

THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF KANSAS,

OR

WHERE, WHEN AND HOW THE MISSOURI BUSHWHACKER,
THE MISSOURI TRAIN AND BANK ROBBER, AND THOSE
WHO STOLE THEMSELVES RICH IN THE NAME OF
LIBERTY, WERE SIIRED AND REARED.

AN ADDRESS

BY

GEORGE W. MARTIN,

SECRETARY OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

DELIVERED AT

PAWNEE VILLAGE, REPUBLIC COUNTY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1906,
THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FLAG IN
KANSAS; ALSO, BEFORE THE FIFTY-SIXERS AT
LAWRENCE, SEPTEMBER 14, 1907, THE FIFTY-
FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE INVASION
OF THE 2700; ALSO, AT OLD SETTLERS'
REUNIONS AT HIGHLAND STATION,
OSAGE CITY, EMPORIA, ALMA,
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THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF KANSAS.

[This is a lost or forgotten chapter of Kansas history, and I dig it up and put it on record in justice to the state and her first settlers. We have put in our time abusing James H. Lane, Charles Robinson and John Brown, until this generation has lost the beginning, while over the line they have published histories, biographies and novels, and painted great pictures, with vaudevilles on the road, lauding to the skies the Quantrills, the Youngers and the Jameses. I will now tell you who sowed to the wind—all of us know all about the whirlwind.]

A RECENT dispatch (June 14, 1906) from Washington, concerning the passage of the bill creating the state of Oklahoma, says it closed a contest for statehood not equaled since the days of the Missouri compromise.

There can be no comparison between the peaceful, reasonable, clever contest for Oklahoma and the wild and vicious fight growing out of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, covering as it did years of passionate talk and murderous action, culminating in the birth of Kansas and the awful civil war. How many of our people have any conception of the terror and outrage which welcomed the pioneers of fifty-two years ago to the happy and peaceful prairies of this most delightful commonwealth? A few may have a vague notion that in the early days there was some trouble here about the slavery question; and more may know, because of the persistent and exclusive talk about it, that John Brown killed some pro-slavery people on Pottawatomie creek—an incident in a great conflict, which has been magnified until a myriad of outrages have been overshadowed and history to a great extent absolutely perverted.

Kansas has been indulging in semicentennials now for three years. And from now on events worthy of such memory will multiply. A half a century ago incidents of momentous interest were happening almost weekly. From the spring of 1854 until the spring of 1865—eleven years—violence covered the eastern two or three tiers of counties in Kansas, and heroism and self-sacrifice among the actors did much to impress succeeding generations. Then came peace and a period of reconstruction which will call for semicentennial observances fully as interesting as those suggested by the strife to establish our institutions.

We have already celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of the territory, and of the founding of Lawrence, Topeka, and Emporia. In 1906 we celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the battle at Osawatimie and her defender, John Brown. And above all, we celebrated in September, 1906, in Republic county, the one-hundredth anniversary of the first appearance in Kansas of the banner which has brought us through so many troubles.

To give you a proper and vivid view of the first two years of Kansas, I must go to that place of first historical resort—the newspapers. The newspaper may not always tell the truth, but it is a dead-sure reflex of the passions and motives of men and of communities. No adequate account of those days could be given without using some of the spoken and written words of the actors; and while such language may seem dreadful to-day, we must consider the surroundings and the institutions which provoked it, and

the years of agitation leading up to the events which occurred in the counties on both sides of the Missouri-Kansas state line. There was nothing the matter with Kansas, and Missouri, as a whole, was not to blame for her share in the trouble, the issue having divided the people of the entire country since the days of Jefferson.

In 1820 the slavery question had been arbitrarily settled by the establishment of a line north of which human slavery could not exist. But there was a growing conscience in the North on the subject, and the restlessness of the South had been increased by the admission of California as a free state at the close of the Mexican war. At that time a schism had occurred among the Northern Democrats concerning the extension of slavery into the territory acquired from Mexico, which took form in a proposition advanced by David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, known as the "Wilmot proviso." This measure largely augmented the anti-slavery feeling already existing, as it provided that slavery should not be extended into this new territory, Mexico having abolished slavery some twenty years before. Upon the principles of this proviso ten years later the Republican party was formed, and fourteen years later Abraham Lincoln was elected president. The outcome of the Missouri compromise, adopted in 1820, had in the interval made Kansas free soil.

In the regular order of things, that part of the Indian Territory west of Iowa and Missouri, came up for statehood. The trouble was already here. The slavery question disrupted the Methodist church in 1845, and the Wyandotte Indians, who came west in 1843, and who were all Methodists, precipitated the strife into Kansas in 1846. As early as 1852, David R. Atchison on the stump argued in favor of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the purpose being to remove the restrictions from the then Indian Territory. The South, long dissatisfied with the measure, welcomed this proposition.¹

December 13, 1852, Williard P. Hall, of Missouri, introduced in Congress a bill to create the Territory of Platte, embracing Kansas and Nebraska. February 2, 1853, William A. Richardson, of Illinois, reported another bill to create the Territory of Nebraska, including all this region. This bill failed, and on the 4th of December, Senator Augustus C. Dodge, of Iowa, introduced the measure again. January 23, 1854, Senator Douglas, from the committee on territories, reported a substitute creating the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, repealing the Missouri compromise, and suggesting the principle of squatter sovereignty. This bill passed and was signed by the President, May 30, 1854. It legalized human slavery north of latitude 36° 30', opening to that institution 500,000 square miles east of the Rocky Mountains, which had been shielded forever by the bargain forced on the North in the compromise of 1820. Fourteen senators and forty-four representatives from the North voted for the repeal.

And so Kansas was opened to slavery, subject to "squatter sovereignty," that is, that the squatters had a right to pass on the subject—could have slavery if they wanted it. The purpose was clearly to force Kansas into the

NOTE 1.—A Jackson, Miss., paper said, June 13, 1855: "The appointment of a governor of Kansas is an act of vast consequence to the South. It suggests to us at once the restoration of the equilibrium between the North and the South, lost in the admission of California—the extension of Southern area, and Southern institutions—a return to the constitution and to its faithful administration."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 208.

"Kansas was the keystone of the arch of the Union. It was of vital importance not only to Missouri, but to each of the slave-holding states that it should come into the Union as a slave state. The admission of California had deprived us (the South) of the balance of power in the senate. Now was the time and this the occasion to restore it."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 6, p. 194.

Union as a slave state.² And while this palpable purpose was working out in Congress, the sentiment in the North expressed in the Wilmot proviso was vigorously gathering for battle on the plains of Kansas. And so on the 26th of April, 1854, the Emigrant Aid Company was incorporated by the Massachusetts legislature, with a capital stock of \$5,000,000, "to assist emigrants to settle in the West." The Glasgow (Missouri) *Times*, of June 22, 1854, said: "A determined effort is to be made to introduce slavery into Kansas, while there is a general disposition to let Nebraska be free."³ The *Platte Argus* said: "The abolitionists will probably not be interrupted if they settle north of the fortieth parallel of north latitude, but south of that line, and within Kansas territory, they need not set foot. It is decreed by the people who live adjacent that their institutions are to be established; and candor compels us to advise accordingly." And a meeting at Independence resolved: "That we, the South, be permitted peaceably to possess Kansas, while the North, on the same privilege, be permitted to possess Nebraska territory."⁴ And so it is evident that Kansas, pledged to free soil in 1820, was to be given away in the '50's through the very funny misnomer of "squatter sovereignty."

Now, before we see how the sovereign squats acted, or how the principle was applied, I desire to say again we must keep in mind the conditions, surroundings, the life and teachings, and the passions of the hour. David R. Atchison and Benjamin F. Stringfellow were the responsible leaders of the Southern element. David R. Atchison was a Kentuckian who settled in Clay county, Missouri, in 1830. He was a man of inflexible will and of great force of character, big-hearted, benevolent, and of convivial habits. Almost from the date of his settlement until his defeat for the United States senate in 1855, he was a leader in Missouri, and held many public positions. He was president of the senate on the opening of Kansas to settlement, and in this position, his friends now say, he was President of the United States for one day. He said he was so fatigued from several days and nights of continuous work that he slept during his entire term as President. The 4th of March, 1849, occurred on Sunday, and General Taylor was not sworn in until Monday noon. Atchison was undoubtedly the originator of the idea of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and not Stephen A. Douglas.⁵ At the beginning of the civil war he entered the Confederate army, but soon retired because of dissatisfaction with the management. After the war he

NOTE 2.—The *Lawrence Republican*, edited by Timothy Dwight Thacher, December 17, 1857, on the Lecompton constitution: "Squatter sovereignty was always a humbug and always meant to be. It was a dust kicked up and thrown in the eyes of confiding . . . Northern Democrats to reconcile them to that act of treachery and fraud—the repeal of the Missouri compromise. The men who originated the Nebraska bill, and forced it through Congress, never meant that the people of Kansas should exclude slavery. On the contrary, those men meant to force slavery into Kansas. . . . They used the humbug of popular sovereignty as long as they needed it, but now they throw off the guise and Buchanan and his cabinet determine to force a pro-slavery constitution upon us at all hazards. For the sake of a few Southern nigger breeders and traders, the people of Kansas must be made slaves."

NOTE 3.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 1, p. 41.

NOTE 4.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 1, p. 43.

NOTE 5.—Cincinnati *Democrat*, May 30, 1855: "During the summer of 1852 our informant listened to speeches from General Atchison in which he repeatedly declared upon the stump, as he went from place to place, that he would work continuously to repeal the Missouri compromise line and that he would leave no stone unturned to that end; that he would rather see Kansas sunk to the bottom of hell than that it should be a free state. With impassioned language, amounting to absolute rage, he stirred up the people around him—nearly all of whom held slaves, few or many—to resist the settlement of Kansas to the knife, as a measure and event in which their ruin and the utter loss of their property was involved."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 111.

Reverend Mr. Starr, a Presbyterian minister, who was driven away from Weston in the spring of 1855 because of his anti-slavery sentiments, addressed a public meeting in Rochester,

lived in retirement, a public-spirited and patriotic citizen. He died January 26, 1886. Stringfellow early became a citizen of Kansas, and when the end came, squarely and honorably acknowledged defeat. I met him frequently as late as the '80's. He was a kindly gentleman of the old school, earnest and efficient in all things looking to the development of the state, an interested participant in the first Kansas railroad convention, held in 1860, and author of the appeal to Congress for railroad aid.⁶ He was a director in the Santa Fe Railroad Company for the years November 24, 1863, to July 27, 1865, and May 16, 1878, to August 5, 1884. When slavery lost out he became a Republican. The talk and actions of these men are to-day incredible, and can only be accounted for by the general charge all free-soilers made - the barbarism of slavery. Stringfellow died April 26, 1891.

And yet, amid all the bitterness in the volumes before me, I find the following from a writer in the *St. Louis Democrat* of September 12, 1855: "I asked General Stringfellow if he had any children. I shall never forget the sudden and almost terrible shadow in the expression of his face that this question produced. The conversation had begun about politics, and had been carried on very freely up to this point. My careless question, however, suddenly changed his expression. Never in my life did I see a broken heart so vividly pictured on human face. His breast heaved; the tears started in his eyes; he could hardly articulate. He answered by monosyllables and single words at a time. He told me he had lost four children last spring, within a few days of each other. As he described the death of his young son, at whose bedside he sat ten days without rest, he was often forced to stop to suppress his rising tears and sobs. To see a strong man so moved is the most terrible and affecting sight beneath the sun. It affected me greatly—even to tears—not as I saw it, for its intense expression of despair and grief paralyzed my own feelings, but as I recalled it in the solitude of my own chamber. 'That's what makes me desperate so often,' was the last remark he made in describing his domestic misfortunes. And as he said so I thought if the leaders of political parties knew each other's sorrows, the hidden causes of political hate and revolutions would soon cease to be a mystery."'

