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MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.**

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THE EVENTS OF 1856.

Papers read before the meeting of '56ers at Lawrence, October 26, 1901.

THE TWENTY-FIRST OF MAY.

By R. G. ELLIOTT.

THE irrepressible conflict between two social conditions, each of which had found a place in the structure of the federal government, though discerned and first enunciated four years later by Lincoln and Seward as an economic law, based upon the very foundation of social organization, had its first overt manifestation on the plains of Kansas.

The controversy that had convulsed the nation and distracted the government in vain attempts at settlement by compromises was finally shifted by Congress upon the people of two newly organized territories, having boundaries defined, inviting a separation of the conflicting elements on geographical lines, thus avoiding a conflict and postponing the contest for supremacy.

As the policy of the government from the first had been the admission of free and slave states in pairs, for the purpose of maintaining their equilibrium, this division of the territory, which was an amendatory proposition proffered by Stephen A. Douglas, was accepted by the South as an allotment of their rightful inheritance in the national domain. By a majority of the intelligent leaders, this concession was accepted more as a recognition of what they considered a constitutional right than as a prospective possession. None knew better than they their impotence in a race for expansion with the North. Though under the sympathetic care of the two great national parties, and with federal protection by a stringent act for the return of its fugitives from the free states, slavery was shrinking decadent from its northern boundaries, massing southward, and plotting expansion toward the tropics. Besides, it moved to the frontier slowly, and behind an advance-guard of non-slaveholders.

The revelations of the census of 1850,* that had been given a wide publicity by the discussions in Congress with which the period was rife, showing the tidal flow that was filling the free West with population and wealth, contrasted with the sluggish and turbid streams flowing away from the South, had dashed any hope that might have been entertained by the Southern leaders of winning back for slavery any of the territory that, for a full generation, had been consecrated to freedom. Kansas lay with its full breadth in the deepest channel of the impending flood of emigration—a flood that in its shallower northern channel, in a season of less volume, had poured a population of 40,000 into the less desirable territory of Iowa within the first two years of her territorial existence.

The quiet acquiescence of the South in this view of the situation is shown by the speeches of congressmen in discussing the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the comments thereon of the leaders of the Southern press, from Baltimore to New Orleans, extracts from which could be produced did space permit.

Only on the western border was there a purpose shown to interfere with the natural current of events. Here intractable slave extensionists, in political control of the state, with hopes enlivened by their proximity and commanding posi-

* The disparity between the wealth and population of the North and the South was set forth clearly in Hinton Rowan Helper's "Impending Crisis," published in 1857. This book was used by the republican party as a campaign document in 1860. Though not a friend of the slave, Helper showed the disadvantages of slave labor in the South.

tion for preoccupying the field, in command of ample subservient forces, and with the assured connivance of the whole array of federal officials, plotted its seizure.

The commerce of the plains, that in its growth of a generation had built up the frontier to a commanding eminence in population, wealth, and political influence, had also bred and trained an army of plainsmen, restless, daring, adventurous, impatient of the restraints of civilization, and lending themselves readily to purposes of violent leaders. Passing the freighting season beyond the restraints of law, in winter and seasons of idleness they found quarters in the border counties, developing into the border ruffian of the Kansas conflict, and graduating as the bushwhacker of the rebellion.

With the first wave of migration into Kansas rising in Missouri, it was planned, with this mobile element, to ride in on its crest, and through the ballot-box, having seized the legislature, entrench themselves in power. In justification of this lawless seizure, it was charged that an organization in the North to promote emigration to Kansas furnished both the suggestion and the excuse.*

The expanding West, the teeming hive of pioneers, conscious of the flowing

*COTTAGE FARM (near Boston), March 31, 1855.

Hon. D. R. Atchison, Platte City, Mo.: DEAR SIR—I take the liberty to address you upon a subject in which I have a common interest with yourself, viz., the settlement of Kansas. Since the repeal of the Missouri compromise by the last Congress, this territory has attracted the attention of the distant not less than of the neighboring states; for it is evident that here must be decided the question, unsettled now, whether there shall be slaves or free labor over a vast region of the United States. You and your friends would make slave states, and we wish to prevent your doing so. The stake is a large one, and the ground chosen. Let the fight be a fair one.

It is to secure this that I address you. Your influence is requisite to restrain your people from doing great injustice to actual settlers, and provoking them to retaliatory measures, the consequences of which would be most deplorable. I beg you, my dear sir, to use your efforts to avert so great an evil.

Let the contest be waged honorably; for, unless it be so, no settlement of the question can ever be final. It is already reported here that large bodies of Missourians will cross over merely to vote, that they may gain this election as they did the last. But how delusive to suppose that settlers who have come from 1000 to 2000 miles with their families will acquiesce in any election gained by such means, or that any future election can be satisfactory which is not conducted according to the law. The advantage of proximity is yours. Your people can afford not only to be just, but generous in this matter.

This repeal of the laws which secured this territory against the introduction of slavery is considered by most men in the free states to have been a breach of the national faith; and it is not unreasonable for those who have gone there for a home to expect a compliance with the laws as they are. Those from New England have gone there in good faith and at their own expense. They are chiefly farmers, but among them are good representatives from all professions. Some have considerable property; but all have rights and principles, which they value more than money, and, I may say, more than life itself. Neither is there any truth in the assertion that they are abolitionists. No person of that stamp is known to have gone from here, nor is it known here that any such have gone from other states. But oppression may make them abolitionists of the most dangerous kind.

There has been much said in regard to an extensive organization here, which is wholly untrue. I assure you, sir, that what has been undertaken here will be carried on fairly and openly. The management is in the hands of men of prudence, of wealth, and of determination. They are not politicians nor are they aspirants for office; they are determined, if it be possible, to see that justice is done to those who have ventured their all in that territory. May I not hope, sir, that you will second this effort to see that the contest shall be carried on fairly? If fairly beat, you may be sure that our people will acquiesce, however reluctant; but they will never yield to injustice. Respectfully yours,

AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

REPLY.

PLATTE CITY, MO., April 15, 1855.

Amos A. Lawrence, Esq.: DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 31st March last has been received, and would have been answered promptly had I not been absent for the last ten days. Although I have no personal acquaintance with you, I have yet heard enough of your history and character to entertain a high regard for you. I doubt not that you are actuated by kind and noble impulses and generous sentiments; but upon the question of slavery, by a mistaken judgment.

You say that you have a "common interest with myself in the settlement of Kansas." This I admit; but your interest is not equal to mine. I live within a few miles of Kansas, and have a few slaves; you have none (at least black ones). You have not the hazard of good or bad neighborhood to encounter; I have.

You say: "Since the repeal of the Missouri compromise by the last Congress, this territory has attracted the attention of distant not less than of the neighboring states; for it is evident that here must be decided the question whether there shall be slave or free labor over a vast region of the United States, now unsettled. You and your friends would make slave states, and we wish to prevent your doing so. The stake is a large one," etc. You are right in your conjecture that I and my friends wish to make Kansas in all respects like Missouri. Our interests require it; our peace through all time demands it; and we intend to leave nothing undone that will conduce to that end and can with honor be performed. If we fail, then we will surrender

tide of population that was rolling onward to the frontier, herself a living measure of its volume and force, trusted calmly to the natural forces in operation, with supreme confidence in the final outcome.

But the farther East, whose currents of emigration flowed in eddies or were thrown off in a more northerly channel, unconscious of the forces that were silently making for freedom, only saw Kansas bound and helpless, delivered to the slave power for her debauching, and rushed to her rescue with a scheme of promoted emigration.

Not only were the gracious efforts of this organization countervailed by the lawless intervention which it suggested and provoked, but the unwisdom of its directors in projecting armed resistance to the territorial authorities, provoking

to your care and control the state of Missouri. We have all to lose in the contest. You and your friends have nothing at stake.

