

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

1897-1900;

TOGETHER WITH

ADDRESSES AT ANNUAL MEETINGS, MEMORIALS, AND
MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

ALSO,

A CATALOG OF KANSAS CONSTITUTIONS, AND TERRITORIAL AND STATE
DOCUMENTS IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY.

EDITED BY GEO. W. MARTIN, SECRETARY.

VOL. VI.

TOPEKA:
W. Y. MORGAN, STATE PRINTER.
1900.

BIOGRAPHY THE BASIS OF HISTORY.

CHARLES ROBINSON.

Prepared by PROF. F. W. BLACKMAR, of the University of Kansas, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

TO be well born is a fortunate circumstance in the foundation of a great character. It is a vantage-ground in a life struggle where the fittest, who are the best, survive. To be well educated to meet the conditions of one's own generation is an essential means for the completion of character building.

Charles Robinson was blessed with both of these conditions. He was of old New England blood of pure stream that lost none of its vigor in its onward flowing. His father, Jonathan Robinson, was a farmer and zealous anti-slavery man of decided religious views, whose ancestry is traced back to the John Robinson of Plymouth Rock fame. The social atmosphere of New England in early days was a character builder. The frugal home life, with its discipline, its religious fervor, and sweet companionship, ever appealing to self-sacrifice, furnished an excellent training. Perhaps the home life in New England, with its frugality, discipline, earnestness, and close sympathy, was the best quality of the education of the times. It has been the saving quality of the New England life, and as well of that larger life which has moved westward and filled the valleys and plains and enveloped the mountains of the continent. Perennial and sweet, the hallowed influence of the homes of the olden time comes to us in retrospective fancy, ever prominent in the philosophy of nation building!

His mother's name was Huldah Woodward. Of these parents were born ten children, six boys and four girls, to whom they desired to give as good an education as the country afforded. The mother of the family looked carefully after the Sunday-school lesson, and every Saturday night the flock of children gathered around the table to learn all the lesson could teach of morals and religion. There the mother, with the great old Bible in her lap, was filled with the blessed spirit of the Christ, as she pointed out the beauties of its vivid style and the moral and religious teachings fitted for daily life.

Charles Robinson was a strong character in the old New England home; he was a pleasant companion, a lover of music and books, and a lover of man and nature. His philosophy began early, as he roamed alone over the fields, through the forests, or by the brookside, or followed the instruction of the country schools of his time. Born at the quiet town of Hardwick, Mass., on July 21, 1818, when school privileges and books were more rare than at present, he had ample opportunity for thought, which, to the observing, thinking man, is education. At the age of seventeen it was necessary for him to strike out for himself, and from that time on he bore at least a large part of the expenses of his education. Academies and seminaries were the great blessings of New England youth in those days. They made Amherst, Yale, Harvard, Williams and Dartmouth possible to thousands of young men. He entered Hadley academy, where he remained a year, after which he entered Amherst academy, and there he again exercised the privi-

lege of self-support. The authorities gave him the privilege of making new desks and seats for the academy; therefore in the basement of the building he established a workshop, where he wrought at carpentry to pay for his tuition, and where at intervals he pondered over the principles of philosophy.

It was but a step from Amherst academy to Amherst College, although he had remained but a year at the academy. After remaining a year and a half at the college his eyesight gave out, and he found it necessary to walk forty miles to Keene, N. H., to apply to Dr. Amos Twitchell for aid. Always on the lookout for opportunities, as every active youth must be, he decided to accept an opportunity to study medicine under Doctor Twitchell. Possibly it would have been better for him to have remained at the academy and subsequently at the college before entering upon his medical studies. However, he did what many another person has done, who, lacking the proper direction of others, sought his own course in his own way.

After remaining with Doctor Twitchell six months, he attended medical lectures at Pittsfield, Mass. Doctor Childs, who afterwards became lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, was then president of the institute. After the course of lectures was completed at Pittsfield, he studied for a time with Dr. Isaac Gridley, at Amherst, and subsequently attended lectures at Woodstock, Vt. Dr. Rush Palmer, much celebrated in his day as an eminent physician and lecturer, was at the head of the Woodstock institution. Robinson finally returned to Doctor Gridley, and remained with him until his medical education was completed. His educational career would be considered rather an erratic course for a medical student of the present day, but it served to give a full medical education of his time. His peripatetic education, as far as possible, furnished what the youth of to-day finds concentrated in the modern medical college with hospital attached. It appears, at least, that his education was considered thorough and sufficient for practice in his time.

In 1843 Doctor Robinson commenced the practice of medicine at Belchertown, Mass., a town of the old New England type, covering a large area, being fourteen miles long and ten miles wide. Doctor Robinson's practice was very large, and, as the town was situated in the hill district in Hampshire county, his numerous visits required excessive labor. Once settled in Belchertown, Doctor Robinson took his place as an active citizen of the town. He was enthusiastic, not only in administering to the ailments of the people, but also in advocating the practice of proper sanitation. He would not join the medical society, because he did not wish to be bound down to its cast-iron rules, and because he thought he could learn something from the practitioner of any school.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1843, he was married to Miss Sarah Adams, of West Brookfield, and after a brief trip to Boston he returned to his duties in Belchertown. Doctor Robinson was interested in schools and served on school committees. He frequently attended the Sunday-school teachers' meeting; was a constant worker for temperance. When the Perfectionists, under John W. Noyes, were preaching a new salvation from sin they met with severe opposition; law and order meetings were called and an antagonistic spirit aroused. While Robinson did not adhere to the teachings of Noyes, his sympathies were with him and his followers, and he was glad when they were relieved from persecution.

Doctor Robinson threw his whole zeal and energy into his work, which proved to be a great strain upon his not overrugged constitution. Consequently, in the spring of 1845 he went to Springfield, Mass., and there opened a hospital for practice. In conducting this hospital he was associated with Dr. J. G. Holland, a well read physician, and subsequently widely known on account of his literary

career. He was a native of Belchertown and was a former roommate of Robinson at Pittsfield, where the two became well acquainted.

