

THE
CONQUEST OF KANSAS,

BY
MISSOURI AND HER ALLIES.

A HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES IN KANSAS, FROM THE PASSAGE
OF THE ORGANIC ACT UNTIL THE CLOSE OF JULY, 1856.

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"Come on, then, gentlemen of the slave States ; since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it in behalf of Freedom. We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side that is stronger in numbers as it is in right!"
— *Speech of Wm. H. SEWARD, in the U. S. Senate, 1854.*

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INV

PREFACE.

The writer deems no apology necessary in submitting the early and unhappy history of Kansas to the public. A conviction of its importance impelled him to the task, and he assumed the duty of historian under the belief that his opportunities for observation, and participation in much of what has occurred, gave him advantages over other writers less conversant with the subject.

It is not the intention of this preface to make an elaborate assertion of impartiality. What is written is offered to the public as the simple truth, and a fair record of the events it chronicles. The writer does not claim to be impartial on the cause of quarrel, nor would he regard such a profession as very creditable in any other person; yet he believes that his convictions could neither induce him to wrong an enemy, nor do a friend more than justice. The future will fully vindicate the truth of all that is written; and, if there is one generous mind which, with the lights now before it, would incline to charge the author with perversion, let such a doubter know that the author, while he values the good opinion of all good men, would rather thus be suspected, than purchase a doubtful reputation for impartiality at the sacrifice of a truthful record. The common

trick of authors who lack independence, is, to compound between "God and mammon," and, in steering exactly between two opinions, to claim all the virtues, and exemption from all the vices, of both. Such a course the author does not desire to imitate.

In this narrative there is a faithful record of all the important documents, and the opinions of both sides have been given on many important points, although the design was to have a connected narrative, rather than a collection of statements. In the biographical sketches contained in the work the writer has treated the leaders on both sides with that close scrutiny which is the public right as regards public men. A perusal will probably exonerate from the charge of "puffing;" and if some friends regard their handling as rather "candid," let them know that it was, at least, without malice.

In descriptions of the battles, skirmishes, and other striking incidents, great pains has been taken to have the outlines and the facts correct, and to make the picture as true to nature as possible. As it was the design to give a history of the struggle, rather than a condensation or collection of outrages, very many important and outrageous occurrences have been necessarily omitted.

Finally, reader, after having perused it, criticize, and censure it as much as you think you *conscientiously* can. In the history thus submitted, the privilege of judging men and things has been too freely exercised to be grudged to any careful reader by

THE AUTHOR.

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enough to own a nigger, or take care of him if they had him. It is these preachers who tamper with them. They believe everything they say."

Does not this out-Jesuit Jesuitism? I only mention these facts in this connection to show the means used to rob Kansas from freedom, and that the first step in the conquest was done under the shadow of the banner of the Prince of Peace. I would merely exhibit the point of all this by stating that when the treaties were arranged, a year and a half ago, the portion of the funds dedicated to religious uses fell into the hands of this Methodist Mission; the Quaker and Baptist Missions, in the same locality which had also labored long in the field of Shawnee heathenism were left out. Perhaps this was because it was conceived that the positions of these bodies would sustain the more republican theory of religious support, — on the *voluntary* principle; perhaps because the agent was a pro-slavery man, and, in point of fact, a Missourian.

In the fall of 1853 the plot for the conquest of Kansas matured. In the struggle which ensued, the breach of faith with the Indians was comparatively lost sight of. It required no spirit of divination to foresee that, in opening the territory to a white population, the semi-barbarous occupancy of the finest lands by the Indians would inevitably terminate in some manner. I do not know whether the originators of the Kansas Nebraska Bill contemplated an amalgamation of the whites and Indians, to vindicate the faith of treaties and the progress of American civilization westward. If so, it was a blunder. Some few of the more intelligent and industrious Indians may be absorbed in the population of Kansas, but the great mass can neither use nor be used by civilization. There is no honorable escape from the dilemma in which the Kansas Bill places these matters. To leave the tribes on closely-guarded reserves would be a step eminently prejudicial to the best interests of a civilized community, and would be unjust and inhumane to the Indians themselves. To permit them to hold farms in individual occupancy, and thus merge and sink their tribe in the community, although the most just arrangement, would soon, in the progress of whiskey

and rum, reduce them to a fraction of what they are, beggars at the gates to society. To deprive them of the power of selling their farms would only reduce them to the acute point of misery at another date, and be a nuisance in the society they thus obtained. A more humane policy would contemplate the extradition of the tribes — the less civilized portion — to wilds further west, where their nomadic and indolent habits would not expose them so early to starvation, and where they would not be thrown in contact with a civilization with which they were not prepared to cope.