In these pages I give the language used by my authorities in quotation marks, because it is history, and for it I humbly apologize. This language was used in public addresses and public prints, and so is a matter of record, and an attempt to soften it would interfere with the main purpose of this paper, and that is to show the spirit of the times, a condition which will ac-

N. Y., June 1, 1855, in which he said: "The repeal of the Missouri compromise was agitated by Senator Atchison in Missouri three years before it was broached in Congress, and he had heard that senator denounce it and the North in stump speeches in Weston with the most unsparing invective."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, pp. 135, 136.

At a sale of lots in Atchison, David R. Atchison made a speech, in which he said: "Gentlemen, you make a damned fuss about Douglas—Douglas—but Douglas don't deserve the credit of this Nebraska bill. I told Douglas to introduce it, I originated it, I got Pierce committed to it, and all the glory belongs to me. All the South went for it—all to a man but Bell and Houston, and who are they? Mere nobodies; nobody cares for them." This was published in the *Parkville Luminary*, but denied by the *Platte Argus* and Atchison's friends. The young man who reported it maintained that it was a true report. Atchison was called to account by a nephew of John Bell, and he excused himself on the ground that he was in liquor at the time.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 147.

The Missouri compromise was first violated in 1837 by Thomas H. Benton, who had a bill passed that year changing the western boundary of Missouri northward from the mouth of the Kansas from the meridian line to the Missouri river. The counties of Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Nowaday, Atchison and Holt were originally free-soil, but became the hotbed of pro-slaveryism.

NOTE 6.—See Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 9, p. 476.

NOTE 7.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 5, p. 159.

count for the Quantrills, the Bill Andersons, the James boys, the Youngers, George Todd, Dick Yeager, and the Daltons, heroes of the border, whose worshipers are surely disappearing under the light of better days. This generation is entitled to know what the founders of Kansas were up against. And the world is entitled to know where, when and how the Missouri bushwhacker, the Missouri train and bank robber, and those who stole themselves rich in the name of liberty,⁸ were sired and reared. Without desiring to exaggerate what follows in this paper, I will say there was no yellow journalism in those days.

Now for the workings of squatter sovereignty. June 10, 1854, ten days after the opening of the territory, a number of Missourians met on the Kansas side, in Salt Creek valley, three miles from Fort Leavenworth, and organized the Squatters' Claim Association. They adopted rules to govern the settlement of the territory.⁹ Here are three:

"(8) That we recognize the institution of slavery as already existing in this territory, and recommend slaveholders to introduce their property as early as possible.

"(9) That we will afford no protection to abolitionists as settlers of Kansas territory.

"(10) That a vigilance committee of thirteen be appointed to decide upon all disputes."

And what was the definition of an abolitionist at that time? July 31, 1855, at Westport, Benjamin F. Stringfellow said: "The idea of a National Democratic party in Kansas is ridiculous. Every National Democrat is an abolitionist in disguise; such a one might not steal a nigger himself, but would pat on the back those who do. Nine out of ten men in the world are abolitionists.¹⁰ We want no more importations from Pennsylvania; we have

NOTE 8.—This expression was made famous in a speech by Thomas Ewing, at Olathe, Kan., June 23, 1863. On the 9th of June, 1863, General Ewing was placed in command of the district of the Border, with headquarters at Kansas City. The difference between conservatism and radicalism made a breach of exceeding bitterness, and to quote anything from those days is of use only in showing the bitterness. In the Olathe speech, Ewing said: "There are many men in Kansas who are stealing themselves rich in the name of liberty. . . . They arrogate to themselves and their sympathizers all the radical anti-slaveryism and genuine loyalty in Kansas. Under their agis many of the worst men that ever vexed a civilized community have flocked and been protected." He said these men would not enlist because the administration was not radical enough to suit them, and he was determined they should enlist and come under military control. The Leavenworth *Conservative* accused Ewing of preferring to be a police officer instead of a great department commander determined on protecting Kansas from the raids of bushwhackers. Ewing was denounced for inefficiency, and the *Wyandotte Gazette* called attention to numerous raids, murders and robberies preceding the Lawrence massacre, August 16, 1863, the Leavenworth *Conservative* said: "The old free-state fight which we had in 1855-'56-'57 has been transferred to Missouri, and it is waging there with a bitterness as terrible and glorious as when it reddened these new-born prairies with blood. The epithet 'bleeding' is no longer prefixed to Kansas. We have done with phlebotomy and benevolently yield the word to Missouri." August 21 the Lawrence raid came, and on August 25 Ewing issued the famous Order No. 11, depopulating the counties of Jackson, Cass, Bates, and part of Vernon. Ewing was on a visit at Leavenworth when Quantrill was in Lawrence. "Stealing themselves rich in the name of Liberty" was rung on Ewing with great sarcasm and bitterness. It was charged that Quantrill said to Robert S. Stevens: "Ewing is in command of the district, but I run the machine." James H. Lane made a speech in Leavenworth in which he expressed the hope that the counties named in Ewing's Order No. 11 would be burned over so that there could be no place where a bushwhacker could be harbored. Ewing was a noble man—a victim of the bitterness and cussedness of war. General Order No. 11 was a righteous move; it stopped the raids into Kansas, started in 1855. A biographer says: "He found the Missouri border full of guerrillas and the state full of robbers," a legitimate result of squatter sovereignty. In consequence of the very fierce assault made upon him by his political enemies in Kansas and by rebel sympathizers in Missouri, General Ewing asked a court of inquiry to investigate and report as to the efficiency and justice of his administration, but the President refused to order the court, and at the same time enlarged his command by the addition of all of Kansas north of the thirty-eighth parallel. At the time of his last visit westward, about 1890, at a reception given him at the Coates House, in Kansas City, he justified General Order No. 11, and said that under similar circumstances he would do it again. He was first chief justice of the supreme court of the state of Kansas. He died in New York, January 21, 1896, from injuries received in a street-car accident.

NOTE 9.—Moore's History of Leavenworth County, p. 19.

NOTE 10.—John Calhoun, before the law-and-order meeting at Leavenworth, November 15, 1855: "You yield and you have the most infernal government that ever cursed a land. I would

enough of the Pennsylvania popular sovereignty men if this is the way they practice the doctrine."¹¹ August 30, 1855, the first Kansas territorial legislature, elected by Missouri votes, referring to a proposition to form a National Democratic party in Kansas, declared, on motion of Dr. J. H. Stringfellow, "Therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives, the Council concurring therein, That it is the duty of the pro-slavery party, the Union loving men of Kansas territory, to know but one issue, slavery; and that any party making or attempting to make any other, is and should be held as an ally of abolitionism and disunionism."¹²

Was this sentiment political buncombe, or was there any backing to it? The *Democratic Platform*, a Missouri newspaper, in 1854 said: "We are in favor of making Kansas a slave state, if it should require half the citizens of Missouri, musket in hand, to emigrate there, and even sacrificing their lives in accomplishing so desirable an end." And the *Western Champion* responds: "Them's our sentiments."¹³ July 11, 1854, the *Jackson Mississippian* said: "Kansas is now a slave territory, and will be a slave state. There are already enough slave-owners interested in Kansas to whip out all the abolitionists who may dare to pollute the soil with their incendiary feet."¹⁴ The Platte County Self-defensive Association, an organization of some very live Missouri citizens, held a meeting at Westport, Mo., July 20, 1854, and resolved, "First, That this association will, whenever called upon by any of the citizens of Kansas territory hold itself in readiness to go there to assist in removing any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern Emigration Aid Societies."¹⁵

If this is not sufficiently clear as to the meaning of squatter sovereignty, perhaps the following speech by Benjamin F. Stringfellow, at St. Joseph, March 26, 1855, as quoted by a correspondent of the *New York Tribune*,¹⁶ may aid in clearing any obtuseness:

"I tell you to mark every scoundrel among you that is in the least tainted with free-soilism or abolitionism and exterminate him. Neither give nor take quarter from the damned rascals. I propose to mark them in this house, and on the present occasion, so you may crush them out. To those who have qualms of conscience as to violating laws, state or national, the crisis has arrived when such impositions must be disregarded, as your rights and property are in danger, and I advise one and all to enter every election district in Kansas, in defiance of Reeder and his vile myrmidons, and vote at the point of the bowie-knife and the revolver. Neither give or take quarter, as our cause demands it. It is enough that the slaveholding interest wills it, from which there is no appeal. What right has Governor Reeder to rule Missourians in Kansas? His proclamation and prescribed oath must be prohibited.¹⁷ It is to your interest to do so. Mind that slavery is established where it is not prohibited."

rather be a painted slave over in Missouri, or a serf to the Czar of Russia, than have the abolitionists in power." The meeting groaned and hissed Marcus J. Parrott, a Northern Democrat, out of the meeting because he was a free-soil man.

NOTE 11.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 5, p. 49.

NOTE 12.—House Journal, 1855, p. 380.

NOTE 13.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 1, p. 44.

NOTE 14.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 1, p. 70.

NOTE 15.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 1, p. 112.

NOTE 16.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 113.

NOTE 17.—Andrew H. Reeder, the first territorial governor, in his sworn testimony before the congressional committee, 1856, says: "At the election of the 30th of March more than one-third of the election officers were, as I believe, pro-slavery men. Anticipating, however, an invasion of illegal voters from the state of Missouri, I was careful to appoint in most of the districts, especially in those contiguous to Missouri, two men of the free-state party and one of the pro-slavery party. Notwithstanding all my efforts, however, at fair and impartial action, my

David R. Atchison, United States senator and acting Vice-president of the United States, said, in Platte City: "If we cannot get Kansas by peaceful means, we must take it at the point of the bayonet, if necessary."¹⁸

That everybody seemed to be onto the idea of squatter sovereignty except the free-soilers, read this advertisement in the *Western Argus*, March 10, 1855, and signed "Nimrod Farley and J. M. G. Brown": "Election in Kansas—The Ferry that Never Stops. A report having got out that one of our boats had been carried off by the ice, we take the liberty of contradicting it. Ours is the only ferry that never stops. We keep two good boats, and when one can't run the other can. All who wish to be in Kansas in time to vote, go to Iatan, and you will not be disappointed, for old Nim is always ready."¹⁹

Now if we are in doubt as to whether there may have been some fraud in this, the *St. Louis Democrat*, a Benton paper, assures us: "The upshot of the business is that the fraud by which the Missouri compromise was repealed required to be consummated by another fraud, and a man (Atchison) who made a tool of Douglas for the perpetration of the first fraud, telling him that if he didn't introduce a bill for that purpose that he would resign his position as president of the senate and introduce it himself, has at last found it necessary to resign as president of the senate in order to superintend the perpetration of the second fraud."²⁰

While all this was going on, so far at least, there were not enough free-soilers in the territory to show any symptoms of fright. The possibilities though grew more appalling with the days. The *Kansas Pioneer*, published at Kickapoo, April, 1855, said: "The Southern character is not made of material that can stand every insult offered by this God-forsaken class of men, and if the virgin soil of Kansas must be enriched and purified by American blood, we say, 'war to the knife, and knife to the hilt, and damned be he who first cries 'Hold, enough!'"²¹ The *St. Louis Democrat* thinks the people of Weston, Mo., "possessed of the same devils that drove the swine over the precipice into the sea. How reasonable beings can be guilty of such reckless lawlessness, we cannot divine."²² The editor of the *Richfield, Mo.*, *Enterprise* missed an issue of his paper, and apologized by saying that he was over in the territory of Kansas working for the advancement of the pro-slavery cause. In his zeal he said: "We do not intend to make a threat,

person and my life were continuously threatened from the month of November, 1854. . . . The election was held on the 30th of March, as ordered, and an invading force from Missouri entered the territory for the purpose of voting, which, although it had been openly threatened, far exceeded my anticipations. About the time fixed as the return day for that election a majority of the persons returned as elected assembled at Shawnee Mission and Westport, and remained several days, holding private caucuses at both places. I had frequent conversations with them, and they strenuously denied my right to go behind the returns made by the judges of the election, or investigate in any way the legality of the election. A committee called upon me and presented a paper, signed by twenty-three or twenty-four of them, to the same effect. Threats of violence against my person and life were freely uttered in the community, and the same threats were reported to me as having been made by members elect in their private caucuses. In consequence of its being reported to me that a number of the members in their caucuses in their speeches had declared that they would take my life if I persisted in taking cognizance of the complaints made against the legality of the elections, I made arrangements to assemble a small number of friends for defense, and on the morning of the 6th of April I proceeded to announce my decision upon the returns. Upon the one side of the room were arrayed the members elect, nearly if not quite all armed, and on the other side about fourteen of my friends, who, with myself, were also well armed."—Report of Committee on Kansas Affairs, 1856, pp. 935, 936.

