years and the one Free State governor alongside, and within the same time the numerous conventions, the four State

constitutions, and the several different legislatures that were convened from time to time to exercise the will of the different factions? Combine with these discordant elements numerous aspirants for office, who were ready to use every condition and all men to satisfy their ambition, and you have a history which it will be difficult to trace correctly until time has worn away personal and party prejudice.

The phases of the Kansas struggle are many. At first there was a struggle for land—for position and standing room. This led to many personal and individual struggles, much injustice, and crime. Second, there was a struggle of towns for position and for government. There was a struggle of the Free-State and Proslavery marauding bands, sometimes called armies, which engaged in skirmishes which were sometimes called battles. There was the struggle of the Territorial government, with its numerous governors backed by the United States, against lawless enemies. Finally, there was the battle of the constitutional conventions and legislatures. This last phase represents the most important by far of the great events of early history, and it is in this that Robinson appears more prominent.

He had not failed to take an important part in the struggle for a town site by the settlers of Lawrence. Here we find him defending the interests of the settlers of the Bostonian party. His position as agent of the Emigrant Aid Society made him the natural defender and leader of the Free-State party, and as soon as it became necessary for organization we find him a leader against the opposition. Robinson was greatly impressed with the idea of making Kansas a free State. He was an organizer, a diplomat, a man who could measure men and parties. He knew when to keep still, when to speak, and how to give clear expression to his ideas.

The various followers and supporters of Brown, Lane, and Robinson have vied with each other in magnifying the deeds and character of their respective hero. Many of the unsettled points of Kansas history depend for their final verdict on the attitude of these three men, who have each in turn been called the savior of Kansas and the leader of the Free-State cause. Each has his place in the struggle, but, as Robinson well admits, it was the people who saved Kansas and not the leaders.

Lane came to Kansas as a politician, and he watched his opportunity well. His great object was to attain the United

States Senate. This was his purpose in coming. For this he forced his filibustering measures upon the people; he posed for their votes and their applause. He was an orator of no mean pretensions. By reducing his voice and manner to a sepulchral intensity he could magnify the most trivial thing to appear like the impending doom of hell over his audience; he swayed his hearers at his will. A young writer of his day, afterwards Senator John J. Ingalls, described him as follows:

His voice is a series of transitions from the broken scream of the maniac to the hoarse, rasping gutturals of a Dutch butcher in the last gasp of inebriation. The construction of his sentences is loose and disjointed; his diction is a pudding of slang, profanity, and solecism; and yet the electric shock of his extraordinary eloquence thrills like the blast of a trumpet; the magnetism of his manner, the fire of his glance, the studied earnestness of his utterances finds sudden response in the will of his audience, and he sways them like a field of reeds shaken by the wind.

Lane always had a crowd when he was announced to speak; everybody came, whether friends or foes, and they listened well to his illogical harangues. Says an old resident of Kansas:

He talked like none of the rest. None of the others had that husky, rasping, blood-curdling whisper, or that menacing forefinger, or could shriek "Great God" on the same day with him.¹

Judge Kingman called him a great natural orator. He said:

By a great natural orator I mean a man who can stand up before 500 men, 250 of whom are ready to hang him to the next tree, and at the end of a half hour have them all cheering for him.²

It is said that James H. Lane did actually verify this condition.

Lane was of some help to the Free-State cause even in his erratic way. He stirred the enthusiasm of men; he kept the subject ever before them; he swayed them at his will. In speech, at least, he was a great fighter, although he was frequently absent from the head of the column on the day of battle. He started out with the attempt to organize the Democratic party in Kansas. This party could not rally enough volunteers to make an organization. Logically, Lane took up the Free-State cause and went with the majority, but not until prominent Free-State men had promised to make him United States Senator when the party was victorious. His views of methods of procedure did not agree with those of Robinson, and these two men finally became lifelong enemies. At last

¹ Noble Prentiss, in *Kansas City Star*.