You propose to vote or drive us from Kansas. We do not propose to drive you or your friends from that territory; but we do not intend either to be voted or driven out of Kansas, if we can help it; for we are foolish enough to believe that we have as much right to inhabit that country as men from New England. Neither do we intend to be driven from Missouri, or suffer ourselves to be harassed in our property or our peace, if we can help it. At least, we will try and make you and your friends share some of our anxieties. There now exists no reciprocity between the free and slave states. You and your friends can leave Massachusetts and pass through and take up your abode in Missouri or Arkansas, and our people and our laws protect your persons and your property not only from injury, but our hospitality and kindness save you from insult. How different from your state! I cannot pass through Massachusetts, or any other Northern state, with my servant, without the certainty of having him or her stolen, myself insulted, and perhaps my life taken. There is no reciprocity in this. Yet we are supposed to be citizens of the same republic. Our fathers fought side by side and formed an alliance, etc. The fight shall be as free as the nature of the case admits. Indeed, there should be no fight at all. I do not desire it; but, sir, if I am met by a robber in the highway, and he demands my purse or my horse, I will not stop to ask him whether he has a revolver, but will immediately resort to the use of my own weapons and make the best defense I can.

Your people, you say, leave their homes, thousands of miles distant, and come out of the ordinary course of emigration, for no other purpose, as they avow, but to exclude us from Kansas and overthrow our institutions. Ah! to overthrow slavery and establish freedom, as they say. At the election, last fall, for delegate to Congress, it is a fact beyond controversy, that many, very many, Northern men came from New England, New York and other remote points to vote, and for no other purpose; for not less than 150 of them left for the East, together with their candidate, on the day after the election.

Now, was it right for the abolitionists, 1000 miles off, to come to Kansas to vote us out of that territory, and wrong for the people of Missouri, living in sight of her green hills and broad prairies, to go there to secure their homes? Answer this, if you please. You say that my "influence is requisite to restrain your [our] people from doing great injustice to actual settlers," etc. My influence shall be used to prevent injustice to all actual settlers who come to Missouri or Kansas to improve their condition, whether they be from the North or the South. But let the settlers be sure that they do not come with the express purpose of doing great injustice to us. If so, they deserve, and shall have, no protection from me. The crusade preached by Peter the Hermit, and headed by Walter the Penniless, was just, righteous and holy compared with the Northern crusade to Kansas, and against Missouri and the other slave states. Peter complained of exactions, oppression and outrage upon the pilgrims to the holy sepulcher by infidels. To redress those grievances he preached his crusade; but you and your friends have no such grievances to complain of whatsoever, in the South or the territories. When you come among us you are greeted as friends, and treated as brothers, unless you come with the avowed purpose of doing wrong to us.

Now, sir, fanaticism preaches; the three thousand Peters of New England and the abolition battalions of Walter the Penniless will, I doubt not, meet the fate of their prototypes. Indeed, they have already, to some extent, met it; you say that "proximity is yours," and that we "can afford to be not only just, but generous." We can and we will not only be just and generous; we will protect ourselves and do the least possible injury to the persons and property of those who are neither just nor generous. For just and generous men will not come from Massachusetts to war upon the rights of men who never wronged them. You say that "the repeal of the laws which secured this territory against slavery is considered by most men in the free states to have been a breach of national faith." The history of the country, the public records, show this to be a mistaken assumption. Did it never enter into the heads of men in the free states that the enactment of the law which was repealed was a gross violation, in the first place, of a national faith, and that the disgraceful "statute" should long ago have been expunged?

You say that "those who go from New England to Kansas have gone in good faith, and at their own expense," etc. This may be and I doubt not is true in many instances; for I do not for one moment suppose that you would knowingly misrepresent, yet you may not be fully informed. You further say: "Neither is there any truth in the assertion that they are abolitionists. No person of that stamp is known to have gone from here." Now, my dear sir, we may not exactly agree as to the term "abolitionist"; but I care not how this may be settled—a man coming from Massachusetts or South Carolina to settle in Kansas, with the express purpose of excluding slaveholders from that territory and, by means of his influence in that territory, abolishing slavery in Missouri, I regard as an "abolitionist," and an enemy to justice and right, and the constitution and union of these United States. I respect a man who is willing to overthrow our government—involvement of the United States with each other in civil war—that African slavery may be abolished. So I would admire the man who would declare it wrong, and who would stake his life and his property on the proposition, that it was sinful and against God's law to butcher a calf or slaughter a lamb. The term "freesoiler" is to me far more odious than "abolitionist." The one implies something of honesty; the other all of knavery and hypocrisy.

retaliation and reprisals, inaugurated a reign of brigandage and terror that threatened extermination to the party of freedom.*

The method of entrenching itself in power served to weaken rather than strengthen the authority of the usurping legislature. The magnitude of the force by which it had been installed was proclamation and proof of glaring fraud, depriving it of all moral sanction for its enactments, and the ignominy of its laws for the protection of slavery covered it with contempt, that made it a merit to resist their enforcement. By necessity, the force that installed the legislature would be relied on to vindicate its authority, and a mob was summoned from Missouri to punish Lawrence for the rescue of a prisoner from the sheriff that laid siege to the town from their encampment on the Wakarusa.

A conflict, however, was avoided, and the embattled rabble, balked of their

I do not know what organizations you may have for abolitionizing Kansas; but most assuredly we have seen in the Boston and other Northern papers, and heard from Northern men, that companies have been chartered, and by some of your legislatures, the object of which was to colonize Kansas with abolitionists. And we have certainly seen notices of public meetings called to organize what they termed "emigration aid societies," one of which had F. P. Blair for president.

You say that "what has been undertaken here (Boston) will be carried on fairly and openly. The management is in the hands of men of prudence, of wealth and determination," etc. Now, my dear sir, let me assure you that the management of our affairs here to meet your movements in the North is also under the control and direction of prudence and determination. We have not much wealth amongst us, but we have a sufficiency, and we will see that justice is done to your people and ourselves, and when we are fairly ruined by your power we will then acquiesce, but not till then.

In conclusion, I would say that you and your people are the aggressors upon our rights. You come to drive us and our "peculiar" institution from Kansas. We do not intend, cost what it may, to be driven or deprived of any of our rights. Missouri will never again compromise or concede. We are, and intend to remain, your equals. Since the war of the revolution you have done nothing for the extension and glory of the confederacy. In the war of 1812, except a few of your sailors, you did nothing. In the contest with Mexico, Massachusetts, with the exception of a mutilated regiment, was not in the war, and your peculiar friends did not aid in raising and equipping that regiment. When territory is purchased with our money and our blood, you are for monopolizing it. I may be somewhat unjust in the foregoing remarks, but such is my recollection of history. If I am wrong you can correct me. The sin of slavery, if a sin, is ours, not yours. Your fathers sold their slaves, and ours bought them. If you consider slavery in Missouri or Arkansas a grievance to you, say at once that we must free them or you will separate from us. Do this and you will act like honest men, and we will meet you half way. We cannot ever maintain this state of *quasi-peace* and *quasi-war*.

I have been informed that you have an income of \$100,000. Let me suggest that you purchase \$90,000 worth of negroes; come out to Kansas; feed and clothe your slaves well; give them employment; build for them and yourself good houses; improve their condition; build for yourself fine barns and stables; cover the prairies with wheat, hemp, and corn; feed your cattle on a thousand hills; assist your poor neighbor; and my word for it you will do more good for your race, both white and black, than you are doing or can do in Boston. I should be happy to have you for a neighbor; and you will find as much good among slaveholders as you have found among non-slaveholders. At least, you will have tried an experiment. Your obedient servant,

DAVID R. ATCHISON.

(From *Littell's Living Age*, July 26, 1856, page 254.)