Doctor Robinson found it impossible to confine his work to hospital practice, and so his visits soon extended far and wide in Springfield and surrounding towns within a radius of twenty miles. While at Springfield there came upon him a great disaster which was lasting in its effects, and which seems to have changed the entire course of his life. On the 17th of January, 1846, his wife passed from this earth. Failing in health on account of his severe practice, and broken in spirit by his severe loss, he was induced to leave Springfield and go to Fitchburg, where his brother Cyrus was located. This he did in the spring of 1846. But he did not escape work by the change, for he was again soon worn out by the excessive duties of his profession. While he was casting about what to do for his health, thoughts of a trip to California were prominent in his mind.

CALIFORNIA ADVENTURES.

In this peculiar way Charles Robinson became interested in the emigration to California. The whole country was aroused in 1848 by the discovery in California of this new El Dorado. Men everywhere caught the fever and were hurrying westward in the vain endeavor to be first in locating their mining claims. Not only the venturesome West but the staid East was stirred with unbounded enthusiasm, and thousands from every part of the union took up the long journey overland to the Pacific slope, or, by boat, passed by way of the isthmus on to San Francisco.

In the winter of 1849 a party composed of men of all classes and professions was formed in and around Boston for the purpose of making the journey overland. This company was organized on a military basis, and selected Charles Robinson as the physician of the company, upon whom devolved the responsibility of the care of the sick. This small party left Boston the 19th of March, 1849, and, passing by railroad and canal to Pittsburg, thence by steamer to Cincinnati and St. Louis, finally reached Kansas City, or what was then known as Westport Landing. The whole journey was without striking event, except the usual experiences of a company traveling through a new country, which brings a new interest from day to day—the sights and scenes of the winding route through forests, hills, valleys, and plains. Soon after the party left St. Louis the cholera broke out among the ship's company, and the physician found an arduous task before him to stay the disease, not so well known in those days as at present. This he did quite effectually, there and also at Westport Landing.

The company finally arrived at Sacramento. Here were exciting conditions, which were made to test Doctor Robinson's character. The great contest between the squatters and the large landholders was in progress at Sacramento, and Doctor Robinson took a vigorous interest in the matter. As Doctor Cordley says, in the "History of Lawrence":

"In 1849 he went to California with the gold-seekers, and was a prominent actor in the stirring scenes which characterized the early history of that state. In those turbulent times he had been severely wounded, and had been put under arrest and kept in prison for several months; but he and his associates finally won the day, and California was finally saved from the rule of the thieves. He was just the man wanted for the emergency. He was cool of counsel and brave of heart, and knew the conditions he had to meet."

The difficulty in California existed in the fact that the old Spanish grants of land, which were to be guaranteed, according to the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, of February 2, 1848, had secured all land titles and property of every kind belonging to the citizens within the territory. The grants made by the

government of Mexico prior to the accession of land by the United States were to be secured by the latter government. Two difficulties arose. Just before the cession, and immediately after, a large number of land-grabbers sought to obtain titles to land in various parts of California, and many titles granted prior to the cession were imperfect on account of indefinite location of boundaries.

The trouble at Sacramento was precipitated, first, by the fact that the people who came in from the East were accustomed to free land, and did not understand why they did not have squatters' rights on these large land grants as well as on other territories of the United States; and then, in addition, the disposition of the land-agents to grab everything in sight, and to exclude persons from the territory, enraged the squatters. Furthermore, the particular land title of Sutter, which was claimed to cover the territory in and around Sacramento, virtually did not extend that far.

Sutter was a man from Switzerland who had settled in 1837 on the Sacramento river at the junction of the American. Here he built a fort and established a colony, his possessions reaching many miles far and wide, up and down the Sacramento, American and Feather rivers. He lived like a feudal lord of the olden times on his domains, served by his many helpers, and with an army drilled for defense. In 1841 he received from the Mexican government a grant of eleven square leagues of land. In 1847 sixty houses clustered around the fort, and six mills and one tannery were located in the immediate vicinity. Thousands of bushels of wheat were raised annually in the fertile valleys, and thousands of cattle, mules, horses and sheep grazed in the valleys and on the hills. The white population at this time numbered 289 souls, while a large number of Indians, half-breeds and Hawaiians were located near.

In 1846 Sutter laid out the town of Suttersville, three miles below the fort, on the Sacramento river. Subsequently the town of Sacramento was laid out between Suttersville and the fort. So far as rights accruing from possession were concerned, Sutter was the owner of this vast tract of land. So far as the intent of the grants from the Mexican government in 1841 were concerned, he had a clear title to the land. Unfortunately, when the boundary was fixed for this territory, the grant was made to cover twenty-six square leagues of land, and the southern boundary was placed some twenty miles north, at the junction of the Feather and Sacramento rivers, which, if strictly construed, would exclude the fort, Suttersville and the surrounding territory from the terms of the grant. Without doubt it was the intention of the grant that Sutter should locate, by proper surveys, land to the amount of eleven square leagues within the immense boundaries described, and the remainder revert to the government as national property. It could not be considered otherwise from a reasonable position but that it was the intention of the governor of California to give Sutter a title to the fort and this surrounding territory, while in fact they were excluded entirely by the statements included in the articles of the grant. To make matters worse, Sutter, not knowing the boundaries of his own land or his own wealth, granted to land-agents right and left parcels of land, giving them the only title that could be obtained at that time, and the squatters who came upon this land were forcibly ejected. In the winter of 1849 many settlers flocked into the state, and occupied vacant lands with tents and shanties and cabins in and around Sacramento. The attempt to eject these from the lands of the supposed owners precipitated a riot between the squatters and the land-agents.