² *Ibid.*

Lane reached the United States Senate. When the war broke out he returned to Kansas and became a sort of brigadier-general and filibustered over Kansas and the surrounding States. When about to take command of a larger army and extend his filibustering, "Major-General" Lane came in contact with General Hunter, and after the interview the former announced that it was his "sad and simple duty" to return to the United States Senate. In 1865 he was again elected to the Senate. But from that time on his command of popular applause in Kansas weakened. Finally, soured, discontented, and unbalanced, he took his own life, a sad but not a surprising ending of such an eventful career.

John Brown had no method in his madness. Worshipped as the hero of Harpers Ferry, and at one time supported by many of the members of the Free-State cause, his star wanes and fades as the strong light of history is turned upon it. When Brown came to Kansas with his radical measures he found a few radical men who supported and upheld him. By his actions these were bound to the Free-State cause; beyond that his influence was rather harmful to the cause of liberty than otherwise. His Kansas record will not bear the enlightened touch of history. His whole life accomplished but one great thing; it revealed to the hearts and minds of the people their own thoughts, and in this way he became a power in the land. As a mythical hero he aroused enthusiasm for the cause which put down the rebellion and eradicated slavery. But no rational historian to-day can sanction the course he pursued in Kansas.

Brown and Lane both talked of a "higher law" which placed them above the recognition of Federal authority. He was disgusted at the Free-State party because it was not thoroughly Abolition in nature. He had no use for conventions, legislatures, and laws. These were too formal. He believed not in talk; he believed in action. He arose to speak but once, and then by his vehement antislavery doctrine drove the Free-State Democrats into the Proslavery party. But he became a terror to the foes of the Free-State party as well as a menace to the latter's cause. "He and his sons and followers came forth at the notes of the conflict as the eagles to the slaughter, and then went away."¹

¹Noble Prentiss.

On the contrary, the actual services of Robinson are the more apparent to the people and to the historian as years disclose the real situation of the case. Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston, who watched every movement in Kansas from its foundation, in speaking before the Massachusetts Historical Society in May, 1884 paid this tribute to the character of Charles Robinson:

He was cool, judicious, and entirely devoid of fear, and in every respect worthy of the confidence reposed in him by the settlers and the society. He was obliged to submit to great hardships and injustice, chiefly through the imbecility of the United States Government's agents. He was imprisoned, his house was burned, and his life was often threatened. Yet he never bore arms or omitted to do whatever he thought to be his duty. He sternly held the people to loyalty to the Government against the arguments and example of the "higher-law" men, who were always armed, who were not real settlers, and who were combined in bringing about the border war, which they hoped would extend to the older States. The policy of the New England Society carried out by Robinson and those who acted with him in Kansas was finally successful and triumphant.¹

While Robinson always took pains not to antagonize or defy the Federal authority—the only Government recognized by the Free-State men in Kansas—he was also a strong supporter, if not originator, of the position against the "bogus" Territorial legislature and the "bogus" laws enacted by it in 1855. Armed bands from Missouri took charge of the election precincts, overawed some of the judges, appointed others, and elected the entire Proslavery ticket. A new election was ordered in several districts in which fraud was apparent, which resulted in the election of several Free-State men. When the legislature assembled it unseated the Free-State men, who were truly elected, and replaced them with Proslavery men, and then proceeded to enact the so-called "bogus laws" of the early history of Kansas. These laws were peculiarly obnoxious to the Free-State men. They were worse; they were infamous. They made it a crime punishable by death to "entice, decoy, or carry away out of this Territory any slave belonging to another"² with the intent to procure his freedom or deprive the owner of his services. They went further and prescribed the same punishment to those who should assist in procuring the freedom of a slave. It was further provided that if any one should "print, write, publish, or circulate any

¹The Kansas Crusade, by Eli Thayer, p. 191.

²Laws of the Territory, 1855, chapter 151.

book, magazine, handbill, or circular containing any statements, arguments, opinions, or sentiments calculated to produce disorder and rebellious disaffection among the slaves of the Territory, or to induce such slaves to escape from the service of their masters, or to resist their authority, shall be guilty of felony, and shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than five years."¹ Persons bringing any books of the same nature into the Territory were to be subjected to the same penalty. If any person maintained by speech, writing, or assertion that persons had not the right to hold slaves in the Territory he was to be subjected to imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years.