NOTE 18.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 6, p. 87.

NOTE 19.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 95.

NOTE 20.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 2, p. 174.

NOTE 21.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 194.

NOTE 22.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 256.

but will say to the Eastern and Northern abolitionists and free-soilers, that we have in Missouri one hemp factory employed to make suitable ropes for hanging negro slaves, and by hell we will use them."²³

Under such generous, mild mannered and patriotic impulses, what were other people doing, and what sort of history followed? Free-soilers during the second year came in slowly, pro-slavery men more slowly. There were some people at work industriously in a material way, both free-soil and pro-slavery, but the nation, whose trouble it was, both North and South, lashed itself into a fury over the outcome in Kansas. Both sections engaged in the raising of money and men to carry on the battle, and their leaders wrote and spoke as vigorously as did the vanguard of slavery in Missouri, but with less brutality and profanity.²⁴ The free-soil leaders in Kansas devoted their energies to resisting the pro-slavery government, and were not conspicuous for any violence. One writer said that amid all the brawling "You will find a Yankee, a Tennessean, and a Missourian all cozily sheltered in the same cabin, and living together as harmoniously as a prairie-dog, a rattlesnake, and an owl. They all seek to better their condition in life and to secure, if it be so they can, the little lordship of 160 acres of Mother Earth, whereon to propagate no matter what, but opinion least of all things. The Yankee (shame on his education) has never heard of the famous Boston propaganda; the Tennessean has barely 'hearn tell' of Mr. Calhoun and the rights of the South; and the Missourian thinks the rights of the West will be amply vindicated if he can get his favorite quarter-section."²⁵ This, however, need not be taken to indicate stupidity; because it is evident that all were aware of the significance of the fight that was on, but all were not violent or lawless, and there were free-state emigrants from the South and Missouri who were guileless enough to understand squatter sovereignty to mean the vote of the *bona fide* settler.

But let us pursue chronologically, to some degree, the application of the doctrine of squatter sovereignty from the pro-slavery standpoint. As Eli Thayer had organized a \$5,000,000 company to assist in settling Kansas with freemen, the first thing deemed proper by his enemies was to offer a reward of \$200 for his capture and delivery to the squatters of Kansas, and so the *Western Reporter* published such an advertisement, with the view probably of nipping all the trouble in the bud. But they failed to catch him, and in November Atchison and Stringfellow got busy organizing secret societies in western Missouri to foray into Kansas to carry the banner of "slavery or banishment."²⁶ This was at least seven years before a Kansas raider, a Kansas red-leg, or a Kansas jayhawker was heard of. November 6, 1854, Mr. Atchison made a speech in Platte county, of which the *Platte Argus* reports: "When you reside in one day's journey of the territory, and when your peace, your quiet and your property depend upon your action, you can,

NOTE 23.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 60.

NOTE 24.—Here are a few sentences from Gerritt Smith: "Political action is just now our greatest evil. We are looking after ballots, when our eyes should be fixed on bayonets. We are counting votes when we should be mustering armed men. We are looking after the interests of civil rulers when we should be searching after military rulers. I only hope, sir, to hear that there has been a collision at Topeka. I only hope to hear of a collision between the free-state men and the federal troops, and that Northern men have fallen; and then will soon follow the gratifying news that the Northern states have arraved themselves against the federal government in Kansas. And will that be the end? No. Missouri will be the battle-field in her time, and then slavery will be driven to the wall."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 15, p. 92.

NOTE 25.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 1, p. 162.

NOTE 26.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 2, p. 22.

without an exertion, send 500 of your young men who will vote in favor of your institutions. Should each county in the state of Missouri only do its duty, the question will be decided quietly and peaceably at the ballot-box."²⁷

The first election was held November 30, 1854, when Whitfield was chosen by a vote of 2258 to 574 scattering. The census taken in February, 1855, showed 2905 voters. Historical accuracy probably demands that I say that the first murder in Kansas was caused by whisky, and not squatter sovereignty. Returning from the polls at Lawrence on this day, Henry Davis, a Kentuckian, was killed by Lucius Kibbey, from Iowa. According to the testimony of two of the crowd, some one fired a small house by the roadside. Kibbey, who was in a wagon, denounced the act and said he would report the perpetrator to the proper authority. Davis, who was on the road, full of whisky, made several attempts to reach Kibbey with a knife, when the latter picked up a gun and killed him. And yet the spirit of squatter sovereignty was there, for Davis said to Kibbey, as he made a lunge for him with his knife: "I will report you to hell."²⁸ Dr. S. E. Martin, still living in Topeka, says that he witnessed this murder while traveling along the road a hundred feet or more behind the crowd.

The day after the election one writer, I find, sounded this warning: "One thing is probable, viz., if slaveholders in Missouri insist upon interfering in our affairs, they must blame no one but themselves if the underground railroad should be in operation from that state to Canada via Kansas Territory. . . . If the conduct of yesterday is repeated at our next election, they must take the trouble to watch their own property and institutions themselves, lest they take legs and run away when they least desire it."²⁹ This was four years before John Brown went over into Vernon county, Missouri, and brought out eleven negro slaves.

December 25, 1854, a meeting of the citizens of Lafayette county, Missouri, resolved as follows: "That we, the shippers, merchants, planters, and citizens generally of Lafayette county, deem it an act of injustice that steamboats on the Missouri river should give their aid or countenance to the base attempt to abolitionize the territory of Kansas by aiding or forwarding any persons who may be sent by any abolition society thereto, or in giving aid or assistance to any such object, and that in our trading, shipping and traveling we will give preference to such boats as will refuse their aid and comfort to such emigration as may be forwarded by any abolition society for such purpose."³⁰

At this point the weather evidently cooled all parties off, for there was a lull during January. In the months of March and April, 1855, a significant addition to the population was made, and John Brown, jr., Jason, Owen, Frederick, and Salmon, sons of John Brown, settled on Pottawatomie creek, eight miles from Osawatomie. They brought with them eleven head of cattle, three horses, tents, plows, and other farming tools, and a lot of fruit-trees and grape-vines, and their first job was to break twelve acres of prairie.

March 30, 1855, one thousand Missourians arrived in Lawrence to vote. Mrs. Robinson says: "They talk loudly of 'fighting and driving out the

NOTE 27.—Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*, 2d ed., p. 52.

NOTE 28.—Webb's *Scrap-book*, vol. 2, pp. 59, 155.

NOTE 29.—Webb's *Scrap-book*, vol. 2, p. 98.

NOTE 30.—Webb's *Scrap-book*, vol. 2, p. 181.

free-state men.' They go armed and provisioned.'" ³¹ Doctor Stringfellow, as editor of the *Squatter Sovereign*, complained because Governor Reeder gave a certificate of election to Martin F. Conway, instead of Mr. Donaldson in the Pawnee district, claiming that the latter had a majority of 250 votes, and says: "We can't stand that, certainly. Damned if we do. If the legislature don't reconsider the action of the governor and give Mr. Donaldson a seat, the squatter sovereigns will take the matter in hand." ³² Conway received 538 votes and Donaldson 396, but the legislature heeded Stringfellow, and Conway was let out.

April 14, 1855, the Parkville *Luminary*, George S. Parks' paper, was destroyed and the material thrown into the river. This was because of editorials criticising Missourians for going over into Kansas and voting. The crowd that did the job held a meeting and adopted eight resolutions, one of them being as follows: "(3) That we meet here again on this day three weeks, and if we find G. S. Parks* or W. J. Patterson in this town then, or at any subsequent time, we will throw them into the Missouri river, and if they go to Kansas to reside, we pledge our honor as men to follow and hang them whenever we can take them." ³³

The following papers in Missouri opposed mob-law and denounced the invasion of Kansas: The Boonville *Observer*, Independence *Messenger*, Jefferson City *Inquirer*, Missouri *Democrat*, St. Louis *Intelligencer*, Columbia *Statesman*, Glasgow *Times*, Fulton *Telegraph*, Paris *Mercury*, and Hannibal *Messenger*. But the *Squatter Sovereign*, published at Atchison, approved of the destruction of the Parkville *Luminary*, and made threats toward Jefferson City and Lawrence. ³⁴ A public meeting at Webster, Mo., ratified the action of the mob at Parkville in destroying the *Luminary*, asserting "that they have no arguments against abolition papers but Missouri river, bonfire and hemp-rope," and "they pledge themselves to go to Kansas and help expel those corrupting the slaves." ³⁵

April 30, 1855, a meeting at Leavenworth adopted several resolutions recognizing slavery in Kansas, and closing with this: "Resolved, That a vigilance committee, consisting of thirty members, shall now be appointed who shall observe and report all such persons as shall openly act in violation of law and order and by the expression of abolition sentiments produce disturbance to the quiet of the citizens or danger to their domestic relations, and all such persons so offending shall be notified and made to leave the territory." ³⁶

April 30, 1855, Cole McCrea, free-state, killed Malcolm Clark at Leavenworth. The quarrel occurred at a squatters' meeting, over the right of McCrea to participate and vote, and about claims on certain trust lands. The grand jury in September failed to find a bill against McCrea. Mrs.

* George S. Parks, the founder of Parkville and Park College, said: "All Northern men are proscribed and ruined in their business and character who do not subscribe to their most ultra doctrines. In this manner whole communities are overawed. One man said to me in Parkville: 'Times are worse here now than they were in France in the days of Robespierre;' others said it was the first time they were afraid to avow their real sentiments. No one knew when his business would be destroyed or he be ordered out of the country. In this way citizens are paralyzed and subdued."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 94.

NOTE 31.—Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson's *Kansas Interior and Exterior Life*, p. 27.

NOTE 32.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 207.

NOTE 33.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 158.

NOTE 34.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 13.

NOTE 35.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 213.

NOTE 36.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 59.

Robinson says that at an adjourned term of court, in November, the grand jury, with seven new members added, indicted McCrea for murder in the first degree. Four of the counsel within the bar, including the clerk of the court, were connected with the tarring and feathering of Phillips on the 17th day of May.³⁷ The congressional committee³⁸ said that in no case of crime had an indictment been found, except in the homicide of Clark by McCrea—McCrea being a free-state man. Concerning this trouble, Stringfellow said: "Let us begin to purge ourselves of all abolition emissaries who occupy our dominion, and give distinct notice that all who do not leave immediately for the East will leave for eternity."³⁹ And the *Leavenworth Herald*, a few days later, remarked: "Suffer not an armed abolitionist to remain within your borders."

The vigilance committee appointed at Leavenworth on April 30, 1855, gave notice to William Phillips, an active free-state lawyer in that city, to leave the territory. He refused, and was seized, taken to Weston, one side of his head shaved, stripped of his clothes, tarred and feathered, ridden for a mile and a half on a rail, and a negro auctioneer went through the mockery of selling him for one dollar. May 20, 1855, the *Leavenworth Herald* says of the tarring and feathering: "Our action in the whole affair is emphatically indorsed by the pro-slavery party in this district. The joy, exultation and glorification produced by it in our community are unparalleled." A public meeting in Leavenworth, May 25, resolved, "That we heartily indorse the action of the citizens who shaved, tarred and feathered, rode on a rail and had sold by a negro, William Phillips, the moral perjurer." Phillips had protested against a fraudulent election, and he was accused of befriending McCrea at the squatters' meeting, April 30. Phillips was killed in his home September 1, 1856, by squatter sovereigns, led by Fred Emery.⁴⁰

In the mad career of the sovereign squats a Missouri newspaper sounds an alarm, but to no purpose. The *St. Louis Intelligencer* says: "If they (the ruffians of the border) succeed Missouri will soon be aflame. It will spread to the South, and the Union itself will perish like a burnt scroll."⁴¹

The *St. Louis News*, of May 12, 1855, said: "We understand and believe that David R. Atchison is at the bottom of all the troubles that have afflicted Kansas, and is the chief instigator of the meetings, mobs and cabals, threats and excitements which threaten to plunge the border into a wild fratricidal strife."⁴²

These *St. Louis* editors possibly had a vision of General Order No. 11, when General Ewing of Kansas endeavored to put a lid on.⁴³

NOTE 37.—Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson's *Kansas Interior and Exterior Life*, pp. 112, 113.