Doctor Robinson, true to his characteristics, took up with the man who had the worst side of the battle. Right or wrong, legal or illegal, he saw what was justice in the matter, and stood up for the weak and the oppressed. At a public

meeting called by the squatters, and which was taken possession of by land speculators, Doctor Robinson offered the following resolution in opposition to the claims of the land agents:

“WHEREAS, The land in California is presumed to be public land: therefore,
“Resolved, That we will protect any settlers in the possession of land to the extent of one lot in the city and 160 acres in the country until a valid title shall be shown for it.”

It is not possible here to follow the details of his venturesome life in Sacramento during the next few months. In the struggle which ensued Doctor Robinson was the leader of the squatter forces. Here he was shot, captured, and thrown into the prison ship on the Sacramento river. Subsequently, he was released on bail; he was elected to the first legislature that convened in the state, at San Jose, while still in the prison ship, and afterwards was acquitted of the charges against him and went forth a free man. Later, he sailed from San Francisco south on his way home, was wrecked on the Mexican coast, and finally returned to Massachusetts by the way of Panama.

The character of Doctor Robinson comes out clearly through this whole struggle. He was convinced that he was right, had justice on his side, and was ready, even with his life, to defend the oppressed and those deprived of their rights. In the whole history of his life and career he never appeared to better advantage than when attempting to defend the helpless, or when fighting single-handed against open forms of injustice or oppression. In this movement he was clear-headed, conscientious, alert, and skilful, as evinced by the manner in which he routed the forces of adventurers and landholders, who had all the advantages in their favor. His subsequent history in California is little less than marvelous, for one can hardly realize the critical condition which he occupied before the law. In the state of social affairs in California it might easily have turned out entirely otherwise.

With four true bills of indictment against him by the grand jury, one for murder, one for conspiracy, and two for assault with intent to kill, Doctor Robinson was elected to the legislature. Soon after election he was admitted to bail, and spent the time prior to the convening of the legislature in editing a new paper, called *The Settlers' and Miners' Tribune*. But a change of venue referred the squatter cases of Sacramento to Benicia, and after the close of the session of the legislature the prisoners were discharged on account of non-prosecution. By a unanimous vote of the legislature, he was declared released from the custody of the courts.

During his term in the legislature Doctor Robinson showed that he was a strong anti-slavery man. While he was in the prison ship one of the attorneys, a Mr. Tweed, appointed to defend the squatters, came to him in the interest of politics. Mr. Tweed advocated the division of California into two states, one portion to be slave and the other free. Doctor Robinson strongly opposed the scheme. On knowing the opinion of his client, Tweed advised him not to run for the legislature. Doctor Robinson replied that if the people chose to vote for him he would not interfere, and if the courts decided to hang him because the people voted for him they could do so.

When the slavery question came up in the legislature, Doctor Robinson favored Fremont, who was opposed to the extension of slavery. He did this to the detriment of his popularity with the squatters, as Fremont held the title to a large land grant. But this had no influence in determining his action in respect to slavery, as it was a matter of inbred principle. It was, so far as is known, his first opportunity to publicly record his opposition to slavery. This he did, re-

ardless of what effect it might have on his subsequent career. The opposition to Fremont favored the division of California, with the idea of extending slavery over the southern half. The democrats favored Judge Hayden, of Alabama, and the whigs T. Butler King, of Georgia, nominated in place of Fremont. Robinson, with a few followers, held the balance of power and defeated the election. At the next session the anti-slavery element had become sufficiently strong to elect Mr. Weller, from Ohio, which resulted in the final settlement of the question against division.

THE KANSAS CONFLICT.

On September 9, 1851, Doctor Robinson returned from California much improved in health. The variety of positions which he had held while away, physician, editor, restaurant keeper, leader of the squatter rebellion, and member of the California legislature, seemed to indicate that in the future he would have a wider sphere than that of practicing medicine in a country town.

After his return from California, his friends, among whom was Mr. Benjamin Snow, father of Chancellor Snow, so well known in Kansas as a lecturer, scientist, and head of the Kansas university, urged him to edit a paper. At Snow's urgent request, Robinson took charge of the *Fitchburg News*, which he conducted with great vigor for a period of two years. On the other hand, his success as a practicing physician led other friends to urge him not to abandon his practice. The result was that in the attempt to carry on both businesses he soon had an extended practice and was editing a paper at the same time, an injudicious thing for a man who had felt it necessary to go to California for his health.

One of the chief events of Doctor Robinson's life while at Fitchburg was his marriage to the educated daughter—the later gifted writer—of Myron Lawrence, Miss Sara T. D. Lawrence, on October 30, 1851. She proved a worthy companion for him, especially in the Kansas struggle, for her excellent judgment and ready pen did valiant service for the cause of freedom. Chief among her writings is "Kansas, its Interior and Exterior Life," a vivid and exact pen-picture of the early times, from 1854 to 1856. No other work written has given such a true representation of the beginnings of the struggle.

It was at this juncture the slavery agitation attracted considerable attention throughout the North, and especially in New England. The Kansas-Nebraska bill threw the territory of Kansas open to settlement. The North and South vied with each other in sending men into the new territory, for occupation under the Kansas-Nebraska law. The Emigrant Aid Company was formed, and meetings were held at different places to agitate the question, collect money, and to enlist recruits for settlement in Kansas.

One day, at one of the Chapman hall meetings, addressed by Eli Thayer, the speaker at the close of the meeting asked if any present would be willing to go to Kansas, whereupon Charles Robinson walked up and signed his name to the paper. After the meeting, Mr. Thayer, who had noticed his quiet though self-reliant bearing, asked him if he was the Charles Robinson who went to California. His reply being in the affirmative, Mr. Thayer asked if he would be willing to go to Kansas to live. "Yes," was the reply. "Would your wife be willing to go?" "I have no doubt of it," replied Robinson. "Well, then," continued Thayer, "will you come down to Boston to-morrow and meet the directors of the Emigrant Aid Company?" The early morning train brought Doctor Robinson to Boston. The result of the conference was that Doctor Robinson agreed to leave Boston on the 28th of June to make his future home in Kansas. Hurried preparations were made to close out his practice and arrange his business, that he might enter

upon the new life. Subsequently he took charge of the affairs of the Emigrant Aid Company, in connection with Charles H. Branscomb, of Holyoke, Mass., and Samuel C. Pomeroy, of Southampton, Mass., financial agent.