While the organic act of the Territory had left the slavery question open to the people, a fraudulently elected legislature had thus attempted to give final settlement to it. The Free-State men felt warranted in resenting any such attempt to usurp the authority and rights of the people, and refused to acknowledge the legislature or its laws. Conventions were called at Lawrence and elsewhere for the expression of the will of the people, and Robinson, with other leaders, advised a complete ignoring of the laws of the legislature.

At a convention of the people held August 14, 1855, it was resolved, among other things—

That we consider the attempt to establish a Territorial form of government in this Territory an utter failure; and that the people of this Territory should, at some convenient period, assemble at their several places of holding elections in the various districts of the Territory, and elect delegates to a convention to form a State constitution for the State of Kansas, with a view to an immediate State organization, and application, at the next session of Congress, for admission into the Union as one of the States of the American confederacy.²

It was resolved to hold another convention at Topeka on September 19 to perfect the plan for Statehood. In the meantime a general convention was held at Big Springs, at which it was resolved—

That we owe no allegiance or obedience to the tyrannical enactments of this spurious legislature; that their laws have no validity or binding force upon the people of Kansas, and that every freeman among us is at full liberty, consistently with all his obligations as a citizen and as a man, to defy and resist them if he chooses to do so.³

¹ Laws of the Territory, 1855, chapter 151.

² The Kansas Conflict, p. 170.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

The resolutions proceeded to explain the reasons and further define the position of the Free-State men.

Another delegate convention, held September 19 of the same year at Topeka, provided for an election of members to the convention to form a State constitution and to apply for admission to the Union. This convention met at Topeka October 23 and continued in session until November 11. Here the Topeka constitution was framed, subsequently put to a vote of the Free-State men and unanimously adopted, and the petition for admission into the Union laid before Congress. This petition passed the House of Representatives, but failed to pass the Senate. But the Free-State men proceeded nevertheless to elect Charles Robinson governor, together with other State officers, and provided for the election of a legislature. For two years this legislature was kept together, and the constitution formed a rallying point for the Free-State men. The Free-State men refused during this period to vote with the Proslavery men for the election of Territorial officers until October 5, 1857, when the former were again persuaded to take a part in the election and carried it with a majority.

In the meantime, the Proslavery people observing the failure of the Topeka constitution, the Territorial legislature enacted a law providing for a constitutional convention which was to meet September 7, 1857, and frame a constitution. This convention met according to law and framed the Lecompton constitution, which went before the people December 21, 1857. At first the Free-State men intended to go to the polls and vote on the constitution and overwhelm its promoters with a large majority, but the tickets were so arranged that "the constitution with slavery" or "the constitution without slavery" meant the constitution in either case. Believing this to be unfair, the Free-State men refused to vote. Then followed an election of State officers and of the legislature under the Lecompton constitution. The Lecompton constitution went before Congress, but, fraud being shown in its formation and election, it was again referred to the people January 4, 1858, when it was lost by a large majority vote.

The result of this election gave 6,266 votes for the "constitution with slavery" and 569 votes for the "constitution without slavery." It was estimated that a large number of these votes was fraudulent. The Free-State men petitioned Governor Stanton to assemble the legislature to make provision for sub-

mitting the constitution unconditionally to a vote of the people. This being granted, the legislature met and submitted the constitution to the people. The result was, for the constitution with slavery, 138 votes; for the constitution without slavery, 23; and the vote against the constitution was 10,226. Having no faith in the Democratic Government at Washington, the Free-State men elected State officers and a legislature under the Lecompton constitution in order to change it if Congress should recognize it as the law of the land. There was no object now in pressing the Lecompton constitution upon the people of Kansas, consequently the "English bill" provided for a final (third) vote on this peculiar enactment, which resulted in 1,788 for and 11,300 against, which silenced all clamor for it.

While action was pending on the Lecompton constitution a bill passed the Territorial legislature which provided for the calling of another constitutional convention, but as the governor thought Kansas already had constitutions enough he failed to sign the bill. Subsequently the advocates of the measure met in convention and framed a new constitution and established the seat of government at Minneola in connection with a land speculation. Finally the seat of government was removed to Leavenworth, and the unimportant document was known as the Leavenworth constitution. It was on a par with the Topeka constitution, so far as legality was concerned, but lacked the support of the latter. This constitution held that Kansas should be free to both whites and blacks. In contemplating the process of constitution making in Kansas one is impressed with the idea that the speculator, the demagogue, and the office seeker were abroad in the land, and that the struggle for liberty carried on by the patriots of Kansas was frequently defiled by their touch.