*The following is from a pamphlet entitled "Information for Kansas Immigrants," prepared by Thos. H. Webb, secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, 1856:

ARMS.—Should they be taken along for protection against Indians, for hunting, etc.? Our opinion of the red man has already been given, viz.: As a general rule, if treated kindly, and met as a man, he will behave like a man; but if treated like a wild beast, you must expect conduct like one. Still, as impositions are constantly being practiced on him, and trespasses committed upon his rights, as vagabonds of our own race—of instances of which we ourselves have had repeated cognizance—it is not impossible, though hardly probable, that some roving bands from the distant plains, or fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains, may, under exasperation, make their appearance on the borders; and, as "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," and "discretion is the better part of valor," it would be well for all to go prepared for such emergencies.

Besides, it would be somewhat vexatious to a hungry man (and one who intends to be a pioneer must expect often to be starved) to see game fleeing by him which might have furnished him many a good meal and be none the better for it, because, presuming there was no use for powder and ball, he went to his new home without them. Thus did not the hardy pioneers of the days of our ancestors. Moreover, wolves, rattlesnakes and other reptiles of various forms will be occasionally encountered or be detected under the claims; and although the former, like many enemies in human shape who make much noise, are great cowards, and seldom attack one, excepting when they are sure of an advantage, it is advisable to be prepared to give them a warm reception.

Whether there may be any other use for arms the writer, perhaps, is not qualified to judge; but, in accordance with the old Latin maxim, that it is permitted to be taught by an enemy, he thinks it sufficient, and it will probably be perfectly satisfactory to inquirers to adduce the opinion of Hon. David R. Atchison on this point. In a letter of very recent date to a gentleman at the South, he says: "Let your young men come forth to Missouri and Kansas! Let them come well armed, with money enough to support them for twelve months, and determined to see this thing out! One hundred true men will be an acquisition! The more the better. We

purpose by a threefold combination of causes—a December snow-storm, the intervention of Governor Shannon, and a treaty,* signed by Robinson and Lane, on behalf of the citizens of Lawrence, pledging them to “aid in the execution of the laws, when called on by proper authority.”

As punishment, rather than the exacting of submission, had been the purpose of the raid, the invaders yielded more to the persuasive influence of the snow-storm than to the conditions of the treaty, and went back to Missouri with threats of returning. Also, the beleaguered forces in Lawrence, on the rumor that their commanders had pledged them to a recognition of the bogus laws, wrought up to a point of mutiny, plotted a night attack upon the unsuspecting invaders, but were dissuaded from their design by a lesson in casuistry, enabling each one for himself to determine what was “law” and who were “proper officers.”

In this attitude of the parties winter passed, with Lawrence protected by its intense severity, with threats from the border, emphasized by the destruction of the *Leavenworth Register*,† and the murder of R. P. Brown,‡ a member elect of the nascent legislature, by the Kickapoo rangers.

With the opening of spring, unusual activity along the border presaged another invasion. Hitherto these raids had been projected without legal pretense. The last, though marshaling under an official proclamation, was mainly a mob led by the sheriff, which might have been rightfully resisted, and which the governor had been compelled to disown and disperse.

want men—armed men. We want money; not for ourselves, but to support our friends who may come from a distance. Let your young men come on in squads, as fast as they can be raised, well armed. We want none but true men.”

Such is the advice of one who, we are told “has occupied, for a quarter of a century at least, an eminently high position among the statesmen of the Union, and who, in the senate of the United States, over which he presided with so much satisfaction to that body, fairly earned a reputation of which few can boast.” The advice of such an one on the present subject of inquiry it would ill become us to gainsay.

We cannot refrain from quoting this gentleman's concluding sentiment, and most cordially reiterating his hope: “We hope that there will be an uprising of the people in every county and town in the state, and that, while our young men will in hundreds respond to the call of Kansas, the old and wealthy will give that aid which, if withheld, will keep from ‘there’ many a dauntless spirit, brave heart, and strong arm.”

The following is from Eli Thayer, in “New England Emigrant Aid Company,” 1887, page 45:

“As for Sharps' rifles, I know many went along with the emigrants sent by the company, and these men knew how to use them when the emergency demanded, as those familiar with Kansas history well know. No organization openly provided such implements at first, but they generally formed a part of the equipment of our colonies. The directors furnished them on their individual responsibility. Mr. Lawrence and others of the company provided a large quantity of arms and ammunition and sent them to Kansas in 1855. (See Transactions Kansas Historical Society, vols. I, II, pp. 221-224.) I, myself, bought two cases of rifles of Waters & Co., in the spring of 1855. These went to Kansas. (During the Kansas troubles I expended of my own money \$1500 for the purchase of rifles and cannon.) The complaint of the abolitionists themselves, early in 1855, that we were ready to repel force by force, is a sufficient refutation of the insinuation that the early emigrants would not fight. But they did not believe in shedding blood wantonly. Doctor Robinson's firm and decided policy, and the fact that the settlers were well armed with Sharp's rifles and ready to use them, caused the retreat of the Missourians from Lawrence in December, 1855.”

The following is from the free-state executive committee's minutes, pages 44 and 49:

“LAWRENCE, December 23, 1855.—In the absence of the chairman, C. K. Holliday was elected chairman *pro tem*. A letter from Eli Thayer proposing to furnish the militia of the territory with 1000 stand of improved arms for \$1200 Kansas certificates of indebtedness, was laid before the committee. On motion of G. W. Smith, Mr. G. W. Brown was instructed to correspond with Mr. Thayer, accepting the proposition.”

“LAWRENCE, January 16, 1856.—On motion of J. K. Goodin, the vote upon the acceptance of a proposition to purchase 1000 stand of arms was rescinded, and the agency given to Mr. G. W. Brown in relation thereto was revoked. The grounds for the motion were, that since the former order was made by the committee a letter had been received from Mr. Thayer proposing a loan of the arms without asking any remuneration therefor.”

* This document is printed in “Kansas; its Interior and Exterior Life,” by Mrs. Sara T. L. Robinson, page 150.

† While Mark W. Delahay, the editor of the *Register*, was in Lawrence, in attendance on the free-state convention, December 22, 1855, the contents of his printing-office were thrown into the Missouri river by a proslavery mob.

‡ See page 334, this volume.

A winter's counseling by the border chiefs determined them to adjust their scheme more carefully to the forms of law, and arm themselves with both the force and the name of the combined territorial and federal governments.

The assertion of the paramount rights of the South to the possession of Kansas, in the division of the territories, that had served as the motive and excuse for all the outrages perpetrated, was placed in the background, and in its stead the enforcement of law and the suppression of insurrection was adopted as a pretext with loud proclamation, and the retroactive drama of Beelzebub casting out devils placed upon the stage.

A representative convention of the free-state party had proclaimed "resistance to the bogus laws, to a bloody issue." An independent state government,* with a constitution designed by its framers to be petitionary and consonant with the organic act, had been organized, but its executive was taking measures to support it by an armed military force,† a gauge of battle eagerly accepted by the border chiefs. A new partizan cry was taken up, and the proslavery party was ostentatiously reorganized as the law and order party.

A premonition of coming events was the appearance of Sheriff Jones with a batch of writs against parties charged with defiance of the laws. Attempting first to arrest Robert Buffum, his wife‡ interposed, and, seizing her husband by the arm, demanded his release. As she accentuated her demand with a warning shot from her revolver, Jones's gallantry and discretion getting the better of his official obligation, he acquiesced. On a subsequent day he attempted the arrest of S. N. Wood,§ who had expressed a willingness to submit to arrest for the pur-

*Among the manuscripts of the Historical Society are three volumes containing the original records of the Topeka constitutional movement, the gift of Hon. Joel K. Goodin: The minutes of the executive committee, covering the period from August 15, 1855, to February 11, 1856; the record-book containing the expenditures of the same committee, and the journal of the Topeka house of representatives, March 4, 1856, to June 13, 1857.