NOTE 38.—Report, 1856, p. 64.

NOTE 39.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 76.

NOTE 40.—Moore's *History of Leavenworth*, p. 262.

NOTE 41.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 12.

NOTE 42.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 27.

NOTE 43.—The idea embraced in General Order No. 11 was not original with General Ewing. It was a southern Missouri invention, thoroughly squatter sovereign. The State Historical Society has recently received a publication entitled, "A History of Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas," by William Monks. William Monks is a resident of West Plains, Mo. He was born in Alabama. His people were Virginians, or North Carolinians, and were of revolutionary stock. He settled with his father's family in Fulton county, Arkansas, in 1844, and in 1858 he became a resident of West Plains, in Missouri. At the beginning of the civil war he announced himself as an uncompromising Union man, but to all the rebel entreaties and threats he disclaimed all desire to fight. He was finally taken prisoner by the rebels and dragged over the country, subjected to all sorts of outrages and constantly threatened with death. He made his escape and enlisted in the federal army. He did remarkable service as a captain in the Sixteenth Missouri, and at the close of the war was placed in command of militia to exterminate the Kuklux in his neighbor-

About this time they also got a couple of tips from another quarter. June 25, 1855, a free-state convention participated in by J. A. Wakefield, J. L. Speer, R. G. Elliott, S. N. Wood, John Brown, jr., and others, resolved: "That in reply to the threats of war so frequently made in our neighbor state, our answer is, 'we are ready.'" And a few days later, June 27, a convention of National Democrats, participated in by James H. Lane, C. W. Babcock, James S. Emery and Hugh Cameron, met in Lawrence to "kindly request the citizens of Northern and Southern districts and adjoining states to let us alone;" and that we "will not if in our power to prevent . . . permit the ballot-box to be polluted by outsiders, or illegal voting from any quarter."⁴⁴

July 2, 1855, the pro-slavery legislature met at Pawnee, and made itself solidly pro-slavery by unseating several free-state members. It met according to adjournment, at Shawnee Mission, July 16. It passed laws which General Stringfellow said "were more efficient to protect slave property than those of any state in the Union," and that they "will be enforced to the very letter."⁴⁵ By those laws only pro-slavery men could hold office. All officials were compelled to take oath to support the fugitive-slave law.⁴⁶ According to a concurrent resolution offered by Speaker Stringfellow and adopted by both houses on the adjournment, pro-slavery Whigs and pro-slavery Democrats would be tolerated in Kansas; all others were enemies, disunionists and abolitionists.⁴⁷ H. Miles Moore, a free-soiler, and a Democrat from Missouri, in his *History of Leavenworth County*, says that to a man from Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, or elsewhere, claiming to be a National Democrat, the noble sons of Missouri generally responded: "That won't do; we have but two parties here, either pro-slavery law-and-order men, or free-state abolitionists; and you make your choice and that damned soon, or go down the river back to where you came from."⁴⁸ The attempt to organize a Democratic party was thus squeezed out, and a few weeks later we find C. W. Babcock, Marcus J. Parrott, James H. Lane, James S. Emery, H. Miles Moore, and others of like belief, participating in the Big

hood. On page 86 and subsequent pages of his book we read: "After they (the confederates) had hung, shot, captured and driven from the country all the Union men, they called a public meeting for the purpose of taking into consideration what should be done with the families of the Union men. . . . They at once appointed men, among whom were several preachers, to go to each one of the Union families and notify them that they would not be allowed to remain, because if they let them stay their men would be trying to come back. . . . Also, as they had taken up arms against the confederate states, all of the property they had, both real and personal, was subject to confiscation. . . . They said they might have a reasonable time to make preparations to leave the country, and if they didn't leave, they would be forced to do so, if they had to arrest them and carry them out. . . . The suffering that followed the women and children is indescribable. They had to drive their own teams, take care of the little ones, and travel through storms, exposed to all without a man to help them. On reaching the federal lines all vacant houses and places of shelter were soon filled, and they were known and styled refugees." This was early in 1831. Colonel Monk's description of those days in southern Missouri shows that Ewing's Order No. 11, in comparison, was a very tame and trifling affair. Page 153: "The writer wants to say that there was not a Union man nor a single Union family left at home from Batesville, Ark., to Rolla, Mo., a distance of 200 miles." Ewing's General Order No. 11 was a necessity caused by the most infamous butchery in the history of warfare, while in southern Missouri a similar order was enforced, with a fiendishness characteristic of the cause which prompted No. 11, on people guilty only of loyalty to their government. Colonel Monk's book is full of outrages perpetrated on Union people in southern Missouri, before a Kansas raider was heard of.

NOTE 44.—Kansas Free State, July 2, 1855, p. 2.

NOTE 45.—Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*, 2d ed., p. 82.

NOTE 46.—Kansas Statutes 1855, ch. 117. [William W. Boyce, a member of Congress from South Carolina from 1853 to 1850, said, about June 1, 1853: "We cannot defend them (the laws of Kansas), we ought not to do it, and I have no respect for the man who makes the attempt."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 13, p. 52.]

NOTE 47.—House Journal, 1855, p. 380.

NOTE 48.—Moore's *History of Leavenworth County*, pp. 102, 103.

Springs convention, September 5, 1855, which organized the Free-state party.

August 16, 1855, the Rev. Pardee Butler was placed on a raft at Atchison and shipped down the Missouri river. Several citizens followed throwing stones at him. He had the letter R legibly painted on his forehead. Mr. Butler had avowed himself a free-soiler on the streets of Atchison, and a committee had been appointed to wait on him, requesting his signature to certain resolutions adopted by a recent pro-slavery meeting. After reading them he declined to sign, and was instantly arrested. Various plans were considered for his disposal, with the foregoing result. The *Squatter Sovereign* closed its editorial on the affair with the words: "Such treatment may be expected by all scoundrels visiting our town for the purpose of interfering with our time-honored institutions, and the same punishment we will be happy to award to all free-soilers, abolitionists, and their emissaries." A flag was placed on the raft bearing the mottoes: "Eastern Aid Express"; "Greeley to the rescue, I have a nigger"; "'Rev.' Mr. Butler, agent to the Underground Railroad."⁴⁹

The doctrine of squatter sovereignty seems to have been closely allied with the moral and spiritual condition of the people. July 25, 1855, the Randolph county, Missouri, people resolved "(10) That we consider any person holding and avowing free-soil and abolition views unfit to teach in Sunday or any other school; that we are opposed to such person being employed for that purpose."⁵⁰ And a few days later a public meeting of the citizens of Jackson county, Missouri, adopted a resolution warning a conference of the Methodist Church North not to meet at Independence, Mo., because of the "supposed anti-slavery sentiments and opinions of the ministers and others who will constitute said conference."⁵¹

The *Squatter Sovereign*, Stringfellow's paper at Atchison, August 28, 1855, also sounds a warning: "We can tell the impertinent scoundrels of the (New York) *Tribune* that they may exhaust an ocean of ink, their Emigrant Aid Societies spend their millions and billions, their representatives in Congress spout their heretical theories till doomsday, and his excellency Franklin Pierce appoint abolitionist after free-soiler as governor, yet we will continue to tar and feather, drown, lynch and hang every white-livered abolitionist who dares to pollute our soil."⁵²

But all their petitions and threats counted for naught, and old John Brown joined his sons on the Pottawatomie during the first week of October, 1855. He remained in Kansas until about February 1, 1859. His became the most conspicuous world-wide Kansas name, and, singularly enough, with that of Atchison a close second—John Brown because he gave his life and Atchison because the stock of our greatest railroad is listed in all the money markets of the world as the "Atchison."

Under all circumstances, it seems, there must be some humor in life. On the 13th of October, 1855, the Leavenworth *Herald*, pro-slavery, rebuked Missourians for coming over and voting on a purely local issue. They held an election for county-seat. The election resulted in 929 votes for Delaware, 881 for Kickapoo, and 727 for Leavenworth. Delaware and Kickapoo

NOTE 49.— Personal Recollections of Pardee Butler, chapter 7.

NOTE 50.— Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 5, p. 69.

NOTE 51.— Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 5, p. 140.

NOTE 52.— Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 5, p. 157.

advertised free ferry, free excursion and barbecue and other inducements for Missourians. "Has it come to this," says the *Herald*, "that Missourians must come in at our local elections and control our county affairs? . . . Can we as citizens of the territory and the county of Leavenworth, who have borne the burden of settling a new country and undergone all the privations and difficulties of a frontier life, sit still and permit our rights to be trampled upon? No, we cannot and will not. The polls at Kickapoo and Delaware must be purged of all Missouri votes."⁵³ And so squatter sovereignty meant one thing as applied to slavery and something else on another issue.⁵⁴

It was declared to be treason by a pro-slavery law and order convention at Leavenworth, November 14, 1855, to oppose the pro-slavery laws.⁵⁵ Phillip C. Schuyler, the founder of Burlingame, met several delegates to this convention at Lawrence. One of them told him they would kill him if he did not obey the pro-slavery laws; another said he would be regarded as a traitor to his country and the constitution; while a third said: "We will kill you and light your souls to hell with the flames of your dwellings." Schuyler protested that this was very uncivil language, and in response he was denounced as a liar, a scoundrel, and a traitor.⁵⁶

Samuel Collins, free-state, was killed by Patrick McLaughlin at Doniphan, October 25, 1855. No punishment for McLaughlin.⁵⁷

Chas. W. Dow, free-state, killed by Franklin N. Coleman, pro-slavery, in Douglas county, November 21, 1855.⁵⁸

November 26, 1855, the free-state men held a meeting at the spot where Dow was killed. Jacob Branson, with whom Dow lived, was arrested the same night for attending the meeting. Fifteen free-state men led by S. N. Wood, J. B. Abbott, and S. F. Tappan, rescue Branson.⁵⁹

November 29, 1855.—A mob from Missouri is gathering at Franklin, a few miles from Lawrence.⁶⁰

December 6, 1855.—Lawrence nearly surrounded by about 1500 Missouri-

NOTE 53.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 6, p. 97.

NOTE 54.—H. Miles Moore, one of the six survivors of the first free-state territorial legislature, which met at Leecompton December 7, 1857, in his sworn testimony before the special committee on the troubles in Kansas, says: "I had believed that the Missourians had had some justification for endeavoring to come and control the territorial legislation, in order to afford more security to their slave property in Missouri, and for that reason I had come with them; but their course with regard to the mere local election for county-seat was so high-handed an outrage upon the rights of the people of the territory, of whom I had then become one, that I came to the resolution that I would not longer act with a party so regardless of the rights of others that they would interfere in a matter in which they could have no personal or political interest; I determined to act with the free-state party so long as they were actuated by what I considered proper motives, though I would have continued to act with the pro-slavery party had they not acted as they did. I therefore concluded to act with the free state party so long as they were willing to act consistently with the principles of the organic act and submit to the territorial laws while in force. At the election for county-seat Delaware county [precinct], with a population of not more than fifty voters, polled nearly a thousand votes. A large majority of the votes polled at Kickapoo were by Missourians. The people of Leavenworth polled between 500 and 600 votes, all given by actual residents, so far as I was able to find out. In consequence of my determination at this time to act thereafter with the free-state party I became obnoxious to the pro-slavery men, both in Missouri and in the territory. My person and property has been frequently threatened with violence and destruction by them for six months or more past." Moore was arrested and ordered to leave the territory for taking a part in the free-state movement.—Report of Congressional Committee, 1856, p. 422.

NOTE 55.—September 7, 1855, the *Herald of Freedom* was refused circulation through the Atchison post-office.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 5, p. 178.

NOTE 56.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 7, p. 126.

NOTE 57.—Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, p. 144.

NOTE 58.—Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, p. 153.

NOTE 59.—Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, ch. 11.