While this battle of the constitutions was proceeding efforts were made by a body of filibusters, headed by Lane, to force the issue to a military contest. They desired to prevent the formation of the Lecompton constitution by forcibly dispersing the convention. They made the military board which was formed by the legislature the basis of an organized secret armed attack on all Proslavery centers. These rash movements were thwarted by Robinson and his followers.

It finally became necessary to abandon all previous constitutional schemes, and March 28, 1859, a vote was cast calling the

Wyandotte convention. A large majority voted for the holding of this convention. A new constitution was formed and adopted by the people and application for the admission of the State into the Union under this constitution was made to Congress. The election of a legislature and of officers under this constitution made Charles Robinson governor of the Territory of Kansas for the second time, with no apparent legal power to act. Kansas must abide under the Territorial government another two years. It was not until January 21, 1861, that the bill for the admission of Kansas passed the Senate, and the same passed the House January 28 and was finally signed by President Buchanan.

In all of this battle for constitutions the Free-State people, under the guide of Robinson, insisted on their rights to have a fair ballot, and sought to avoid encounters with Federal authority, while they persistently and firmly opposed Territorial encroachments on these rights. The counsel of Robinson during this entire struggle was always relied upon by the people. Undoubtedly he believed in the abolition of slavery, but he did not believe in an open attack upon the United States Government for the purpose of repressing it, for that would have been treason. He proposed only to the people that they follow the organic act of Congress, which permitted them to vote in the decision as to whether Kansas should be a slave or a free State. He held that it was right at all times to struggle for justice and a fair ballot, and when the time came to settle the question that way it would be final. He was always ready to meet his opponents at the polls when justice and a fair count could be obtained. The movement to repudiate the Territorial government was started in his Fourth of July oration delivered in 1855, in which he reviews very carefully the position of slavery throughout the United States and in Kansas, and reviews the result of the step. The triumph of the Proslavery party had been complete; the Free-State men were circumvented. Says Robinson:

What are we? Subjects, slaves of Missouri. We come to the celebration of this anniversary with our chains clanking about our limbs; we lift to heaven our manacled arms for supplication. Proscribed, outlawed, denounced, we can not so much as speak the name of liberty except with prison walls and halters looking us in the face. We must not only look upon black slavery in our midst against our wishes, but we must become slaves ourselves.

Reviewing the situation in Kansas, he finally said:

If the people of Missouri make it necessary by their unlawful course for us to establish freedom in that State, in order to enjoy the liberty of governing ourselves in Kansas, then let that be the issue. If Kansas and the whole North must be enslaved or Missouri become free, then let her be made free; aye, and if to be free ourselves slavery must be abolished in the whole country, then let us accept that issue. * * * Fellow-citizens, in conclusion, it is for us to choose for ourselves, and for those who shall come after us, what institutions shall bless or curse our beautiful Kansas. Shall we have freedom for all her people and seek prosperity, or slavery for a part with blight and mildew inseparable from it? Choose ye this day which you will serve, slavery or freedom, and then be true to your choice. If slavery be best for Kansas, then choose it; if liberty, then choose that. Let every man stand in this place and acquit himself like a man who knows his rights, and knowing dares to maintain them. Let us repudiate all laws enacted by foreign legislative bodies or dictated by Judge Lynch over the way. Tyrants are tyrants and tyranny is tyranny, whether in the garb of law or in opposition to it.¹

Such were the sentiments proclaimed by the leader of the Free-State party on the first Fourth of July celebration by the people of the Territory of Kansas. They met a ready response in the hearts of the patriots of Kansas. The support of sentiments of this nature meant courage in strife, but the leader and his followers never flinched in defense of the platform.