†Governor Reeder, in his diary, printed in volume III of the Society's Collections, page 206, under date of May 7, 1856, says: "Learned from the best authority that the plan we had so often heard of was about being carried out, to paralyze the free-state party; that the grand jury now in session at Leecompton had been charged by the court, as had the last grand jury at Delaware, that not only all the officers of the state government, but all the judges of election, were indictable. . . . Governor Robinson and Lieutenant-governor Roberts and myself had a consultation, and all came to the same conclusion. . . . Resolved that we must soon make an open, organized, armed resistance, and that, to make it as effectual and justifiable as it is already righteous and just, we must do it under and through the forms of the state government, and thus set up the state against the territorial government. For this we must call the legislature together, plan laws, organize courts, organize and officer our militia, and supply them all with arms who are not already supplied. . . ." (See page 334 of this volume, commission of R. P. Brown.) July 15, 1857, the free-state convention at Topeka, to nominate state officers under the Topeka constitution, appointed General Lane to organize the people to protect the ballot-box at the coming election. This military organization was quite effectually carried out. (See the Society's Collections, volume V, page 364.)

‡Mrs. Robinson's "Kansas," page 183.

§SAMUEL NEWITT WOOD was born at Mount Gilead, Ohio, December 30, 1825. He received a common-school education. His parents were Friends, and he imbibed their antislavery spirit. In 1844, though too young to vote, he was chairman of the liberty party central committee of his county. In 1848 he supported Martin Van Buren, free-soil candidate for president. In 1849, while returning from an underground railroad trip with some slaves, he made the acquaintance of his future wife, Margaret W. Lyon. He taught school and studied law, and was admitted to the bar June 4, 1854. Two days later he was on his way to Kansas. Early in July he settled, with his family, on a claim four miles west of Lawrence. He was one of ten men who rescued Jacob Branson from Sheriff Jones November 22, 1855, which defiance of "law" brought on the Wakarusa war. Volume V of the Society's Collections, pages 74-87, contains an account of the adventures of Mrs. Wood and Mrs. G. W. Brown in securing ammunition for Lawrence during this "war." Mr. Wood was a delegate to the Pittsburgh, Pa., convention which organized

pose of testing the validity of the laws. Wood had been a leader in the rescue of Branson,* that furnished the pretext for the Jones invasion, but, being prudently advised, had left the territory, and spent the winter in Ohio, whence he had just returned with a company of upwards of 100 men, "among whose baggage," to use his own description, "were some twenty boxes which had been borrowed, with their contents, from the Ohio state militia."

Under these changed conditions, Wood silently recalled his proffer of submission, and, encouraged by the sympathetic crowd closing around them, snatching a revolver from the sheriff's hip pocket, pulled himself away from the official clutch, and escaped through the crowd. On the following day a third attempt was made, on S. F. Tappan,† also one of the Branson rescuers, with like result.

the republican party, in 1856, to the Philadelphia convention, the same year, which nominated John C. Fremont for the presidency, and to the Leavenworth constitutional convention, in 1858. In 1859 Mr. Wood removed to Chase county. He represented Chase, Morris and Madison counties in the territorial legislatures of 1860 and 1861, was a member of the first state senate, in 1861, and again in 1867. During the latter session he secured the submission of a constitutional amendment granting suffrage to women, and gave it his hearty support in the campaign which followed. Colonel Wood was a member of the house of representatives in 1864, 1866, 1876, and 1877, and speaker during most of the last session. In 1864 he was appointed brigadier general of the state militia, and in 1867 judge of the ninth judicial district. This same year he went to Texas and remained two years. He was one of the original stockholders of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company. Mr. Wood was part owner of the *Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, in the '50's, established the first newspaper at Cottonwood Falls, the *Kansas Press*, and at Council Grove, the *Council Grove Press*. The *Chase County Banner*, 1867, was printed on a press brought to Kansas by the missionary Jotham Meeker in 1833. In 1879 Mr. Wood was connected with the *Kansas Greenbacker*, Emporia; in the early '80's, with the *Topeka State Journal*, and in 1889 published the *Woodsdale Democrat*, and the *Woodsdale Sentinel* in 1891, in Stevens county. In politics he was always connected with reform movements, the republican, greenback, labor and populist parties. He was killed June 23, 1891, by Jim Brennan, as the result of a county-seat fight. (See Memorial of Samuel N. Wood, 1892, U. S. Biog. Dic. for Kansas, 1879, and scrap-book of the Society.)

* JACOB BRANSON came to Kansas territory from Indiana in March, 1854, settling in the neighborhood of Hickory Point, Douglas county, in August. November 21, 1855, a young man who had been living with him was shot and killed by proslavery neighbors. A meeting of free-state men was held next day at the scene of the murder, and Branson attended. That night Sheriff Jones arrested Branson for participating in the meeting. On the way to Leecompton with the prisoner, a party of free-state men, under James B. Abbott, met the sheriff's posse and released Branson. This affair was made the pretext for the Wakarusa war.

† SAMUEL F. TAPPAN is a native of Massachusetts. In 1848 he entered a mercantile house in Boston. He came to Lawrence, Kan., in August, 1854, with a party of about thirty settlers, mostly from New England. He wrote Kansas letters to the *New York Tribune* and *Boston Atlas* that month, telling of the first contest with border ruffians from Missouri at a settlers' meeting at Miller's, a few miles above Lawrence. He went East in May, 1855, returning in June, and, with Martin F. Conway, made a canvass of southern and western Kansas in favor of an organized free-state movement. He was clerk of the Topeka constitutional convention, and assistant clerk of the Topeka house of representatives. He took part in the Branson rescue, and was afterwards arrested and committed for trial, but was finally released without bail. He had hoped to carry his case to the supreme court for the purpose of testing the territorial laws. As assistant clerk of the Topeka house of representatives, July 4, 1856, (Thomas A. Minard, speaker, and Joel K. Goodin, chief clerk, being absent,) he was the presiding officer at the time of its dispersal by Col. E. V. Sumner. In July, 1856, Mr. Tappan visited Washington, D. C. On his return to Kansas, in August, he found a party of Buford's men on the train between St. Louis and Jefferson City, on their way to Kansas. He returned to St. Louis, and, after consultation with the Kansas committee and with Mr. O. H. Browning, of Quincy, Ill., obtained an order from the committee at Chicago for a large number of Sharp's rifles, Colt's revolvers, Bowie knives, and a quantity of ammunition, with which he set out with eighteen men for Kansas, by way of Iowa City and Nebraska. He met T. W. Higginson at Iowa Point, and at Plymouth, Kan., joined James Redpath, with about 200 men, among whom he distributed the arms. Stopping at Topeka on the way to Lawrence, the party was arrested, but the governor, being assured that the prisoners were a party of peaceable emigrants, permitted them to proceed. January 8, 1857, Mr. Tappan again performed the duties of speaker of the Topeka house of representatives, that offi-

Defeated by the good-natured jamming of the crowd around him, the sheriff, unable to fix the responsibility on any one, charged his failure against the whole population of the town, as an act of Punic faith in the observance of the Shannon-Robinson treaty, to be expiated at some future reckoning.

In his fourth and more successful attempt at the service of his writs he was supported by a squad of United States troops under Lieutenant McIntosh; but, remaining in town over night to make further arrests, he was shot in the back through the walls of the officer's tent.*

This attempt at assassination filled the measure of aggravation to overflowing, inflamed the spirit of revenge, and throughout the border of Missouri, notwithstanding her reprobation of the crime and offer of a reward for the detection of the assassin, the destruction of Lawrence was demanded as retribution. To give the infliction of the predetermined penalty the form of legality, indictments were obtained against the Free-state hotel as a "fortification for insurrectionary purposes," and the two printing-offices, for the publication of articles claimed as "inciting resistance to the laws."