NOTE 60.—Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, p. 176.

ans. Treaty of peace signed by Governor Shannon, Chas. Robinson and James H. Lane, and December 8 army of invasion ordered to disband by Governor Shannon. John Brown and four sons, all armed, are in Lawrence at this time. They were the best armed of the defenders. Brown was given a captain's commission by Robinson.⁶¹

Here is the first reference to the Lane-Robinson feud we have found, an editorial in the St. Louis *Evening News* of December 28, 1855: "On the other hand, the abolitionists since the peace do not appear to be getting along as harmoniously and affectionately as they might. General Lane and Doctor Robinson, the leaders, differed about the terms of the treaty, Lane being in favor of resisting the territorial laws by actual force, while Robinson was content to abide by with a protest against them until their validity can be decided by the federal court. While the Missourians were encamped before Lawrence, Lane wanted to attack them, while Robinson insisted on waiting to be attacked by them. Lane was for offensive operations, and Robinson for defensive, and, as both undoubtedly had personal aspirations to gratify, a bitter feud sprang up between them which has seriously marred the symmetry of their cause."⁶²

December 6, 1855.—Thos. W. Barber, free-state, was shot and killed on the road four miles southwest of Lawrence. Report on Kansas Claims, 1861-'62, signed by Edward Hoogland, Henry J. Adams, and Samuel A. Kingman, page 62, says: "Either George W. Clark or Mr. (James N.) Burnes (afterwards a member of Congress) murdered Thos. Barber. . . . Both fired at him, and it is impossible from the proof to tell whose shot was fatal. He, Samuel J. Jones, said Major Clark and Burnes both claimed the credit of killing that damned abolitionist, and he did n't know which ought to have it. If Shannon had n't been a damned old fool, peace would never have been declared. He would have wiped Lawrence out. He had men and means enough to do it."⁶³

December 22, 1855.—Pro-slavery men destroy Mark W. Delahay's *Territorial Register*, a free-state paper, at Leavenworth.⁶⁴ The free-state election on the Topeka constitution was broken up by pro-slavery men in Leavenworth.⁶⁵

December 26, 1855.—The *Kickapoo Pioneer* says: "It is this class of men that have congregated at Lawrence, and it is this class of men Kansas must get rid of. And we know of no better method than for every man who loves his country and the laws by which he is governed to meet in Kansas and kill off this God-forsaken class of humanity as soon as they place their feet upon our soil."

January 17, 1856.—Murder of Capt. R. P. Brown, free-state, at Easton, Kan., by a pro-slavery mob. The Leavenworth free-state election had been adjourned to Easton at this date, and the killing of Brown closed the day. The Leavenworth *Herald* justifies the murder. Brown had three cracks in his skull from a hatchet, and they spit tobacco juice in his wounds, because "anything would make a damned abolitionist feel better."⁶⁶

NOTE 61.—Sanborn's John Brown Letters, p. 217. Dec. 16, 1855.

NOTE 62.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 7, p. 233.

NOTE 63.—Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, p. 211.

NOTE 64.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 8, p. 16.

NOTE 65.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 8, p. 9.

NOTE 66.—Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, ch. 18.

The squatter sovereigns had warmed up considerably by the end of the year, and we find no let-up on account of the weather in January, 1856. The Kickapoo *Pioneer*, on the 18th, issued an extra, from which we quote: "Forbearance has now indeed ceased to be a virtue, therefore we call on every pro-slavery man in the land to rally to the rescue—Kansas must be immediately rescued from these tyrannical dogs. The Kickapoo Rangers are at this moment beating to arms. . . . Sound the bugle of war over the length and breadth of the land, and leave not an abolitionist in the territory to relate their treacherous and contaminating deeds—strike your piercing rifle-balls and your glittering steel to their black and poisonous hearts."⁶⁷

And so we had the savages who butchered at Lawrence.

January 23, 1856, Horace Greeley was twice assaulted in Washington by Albert Rust, a member of Congress from Arkansas.⁶⁸

February 20, 1856.—The *Squatter Sovereign* says: "In our opinion the only effectual way to correct the evils that now exist is to hang up to the nearest tree the very last traitor who was instrumental in getting up or participating in the celebrated Topeka (free-state) convention." About this time also the *Squatter Sovereign* suggests Lexington, Mo., as a suitable place for a political quarantine, "where all steamboats may be searched and the infectious political paupers be prevented from tainting the air of Kansas territory with their presence." And immediately after all boats coming up the Missouri river were overhauled and searched for goods pronounced contraband. At Brunswick, Mo., an armed party came on a boat and took a stranger whom they were confident was Governor Robinson. They were making arrangements to tie him to a log and start him down the river, but letters in his trunk satisfied them that they had a friend instead of the governor. He said he would never travel the river again without a passport from Pierce or Douglas, endorsed by Atchison and Stringfellow.⁶⁹

And so we had the overland travel into the territory through Iowa and Nebraska and the historic "Lane road." The story of Kansas will never be complete without a political history of the Missouri river.

The *Squatter Sovereign* was still not happy, for in April, 1856, it says: "If Kansas is not made a slave state, it requires no sage to tell that without some very extraordinary revolution there will never be another slave state; and if this is not enough, then we say, without fear of successful contradiction, that Kansas must be a slave state or the Union will be dissolved."⁷⁰

April 30, 1856.—Pardee Butler returns from Illinois to Atchison, and is stripped, tarred, and, for want of feathers, covered with cotton. August 17, 1855, Butler had been shipped down the river on a log and told not to come

NOTE 67.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 8, p. 19.

NOTE 68.—Greeley's Record of a Busy Life, p. 348.

NOTE 69.—This is further confirmed by the following from the *Squatter Sovereign*: "More Abolitionists Turned Back. The steamer Sultan having on board contraband articles was recently stopped at Leavenworth city (July 5, 1856), and lightened of forty-four rifles and a large quantity of pistols and bowie-knives, taken from a crowd of cowardly Yankees, shipped out here by Massachusetts. The boat was permitted to go up the river as far as Weston, Mo., where a guard was placed over the prisoners, and none of them permitted to land. They were shipped back from Weston on the same boat, without even being insured by the shippers. We do not approve fully of sending these criminals back to the East, to be re-shipped to Kansas—if not through Missouri, through Iowa and Nebraska. We think they should meet a traitor's death, and the world could not censure us if we, in self-protection, have to resort to such ultra measures. We are of the opinion if the citizens of Leavenworth city or Weston, would hang one or two boat-loads of abolitionists, it would do more toward establishing peace in Kansas than all the speeches that have been delivered in Congress during the present session. Let the experiment be tried."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 15, p. 73.

NOTE 70.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 11, p. 149.

back. On this day, April 30, 1856, R. S. Kelley, Stringfellow's partner, wrote to a friend: "As the steamer Aubrey leaves we have just finished 'tar and feathering' the Rev. Pardee Butler, who was shipped on a raft from this place in August last. He escaped hanging by only one vote. Butler, you know, is a rank abolitionist, and was promised this treatment should he visit our town. In the event of his return, he will be hung."⁷¹

The scene shifts, and there is constant trouble on the Marais des Cygnes after the arrival of Buford's men in April, 1856. A Vermonter named Baker was taken from his cabin, whipped, hanged to a tree, but cut down before death, and released upon his promise to leave Kansas. John Brown, with his sons, Owen, Frederick, Salmon, and Oliver, with surveyor's compass and instruments, run a line through Buford's camp. Assuming that they were government surveyors, and therefore "sound on the goose," the Georgians informed them "that they would make no war on them as minds their own business, but all the abolitionists, such as them damned Browns over there, we're going to whip, drive out, or kill."⁷²

Events have been coming so rapidly in the unfolding of the great squatter sovereignty scheme, that I am able now to touch only the high places. I have not produced a picture of these sovereign squats. Dr. J. V. C. Smith, of Boston, a traveler through the country, describes the Missouri bandits as follows: "Those I saw at Westport, whose camp was in the woods only a few rods out of the territory, were young men, rough, coarse, sneering, swaggering, dare-devil looking rascals as ever swung upon a gallops. The marauders were mounted upon horses and mules, armed to the teeth with pistols, long knives and carbines.⁷³ They rob travelers, surprise the humble residents of prairie cabins, whom they strip of their valuables, and in repeated instances murder the owner. They drive off cattle, the property most in request, and steal horses. They oblige a man to dismount,

NOTE 71.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 12, p. 163.

The wording of this letter, as well as its tone, leads to the suspicion that Robert S. Kelley and not Doctor Stringfellow was the author of the virulent editorials which graced the pages of the *Squatter Sovereign*. Here is another of Mr. Kelley's letters, addressed to the gentlemen who bought out the paper, and who had joined hands in 1857 with the Stringfellows in booming the town of Atchison:

"Messrs. Pomeroy & McBratney:

"DONIPHAN, K. T., June 21, 1857.

"GENTS (?)—I am authorized by all of the subscribers to the *Squatter Sovereign* in Charleston, S. C., to have their papers discontinued. When they subscribed to the journal, they done so to advance the pro-slavery interest in the territory. When traitors, for gold, sell themselves and their country, they do not consider themselves bound by the bargain. They are unwilling to support, either directly or indirectly, traitors, abolitionists and negro stealers. Do not further insult them by continuing the paper. You also may balance the accounts of all the Doniphan subscribers to the *Squatter*.

"May sickness, disease, and, finally, death, be the result of your connection with the *Squatter Sovereign*, is the sincere wish of,
ROBERT S. KELLEY."

Dr. John H. Stringfellow was a brother to Benjamin F. Stringfellow. The former was speaker of the territorial legislature of 1855.

NOTE 72.—Sanborn's John Brown, p. 230.

NOTE 73.—This is a very gentle reference to those called "border ruffians" when compared with the statements made by Thomas H. Gladstone, a cousin of William E. Gladstone, the premier of England, in a book entitled "Kansas: Squatter Life and Border Warfare in the Far West." Gladstone was a correspondent of the *London Times*, and was induced by the debates in Congress and general excitement about Kansas to make a tour of the territory in 1856, and an investigation for his own satisfaction. His book abounds in a wful description. "I had just arrived in Kansas City," he says on page 38, "and shall never forget the appearance of the lawless mob that poured into the place (it was after the sacking of Lawrence May 21, 1856), inflamed with drink, glutted with the indulgence of the vilest passions, displaying with loud boasts the 'plunder' they had taken from the inhabitants, and thirsting for the opportunity of repeating the sack of Lawrence in some other offending place." On the same page is a sentence which has been a standing sermon ever since: "Having once been taught that robbery and outrage, if committed in the service of the South, were to be regarded as deeds of loyalty and obedience, these ministers of a self-styled 'law and order' were slow to unlearn a doctrine so acceptable."

and take his horse, and should he remonstrate or resist, blow his brains out without apology." 74

Henry Ward Beecher said he believed that "the Sharp's rifle was truly a moral agency, and there was more moral power in one of those instruments, so far as the slaveholders of Kansas were concerned, than in a hundred Bibles." "You might just as well," said he, "read the Bible to buffaloes as to those fellows who follow Atchison and Stringfellow; but they have a supreme respect for the logic that is embodied in Sharp's rifles." 75 But let me emphasize again, they were but a fraction of the people of western Missouri. No greater, more useful or patriotic people ever lived than the generation of Missourians who followed Doniphan, and who cut the trackless waste west of them by trails of commerce.

May 5, 1856.—The grand jury of Douglas county recommends that the *Herald of Freedom* and *Kansas Free State*, newspapers, and the Eldridge House be abated as nuisances, and indicts Charles Robinson, Andrew H. Reeder and others for high treason in organizing a free-state government. 76

May 7 and 9, 1856.—Attempt made to arrest Andrew H. Reeder. He escaped and, aided by Kersey Coates and the Eldridges, gets through Kansas City in disguise, and hires out as an Irish deck-hand on a steamboat 77

A man from Massachusetts by the name of Mace gave testimony that Sam Jones led a party that destroyed a ballot-box at Bloomington, and for this he was waylaid and shot near the front door of his cabin. The ruffians left him for dead, but he was alive, and after their departure crawled into his cabin comforted by the assurance from his assailants, that "there is some more damned good abolition wolf-bait." 78

May 5, 1856.—The grand jury in session at Lecompton is charged by Judge Lecompte to indict for high treason or constructive treason certain parties "dubbed governor, lieutenant-governor, etc.—or individuals of influence and notoriety"—meaning free-state leaders. 79

May 10, 1856.—Charles Robinson, on his way east, is arrested at Lexington, Mo., for treason, and brought back to Lecompton. 80

May 11, 1856.—J. B. Donaldson, United States marshal for Kansas territory, calls upon "law abiding citizens" to assist him in executing writs against citizens of Lawrence.