As agent for the Emigrant Aid Company, Doctor Robinson now became identified with one of the greatest movements of his time. His work consisted of managing the interests of the company for the purpose of securing and perpetuating human freedom. Doctor Robinson was sent out June 28, 1854, with Mr. Charles Branscomb, to explore the territory of Kansas and secure a site for a town. While this exploration was going on, the first party of emigrants under the direction of the Emigrant Aid Company started from Massachusetts, arriving at their destination July 31, and proceeded to settle near the present site of Lawrence. In the meantime Doctor Robinson had gone to St. Louis to meet and conduct the second party of emigrants, which left Boston the last of August. These two parties joined, and, uniting their plans, laid out the town of Lawrence.

They were pioneers in a new country, who were to lay the foundation of a new commonwealth and build up their structure upon it. The character of these people was of the New England quality. While they were anxious to plant the institutions of New England in the new soil of the West, they were not wanting in that thrift which ever characterizes the New Englander. Truly, they sought to establish civil and religious liberty in Kansas, and at the same time to gain possession of the promised land. The process was to establish homes and develop resources of the country, that free institutions might flourish. While united for their own welfare, they sought the freedom of others.

Col. S. N. Wood, in an address before the quarter-centennial celebration of the settlement of the state, at Topeka, said: "The pioneers who became trusted leaders among the free-state hosts were men who could not rest in their old homes when the demon of slavery was clutching at freedom's rightful heritage." Many of them were the sons of the old freemen who had learned to love freedom and claim it as the right of all nations. In this struggle strong leaders were needed, who could counsel the people through the difficulties of the settlement of the soil and the rearrangement of social and political affairs. Strong leaders were needed to battle for the right; to carry the people through the great constitutional struggle—the greatest since the creation and establishment of the federal constitution of the United States. Doctor Robinson proved himself capable of such leadership.

The first incident that decided his strength arose from a neighborhood quarrel, which finally took on a political coloring. The strife over claims became very bitter at times. A certain company led by John Baldwin, made up mostly of Missourians, endeavored to lay out a new town covering part of the territory of Lawrence, and endeavored to drive the free-state men from the place. They began to assemble about four o'clock around the tent which had been set up. The managers of the town company, led by Doctor Robinson, desired to leave the settlement of the question to the courts. This John Baldwin refused to do, and sent Robinson the following note:

"Doctor Robinson: Yourself and friends are hereby notified that you will have one-half hour to move the tent you have on my undisputed claim, and from this day desist from further survey on the same. If the tent is not moved by the end of the time I will take the trouble to move it myself.

JOHN BALDWIN and friends."

The following pointed answer was returned:

"To John Baldwin and Friends: If you molest our property you do it at your peril.

C. ROBINSON and friends."

After the notice had been sent, a consultation was held between Doctor Robinson and a delegate from the enemy's post. Doctor Robinson proposed to leave the case to the settlement of disinterested, unbiased men, or to the settlement of the squatter courts then existing, or even to the United States courts, but the delegate from the Baldwin party insisted that at the end of the half hour they would attempt to remove the tent, and if they failed, 3000 Missourians, or, if necessary, 30,000, would be raised in Missouri to sweep the settlers from the earth; but the half hour passed and no demonstration was made. While suspended operations lasted, John Hutchinson asked Doctor Robinson what he would do. "Would he fire to hit them, or would he fire over them?" Doctor Robinson promptly replied that he would be ashamed to fire at a man and not hit him.

This little incident showed clearly the temper of the free-state men and the courage, coolness and conviction of their leader. The struggle over the land question continued, chiefly between the Lawrence association on the one side and the other settlers on the other. Finally a meeting was called to discuss the question, and Doctor Robinson, after hearing both sides, made a short speech, reviewing the charges made against him. He counseled the people to beware of quarrels among themselves, and impressed upon them the necessity for union, that they, with voice and hand, might defend the country from the curse of human bondage and the chains of slavery.

When the first election was held, and dominated by Missourians who came across the border and cast a majority vote for slavery, Doctor Robinson was among the first to counsel the people to entirely ignore the election as illegal and one which they were not bound to follow. Doctor Robinson was prominent at the various conventions that were held at Lawrence and elsewhere for the crystallization of sentiment in favor of the foundation of a republic. He was ever prominent in the councils of the people, holding now to a wise conservatism, and again bold in the denunciation of the course of the people of Missouri or the national government, which was not in sympathy with the free-state settlers of Kansas.

In his Fourth of July oration of 1855, he carefully reviews the condition of slavery and the condition of the country in general, and at the close gives an impassioned plea to the people to throw off the shackles of pro-slavery, and stand forth for freedom. Says he:

"What are we? Subjects, slaves of Missouri. We come to the celebration of this anniversary with our chains clanking upon our limbs. We lift to heaven our manacled arms in supplication. Proscribed, denounced, we cannot so much as speak the name of liberty, except with prison walls and halters looking us in the face. We must not only see black slavery, a blight and curse to any people, planted in our midst and against our wishes, but we must become slaves ourselves."

In closing, he said:

"Fellow citizens, in conclusion, it is for us to choose for ourselves, and for those who shall come after us, what institutions shall bless or curse our beautiful Kansas. Shall we have freedom for all our people, and consequent prosperity, or slavery for a part, with the blight and mildew inseparable from it? Choose ye this day which ye will serve, slavery or freedom, and then be true to your choice. If slavery is best for Kansas, then choose it; but if LIBERTY, then choose that.