To invoke federal assistance to territorial authority, an indictment was obtained against ex-Governor Reeder, on the charge of resisting the United States marshal who had served an attachment upon him for contempt in the presence of the congressional investigating committee sitting at the Free-state hotel. Reeder, pleading constitutional exemption from arrest, had defied the marshal, averring that he would defend his personal liberty by all the means that God had given him. The official withdrew abashed, and as he emerged timidly from the presence he was jeered by the crowd in the street that had been attracted to the scene. This demonstration was construed as organized rebellion, and a proclamation was issued by the marshal commanding the "law-abiding citizens to appear at Lecompton in numbers sufficient for the execution of the laws." To this call, the lawless forces of the border, with the still more vicious recruits arriving from the far South, responded, and were mustered in as a posse of the United States marshal.

How valiantly they acquitted themselves in executing their lawless purposes by legal sanction will appear from an account of their proceedings on the 21st of

cer, with other members, having been arrested the day before by Deputy Marshal Pardee and conveyed to Tecumseh. He was secretary of the Leavenworth constitutional convention, in 1858, and a clerk of the Wyandotte convention, in 1859. In July, 1860, Mr. Tappan left Kansas for Denver, where he took an active part in securing the organization of the city government. In July, 1861, he raised a military company in the mountains, and in August was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the First Colorado, which did gallant service in that territory and in New Mexico. In the summer of 1864 he was ordered East, returning to Colorado late in November, two days before the perpetration of the Sand Creek massacre, and later presided over a military commission to investigate that affair. In August, 1867, he was a member of the commission authorized by Congress to arrange a peace with the plains Indians and locate the different tribes on permanent reservations. The other members of the commission were Generals Wm. T. Sherman, William S. Harney, and Alfred H. Terry, N. G. Taylor, commissioner of Indian affairs, J. B. Henderson, United States senator from Missouri, and Gen. John B. Sanborn, of Minnesota. The commission sat first at St. Louis, August 6, and the *New York Tribune* of August 13 contains an account of the meeting, written by Mr. Tappan. Hon. Thomas A. McNeal tells of a later meeting of this commission, at Medicine Lodge, and the salutary results of its work, in his article printed in the Society's Collections, vol. VI, p. 344. Mr. Tappan is now a resident of New York city. (See manuscript autobiography of Mr. Tappan, given the Society by Colonel Hinton in 1895. Statement of Mr. Tappan, dated December 14, 1836, in Historical Society's Collections, vols. I, II, p. 212.)

*The shooting of Sheriff Jones has generally been ascribed to Charley Lenhart, but, in a letter to the Society, under date of September 18, 1897, Philip W. Woodward says it was James P. Filer, of Lawrence, a surveyor from New York, who fired the shot.

May as condensed from "The Recollections of Colonel Eldridge," now in course of preparation for publication.*

In reviewing these events, satisfying as memories to those who took a noble part in them, however painful in enduring, with their relations to the subsequent throes of the nation, we cannot but be impressed with the failure of all movements on either side of the conflict to accomplish the immediate results intended—of councils failing and schemes brought to naught. We are compelled to acknowledge the divine law in the evolution of humanity in its nobler attributes—the breaking of the chrysalis shell that "cribbed and confined" a nation—calling into life its—

"Spiritual counterpart . . .
Consummating its meaning, rounding all
To justice and perfection, line by line,
Form by form, nothing single nor alone,"

enthroning it arbiter among nations, and commanding the admiration of the world.

And over the earthy chrysalis of the period of the conflict, now transformed, as, with awakening consciousness of untried power and exalted conceptions of

* The account of the events of the morning of the 21st of May, 1856, by Col. S. W. Eldridge, in his "Recollections" of the early times in Kansas, is herewith given:

"Sunrise on the 21st of May, 1856, revealed Mount Oread astir for the assault upon the doomed town. A battery of four brass pieces was wheeled into line, trained upon the heart of the town, manned and charged. Supporting it were 200 horsemen, magnified by their eminence, with their arms and a red banner glittering in the morning sun. These were reenforced by company after company, mounted and on foot, that came marching around the crest of the divide, from the California road, their numbers magnified by their elevated position and their ostentatious method of approach—an imposing array of 800 men, performing the maneuvers of an army preparing for an engagement. Prominent among them were Senator Atchison, of Missouri, now sporting the title of general, with his "Platte County Rifles," manning two of the cannon; the Kickapoo rangers, under Colonel Clarkson; the Hotspur Col. Warren D. Wilkes, of South Carolina, and Colonel Titus, of Florida. These had come from Lecompton. From camp near Franklin came the Missouri border forces, under Colonel Boone, the government freighter from Westport, Colonel Buford, the patron of the fire-eaters, from Alabama, and other less distinguished Southern leaders.

"With the military forces, either as political advisers, legal counselors, or director-generals, were Gen. B. F. Stringfellow, the chief executive of the slave propaganda; the able lawyer, Peter T. Abell, and a full contingent of the border editors and politicians of Missouri—an array that only a majestic fete expected could call out. The affected strategy and imposing maneuvers, with the attendant retinue of lawyers, editors, and politicians, confirmed the premonitions that the marshal had more serious business than the service of a few writs.

"Lawrence lay below in Sabbath stillness, in affected innocence, and unsuspecting of its doom, the citizens being advised to avoid every demonstration that would invite attack. The forces being placed in order for attack, and the battery in readiness, with lighted fuses, the marshal, with a posse of ten unarmed men, rode into town, and found those for whom he had writs submitted to arrest without resistance or attempt at evasion, and, invited to dinner by Colonel Eldridge, partook of the only public meal served in the Free State hotel.

"The Free State hotel was the pride of the town. Built by the Emigrant Aid Company, as if to atone for the shabbiness of their other structures, it was of city dimensions and appurtenances. It had been leased by Colonel Eldridge, who furnished it at a cost and with an elegance unsurpassed by any hotel in the West, and stored its cellars with the choicest supplies, but had delayed the opening from rumors of its intended destruction. His previous residence in Kansas City had prevented his complicity in the affairs of Kansas, and to his personal appeals he had obtained the promise of the governor and marshal that the hotel should be protected, and to insure the good-will of the latter had prepared a lavish spread. But in vain. The marshal left without even acknowledging the hospitality, turned his forces over to Jones for the execution of the orders of the court, as it was proclaimed. Receiving the command, Jones dashed up to the hotel with a company of horsemen, and demanded the surrender of all the arms, to be stacked in the street within thirty minutes by his watch, under penalty of the bombardment of the town; an order not to be neglected, as was subsequently proved. The cannon was brought from its concealment, and the few guns not in the hands of private parties were given up. On the reception of these, he notified Colonel Eldridge to vacate the hotel, giving him two hours in which to remove his furniture. Without a place to store it, or ability to remove it within the time, he was compelled to abandon it, and place his family, with a sick daughter, in hacks, and send them back to Kansas City.

"While the furniture was being cast out and the elegant hangings appropriated by the vandal posse, two companies were detailed for the destruction of the printing-offices. The presses and furniture were broken up, type emptied into the street or thrown into the river, and the stock and files scattered to the winds. In the office of the *Free State* was a library of 300 volumes. The books were torn up, backed with sabers, and thrown into the street, and, as the work of destruction was completed, the company marched away, each member carrying away a book on his bayonet. At the expiration of the two hours cannons were brought up, and the bombardment of the hotel began. The first shot, a Minie bomb, sighted by Atchison, missed

national destiny it expands its wings beyond the continent, we behold the glory of a transfiguration.