In May, 1857, Governor Robinson, accompanied by his wife, started on a journey to Washington in the interests of the Free-State cause in Kansas. It was immediately after the attack on Lawrence, during which Governor Robinson was in command of all the forces for defense. The grand jury at Leecompton indicted several parties, among whom was Robinson. This was a well-laid plan to dispose of the leaders of the Free-State party. Before Robinson was indicted he was arrested and taken from the boat at Lexington, Mo. He was brought to Leavenworth and then to Leecompton, where, with others, he was confined on the open prairie in a camp of the United States soldiers. He remained a prisoner for about four months. But during this time he found opportunity to direct the Free-State movement in the Territory. Governor Robinson was arrested under two indictments, one on account of the defense of Lawrence, and the other on account of acting as governor and issuing proclamations instructing the Topeka legislature. While in prison he refused to allow parties on the outside to rescue him, as he said this would bring on an

¹ Kansas Daily Tribune, July 14, 1855.

open collision with the Federal authorities and ruin the Free-State cause. After the arrival of Governor Geary, Robinson with other prisoners were released on bail, September 10, 1857. The cases were never called.

In his messages of March, 1856, and June, 1857, Governor Robinson used mild language and calm argument to show that the people had a right to meet and form a State constitution, make a State organization, elect officers, and apply for admission into the Union. He gives strong expression of his loyalty to the United States Government. He said:

The rights of a free people we love, the Union we regard, the integrity of the Government we will maintain. The devotion of the people of Kansas to the Union is evinced by the stern reality of their suffering and endurance. In wisdom and devotion the people of Kansas will struggle to preserve the Union. Should they ever be permitted to enjoy the happiness of sisterhood, they will do so by endeavoring to make the Union worth preserving, without which it will inevitably crumble into pieces.¹

During the struggle it was finally deemed proper for the Free-State people to vote for officers on the 4th of January, 1858. Up to this date they had held themselves aloof from the elections for a period of several years. Governor Robinson favored voting in this election with a hope of obtaining a majority in the Territorial legislature. He expressed himself as much in favor of the Topeka constitution, as in the main it held to the Free-State idea, and that to enter this election was not backing down. He said:

Let our platform be the people against usurpation; we can vindicate our sovereignty at the ballot box. It is said that the Administration is afraid of blood. It is nonsense; they only seek an excuse to hang a few of us.

Following the course marked out by Robinson and other advisers, the Free-State men obtained an overwhelming majority. When General Geary became governor of Kansas, Governor Robinson resigned his place to go to New England in the hope of bringing influence to bear upon the United States Administration so as to complete a peaceful arrangement of the difficulties in the Territory. For this he was abused for deserting his party and his position. Nevertheless, he acted in good faith, and when Geary's plan failed he withdrew his resignation, much to the pleasure of the legislature and of the people. When the Senate investigating committee, sent out for the

¹ From original copy printed in the office of the Quindaro Chindowan.

purpose of inquiring into the condition of the government in Kansas, placed Governor Robinson on the stand, he told simply the truth as he viewed it. In this investigation he criticised the violent wing of the Free State movement in Kansas headed by Brown and Lane. For this he suffered much abuse and calumny from the opposite party, but he lived to survive it all, and came off triumphant. He was also accused of a bond swindle, out of the trouble of which he came without a smirch.

While governor of Kansas articles of impeachment were brought against him by his archenemies, but these, too, failed. Looking back over his life through the light of unprejudiced history, we find that he was ever consistent with his own doctrine and his own plans; he swerved never to the right or the left in making Kansas a great free State. He was loyal to the people, to Kansas, and to the United States Government. Unwarranted attacks by his enemies, their heated abuse and slander upon him, make his own course appear to-day more rational and righteous because of disapproval by such persons. When he became governor of the State of Kansas, in his first message to the legislature he expressed the sentiment that Kansas would do its full duty in the support of the National Government. He said:

While it is the duty of each loyal State to see that equal and exact justice is done to the citizens of every other State, it is equally its duty to sustain the Chief Executive of the nation in defending the Government from foes, whether from within or from without—and Kansas, though last and least of the States of the Union, will ever be ready to answer the call of her country.

And so it proved, for the State furnished more soldiers, in proportion to the inhabitants, in putting down the rebellion than any other State of the Union.

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