"Let every man stand in his place, and acquit himself like a man who knows his rights, and knowing, dares maintain them. Let us repudiate all laws enacted by foreign legislative bodies, or dictated by Judge Lynch over the way. Tyrants are tyrants, and tyranny is tyranny, whether under the garb of law or in opposition to it. So thought and so acted our ancestors, and so let us think and act. We are not alone in this contest. The entire nation is agitated upon the question of

our rights; the spirit of '76 is breathing upon some, the handwriting upon the wall is being deciphered by others, while the remainder the gods are evidently preparing to destroy.

"Every pulsation in Kansas vibrates to the remotest artery of a body politic; and I seem to hear the millions of free men and the millions of bondmen in our land, the millions of oppressed in other lands, the patriots and philanthropists of all countries, the spirits of the revolutionary heroes and the voice of God, all saying to the people of Kansas, 'Do your duty.'"

In the management of the affairs of the company, he seemed to show a wise conservatism. Mr. Eli Thayer, who was the founder and promoter of the Emigrant Aid Company, pays Doctor Robinson this glowing tribute:

"A wiser and more sagacious man for this work could not have been found within the borders of the nation. By nature and by training he was perfectly equipped for the arduous work before him. A true democrat and a lover of the rights of man, he had risked his life in California while defending the poor and weak against the cruel oppression of the rich and powerful. He was willing at any time, if there were need, to die for his principles. In addition to such brave devotion to his duty, he had the clearest foresight and the coolest, calmest judgment in determining a course of action best adapted to secure the rights of the free-state settlers. No one in Kansas was so much as he the man for the place and time. He was a deeper thinker than Atchison and triumphed over the border ruffians and the more annoying and more dangerous of the self-seekers of his own party. The man who 'paints the lily and gilds refined gold' is just the one to tell us how Charles Robinson might have been better qualified for his Kansas work; but his character, so clearly defined in freedom's greatest struggle, superior to the help or harm of criticism, reveals these salient points of excellence: majesty of mind and humility of heart, stern justice and tender sympathy, heroic will and sensitive conscience, masculine strength and maidenly modesty, leonine courage and womanly gentleness, with power to govern based on self-restraint, and love of freedom deeper than love of life."

It appears that, whether in the management of the Emigrant Aid Company work in the local political affairs of the town of Lawrence, or in directing the affairs of the territory, Doctor Robinson showed a rare genius. He knew when to be firm, cool, and calculating; he knew when to be bold, independent and vigorous in opposing his enemies. Another high tribute to him, by Amos A. Lawrence, a strong supporter of the cause of freedom in Kansas, must not be passed by:

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

In the Wakarusa war, Doctor Robinson was placed in charge of affairs as commander-in-chief, and by adroit management he succeeded in obtaining a bloodless victory for the free-state people. In this successful management he was aided by the intrepid Lane. He took the position that the people of Lawrence had the right to defend themselves and their property against the illegal territorial government, which was in collusion with the Missourians, but he held strictly to the principle that it was not only improper but bad policy to defy the United States authorities. He knew that as soon as this was done the case of the free-state men was lost. He was ever ready to recognize a legally constituted government like that of the United States, but would not recognize a government

established by usurpation of the rights of American citizens. In the preparation to defend themselves against the armed Missourians, who threatened the destruction of Lawrence, he was wise in counsel, bold in defense, and just to all his fellow laborers. When the free-state men were finally recognized by the governor of Kansas as having some rights, Governor Shannon placed Charles Robinson and J. H. Lane in authority, by the following note:

"To Charles Robinson and J. H. Lane: You are hereby authorized and directed to take such measures and use the enrolled force under your command in such a manner for the preservation of peace and protection of the persons and property of the people of Lawrence and vicinity as in your judgment shall best secure that end.

LAWRENCE, December 9, 1855."

WILSON SHANNON.

Charles Robinson knew how to be just to his fellow workers and colaborers. At the close of the Wakarusa war he addressed the volunteer companies, reviewing the cause of the war and its consequences. He said, in part:

"Selected as your commander, it becomes my cheerful duty to tender to you, fellow soldiers, the meed of praise so justly your due. Never did true men unite in a holier cause, and never did true bravery appear more conspicuous than in the ranks of our little army. Death before dishonor was visible in every countenance and filled up every heart. Bloodless though the contest has been, there are not wanting instances of heroism worthy of a more chivalric age.

"To the experience, skill and perseverance of gallant General Lane all credit is due for the thorough discipline of our forces and the complete and extensive preparations for defense. His services cannot be overrated, and long may he live to wear the laurels so bravely won. Others are worthy of special praise for distinguished services, and all, both officers and privates, are entitled to the deepest gratitude of the people."

I remember once hearing Doctor Robinson, in an address delivered before the historical students of the University of Kansas, speaking of the heroes and leaders of the Kansas struggle, say:

"Who saved Kansas? Not one man nor any group of men claiming to be leaders. It was the rank and file of the common citizens who saved the state to freedom. It was the union of the people in a common cause that saved the state."

General Lane also showed that he could place credit where credit was due, as he said in his address to the soldiers:

"From Major General Robinson I received that counsel and advice which characterizes him as a clear-headed, cool and trustworthy commander, who is entitled to your confidence and esteem."

Doubtless it was to this advice and clear-headedness that we may attribute the bloodless victory of the Wakarusa war. It was a pity that these two men should have become estranged in the Kansas struggle for freedom. With a union of the cool counsel of Doctor Robinson and the impetuosity of General Lane, the Kansas struggle would have been made easier, and the history of it more rational and just to the rank and file who supported the move. Strange it is that in these days the personal element of history should predominate. For while each one seeks to set up his hero, we know that the history will finally and justly be written by those who were not engaged in the struggle, but who wisely and impartially sift the historical records, with no guide but the desire to treat all men fairly, and to record the truth regarding the early struggles of the state.

Governor Robinson received the proper tribute of the free-state people by being elected their governor after the organization of a party and the formation of a constitution in opposition to the territorial government of the state.