And through the sacred grief and sublime admiration expressed by a great and united people for their martyred president [President McKinley] we see the face of a nation chastened but regenerated, reinvigorated, raised to a loftier plane of action, and glowing with a divine illumination.

* * * * *

CAPTURE OF FORT SAUNDERS, AUGUST 15, 1856.

By O. P. KENNEDY.

I presume that anything that I can say about the causes which led up to the capture of Fort Saunders* would be nothing new to you. It will be remembered that Saunders was a proslavery man, and his place on Washington creek was made the headquarters for the border ruffians in that part of the county. It was about four miles southeast of Clinton, if I remember correctly, or about twelve miles southwest of Lawrence. Saunders had a strong log house which was used as a fort. An old corn-crusher was located there, and David S. Hoyt† was sent out August 11, ostensibly to get a sack of corn crushed, but in reality to learn all that he could in regard to these ruffians. He was murdered on getting away from there. It is believed, from the fact that he was a Mason, that his life was protected while in camp, but some of the border ruffians followed him, and beat his head into a mass. It was a horrible sight, and created much indignation. This occurred just before the fight at Franklin. Our company, the Wakarusa guard, was camped at Blanton's bridge.‡ It had been determined upon to drive all of these proslavery camps out of the country, and this murder of Hoyt made us more determined than ever. Our company, about eighty strong, camped on Doctor Macy's claim, near Fort Saunders, and waited for reenforcements, and at the same time prevented the border ruffians from Lahay's place coming to the rescue. During the night reenforcements arrived. Lane and Brown came in. I don't know whether John Brown brought his Osawatomie company or not. Lane assumed command. A council of war was held that night, and they had a

the building, passing over its three stories, and, burying itself in west Lawrence, was uncovered and identified some thirty years later. Fifty shots failing to knock down the walls, and two kegs of powder to explode it, the work of destruction was completed by fire. Vandalism was supplemented by looting stores and private dwellings, and, on leaving town, Governor Robinson's dwelling on Mount Oread, that had been appropriated as headquarters, was fired and destroyed, with its valuable contents."

*An account of the killing of Hoyt and surrender of Fort Saunders is given in the Society's Collections, vols. I, II, pp. 227 and 230.

†DAVID STARR HOYT, of Deerfield, Mass., came to Kansas in March, 1856, as leader of a company of young men raised by Dr. Calvin Cutter. The party had in charge four cannon and 100 Sharp's carbines with ammunition. In coming up the Missouri river in the "Arabia" the arms were discovered, and Hoyt identified as the person in charge. After much violent discussion as to the best mode of procedure, the arms were put ashore at Lexington, and a receipt given Hoyt for certain boxes which were to be delivered to Governor Shannon or his successor in office. The slides of the carbines had been sent ahead with Doctor Cutter, and reached Kansas in safety. Hoyt afterwards secured, through Governor Geary, most of his goods. August 11, 1856, Hoyt volunteered to visit Fort Saunders, a proslavery camp south of Lawrence, on a friendly mission. On his return he was accompanied some distance from camp by two men, who murdered him, and after maltreating his body buried it in a shallow grave. His body was afterwards recovered by a party of which Henry J. Shombre was one. William B. Parsons, who accompanied Major Hoyt from Massachusetts, published in the *Kansas Magazine* of July 1872, an article in memory of his friend, David Starr Hoyt.

‡This bridge was built by James B. Abbott across the Wakarusa on the claim of H. B. Blanton, situated on the northwest quarter of section 19, township 13, range 20, about three miles south of Lawrence.

pretty hot time of it. Brown and others wanted to fight early in the morning, but the majority wanted to wait until later in the day. I don't know what their reasons for delay were. We came up from three different sides, and reached the fort just as they were preparing to eat dinner. A number of shots were exchanged with the pickets, but when our main army reached the fort the border ruffians "skedaddled" out. It was a bloodless victory, as no one was injured, to my knowledge; but it had a good effect.

I wish to correct John Speer's account of it. In his "Life of Lane" he says, on page 114: "At Fort Saunders was a solid log house, besides breastworks of considerable strength, with a superior force to Lane's. But Lane made an exhibition of force by marching around elevated objects, which alarmed the enemy, and they fled the country in all directions."

Governor Robinson, in his "Kansas Conflict," on page 306, quotes John Speer as saying, in the *Lawrence Tribune*, June 20, 1876: "He (Lane) ordered out all his forces of cavalry. Then he gathered in all the farmers' wagons and, placing boards across them like seats, made holes in these boards, into which he stuck pegs, and around these pegs he tied bundles of straw, so as to make them at a distance look like men. Thus prepared, the whole force of live and straw men made their appearance upon the heights in sight of Fort Saunders. As the view of them was an oblique one from the fort, the teams were spread out to a good distance apart, but still looked as if they were close together. As they emerged from the woods they seemed to keep coming as if there were no end to them. This ruse had its effect, and before a gun was fired the men were seen fleeing in all directions." I am sure there is nothing to this, for there were no wagons, only those which carried our baggage. We had plenty of men, in fact, more than they had, and wanted to capture them if we could.

I suppose that the governor republished the *Tribune* article in order to show the fighting qualities of Lane, but I don't know why Speer should ever have written it. While we captured none of the border ruffians, we captured some guns and ammunition and camp equipage. Captain Hutchinson detailed me to take a squad of men and see where they went to; we were unable to overtake them, but supposed that they escaped to Fort Titus. Colonel Walker, in command, followed them that night, and we had a fight the next morning at Fort Titus, two miles south of Lecompton. These border ruffians had been plundering and robbing the farmers, but the capture of Fort Saunders cleared them out, and there was practically no more trouble in that part of the country. Forty-five years is a long time to accurately remember details, but I have given an account of the capture of Fort Saunders to the best of my recollection.

I want to say that I am glad that we have formed this organization of old settlers, and regret that it was not formed long ago. An accurate history of those trying times can never be written now, and the younger generations, I fear, will never fully understand the hardships and trials the settlers of 1856 and those prior to that time went through with to make homes for themselves and Kansas a free state. And there should be no differences or ill feeling between us old fellows, for but a few years more and there will be no one to meet at these annual gatherings of the settlers of 1856. It should make no difference to us now whether we were Brown men, Lane men, or Robinson men. The fact that we went through these trials together should be a tie strong enough to bind us all together, and if any of us know of any of the old settlers who have not met with us to-day, let us make special effort to look them up and have them with us a year hence.

THE CAPTURE OF TITUS, August 16, 1856.

By WILLIAM CRUTCHFIELD, one of the participants.

In order to give an intelligent account of the capture of Fort Titus, it is necessary to give some of the causes which led up to the event.

In the spring of 1856, military parties came from Georgia and South Carolina determined to make Kansas a slave state. They were under the charge of Buford, Titus, and others, provided with arms and banners. The South Carolinians had a blood-red flag, with "Southern Rights" on one side and "South Carolina" on the other, which is now in the Historical Society's care. As these parties arrived, they were enrolled with the marshal's posse, to assist in arresting "treason prisoners." After making arrests in Lawrence, May 21, 1856, he turned the posse over to Sheriff Jones, who destroyed the hotel and printing-presses and sacked the town. These Southerners afterwards divided into small parties and fortified themselves at the town of Franklin,* in a camp near Osawatomie, at Fort Saunders on Washington creek, and at Colonel Titus's house, about two miles from Lecompton, living off of the settlers and committing depredations of various kinds. During this time the Missourians would not allow any free-state emigrants to come up the Missouri river, and in order to reach Kansas they had to come through Iowa and Nebraska.

