

AN IMPORTANT DOCUMENT.

AUTHENTIC HISTORY OF THE KANSAS TROUBLES.

The Missouri Invasions.

HOW THE TERRITORIAL ELECTIONS WERE CARRIED.

MAJORITY REPORT OF THE HOUSE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

PRESENTED JULY 1, 1856.

The Special Committee appointed to investigate the troubles in the Territory of Kansas, having performed the duties required by the House, beg leave to submit the following

REPORT.

A journal of proceedings, including sundry communications made to and by the Committee, was kept, a copy of which is herewith submitted. The testimony also is herewith submitted; a copy of it has been made and arranged, not according to the order in which it was taken, but so as to present, as clearly as possible, a consecutive history of events in the Territory, from its organization to the 19th day of March, A. D., 1856.

Your Committee deem it their duty to state, as briefly as possible, the principal facts proven before them. When the act to organize the Territory of Kansas was passed on — day of May, 1854, the greater portion of its eastern border was included in Indian reservations not open for settlement, and there were but few white settlers in any portion of the Territory. Its Indian population was rapidly decreasing, while many emigrants from different parts of the country were anxiously waiting the extinction of the Indian title, and the establishment of a Territorial Government, to seek new homes in its fertile prairies. It cannot be doubted that if its condition as a Free Territory had been left undisturbed by Congress, its settlement would have been rapid, peaceful and prosperous. Its climate, soil, and its easy access to the older settlements would have made it the favored course for the tide of emigration constantly flowing to the West, and, by this time, it would have been admitted into the Union as a Free State, without the least sectional excitement. If so organized, none but the kindest feeling could have existed between it and the adjoining State. Their mutual interests and intercourse, instead of, as now, endangering the harmony of the Union, would have strengthened the ties of national brotherhood. The testimony clearly shows, that before the proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise was introduced into Congress, the people of Western Missouri appeared indifferent to the prohibition of Slavery in the Territory, and neither asked nor desired its repeal.

When, however, the prohibition was removed by the action of Congress, the aspect of affairs entirely changed. The whole country was agitated by the reopening of a controversy which conservative men in different sections hoped had been settled in every State and Territory by some law beyond the danger of repeal. The excitement which has always accompanied the discussion of the Slavery question was greatly increased by the hope on the one hand of extending Slavery into a region from which it had been excluded by law; and on the other by a sense of wrong done by what was regarded as a dishonor of a national compact. This excitement was naturally transferred into the border counties of Missouri and the Territory as settlers favoring free or slave institutions moved into it. A new difficulty soon occurred. Different constructions were put upon the organic law. It was contended by the one party that the right to hold slaves in the Territory existed, and that neither the people nor the Territorial Legislature could prohibit Slavery—that that power was alone possessed by the people when they were authorized to form a State Government. It was contended that the removal of the restriction virtually established Slavery in the Territory. This claim was urged by many prominent men in Western Missouri, who actively engaged in the affairs of the Territory. Every movement of whatever character which tended to establish free institutions was regarded as an interference with their rights.

Within a few days after the organic law passed, and as soon as its passage could be known on the border, leading citizens of Missouri crossed into the Territory, held squats or meetings, and then returned to their homes. Among their resolutions are the following:

"That we will afford protection to no Abolitionist as a settler of this Territory.

"That we recognize the institution of Slavery as already existing in this Territory, and advise our holders to introduce their property as early as possible."

Similar resolutions were passed in various parts of the Territory, and by meetings in several counties of Missouri. Thus the first effect of the repeal of the restriction against Slavery was to substitute the resolves of squatter meetings, composed almost exclusively of citizens of a single State, for the deliberate action of Congress, acquiesced in for thirty-five years.

This unlawful interference has been continued in every important event in the history of the Territory; every election has been controlled not by the actual settlers, but by citizens of Missouri, and, as a consequence, every officer in the Territory, from constables to legislators, except those appointed by the President, owe their positions to non-resident voters. None have been elected by the settlers, and your Committee have been unable to find that any political power whatever, however unimportant, has been exercised by the people of the Territory.