May 13, 1856.—Citizens of Lawrence make a protest to the governor and the United States marshal.

May 14, 1856.—Gaius Jenkins, Geo. W. Brown, Chas. Robinson, Geo. W. Smith, Geo. W. Deitzler, John Brown, jr., and H. H. Williams were arrested this day or soon after, were denied bail, and, charged with high treason, were confined in camp at Lecompton.

May 17, 1856.—C. W. Babcock, Lyman Allen, and J. A. Perry, appointed by the people of Lawrence, ask the United States marshal to put a stop to the depredations committed by a large force of armed men in the vicinity. 81

NOTE 74.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 14, p. 35.

NOTE 75.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 9, p. 67.

NOTE 76.—Wilder's Annals of Kansas, 1st ed., p. 97.

NOTE 77.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 3, p. 205.

NOTE 78.—Spring's History of Kansas, p. 120.

NOTE 79.—Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson's Kansas—its Interior and Exterior Life, p. 218.

NOTE 80.—Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson's Kansas—its Interior and Exterior Life, p. 267.

NOTE 81.—Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson's Kansas—its Interior and Exterior Life, p. 237.

May 21, 1856.—Arrests of certain free-state men having been made in Lawrence during the forenoon, Sheriff Jones appeared in the afternoon with a body of armed men. The Eldridge House, the offices of the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Kansas Free State* were destroyed, stores were broken open and pillaged, and the dwelling of Chas. Robinson burned. A grand jury, referring to the newspapers, recommended their abatement as a nuisance, and as to the hotel they "recommended that steps be taken whereby this nuisance may be removed."⁸² During the destruction Jones remarked: "Gentlemen, this is the happiest day of my life, I assure you."⁸³ I determined to make the fanatics bow before me in the dust and kiss the territorial laws." He looked at the hotel as another round was fired, and added, "I've done it, by God, I've done it!"⁸⁴

May 22, 1856.—Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, commits an assault on Charles Sumner in the United States senate, because of his speech entitled, "The Crime Against Kansas." The *Squatter Sovereign* said: "The assault on Sumner by Brooks is generally approved and applauded by the citizens of Kansas. We think it one of the best acts ever done in the senate chamber."⁸⁵

The 23th of June was the anniversary of the Palmetto (South Carolina) Rifles, and at the celebration in Atchison a fine assortment of toasts were given. Here is one: "The Hon. Preston S. Brooks—by whipping crazy Sumner he has furnished a second edition of what the abolitionists call 'border ruffianism'—that is the determination of honorable minds to resent injury and insult from a mouthpiece of fanaticism, coming from what quarter it may."⁸⁶ On the Fourth of July following South Carolina did better, thus: "May South Carolina always afford Brooks enough to cleanse such wild, dastardly lepers as Sumner, Wilson & Co."

Up to this time, the spring of 1856, all the outrages committed by the free-state men were purely political; that is, resistance to the pro-slavery territorial organization, and an attempt to organize under the provisional Topeka movement. But now a man arose who thought it time to strike a blow—that turning the other cheek had been worked long enough.

May 23, 1856.—John Brown, with a company of free-state men, while on their way to the defense of Lawrence, were overtaken by a messenger from home, telling of outrages perpetrated the previous day on their families and neighbors by pro-slavery settlers on Pottawatomie creek. John Brown and his four sons Owen, Fred, Watson and Oliver, his son-in-law Henry Thompson, James Townsley, and Theodore Weiner, returned to Pottawatomie creek on the 23d. On the night of the 24th they took from their homes

NOTE 82.—Wilder's Annals of Kansas, p. 121.

NOTE 83.—"Men of the South and of Missouri, I am proud of this day. I have received office and honor before. I have occupied the vice-president's place in the greatest republic the light of God's sun ever shown upon, but, ruffian brothers (yells) that glory, that honor was nothing, it was an empty bubble compared with the solid grandeur and magnificent glory of this momentous occasion. Here, on this beautiful prairie bluff, with naught but the canopy of heaven for my covering, with my splendid Arabian charger for my shield, whose well tried fleetness I may yet have to depend upon for my life, unless this day's work shall drive from our Western world those hellish emigrants and paupers, whose bellies are filled with beggars' food, and whose houses are stored with Beecher Bibles."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 15, p. 83. This is but a small portion of a speech made by Atchison in camp, two miles from Lawrence, the day before the assault on that place. It is a half a newspaper column of the roughest stuff ever printed, and is vouched for by Dr. J. P. Root, who was a prisoner in the pro-slavery camp at the time.

NOTE 84.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 12, p. 232.

NOTE 85.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 14, p. 72.

NOTE 86.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 15, p. 73.

James P. Doyle and his sons William and Drury, Allen Wilkinson, and William Sherman, and killed them. John Brown admitted his responsibility for the killing.⁸⁷

In a manuscript filed with the Kansas State Historical Society by August Bondi, of Salina, a Kansan of the highest repute since 1855, giving a sketch of his life as a revolutionist in Austria, a partisan with John Brown in Kansas, and a soldier in the Fifth Kansas cavalry, is the following :

"In the evening of May 23 (1856), about nine P. M., came John Grant, jr., from Dutch Henry's crossing to the camp; he was a member of the Pottawatomie company, but at the urgent solicitation of mother and sister he had remained at home. He informed us that in the morning of the day Bill Sherman (Dutch Bill) had come to their cabin, only his mother and sister Mary at home, he and his father in the field, with his usual swaggering tone had denounced the abolitionists, and then had attempted to criminally assault the girl. (Mary Grant was twenty-three years old and one of the best-looking and best-educated girls on the creek; the family were from New York.) The outcries of the women brought father and son from the field, and Dutch Bill left, cursing and swearing utter extinction of all free-state men. Old John Brown heard the account and John Grant, jr.'s, appeal for protection some way or other. About the time, also, came in a runner from Lawrence with Colonel Sumner's proclamation, ordering all armed bodies to disperse, and thereupon the two companies agreed to break camp at dawn and return home. Old John Brown called his boys and myself and Weiner and Townsley to one side and made a short speech, telling us that for the protection of our friends and families a blow had to be struck on Pottawatomie creek, to strike terror into the pro-slavery miscreants who intended pillage and murder, and asked James Townsley, who had a team of grays, whether he would haul them. Townsley assented at once. Then he asked his boys, Fred, Owen, Salmon, and Oliver, and his son-in-law, Thompson, and Theodore Weiner, each separately, if willing to accompany him. They all assented. To me he said: 'I do not want you along; you have been away all winter; you are not so well known; we need some one to keep up communication with our families, so you will attend to bringing news to us and carrying news to our families. You may remain behind for the present, anyway; you may meet us, however, on my brother-in-law's (Day) claim to-morrow night.' He gave a few more immaterial instructions. Townsley had his team hitched up, the men of the expedition were on the wagon, old John Brown shook hands with me, and off they started."⁸⁸

NOTE 87.—Connelley's John Brown, p. 200.

NOTE 88.—August Bondi fell dead on a street in St. Louis September 30, and was buried at Salina, Kan., October 3, 1907. He told the writer frequently, in the past twenty years, that the political troubles in the territory had nothing to do with John Brown's action on the Pottawatomie. He was asked why he never said anything about the cause he assigned, and he responded that he did tell the Reverend Utter, when he had his controversy with ex-Senator Ingalls, but that Utter would not consider it. Probably there was no politics in the Mary Grant story, while practically all men would approve of killing in case of an assault upon a woman. Bondi was a splendid citizen, a Hebrew, and of late years an earnest and active member of the Democratic party.

Mr. M. V. Jackson, the father of Hon. Fred S. Jackson, the present attorney-general of Kansas, still living at Eureka, has a statement on file with the Kansas State Historical Society, in which he says:

"We arrived in Kansas November 20, 1855, and made settlement on a claim on Pottawatomie creek, four miles west of Osawatimie, and about the same distance from what is known as Dutch Henry's Crossing. Early in the spring of 1856 the pro-slavery people became quite aggressive and annoying to the few free-state settlers in that vicinity. The Sherms—three of them, Dutch Henry, Bill and Pete—lived near this ford, or crossing, known as Dutch Henry's Crossing. This was the headquarters of all the pro-slavery men in that vicinity, and the Sherms appeared to be the most aggressive and took the most active part in ordering free-state settlers to leave the neighborhood. Some week or ten days prior to the Pottawatomie massacre, as it has been called, Dutch Pete did insult and abuse Mary Grant, and about the same time ordered Benjamin and Bondi, the parties who had charge of the little store on Mosquito branch, to leave. The day before the massacre most of the free-state settlers had started to Lawrence to aid the people there to repel an invasion of the border ruffians, who had congregated in considerable force near the town. They had gotten as far as Ottawa Jones, and had gone into camp on Ottawa creek. Myself and a young man by the name of Glenn arrived at this camp about noon, and word had just been received from Lawrence to disband, as the trouble there had been settled for the present time. John Brown and his sons and Benjamin and Bondi, and a man by the

From this time on conditions changed in Kansas. It was "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." The storm started by the Salt Creek Squatters' Claim Association in May, 1854, culminated in northeastern Kansas in the fall of 1856, when the free-state men, following John Brown's example, organized in armed bands to defend their communities. Before the order of Governor Geary, dispersing all armed bodies, had come into effect, they had cleared up the slate by wiping out the pro-slavery rendezvous at Washington creek, Franklin, and Hickory Point. By the spring of 1857 marauding, except in southeastern Kansas, had practically ceased, though the official machinery set in motion by the bogus laws and supported by the territorial judiciary was a source of continual insult. But there were no raids from Kansas into Missouri during the two years of which I speak. The western Missouri practice of squatter sovereignty was popular and continuous, its dire effects lasting with the people of that state un-

name of Weiner, who was said to own the little store on the Mosquito branch, was at the camp. There appeared to be quite a lot of talk among the men in squads of two and three, and I made some inquiry as to what it was about, and if anything new had happened. I did not learn anything until I met this man Weiner, and he told me that they had just heard that since they had left home Bill Sherman, with two or three other parties, had been to the store, and that Dutch Bill was drunk and very abusive, and that he had abused Mrs. Benjamin and told her that they must leave within the next few days or they would be killed and the store burned. Mr. Weiner then stated that something had to be done, and that something was going to be done to stop this abuse of free-state men and their families. I went back home that afternoon, and learned of the killing of five men about eight o'clock next morning."