The outrages of the Georgians near Osawatomie finally led the free-state settlers of that neighborhood to appeal to Lawrence for help. But when an attack was made, August 5, the Georgians had abandoned the post, leaving a store of provisions, which were taken by the free-state men and the fort destroyed. The garrison betook themselves to Fort Saunders, and continued their depredations. The free-state committee of safety finally decided to see if arbitration would not lessen the difficulties, and Major Hoyt volunteered to go on a conciliatory expedition. He was killed while returning from Fort Saunders. His body was not recovered until August 14. This murder roused the free-state men to break up the proslavery camps. Franklin was first attacked and a cannon and other arms secured, part of the proslavery defenders being captured, and others taking refuge at Fort Saunders, which post was the next objective point of the free-state forces. The Stubbs company and other reinforcements from Lawrence went to Rock creek in the night, and found encamped there Doctor Cutter and his company;

* "Franklin, Kansas territory, is what the geographer would call pleasantly situated on a somewhat prominent hill or prairie ridge. It was first settled by one Wallace, of Iowa, in October, 1853, but permanent buildings were not commenced until June of the present year [1856]. As regards the value of land, town lots, 60 by 120 feet, bring, according to location, from \$25 to \$100; although, for that matter, we should much prefer to buy at a less rate, and at a greater distance from the main body of the place; for we understand that the whisky-drinking and gambling propensities of the good citizens of Franklin are pretty generally known. Timber, principally oak (various kinds) and black walnut, is to be had in present abundance, at the distance of a little over a mile from the town. Excellent water may be obtained by digging to a depth of from twenty-five to thirty-six feet; but these wells sometimes go dry. For building purposes, pine lumber may be obtained at Kansas City—the nearest point—at a cost, including transportation to Franklin, of eighty dollars per 1000 feet. Agriculturists say that the yield of corn in that vicinity, first crop, taking a range of two miles from Franklin, has been sixty bushels to the acre, in lands on the Wakarusa bottom, and twenty-five bushels in sod on the prairie. A two-story frame building, forty-two by thirty-two feet, comfortably furnished inside, has just been put up, at a cost of \$1400. We were afterwards invited to attend a housewarming upon the completion of this dwelling by its owner, who very kindly offered to send a conveyance to Lawrence, where we were then stopping, to bring us down, and we regret that our engagements and the severity of the weather should have prevented us from seeing a social fandango in Franklin, where, to do the people justice, they are said to get up those sort of things in very good (frontier) style. But to return. There are some twelve houses and cabins built or in process of erection. The population of this place is from 75 to 100 souls. It is a strong proslavery town, and furnished a large quota—nearly sixty men—to the governor's forces for 'the war.' It has a steam sawmill of eighteen horse-power. The citizens claim to have had no cases of that great Western bugbear, the all-shaking fever and ague, as yet; but we should say that the location, with the large swampy bottom in its vicinity, was favorable to the production of swamp miasmas. Franklin is distant by some thirty-eight miles from Westport, Mo., fifty-five from Independence, three from Lawrence, and fifteen from Lecompton, the capital of Kansas territory." It was situated in section 10, township 13, range 20. [The above quotation is copied from "The War in Kansas," 1856, by G. Douglas Brewertou, page 131.]

also Colonel Harvey and his company, who had come through Iowa, and Jim Lane, John Brown and a number of other Kansans.

It was rumored that Maj. John Sedgwick, U. S. A., had sent a squad of soldiers to protect Saunders's camp. A committee was sent to Lecompton to learn the truth of the report, but found there was no such order. The policy of the free-state men was not to come in conflict with the United States troops.

In the afternoon we marched on Camp Saunders, but its defenders fled at our approach. After destroying everything about the camp, we returned to Rock creek with Hoyt's body. Then we heard that two free-state men had been arrested and taken to Lecompton, and were to be hung the next morning. We resolved to go to their rescue. We started across the prairie for Lecompton. The leaders, Colonel Walker, Joel Grover, and others, went to Lawrence for consultation. As we got near the California road, about twelve o'clock at night, John Mack and John Armstrong went toward Wakefield's to get water. It was a calm moonlight night. They came across Titus and party on a night foray. Soon we heard some shots fired, and the patter of the horses feet, as they came near. Our leaders cried, "Prepare to fight!" While we were preparing Titus and his party came up, not more than forty rods from us, and halted, but seeing the prairie covered with men, they made a dash past us for their camp. Almost every one fired at them but none were hurt on either side.* Then we lay down in the grass near Colonel Walker's house until daylight. When the party from Lawrence came and ordered an advance on Titus, there were a number detailed to take positions between Lecompton and the troops, so as to prevent a message being sent from Governor Shannon to the troops that were guarding the treason prisoners about half a mile from Titus's house. This detail was fired on from a window in Titus's house. There were a number of them more or less wounded, Shombre mortally. Titus's party was in tents near the house and in running to the house one of them was killed.

Then Bickerton with his "Sacramento" sent some of his type bullets into their log house, which caused them to surrender. Twenty-one surrendered to Colonel Walker. During this time a message had got through to Major Sedgwick from Governor Shannon, and the troops went into Lecompton in a hurry.

Titus's house was burned and everything destroyed. While preparing to take the prisoners to Lawrence the troops came in sight, and we expected that they would attack us to rescue the Titus party. Colonel Walker went along the line and gave orders not to allow any one to be arrested or any of the prisoners to be taken. The troops followed us until they came to where Titus's house was burning, and did not follow any further. We arrived in Lawrence Saturday afternoon with the prisoners, and they were put under guard until it was decided what to do with them. The feeling against Titus was very strong, and some were determined that he should not be liberated.

On Sunday it was rumored that the troops were coming from Lecompton to rescue Titus's party. In the afternoon, Governor Shannon, with an escort of about thirty United States troops, came down on a peace mission; so the leaders had a conference with him in the Cincinnati House, which lasted most of the afternoon. There was a large crowd on the street waiting the result of the conference. Colonel Walker came out and said that an agreement had been made, and that Governor Shannon would state it. Bedlam broke loose; men jumped to their feet with drawn revolvers and cried: "Never! Never!"

Then Colonel Walker jumped on a horse, drew his revolver, and said: "The

*In the Hyatt manuscript Colonel Harvey says that two of the enemy were wounded in this engagement, one fatally.

first man that insults Governor Shannon does it over my dead body." He also said: "I have always been with you; but Governor Shannon shall not be insulted."

It stopped them as quick as a thunderclap. They then said that they would hear him as Shannon, but not as governor. Governor Shannon then stated the result of the conference: that he would send down the cannon that was taken at the time the hotel and printing-presses were destroyed, and also the prisoners that were arrested for the attack on Franklin, in exchange for Titus and his men. This agreement was carried out. The next day the prisoners and cannon were delivered, and Titus and his party were given over to the United States troops. Thus ended the capture and release of Titus and his party.

Wounded at Franklin: Arthur Gunter, dangerously, in lungs; G. W. Smith, slightly; John Brook, in the head; W. D. Wells, in the hand; John Crocker, slightly.

At Titus's: Henry J. Shombre, mortally; A. W. White, arm amputated; George Henry, slightly; James N. Velsor, slightly; J. M. Shepherd, slightly; Chas. Jordan, slightly; George Leonard, slightly.

* * * * *

BATTLE OF HICKORY POINT, SEPTEMBER 13, 1856.

By CHARLES W. SMITH.*

Hickory Point was laid out in March, 1855, and a settler named Charles Hardt was appointed postmaster by the government. From the very earliest settlement, there was a contest between the free-state and the proslavery residents, as to which party should control the politics of the county. At first the proslavery men gained the ascendancy, from the fact that it was so near the Missouri line it was very easy to run in votes enough to control the elections. Party feeling ran high; each party regarded the other as having no rights that they were bound to respect. At the first election the proslavery men took possession of the polls and carried things with a high hand. After this there was but little respect for law and order on either side. After the outrages at the first election each party held separate elections and refused to acknowledge those of the other as legal, or to obey the laws passed by the other. Late in the summer of 1856 the trouble had become so bad that the free-state settlers having increased in numbers, they determined to drive the border ruffians out of the country.