In October, A. D., 1854, Gov. A. H. REEDER and the other officers appointed by the President arrived in the Territory. Settlers from all parts of the country were moving in in great numbers, making their claims and building their cabins. About the same time, and before any election was or could be held in the Territory, a secret political society was formed in the State of Missouri (1). It was known by different names, such as "Social Band," "Friends' Society," "Blue Lodge," "The Sons of the South." Its members were bound together by secret oaths, and they had passwords, signs and grips, by which they were known to each other. Penalties were imposed for violating the rules and secrets of the Order. Written minutes were kept of the proceedings of the Lodges, and the different Lodges were connected together by an effective organization. It embraced great numbers of the citizens of Missouri, and was extended into other Slave States and into the Territory. Its avowed purpose was not only to extend Slavery into Kansas, but also into other Territory of the United States, and to form a union of all the friends of that institution. Its plan of operating was to organize and send men to vote at the elections in the Territory, to collect money to pay their expenses, and, if necessary, to protect them in voting. It also proposed to induce Pro-Slavery men to emigrate into the Territory to aid and sustain them while there, and to elect none to office but those friendly to their views. This dangerous society was controlled by men who avowed their purpose to extend Slavery into the Territory at all hazards, and was altogether the most effective instrument in organizing the subsequent armed invasions and forays. In its Lodges in Missouri the affairs of Kansas were discussed, the force necessary to control the election was divided into bands, and leaders selected, means were collected, and signs and badges were agreed upon. While the great body of the actual settlers of the Territory were relying upon the rights secured to them by the organic law, and had formed no organization or combination whatever, even of a party character, this conspiracy against their rights was gathering strength in a neighboring State, and would have been sufficient at their first election to have overpowered them if they had been united to a man.

Your Committee had great difficulty in eliciting the proof of the details in regard to this secret society. One witness, member of the Legislative Council, refused to answer questions in reference to it (2.) Another declined to answer fully, because to do so would result to his injury (3.) Others could or would only answer as to the general purposes of the Society, but sufficient is disclosed in the testimony to show the influence it had in controlling the elections in the Territory.

The first election was for a Delegate to Congress. It was appointed for the 29th of November, 1854. The Governor divided the Territory into seventeen Election Districts, appointed Judges, and prescribed proper rules for the election. In the First, Third, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Twelfth, Thirteenth and Seventeenth Districts, there appears to have been but little if any fraudulent voting.

The election in the Second District was held at the village of Douglas, nearly fifty miles from the Missouri line. On the day before the election, large companies of men came into the District in wagons and on horseback, and declared that they were from the State of Missouri, and were going to Douglas to vote. On the morning of the election they gathered around the house where the election was held. Two of the Judges appointed by the Governor did not

(1) Jordan Davidson, J. C. Prince, John Scott, J. H. Stringfellow.

(2) W. L. Richardson. (3) O. C. Prince.

and of personal violence to those who should take part in the protest, it was not presented to the Governor, (193.) Major Richardson, the Pro-Slavery candidate for Council, threatened Dr. Curran, the Free-State candidate, that if he contested the election he and his office would be put in the Missouri River, (200.)

The number of votes in the District by the census was 334—of these 122 voters. The testimony shows that quite a number of persons whose legal residence was in the populous county of Buchanan, Mo., on the opposite side of the river, had claims in the Territory. Some ranked cattle, and others marked out their claim and built a cabin, and sold this incipient title where they could. They were not residents of the Territory in any just or legal sense. A number of settlers moved into the District in the month of March. Your Committee are satisfied, after a careful analysis of the records and testimony, that the number of legal votes cast did not exceed 200—out of 127.