S. J. Shively, an attorney at Paola, a Missourian by birth, who spent his boyhood on Mosquito creek, made an address before the State Historical Society December 1, 1903, vol. 8, pages 177-187, in which he says:

"Between the Pottawatomie and Mosquito creeks was a pro-slavery settlement. Just north of this, between the Mosquito and the Marais des Cygnes, was a free-state settlement, and just south of the Pottawatomie was a mixed complexion of politics. The Browns lived right in the hot-bed of the pro-slavery nest. Some free-state men have thought that Wilkinson, Sherman and Doyle were unoffending, peaceable and harmless men. Wilkinson, elected by fraud and violence, seated by force and usurpation in a legislature the most infamous ever known, and who in that legislature voted for the black code, could hardly be regarded as unoffending. Sherman, who fed and entertained gangs of drunken, lawless invaders, could hardly be said to be peaceable. Doyle, whose boys drove back old men, actual citizens, from the polls, could hardly be said to be harmless. . . . Civil war had been declared by the pro-slavery papers of Missouri and Kansas, and the right kind of characters were picked out to be sent to carry out their declarations. A great many of the free-state settlers on the Pottawatomie were from Missouri and other slave states, and well knew the men and methods they had to deal with. . . . During the summer and fall of 1855, Wilkinson, who kept the post-office, would often misplace the mail and destroy the newspapers belonging to free-state men. His post-office, called Shermanville, was the concentrating point where pro-slavery men would meet and curse and abuse abolitionists, and the ruffian conduct was sanctioned by the postmaster. . . . One day in 1855 Poindexter Manace, after leaving the post-office, was seen with a copy of the *New York Tribune*. He was told to throw away the damned incendiary sheet; he replied that it was the best paper published, and the crowd jumped on him and nearly beat him to death. . . . Early in the spring of 1856 the pro-slavery men on the Pottawatomie organized to drive out free-state men, and they invited Buford's men, fresh from the South, then stopping at Fort Scott, to come and help them break up the free-state settlements. . . . About the same time, while Mr. Day, from over on the Marais des Cygnes, was at Weiner's store, a man rode up and harried him this note: 'This is to notify you that all free-state men now living on the Marais des Cygnes and Pottawatomie must leave the territory within thirty days or their throats will be cut.—Law and Order.' . . . James Hanway, who lived in the settlement at the time, said of the massacre afterwards: 'I am satisfied it saved the lives of many free-state men. We looked up to it as a sort of deliverance. Prior to this happening a base conspiracy had been formed to drive out, to burn, to kill. In a word, the Pottawatomie creek from its fountainhead was to be cleared of free-state men.' . . . There was no intention to harm the peaceable pro-slavery men on the Pottawatomie, only the obnoxious ones—the ones that gave aid and comfort to the Missouri invaders, the Buford cut-throats, and Pate's gang. The Pottawatomie policy enabled the free-state men to stay, and, by staying saved Kansas to freedom. It gave notice to Missourians that no more ballot-box stuffing would be tolerated. Had the Pottawatomie policy been adopted sooner, at Leavenworth, perhaps the shocking cruelties inflicted on R. P. Brown and William Phillips, might have been avoided. In the latter part of May, 1856, the free-state men of Kansas saw their leaders in prison, their newspapers thrown into the river, a reign of terror in Atchison, blood running down the streets of Leavenworth; Lawrence, their principal town, destroyed; armed hordes from every Southern state marching to Kansas; free-state families in Linn and Bourbon counties leaving by the hundreds for their far eastern homes; men all over the territory going to prison for speaking their sentiments; their champion at the national capital, Charles Sumner, weltering in blood from slavery's blows for even speaking out against these crimes in Kansas."

Richard J. Hinton, in his book, entitled "John Brown and His Men," page 87, says: "Henry Sherman, or 'Dutch Henry,' as he was called, lived on Pottawatomie creek, and kept a store or

til Governor Crittenden offered a reward of \$10,000 each for Frank and Jesse James, and the assassination of the latter April 3, 1882, by Robert Ford. And there was enough of the spirit of squatter sovereignty left then in Missouri to drive the governor into political exile, while Kansas recovered her sanity by the close of the war. And that Missouri is rapidly getting there is evidenced by the fact that about four years ago Frank James was a candidate for doorkeeper in the Missouri legislature, and while some still believed him to be a "bigger man than old Grant," there were conservatives enough to prevent his election, because, as they said, "it would never do."

The first raid of any consequence from Kansas into Missouri was on the 20th of December, 1858, when John Brown went over into Vernon county, Missouri, and brought out eleven slaves. The governor of Missouri offered \$3000 reward and President Buchanan added \$250 for Brown. With this bunch of negroes Brown departed from Kansas through Iowa. The History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, pages 221, 222, says: "There were comparatively few slaves in Vernon county during the Kansas troubles; but their owners were always uneasy, and it came to pass that the pro-slavery men the county over were nervous and seldom retired at night without seeing that their revolvers and shotguns were fit for service. The abolitionists were no longer despised; they were feared and dreaded. The Jayhawkers were fond of good horses and would as soon shoot a pro-slavery owner as to take his horse. They began along about 1858 to raid and harrow the border counties of Jackson, Cass, Bates and Vernon, but only one of the raids into this county was important—the John Brown raid of December, 1858."

In the senate of the United States, James H. Lane, June 20, 1862, said: "When my heart ceases to beat, and not until then, will I permit any gentleman, here or elsewhere, to state that Kansas is to be compared to Missouri in the outrages she has committed. In 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, the outrages were all upon one side; Kansas acted exclusively upon the defensive, and I defy that gentleman or any other gentleman to point to any body of Kansans who ever invaded the territory of Missouri or stuffed her ballot-boxes, or attempted to do so.⁸⁹ We have, in the discharge of our

saloon. It had become the rendezvous for the Doyles and others, who were known as border ruffians, spies, thieves and murderers. It was through them the Missourians gained all information concerning the condition of the free-state men. At this particular time the country was full of such ruffians, who had come up here to murder our people and burn our homes. These men were most active and bold. They ordered free-state men to leave, under pain of death if they failed to comply. While our men were under arms in camp, these marauders went to the homes of the settlers, where there was no one but women and children; they were abusive and indecent. On one occasion they so frightened one woman who was quick with child that she gave premature birth to it and came near dying. These conditions were reported, and a council was called, the whole matter discussed, and after a full investigation it was decided that "Dutch Henry" and his whole gang should be put to death, as an example and warning to the many murderers who infested the territory at that time. It was believed their crimes merited it, and the safety of the free-state community demanded it. I do not say that John Brown's party was chosen; probably the decision was anticipated. I do say we decided that it must be done. . . . Pro-slavery men who were not border ruffians, and there were a goodly number, were soon ready to aid in the protection of free-state men. They asked and were never denied protection by the latter. It was the great beginning of the glorious erding in Kansas. I justified it then, so did Robinson and everybody else. I have had no reason to change my mind upon that subject since."

NOTE 89.—Hon. Frederick P. Stanton, a Tennessean, fifth territorial (acting) governor, in an address at the old settlers' meeting, Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, September 2, 1884:

"The astounding frauds perpetrated at Oxford, in Johnson county, October 5, 1857, and several precincts in McGree, soon became known. They were intended, and, indeed, would have been effectual, to give the control of the new territorial legislature to the pro-slavery party, which was also supreme in the Lecompton constitutional convention. It would be fatal, these men perceived, to let the territorial legislature, even in its expiring days, pass into the hands of the people, especially since the result would serve to show too plainly the insignificance of the support which they actually had in the popular vote.

"The returns in the case of these election precincts were nothing less than flagrant forgeries.

duty to the flag and the country, marched into Missouri by orders of the government to crush out rebellion, since the commencement of this struggle. Never before did Kansas invade Missouri. . . . I do hope that the difficulties between Missouri and Kansas may sometime be settled, and kind feeling established, and I avail myself of this opportunity to say that I traversed the borders of Kansas and Missouri from north to south, before these troubles commenced, appealing to the citizens of Missouri and the citizens of Kansas to remain at home and at peace with each other. I made speeches to that effect along the entire border; but that counsel Missouri

They contained thousands of names of persons not present at the election. They were not returns of votes illegally offered and received, but they were immense lists of fictitious names, fraudulently entered and falsely returned, as those of actual voters. . . ."

[The poll-list of Oxford precinct, above referred to, is now in the archives department of the State Historical Society. There are 1628 names on it, all cast for the pro-slavery legislative and congressional ticket, except that of one person who had the nerve to vote for Marcus J. Parrott for Congress. The list is dated October 5, 1857, and is signed by James H. Nounnun, C. C. Catron, and Batt Jones, judges, and S. D. Barnett and G. O. Hand, clerks. By throwing out these returns, Robert J. Walker, governor, and Frederick P. Stanton, secretary, gave control of the territorial legislature to the free-state party.—SECRETARY.]

"General Cass assumed in his letter to me that the Lecompton constitution fairly submitted the slavery question to the people, and gave them an opportunity 'to determine whether Kansas shall be a slave state or a free state, in the very manner contemplated by its organic law.' You know how far this was from the facts of the case; but evidently General Cass expected me to employ the army for the purpose of maintaining order and fair play at Calhoun pro-slavery elections. How utterly inadequate would this have been to the demands of the occasion! Imagine a battery of artillery pursuing Jack Henderson to Delaware Crossing to prevent the forger committed there, or a company of dragoons fighting the notorious frauds at Oxford, Kickapoo, and elsewhere. . . ."

"The army of the nation was wholly incompetent to deal with these transactions, or in any way to prevent them, as I have already shown. The idea of meeting the perpetrators of these famous frauds with military force is supremely ludicrous. John Calhoun (president of the Lecompton constitutional convention) had a company of dragoons to protect him as he carried these forged returns, or their fraudulent results, out of this territory. With my own eyes I saw him escorted in this way from Lecompton. I do not mean to charge that General Cass or President Buchanan intended this use of the army, but I do say that such was the perversion of its functions, in spite of the better purposes proclaimed in the instructions."—Hist. Coll., vol. 3, pp. 345, 348, 350.

This statement of Secretary Stanton concerning the misuse of the army recalls the fact that six months or more before John Calhoun left John W. Geary, the third territorial governor, departed in the middle of the night because he was without protection. On the 9th of February, 1857, Governor Geary made application to Gen. Percifer F. Smith, commanding the department at Fort Leavenworth, as follows:

"There are certain persons present in Lecompton who are determined, if within the bounds of possibility, to bring about a breach of the peace. During the last few days a number of persons have been grossly insulted; and to-day an insult has been offered to myself. A person named Sherrard, who some days ago had been appointed a sheriff of Douglas county, which appointment was strongly protested against by a respectable number of the citizens of the county, and I had deferred commissioning him. This, it appears, gave mortal offense to Sherrard, and he has made up his mind to assassinate me. This may lead to trouble. It must be prevented, and that by immediate action. I require, therefore, two additional companies of dragoons, to report to me with the least possible delay. *I think this is absolutely necessary, and I trust you will immediately comply with my request.*"

On the 11th, General Smith responded:

"Insults or probable breaches of the peace do not authorize the employment of the troops.

"Besides, all the forces here have just been designated by the secretary of war, and are under orders, for other service more distant; and even the companies near you will have to be recalled. They are sufficient to repress any breach of the peace, and I cannot move them until the weather improves.

"But even they are to be employed to aid the civil authorities only in the contingencies mentioned in the laws above referred to. The garrisons to be left in the territory will be available if the President directs their employment."

Governor Geary had refused to commission William J. Sherrard as sheriff of Douglas county. The pro-slavery legislature demanded a reason, and the governor responded that Sherrard had been engaged in several drunken brawls. Geary ignored an attempted assault by Sherrard, when the latter spit upon the governor. At another time he slapped the governor's private secretary. Several attempts were made to provoke a quarrel and assassinate Geary. On the afternoon of the 14th of February according to a call, the citizens of Lecompton held a meeting to express their views concerning the insult to Governor Geary. Sherrard interrupted the meeting and began shooting. In the riot Sherrard was killed. Geary resigned on the 4th of March, to take effect on the 20th. His letter was deposited in the office very late at night, just as the mail closed, but its contents were discussed in the grog-shops of Lecompton the next morning before the governor was out of bed. He left Lecompton on the 10th of March, 1857.

disregarded, and if Kansas is even with Missouri it is because she has been true to her flag and true to her country." ⁹⁰

James H. Lane, in command of the United States troops, on the 22d day of September, 1861, destroyed the town of Osceola, St. Clair county, Missouri. This is generally stated as the excuse for the Lawrence massacre of August 21, 1863. Lane went to Osceola on a legitimate errand of warfare—to destroy certain supplies of the enemy—Sterling Price at this time having captured Colonel Mulligan at Lexington. Lane was fired on from ambush, and in returning the fire he killed one man. Lane's men helped women get their personal effects from their houses. Lane took the records from the court-house before applying the torch, and returned them at the close of the war. Lawrence had been destroyed or besieged three times—in December, 1855, May 21, 1856, and September 15, 1856. This third time Governor Geary arrived with United States troops and succeeded with argument to turn back to Missouri the 2700 invaders. Osawatomie was raided and robbed by 150 Missourians June 6, and destroyed by 500 Missourians August 30, 1856. The Marais des Cygnes massacre, May 18, 1858, was planned at Papinsville, Bates county, Missouri, and put into awful execution on the 19th.* Thus there were six raids from Missouri into Kansas before John Brown made the first raid from Kansas into Missouri, December, 1858, when he brought out eleven negroes. The second raid from Kansas into Missouri was by James B. Abbott and party, July 23, 1859, who rescued John Doy from jail in St. Joseph. Lane's march upon Osceola was five months after the assault upon Fort Sumter, and prior to it there was the seizure of Camp Jackson, the Platte Bridge massacre, the battle of Wilson Creek, the siege of Lexington, and the battle of Morristown.