Convention after convention was held by the free-state men, who, by resolution

and action, created public sentiment against bad government and for the freedom of Kansas. In nearly every one Doctor Robinson appeared as an active participant or as counselor or adviser. These conventions culminated in a constitutional convention, held at Topeka, October 3, 1855. At this convention the so-called Topeka constitution was framed and set up, in opposition to the Lecompton constitution and the "bogus government." Under this constitution a new government was organized, seeking recognition from the federal government. Doctor Robinson was chosen governor. He was strong in his opposition to the unjust government of the territory, and yet wisely and judiciously urged prompt obedience to the federal authority when it was imperative. It was hoped by this act of repudiation that it would be possible to organize a territory under the free-state banner and eventually to admit Kansas into the union as a free state.

It is not possible to go into recital of this constitutional struggle in Kansas; as no less than a volume could give an adequate presentation of its intricate and important details. The Topeka constitution served as a rallying point for the free-state men. It was a perpetual protest against the "bogus government" in Kansas, instituted by the democratic party in the federal government in co-operation with the ruffians of Missouri.

The organization of a government with a full complement of officers that proposed not to recognize the "bogus" territorial government was considered revolutionary by the federal authorities, and hence the indictment of the leaders. Governor Robinson was arrested at Lexington, Mo., while on his way east. He was returned by way of Leavenworth, where a plot to murder him was revealed, and avoided. He bore his confinement with uncomplaining fortitude, believing that justice would eventually prevail, and that all would be acquitted and released. What would have happened had not the free-state cause advanced no one knows, but the fact records acquittal, and a grand triumph over the spurious court that indicted the brave leader of the great conflict. Those indicted with Robinson were Judge G. W. Smith, Geo. W. Deitzler, who afterwards served gallantly in the civil war, Geo. W. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, and Gaius Jenkins, who devoted his time and fortune to the cause. Twice, while imprisoned at Lecompton, his friends offered to rescue Robinson, but this he would not allow, knowing well that it would be disastrous to the cause of freedom to thus oppose the federal government.

FIRST GOVERNOR OF KANSAS.

As the first chief executive of Kansas, Governor Robinson managed wisely and well the difficult affairs attending the organization of a new state. Everything was in a new and untried condition, and much skill was required for the right conduct of public affairs. Moreover, the civil war had begun, which added new complications in the affairs of the young state. Troops had to be mustered and officered for the national as well as the state defense. Governor Robinson was a strong supporter of the war. He believed in sacrifice for freedom. In his inaugural address he said:

"While it is the duty of each loyal state to see that equal and exact justice be done to the citizens of every other state, it is equally its duty to sustain the chief executive of the nation in defending the government from foes, whether from within or from without, and Kansas, though last and least of the states of the union, will ever be ready to answer the call of her country."

And these were prophetic words, for Kansas furnished more soldiers in proportion to the inhabitants in putting down the rebellion than any other state.

One of the great difficulties in connection with the gubernatorial chair was occasioned from the fact that General Lane, who had been elected to the United

States senate, worked at cross-purposes to the governor of Kansas. Lane had great power with President Lincoln, and having unbounded ambition to become military leader or dictator in Kansas, he worked against Robinson in many ways, thus rendering the position of the governor more difficult thereby. And this subject is here touched upon with no desire to bring up any unpleasant controversy, nor to accuse some and to praise others, for history alone will at last reveal the truth, but merely to mention that in all this trying period Robinson bore himself with courage, fortitude, and dignity, such as becomes a man and chief executive of the state, and the subject must be dismissed with the moral comment that it is to be deplored that, in the struggle for liberty and justice in the world, personal jealousies, ambitions and prejudices of men should sometimes overshadow their better qualities; for there is nothing so disheartening to posterity as the personal quarrels of great men who are struggling for the rights of humanity.

The life of Governor Robinson, after his term of office had expired, was a quiet one. After his home in Lawrence was burned, he made no attempt to rebuild, but lived in a home standing where now is the beautiful residence of B. W. Woodward. Subsequently he retired to his farm at "Oakridge," nearly five miles from the town, where he spent the remainder of his days in agricultural pursuits, ever taking a deep interest in the affairs of the people of the state and nation, and lending his aid to the cause of humanity in general. He was always interested in the affairs of the community in which he lived, and especially in the young people of the neighborhood. He took part in the frequent evening entertainments at the schoolhouse near his home, and superintended the Sunday-school in the afternoon of each Sabbath. As an instance of his kindly interest in the young, he was known to come from Topeka, during his term as state senator, to attend a gathering at the schoolhouse, returning to Topeka the same night to be on hand the next day for senatorial duty. He was interested in the Grange and the Good Templars, both of which held frequent meetings at the schoolhouse. Thus did he fulfil the simple duty of an American citizen by taking part in local affairs.

Governor Robinson was intensely interested in the social, economic and political topics of the times, and wielded a virile pen with power and skill in newspaper, magazine and book in behalf of historical truth and wise public policy. He was a pungent writer, with a direct and convincing style in the presentation of his subject, adroit and skilful in argumentation. He never took up his pen unless he had something important to say to the public. He could make a strong case for his side of the question, and, although seemingly fair, gave little quarter to his literary opponents. While he was vigorous in declaring the truth, he was willing to acknowledge that he was frequently wrong in judgment, and he pursued the other side with equal vigor. When once he learned the real facts of the conduct of John Brown on the Pottawatomie, he could not defend Brown's course there, while he might acknowledge his services in a general way to the cause of freedom. His most extended work, "The Kansas Conflict," is loaded with facts and is full of pungent writing respecting the early scenes of Kansas, in which he was an important actor. The book adds much to the historical literature of Kansas, and will be of great service to the coming historian of Kansas who shall write a history of the great struggle from a universal rather than a personal standpoint.