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT.
The election in this district was held in the house of Mr. HAYES. On the day of the election a crowd of from 400 to 500 men (201) collected around the polls, of which the great body were citizens of Missouri. One of the Judges of Election, in his testimony (202), states that the strangers commenced crowding around the polls, and then the residents left. Threats were made before and during the election day that there should be no Free-State candidates, although there were nearly or quite as many Free-State as Pro-Slavery were drinking and carousing, most of the Abolitionists and threatening the only Free-State Judge of Election. A majority of those who voted were henchmen in their button-holes (203) and their pass-word was "all right on the hemp." Many of the Missourians were known and are named by the witnesses. Several speeches were made by them at the polls, and among those who spoke were Major OLIVER, one of your Committee, Col. BURNS and LALAN WILLIAMS, of Platte County. Major OLIVER urged you on all present to use no harsh words, and expressed the hope that nothing would be said or done to harm the feelings of the most sensitive on the other side. He gave some grounds, based on the Missouri Compromise, in regard to the right of voting, and was understood to excuse the Missourians for voting. Your Committee are satisfied that he did not vote. Col. BURNS recommended all to vote, and he hoped none would go home without voting. Some of the Pro-Slavery residents were much dissatisfied at some interference with their rights by the Missourians, and for that reason—because reflection convinced them that it would be better to have Kansas a Free-State—they "fell over the fence," (204.) The judges requested the voters to take an oath that they were actual residents. They objected at first, some saying they had a claim, or "I am here." But the Free-State Judge insisted upon the oath, and his associates, who at first were disposed to waive it, coincided with him, and the voters all took it after some grumbling. One said he cut him some poles and laid them in the shape of a square, and that made him a claim; and another said that he had cut him a few sticks of wood, and that made him a claim. The Free-State men did not vote, although they believed their numbers to be equal to the Pro-Slavery settlers, and some claimed that they had the majority. They were deterred by threats thrown out by the Missourians, before and on the day of election, from putting up candidates, and no candidates were run for the reason—that the Missourians would control the election. The Free-State Judge was threatened with a pistol to get into the polls, and a young man thrust a pistol into the window through which the votes were received. The whole number of votes cast was 417; of the names on the poll-book but 62 are in the census-rolls, and the testimony shows that a small portion, estimated by one witness at one-quarter of the legal voters voted. Your Committee estimate the number of legal voters at 80. One of the judges referred to certified to the Governor that the election was fairly conducted. It was not contested because no one would take the responsibility of doing it, as it was not considered safe, and that if another election was had, the residents would fare no better.

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT.
For some time previous to the election, meetings were held and arrangements made in Missouri to get up companies to come over to the Territory and vote (205), and the day before and on the day of election, large bodies of Missourians from Platte, Clay, Ray, Carroll, Clinton and Saline Counties, Missouri, came into this district and camped there (206.) They were armed with pistols and bow-knives, and some with guns and rifles (207), and had badges of hemp in their button-holes and elsewhere about their persons. (208.)

On the morning of the election they were from 1,000 to 1,400 persons, and the ground (209.) Previous to the election the Missourians endeavored to persuade the two Free-State Judges to resign by making threats of personal violence to them (210), one of whom resigned on the morning of election, and the crowd chose another to fill his place (211)—but one of the Judges, the Free-State Judge, would take the oath prescribed by the Governor; the other two deciding that they had no right to swear any one who offered to vote, but that all on the ground were entitled to vote (212.) The only voters refused were some Delaware Indians, some 30 Wyandotte Indians being allowed to vote (213.)

One of the Free-State candidates withdrew in consequence of the presence of the Missourians, and cheering and acclamations by the Missourians (214.) During the day, the steambot *New Lucy* came down from Western Missouri, with a large number of Missourians on board, who voted and then returned on the boat (215.)

The Missourians gave as a reason for their coming over to vote, that the North had tried to force emigration into the Territory, and they wanted to counteract that movement (216.) Some of the candidates and many of the Missourians took the ground that, under the Kansas-Nebraska act, all who were on the ground on the day of election were entitled to vote (217) and driving down stakes, even on another man's claim, gave them a right to vote. And one of the judges (218) of the Council, R. R. KEES, declared in his testimony that he who should put a different construction upon the law must be either a knave or a fool.

The Free-State men generally did not vote at that election (219), and no newly-arrived Eastern emigrants were there (220.) The Free-State Judge of election refused to sign the returns until the words "by lawful resident voters" were stricken out, which was done, and the returns made in that way (221.) The election was contested, and a new election ordered by Governor REEDER for the 22d of May.

The testimony is divided as to the relative strength of parties in this District. The whole number of voters in the District, according to the census returns, was 355; and, according to a very carefully prepared list of voters, prepared for the Pro-Slavery candidates and other Pro-Slavery men a few days previous to the election, there were 305 voters in the District, including those who had claims but did not live on them (222.) The whole number of votes cast was 964. Of these named in the census 105 voted. Your Committee, upon careful examination, are satisfied that there were not over 150 legal votes cast, leaving 814 illegal votes.

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT.
The election in this District seems to have been fairly conducted, and not contested at all. In this District the Pro-Slavery party had the majority.

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT.
Previous to the election, Gen. DAVID R. ATCHISON of Platte City, Mo., got up a company of Missourians, and passing through Weston, Mo. (223,) went over into the Territory. He remained all night at the house of —, and then exhibited his arms, of which he had an abundance. He proceeded to the Nemobar (Eighteenth) District (224.) On his way he and his party attended a Nominal Convention in the Fourteenth District, and proposed and caused to be nominated a set of candidates in opposition to the wishes of the Pro-Slavery residents of the District (225.) At that Convention he said that there were 1,100 men coming over from Platte County, and if there wasn't enough they could send 5,000 more—that they came to vote, and would vote or kill every G-d-d Abolitionist in the Territory (226.)