There might have been a slight attempt by the settlers in the first two years at "seed time and harvest," but a few sentences only would be required to tell it, and as for the building of homes, education, religion, and any attempt at well-ordered society, all were held in abeyance, while the sovereign squats of Missouri were using every means to force slavery upon the territory. August 23, 1856, a party of which R. J. Hinton was a member reached Topeka, coming overland through Iowa. In a diary of the trip kept by Hinton, now in possession of the Kansas State Historical Society, is this sentence: "Topeka contains about 100 houses, but presents the appearance that the territory everywhere shows, of industry idle, enterprise blocked, and capital lying wasted."

It is not my purpose in this paper to justify John Brown or the sovereign squats of Missouri in anything that was done. What I repeat to you ap-

NOTE 90.—Congressional Globe, 2d sess. 37th Congress, p. 2838.

* On the 18th of May, 1858, a mass meeting was called at Papinsville to incite an invasion of the territory and wipe out the free-state settlers of Linn county. At midnight, when they reached the state line, either some conscience or a fear of James Montgomery seized the party, and all backed out but about thirty. This number followed Capt. Chas. A. Hamilton over the line on the morning of the 19th. They gathered up eleven citizens in Kansas, each without arms, the greater number, if not all of them, having never taken part in the differences between the free-state and pro-slavery parties. The prisoners were stood in line. Five were killed, and all the others but one desperately wounded. See Ed R. Smith's account, in volume 6 of the Kansas Historical Collections, pages 365-370. Mr. Smith says, page 369: "Hamilton without further comment ordered his men to form in front of their victims on the side of the ravine and a little above them. Old man Hairgrove, seeing the preparations for their murder, without a tremor in his voice, said, 'Men, if you are going to shoot us, take good aim.' Hamilton at this gave the order to 'Make ready, take aim, fire!' Fort Scott [W. B.] Brockett, at this, wheeled his horse out of the line and with an oath declared he would shoot them in a fight, but, by God! I'll have nothing to do with such an act as this.' It was with difficulty that Hamilton brought his gang again into line, then gave the order to fire, firing the first shot himself. The entire eleven men in that line went down before the deadly fire of their murderers." [See, also, Tomlinson's "Kansas in 1858," chap. 5, p. 61.]

peared in public print hundreds of times in all parts of the United States, and while some of it sounds unreasonable, so much of it actually happened as to render the most absurd of it very plausible. At this late day, under the political and material wonders we enjoy, we are all charitable enough to excuse the individuals and cover all with the mantle so often asserted by the free-soiler, "the barbarism of slavery," which then infected all things

Charles Robinson, the great free-soil leader, said in a letter to James Hanway, February 5, 1878: "I never had much doubt that Captain Brown was the author of the blow at Pottawatomie, for the reason that he was the only man who comprehended the situation and saw the absolute necessity of some such blow, and had the nerve to strike it." Verily, there had to be a blow struck.

But let me go a few days over the limit of the two years to further illustrate the spirit which then prevailed. Upon the anniversary of the Palmetto Rifles, June 28, 1856, celebrated at Atchison with a parade and banquet, were other toasts. "At the head of the table," says one account, "hung the blood-red flag, with the lone star and the motto of 'Southern Rights' on the one side and 'South Carolina' on the other. The same flag that first floated on the rifle-pits of the abolitionists at Lawrence, and on the hotel of the same place, in triumph, now hung over the heads of the noble soldiers who bore it so bravely through that exciting war." (This flag, captured by the free-state men at Slough creek, in September, 1856, is now among the relics of the Kansas State Historical Society.) Among the toasts were the following applying to Kansas: "Kansas—our chosen home—stand by her. Yes! sons of the South, make her a slave state, or die in the attempt!" "Missouri—our ally—nobly has she stood by her younger sister. All hail to the gallant 'border ruffians.' We owe them one." "The city of Atchison—may she before the close of the year '57 be the capital of a southern republic." "The Palmetto flag—we brought it here in honor, let us return it the same." "The distribution of the public lands—one hundred and sixty acres to every pro-slavery settler, and to every abolitionist six feet by two."⁹¹

But July 4 following they went one better in Grahamville, S. C.: "Kansas—already stained with the blood of Southern martyrs in the cause of justice and our most sacred rights. May her streams become rivers of blood and her forests charnel houses before her soil shall be contaminated and her atmosphere polluted by the free-soil partisans of the North."⁹²

Is it any wonder pandemonium was established on the border?

The Missouri idea of squatter sovereignty seems to have been generally accepted. Listen to the *Charleston Courier* about June, 1856: "Let the names therefore be published daily, that we may see who are lukewarm in this vital issue—then we may see who are the people in this community who require to be watched. To secure this end we will add, as a suggestion, that the finance committee of the Kansas Association be also a committee of assessment, and that each individual be informed of this amount before his subscription be taken. We also suggest that the Kansas Association appoint a large vigilance committee, whose consultations shall be secret, and who shall take in charge the conduct of delinquents and adopt such measures in reference to them as the interests of the community demand."⁹³

NOTE 91.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 15, p. 73.

NOTE 92.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 14, p. 228.

NOTE 93.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 14, p. 220.

It has been charged that John Brown was crazy. I have two extracts made from speeches of David R. Atchison, and also two extracts from a speech by Stringfellow, in defense of slavery, that I had intended placing alongside of some of John Brown's talk about the same time, to illustrate the question as to who was the craziest; but the quotations throughout this paper are sufficient to show that there was something radically wrong, mentally or morally, with the Atchisons and the Stringfellows. In the light of to-day, there was then a great deal of lunacy spread over western Missouri. And under the teachings of the fathers, as I have quoted them to you, inspired by a United States senator and acting Vice-president of the United States, and an ex-attorney-general of Missouri, how could it be otherwise than that western Missouri would be stocked with such citizens and patriots as Bill Anderson, Up Hayes, Arch Clements, the James boys, the Youngers, George Todd, Dick Yeager, and the later crop of train and bank robbers, such as Dick Liddil, Jim Cummings, Wood Hite, Bill McDaniels, and the scores of others who terrorized the entire West from 1866 until 1882. Surely it was insanity to remove all restraint from such fellows, while at the same time urging them to shoot, hang, drown and tar-and feather their fellowmen. Thank God such civilization did not prevail.

I will say, however, that by the spring of 1856 the people were warming up in the fight for statehood. Five years later—in 1861—when the inventors of squatter sovereignty abandoned the United States senate for commissions in the Confederate army, Kansas managed to squeeze in. During the five years following the end of my story the seat of war was transferred from the Missouri river to central Kansas, and then to southeastern Kansas. Many people have held that it was the emigration of 1857 that saved Kansas to freedom, but after the recital I have made it looks as though the bracing up following the blow struck at Pottawatomie, at Black Jack, Washington creek, Fort Titus, Osawatomie and Hickory Point, Bull creek, and the two skirmishes at Franklin turned the tide. It is further apparent that the term "sovereign squat," as used to-day, will not apply to the *bona fide* free-soil settlers of Kansas, but solely to a band of non-resident slavery propagandists who were determined to force their institutions upon the new state.

After seven years of bloody conflict Kansas became a state by default—that is, those opposed to her seceded, thus placing her friends in the majority in the United States senate. She had 107,206 people, and in the Pike's Peak country there were 34,342. Five years of raiding and counter-raiding followed, when there was no growth or improvement. The only method of transportation was the stage, and the ox or mule trains—not a mile of railroad for six years after statehood—while Oklahoma becomes a state with 5143 miles of railroad, just about half of what Kansas has to-day, and Pullmans running everywhere. In 1900 Oklahoma and Indian Territory had a population of 790,291, estimated to-day at 1,500,000.⁹⁴ In the state of Oklahoma there are twenty-four towns of over 3000 population, eight of them running over 10,000, with water-works, electric lights, street-railways, and

NOTE 94.—September 15, 1907, the federal census bureau made a count of Oklahoma and Indian Territory. With four districts unreported, the population has reached a total of 1,408,732, an increase of seventy-eight per cent. over 1900. The figures show that Oklahoma, with two districts lacking, has a population of 718,765, and Indian Territory, with two districts missing, has 689,937. This report shows that the twin territories are growing with nearly equal pace, making a well-balanced population in the new commonwealth of Oklahoma. The aggregate population is larger than any territory had at the time of its admission to the Union.

modern buildings; now recall the straggling dugouts and board and log shanties composing the original towns of Kansas. In Kansas, in her first two years, the Massachusetts abolitionist and the Pennsylvania democrat were proscribed, a person's pronouncement sometimes being a test of citizenship, while in Oklahoma the Texan, the Kansan, and the Arkansan, the negro and the Indian, will enjoy squatter sovereignty in its real sense and vote unquestioned in the organization of the state. Only recently it was stated in the daily telegraphic dispatches that in the new state of Oklahoma the Pawnee Indians had entertained their old enemies, the Sioux, for several weeks with a green-corn dance and feasting. Buffalo and pony races were also indulged in, and many ponies and blankets were given the Sioux visitors by the Pawnees, and to add humor to the progress made, it was also stated that the agent of the Pawnees made a trip to the scene of the festivities and warned the Indians that it would be a crime to give away ponies and blankets that had been mortgaged.

How much the world owes to Kansas can never be computed. Since the days of Abraham, the first great pioneer, no people ever met more serious responsibilities, or made a more startling and lasting impression in the world's progress, than the pioneers of Kansas. And, verily, Kansas is an heir to the blessings promised Abraham: "I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing."

In conclusion permit me to say that I verily believe that the Squatters' Claim Association, the Platte City Regulators and the Platte County Defensive Association were the sole progenitors—there were no ancestors behind them—of the Missouri bushwacker, the Kansas raider, and those who stole in the name of liberty, the Missouri train and bank robbers, and a host of reckless and lawless men incited hither, for whom no principle or element could be held responsible, and that the Quantrill reunions are the last wriggings of the dying snake's tail. It was better for Kansas to be the victim than the persecutor—she recovered that much sooner. Her leading raider was pursued and shot like a mad dog on the banks of the Marais des Cygnes by Kansas troops, the second most conspicuous was dishonorably discharged from the federal service, and after the close of the war a few straggling horse-thieves were hung, and a well-ordered community established.

I once asked a man who was notorious on the border during the war, and prominent afterward as a business man and a good citizen, to write a story of his experiences for the Kansas State Historical Society, and his response was, "I have two as good boys as man ever had in this world, and I do not want them to know any more about their father than is necessary." Ninety per cent. of the population of Kansas to-day have never heard of a Kansas raider—those so known were ashamed of it and repudiated it upon the coming of peace—and there never was a minute when a body of raiders could find a quarter-section in Kansas on which they would be permitted to hold a reunion. No descendant of a raider has ever posed in vaudeville on his father's reputation for infamy.⁹⁵ And, thank God, there are no Kansas

NOTE 95.—The writer was at Kinsley, September 3, 1907, where he made an address upon the occasion of the unveiling of a Santa Fe trail-marker. It was in the afternoon, and he had a delightful audience. The business men closed their stores, and about 150 school children participated. Jesse James was there also with a tent-show, and the night before presented on the stage the deeds of his father which had induced a reward of \$10,000 for him dead or alive. One demonstration honored all that was splendid in manhood, and the other all that was infamous.

raider contributions to literature selling on the railroad-trains. And when the last Quantrill reunion is held the obliteration will be complete—there will be no more reminders of the barbarism of slavery, and Missouri and Kansas, united, will be the choicest piece of God's green earth in sentiment and right living, as it has always been in all that nature gives to the comfort and profit of mankind.