Governor Robinson's pen was ever active in the service of historical truth and justice to humanity. It fell heaviest on certain pseudo-historians who attempt to gloss over Kansas history, which they attempt to write from the stand-

point of inner consciousness rather than from the real facts, which they are too indolent to ascertain or too uncompromising to acknowledge. The real history of Kansas, while it will recognize the true merit of all who were engaged in the early struggle, will break many a cherished idol.

Governor Robinson's agricultural life caused him to identify himself with the Grange movement, which, starting as a non-partizan organization, finally became a great political engine. He believed in equalizing government for the benefit of the great rural populations, as against the wealth of the trading, manufacturing and transporting classes. He believed in a popular money for the people, which could not be cornered by speculators nor would be subject to the rise and fall in value determined by economic laws of supply and demand. With these and other extreme democratic tendencies, he found himself not a close adherent to the republican party after the war. Hence, his political career was not prominent nor regular. In 1874 he was elected to the state senate, and in 1876 to a second term. In 1888 he was a candidate for congress in the second district, but fell short of election. In 1890 he ran for governor, supported by the democrats and green-backers. In 1888 he was appointed superintendent of Haskell Institute, which he managed with vigor, despite his failing health, until his successor was appointed.

These are the principal items respecting his later political career, which, with his regency of the university, were sufficient to identify him with public affairs. At the time of his death he was working with the demo-populist party, though not in full sympathy with it. It suited him better than did the republican party as organized in the state.

PROMOTER OF EDUCATION.

Doctor Robinson was identified with the early educational interests of the territory of Kansas. He was chiefly instrumental in organizing the first school in Lawrence, which was the first school for white children in the territory, mission schools having been established earlier. It was taught in the back part of the building occupied by the Emigrant Aid Company, in January, 1855, by E. P. Fitch. Miss Kate Kellogg, who accompanied Doctor Robinson to Kansas as one of his family in the spring of 1855, came to teach the summer-autumn school, which she did quite successfully, the expenses of the school being borne by Doctor Robinson. Misses Mary and Caroline Chapin came to Lawrence in September after the raid, which occurred in August, 1863, and opened a school early in the following winter. Governor Robinson and George W. Deitzler paid the tuition of a number of the pupils. C. L. Edwards, now in business at Lawrence, for several years conducted with success the Quincy high school. These schools were at first supported by subscription.

In 1856 Mr. Amos A. Lawrence requested Doctor Robinson to spend money for him to lay the foundation of a school building on the north part of Mount Oread, which is now the site of North college. In explaining his plans to Rev. E. Nute, of Lawrence, in a letter dated December 16, 1856, Mr. Lawrence stated: "You shall have a college which shall be a school of learning, and at the same time a monument to perpetuate the memory of those martyrs who fell during the recent struggle. Beneath it their dust shall rest; in it shall burn the light of liberty, which shall never be extinguished until it illumines the whole continent." As a foundation of this Free-state College Mr. Lawrence gave the sum of \$10,000, in the form of two notes. Work was soon begun on the building, but was soon suspended on account of the title of the land being imperfect.

Later, on February 14, 1857, Mr. Lawrence constituted Charles Robinson and S. C. Pomeroy trustees of funds amounting to \$12,696.14, for the purpose of ad-

vancing education and religion in the territory. The plans for the Free-state College were not carried into execution at once, but the people, ever active for the foundation of a university, planned, under the auspices of the Presbyterian church of America, a college. Among the directors of this college were Charles Robinson and many other and well-known and honorable settlers of Lawrence. Appropriate committees were appointed, and plans were made for the erection of a building, which was to cost \$50,000. This university was regularly sanctioned by the legislature in 1859. Subsequently the trustees proceeded to organize a university. Under the plan of that institution, an attempt was made to carry it on by the Congregationalists. During all this time Doctor Robinson was active in his support of the various phases of this early education, but it was not until the state came to the rescue that the enterprise finally succeeded.

The constitution adopted by the state provided for the foundation of a university, which was finally located at Lawrence. A bill in 1861 favored the location of this institution at Manhattan, but the bill was vetoed by Governor Robinson, who thought the movement premature. It having finally been determined to locate the university at Lawrence, commissioners were appointed to fix the site. Doctor Robinson came forward with a proposition to furnish forty acres of land above the city, on condition that the council would deed him a half block of land lying south of the school foundation on Mount Oread. Twenty-one acres of this land belonged to Mrs. Robinson, which was bought from J. F. Morgan, lying south of the claim Doctor Robinson preempted.

In the organization of the State University, Charles Robinson was among the first regents. In the early details of the institution, Robinson gave the institution of learning his earnest support. He served on the building committee when the main building, Fraser hall, was erected, and for many years was a representative member of the board of regents. In 1889, in recognition of his eminent services and on account of his scholarly ability, the board of regents conferred on him the degree of doctor of laws.

In 1895 the legislature passed a law appropriating \$1000 for a marble bust of ex-Governor Robinson, to be placed in university chapel. The committee for the selection of an artist and the approval of his work consisted of Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson, B. W. Woodward, and Charles Chadwick. In the unveiling of this bust appropriate ceremonies were had in the university. Addresses were made by Governor Leedy, B. W. Woodward, and Hon. Chas. F. Scott. On this occasion Hon. Chas. F. Scott paid a glowing tribute to the life and character of ex-Governor Robinson, from which the following quotation is given:

"As nearly as any man I ever knew, Charles Robinson deserved the tribute which the laureate paid to the Iron Duke when he said of him that he 'stood four-square to all the winds that blew.' He came as near standing by himself, balanced by his own judgment, requiring no strengthening support from other men, either as individuals or as aggregated into parties or churches or societies of any kind. At various times of his life he worked with various political parties, but when the particular object of the work was accomplished he put the party aside, apparently with as little concern as he would lay down a tool that he was done with. The fear of being called inconsistent never troubled him. In fact, no fear of any kind, either moral or physical, ever troubled him. He said what he thought ought to be said with as small regard to consequences as he did what he thought ought to be done. And if the words of to-day contradicted those of yesterday, that did not concern him, for the words of both yesterday and to-day were honest words. He did not know what the word 'policy' meant, so far as the word might be applied to his own fortunes. He knew, doubtless, as well as everybody else knew, that he sacrificed all the political honors which a grateful and admiring people would have been proud to bestow when he severed his connection with the dominant party. But the thought, if it occurred to him, never bade him a moment's pause."