On the day of election, the Missourians under Archibald, who were encamped there, came up to the polls in the Eighteenth District, taking the oath that they were residents of the District. The Missourians were all armed with pistols or bow-knives, and said there were 60 in their company (227.) But 17 votes given on that day were given by residents of the District (228.) The whole number of votes was 62.

R. L. KIRK, one of the candidates, came into the District from Missouri about a week before the election and boarded there (229.) He left after the election, and was not at the time a legal resident of the District in which he was elected. No protest was sent to the Governor on account of threats made against any who should dare to contest the election (230.) The following tables embody the result of the examination of your Committee in regard to this election. In some of the Districts it was impossible to ascertain the precise number of the legal votes cast, and especially in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Districts. In such cases the number of legal and illegal votes cast is stated, after a careful re-examination of all the testimony and records concerning the election:

Abstract of Election of March 10, 1855, by Representatives in Council Districts:

No. of District	Place of Voting	Pro-Slavery	Free-State	Total	No. of Legal	No. of Illegal	No. of Voters in Census	No. of Voters in Election	No. of Council Dist.
1	Lawrence	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
2	Bloomington	219	781	1000	219	781	1000	1000	1
3	Dr. Chapman's	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
4	Big Sugar Creek	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
5	Pottawatomie	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
6	Big Blue	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
7	Rock Creek	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
8	Marionville	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
9	Silver Lake	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
10	Hickory Hill	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
11	Doniphan	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
12	Wolf Creek	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
13	Burn Oak Hills	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
14	Hayes	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
15	Gum Springs	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
16	Moonesville	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
17	Moonesville	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1
Total		10000	10000	20000	10000	10000	20000	20000	17

Abstract of Census, and Returns of Election of March 30, 1855, by Election Districts.

No. of District	Place of Voting	Pro-Slavery	Free-State	Total	No. of Legal	No. of Illegal	No. of Voters in Census	No. of Voters in Election
1	Lawrence	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
2	Bloomington	219	781	1000	219	781	1000	1000
3	Dr. Chapman's	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
4	Big Sugar Creek	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
5	Pottawatomie	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
6	Big Blue	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
7	Rock Creek	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
8	Marionville	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
9	Silver Lake	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
10	Hickory Hill	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
11	Doniphan	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
12	Wolf Creek	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
13	Burn Oak Hills	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
14	Hayes	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
15	Gum Springs	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
16	Moonesville	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
17	Moonesville	781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000
Total		10000	10000	20000	10000	10000	20000	20000

Abstract of Election of March 30, 1855, by Council Districts.

No. of Council Dist.	No. of Election Dist.	Pro-Slavery	Free-State	Total	No. of Voters by Census	No. of Councilmen
1	Lawrence	781	219	1000	1000	1
2	Bloomington	219	781	1000	1000	1
3	Dr. Chapman's	781	219	1000	1000	1
4	Big Sugar Creek	781	219	1000	1000	1
5	Pottawatomie	781	219	1000	1000	1
6	Big Blue	781	219	1000	1000	1
7	Rock Creek	781	219	1000	1000	1
8	Marionville	781	219	1000	1000	1
9	Silver Lake	781	219	1000	1000	1
10	Hickory Hill	781	219	1000	1000	1
11	Doniphan	781	219	1000	1000	1
12	Wolf Creek	781	219	1000	1000	1
13	Burn Oak Hills	781	219	1000	1000	1
14	Hayes	781	219	1000	1000	1
15	Gum Springs	781	219	1000	1000	1
16	Moonesville	781	219	1000	1000	1
17	Moonesville	781	219	1000	1000	1
Total		10000	10000	20000	20000	17

No. of Voters for them in Election District.

Pro-Slavery	Free-State	Total	No. of Voters for them in Election District	No. of Voters in Council District for them	Total Votes cast in Election District	Total Votes cast in Council District	No. of legal votes in Election District	No. of illegal votes in Election District	No. of legal votes in Council District	No. of illegal votes in Council District	No. of Councilmen	No. of Election Dist.
781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1	1
219	781	1000	219	781	1000	1000	219	781	1000	1000	1	1
781	219	1000	781	219	1000	1000	781	219	1000	1000	1	1
219	781	1000	219	781	1000	1000	219	781	1000	1000	1	1
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219	781	1000	219	781	1000	1000	219	781	1000	1000	1	1