On Sunday, June 8, 1856, two proslavery men, Jones and Fielding, from near Hickory Point, were driven away. Both parties were organized and skirmishes became frequent. One A. T. Pattie, a proslavery man, had built stores at Grasshopper Falls. He would not recognize the town authorities, but built his stores in the streets. So bold and troublesome had he become, that the free-state men drove him out of the country. A man named R. H. Crosby and his brother built a store at Grasshopper Falls early in 1856. September 8, 1856, the town was raided by an armed body of border ruffians, who rode into town, shooting in all directions. Unable to resist such numbers, and being taken by surprise, the men fled in all directions. The town was sacked and Crosby's store burned; also the

*CHARLES W. SMITH was born in Portage county, Ohio, December 7, 1832. Before coming to Kansas, in 1834, he learned the carpenter's trade, and for a short time had been connected with a cotton manufactory in Lowell, Mass. In September, 1834, he settled upon a claim in Douglas county, Kansas, and became a member of the first Lawrence Town Company. In 1833 he moved from his farm and engaged in the carpenter's trade in Lawrence, and later in the furniture business. He has served several terms as a member of the city council. During the early troubles he was connected with different free-state organizations, and married, April 14, 1844, Miss Jane E., eldest daughter of Col. Samuel Walker, of Lawrence.

drug-store of Doctor Northrup, and his library and surgical instruments were burned. Both parties were now armed, and the country was overrun by armies from each side—Gen. James H. Lane and others on the one side, and the Kickapoo rangers on the other side.

One of the first encounters was upon Slough creek,* north of the town of Oskaloosa. The border ruffians started out from Lecompton, and Colonel Harvey and Captain Hull were sent out, each in command of a division of men, to intercept them. The two commands came together near Springdale, and camped in and near a two-story log house. The next day they marched to a point ten miles east of Oskaloosa and camped. In the night a report came in of various outrages being committed by the border ruffians. Colonel Harvey and his command at once started out, and found the ruffians on the north side of Slough creek. At three o'clock on the morning of September 11 the attack was made. The South Carolinians were surrounded and taken entirely by surprise. There was but little fighting, the border ruffians trying to escape. Finding it impossible to escape, they all surrendered but Captain Palmer and Lieutenant Merrill, who escaped. Sixty stands of arms, two wagons and several fine horses were captured.

The next event in the troubles was the battle of Hickory Point, which was fought on September 13 and 14. Though it was called a battle, it was a mere skirmish. Governor Geary had arrived in the territory, and issued a proclamation ordering all armed bands to disperse. Gen. J. H. Lane was near Topeka, and did not know of the proclamation. He, with a small party, was starting out for Holton, where he was met by messengers from Osawkie, who told him that the border ruffians had burned Grasshopper Falls, and intended to burn other free-state towns. Lane's assistance was solicited, and he marched to Osawkie at once. After recruiting his force from the free-state men near, he made an attack on the town of Osawkie, and after he had burned the store of a proslavery man named Dyer and his brother, and other houses, and driven out the proslavery men, he learned that a large party of proslavery men, armed for fight, were at Hickory Point. He marched to that point, determined to capture them or drive them from the country.

Hickory Point was situated on the northwest quarter of section 5, township 9, range 19 east, on the main road from Leavenworth, on land since owned by Andrew Wilson. At that time three log houses, a store, hotel and blacksmith shop were located there. Lane found about 100 men assembled, all ready for a fight, and thoroughly armed, under the command of Capt. H. A. Lowe, the owner of Hickory Point. Captain Lowe had about fifty of the South Carolinians in his force—the same ones who had been committing the outrages in the vicinity.

General Lane found the proslavery forces too securely fortified to be driven out. Lane then sent to Lawrence for Captain Bickerton, with other reinforcements and the historic cannon, "Sacramento." This was on Saturday, the 13th of September. Colonel Harvey was in command of this body. They started, taking the direct road, marching all night. After cooking breakfast at Newell's Mills, now Oskaloosa, they resumed the march, arriving at Hickory Point about ten A. M. on Sunday. In the meantime General Lane heard of Governor Geary's order to disperse, and started for Topeka, expecting to meet the forces from Lawrence. But Colonel Harvey, having taken the direct road, missed the Lane force.

*Among the Hyatt manuscripts belonging to the Society are maps of the battles of Slough creek and Hickory Point, together with Col. J. A. Harvey's account of both affairs. Henry Reiser, of Topeka, who was severely wounded while manning the hay wagon at Hickory Point, has given the Society a written statement of his recollections.

When Colonel Harvey and his force came up the proslavery men attempted to retreat, but finally took refuge in the log houses. Harvey ordered his wagons driven up to within 300 yards of the buildings, where they halted. Over the buildings three flags were floating, one of them being a black one. No message was sent on either side, but the cannon was placed in position, about 200 yards from the blacksmith shop, on the south, and at once commenced firing. The cannon was supported by twenty men, armed with United States muskets. The Stubbs company was stationed about 200 yards to the southeast, in a timber ravine. The first shot from the cannon passed through the blacksmith shop and killed Charles G. Newhall. About twenty shots were fired, but without effect, as the proslavery men watched for the firing and threw themselves on the ground, and thus avoided the shots. A continuous firing was kept up by the men on both sides, but little harm was done.

Finding it impossible to dislodge Lowe and his men, Colonel Harvey ordered a wagon loaded with hay backed up to the blacksmith shop, to be set on fire. This plan worked all right until the wagon was near the shop, when the occupants of the building began shooting under the wagon, thus hitting the men, until they were glad to get up on the tongue of the wagon. After remaining some time they set fire to the hay, and got away under the smoke. Soon after a white flag was sent out from the shop, asking for terms. After a conference, each party agreed to give up all plunder and all non-residents of each party to leave the country. The casualties were as follows: One proslavery man killed and four wounded. Of the free-state men, three were shot in the legs, one got a badly bruised head, and a boy was shot through the lungs. Thus ended the battle of Hickory Point.

LINCOLN IN KANSAS.

"DECEMBER 1, 1859.—Abram Lincoln arrives in Elwood and makes a speech that evening. He was met at St. Joseph by M. W. Delahay and D. W. Wilder.* His speech was substantially the same he made soon afterward at the Cooper Institute, New York, and one of the ablest and clearest ever delivered by an American statesman."—*Wilder's Annals of Kansas*.

"DECEMBER 3, 1859.—The Leavenworth *Times* says: 'The Hon. Abe Lincoln is on Kansas soil. He has spoken at Elwood, Troy, and Doniphan. Last night he spoke at Atchison. To-day at noon he arrives in Leavenworth. To-night he speaks at Stockton. He received a public reception and made two speeches, one on the 3d and one on the 5th.'"—*Id.*

HIS FIRST SPEECH.

Copied from the Elwood *Free Press*, dated Saturday, December 3, 1859.

"HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN arrived in Elwood Thursday, December 1. Although fatigued with the journey, and somewhat 'under the weather,' he kindly consented to make a short speech here. A large number of our citizens assembled at the Great Western hotel to hear him.

"Mr. Lincoln was received with great enthusiasm. He stated the reasons why he was unable to make a speech this evening. He could only say a few

*Hon. D. W. Wilder, in a letter to the secretary, of April 22, 1902, says:

"Delahay came to Elwood and stayed all night, I suppose. He and I went to St. Joseph the next morning, and way down south to the Hannibal depot (the Hannibal & St. Joe R. R., completed that year) and took Lincoln up town in an omnibus. I took him to a barber shop near the Planters' House and bought for him the New York or Chicago papers at the post-office news-stand. All sat in the dirt waiting for the ferry-boat; to the Great Western hotel, a large frame building. That night he spoke in the dining-room of the hotel; the meeting an