In the latter years of the life of Governor Robinson he was again appointed regent of the university, and held that position until the time of his death. As a crowning act of his long support of educational life, he left the larger part of his estate as a gift to the university which he had nourished in infancy, supported with vigor in its early youth, and cherished in his own declining years.

LIFE AND CHARACTER.

In concluding this memorial, it is perhaps fitting to add a few words respecting the life and character of Governor Robinson, gathered from his actual service to humanity and gleaned from the opinions of those who knew him best. As one belonging to another generation from those who endured the hardships of the early struggle for freedom in Kansas, I approach the life of one who was an actor in these stirring scenes with becoming reverence. It is at best but a small tribute that this generation can pay to the preceding, but it is best shown in reverence and honor to those who fought the early battles, who endured the early struggles, that we of this day may enjoy the blessings of the results of such sturdy warfare and may thus have weapons with which to fight successfully the battles of truth in our own day and generation.

In a general estimate of his life, there must first be recorded the evidence of a strong individual character, a bold, hardy spirit, able to give and take blows for what he deemed the right. In consequence of this, he frequently has been misunderstood by both his friends and enemies. This quality made it difficult for him to follow with zeal any party or creed. It was sufficient for him to ask his own consciousness what was right in the matter, and to act accordingly. Parties might change or hold to old doctrines; Robinson followed the iron course of conviction. If he hurt the party or made enemies, it was small matter to him. What was right, what was justice in the case, were his criterions for action. Possibly he could have made his life easier, possibly there were times when he could have accomplished more by being more flexible and more politic, but he would not have been true to his conviction, and that was law to him.

Yet Robinson had a kindly heart and nature. He was ever ready and willing to help the needy, and very many owe their preservation or advancement to the helping hand of Governor Robinson. There came from him a heartfelt sympathy for all who were oppressed, and there was aroused a fighting capacity at once against the oppressor. He had a religion all his own, which was of pure nature, of a practical sort. He believed little in creeds, ceremonies, churches or ministers as saving functions, but he believed in a Creator and Father, who answered the call from the depths of his nature, as a soul crying out for strength in its loneliness. If he supported not vigorously the outward forms of Christianity, he practiced his best life in standing for truth, justice, and right living. There is hardly a church in Lawrence for which he did not contribute money or material. He believed that there was good in all, and that each was especially good for some people.

From his earliest life he was a strong temperance man and temperance advocate, but in his later years he bitterly opposed the prohibitory law in Kansas because he believed it to be non-effective. Once settled in his own mind that it was a sham, he could not tolerate it, for he hated all shams. It seemed, too, to oppose freedom, or liberty of action, and he loved freedom, for he was able to stand upright and alone on the right. While the writer may not agree with his judgment in the question, his motives were pure. He held, quite properly, that, as an ideal, temperance is a greater virtue than total abstinence. Many men of excellent judgment and sterling character, while they deplored the conclusion,

likewise considered the prohibitory law a sham and demoralizer to society. It is still an unsettled question, for men will continue to differ as to the best methods that may be employed in waging a perpetual warfare against the evils of intemperance.

Governor Robinson was generous in helping any good cause. No deserving man ever went to him in distress without receiving aid. Believing that every man should have a chance for his life and prosperity in the industrial struggle, many were given quiet personal aid, and afterwards lived to call him blessed. As hero after hero of those who stood shoulder to shoulder in the great struggle to build a commonwealth in Kansas pass away, leaving the burdens of civilization to be borne by others, leaving others to enjoy the advantages of previous struggles and to accept with them the responsibilities that accompany them, we who are left behind look into the places whence they departed, marveling at their lives, or stand gazing to heaven, crying, "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!" wondering at the mystery of the providence of God.

At the age of seventy-six years, on Friday, August 17, 1894, at 3:15 A. M., just as the shadow of the night heralded the approach of day, Governor Robinson passed into the unknown. On Sunday, August 19, four ex-governors of the state, and prominent men and officials, came to pay their last tribute with old-time friends and neighbors to him who, so powerful in life, now lay helpless in death. The funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. C. G. Howland, a venerable and lovable man, since gone to his rest, who closed with these fitting words:

"Much of Governor Robinson's life was tempestuous, but the close was as gentle as the fading light of day. With a tender but speechless touch of a dear hand, and without the slightest concern, he went out to meet what the future hath of marvel or surprise."

GEORGE T. ANTHONY.

Prepared by P. I. BONEBRAKE, of Topeka, for the Kansas State Historical Society,
January 18, 1898.

THE Kansas State Historical Society has assigned to me the pleasant duty of saying something in memory of the life and character of the late George T. Anthony. I wish the duty had been imposed upon some one more able to do justice to the subject than myself.

George T. Anthony was born at Mayfield, Fulton county, New York, June 9, 1824. He died at Topeka, Kan., Wednesday night, August 5, 1896, aged seventy-three years. His disease was diabetes, with which he had been afflicted for several years.

When the chronicler of passing events penned the above lines, he noted the passing away of one of the most distinguished men Kansas has produced. When I say "Kansas has produced," I mean to say that the greater usefulness of Governor Anthony's life was largely during the period he lived in Kansas. The prime of his life was spent here.

Like Lincoln, Garfield, and Grant, he was born on a farm.

His father and mother, Benjamin and Anna Anthony, were orthodox Quakers and active members of that society. It is needless to say that they were strongly anti-slavery in their sentiments, and many poor fugitives from bondage had active assistance in escaping to a land of freedom. The son, therefore, inherited the intense hostility to slavery made prominent in his life.

The father died when George was but five years of age. He was the youngest