There are the Indian aspects of the Kansas question; grave and important considerations, which the din of political strife has tended to be too much overlooked, but which appeal to the intellect of the statesman and the humane citizen.

That the design of the law organizing the Territory of Kansas was to make it a slave state, has since been conclusively shown by the agencies since set to work to remove the *unforeseen* obstacles which have arisen in the path of such a scheme. If further evidence were wanting, it could be obtained from the testimony of the authors themselves. Dr. Stringfellow, while under oath before a committee of Congress, stated that such "was the design of the Kansas Nebraska Bill;" and, when reminded of the political theories by which the northern supporters of that measure attempted to vindicate this position, rejoined, "That was all nonsense — who believes that?" He stated that such were not the objects of the organic law, but that the executive, and those who carried it through, so understood it, and added, that it was the expectation that the emigration from Western Missouri would quickly settle the question. He also states that it was the design of the Emigrant Aid Societies that first threw doubt upon the success of this scheme, thereby causing trouble. But, to a question put by Mr. Sherman, he admitted that the influx of any free-state emigrants, sufficient to produce the same result, let them come in any way, would have caused trouble.

There is not the slightest doubt but such is the true state of the case. The two policies of the free and slave states are so opposite and hostile, and they could only triumph over each other to the so

serious detriment of the defeated party, that the expedient of voting them to settle their respective claims on the soil of a future empire, in dispute, is madness, and preëminently stupid. It is simply a reference of the case to fraud and violence; for intelligent and impartial popular voting can no more decide on the claims of these two interests, than they could decide on the claims of republicanism and absolute despotism, or decide for the delicate sentiment we call "religion of the heart."

The Kansas Nebraska Bill, or Organic Law of the Territory, failed to define with sufficient clearness the rights of the settlers on the soil they were thus invited to occupy. It failed to secure the purity of the elective franchise. The federal courts it provided for referred the adjudication of cases involving the lives and dearest rights of the settlers to a set of men, the appointees of the executive, and the tools of the faction that used him. These and many other minor defects were designed, and have played an important part in the conquest of Kansas.

The startling feature of the organic law of the Territory of Kansas, and one the fierce discussion of which caused many of its other dangerous features to be overlooked, is contained in the following:

"That the constitution, and all laws of the United States locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the Territory of Kansas as elsewhere within the United States, *except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6th, 1820, which being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the states AND TERRITORIES, as recognized by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measure, is hereby declared INOPERATIVE AND VOID, it being the true intent and meaning of the act not to legislate slavery into any state or territory, or exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States: Provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to revive or put in force any law or regulation which may*

be enacted prior to the act of the 6th of March, 1820, either tending to establish, prohibiting, or abolishing slavery."

Such was the repealing clause. And in section nineteenth there was the following:

"That when admitted as a state or states, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union *with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe at the time of their admission.*"

The organic law passed the houses of Congress after a protracted and stormy struggle. It elicited northern votes from northern men, and was the result of a political theory styled "squatter sovereignty," which had a fatal blow at the prosperity of republican government. The struggle, under the specious plea of "saving the Union," was more bitter when it passed than the struggle began. The following is from the report of the committee of Congress printed at the testimony before them:

"Within a few days after the organic law passed, and as soon as the passage would be known on the border, leading citizens of the Territory crossed into the territory, held squatter meetings, and returned to their homes. Among the resolutions are the following:

"That we will afford protection to no abolitionist as a settler in the Territory."

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

The leaders of the pro-slavery propaganda telegraphed to their agents in Missouri, who took steps at the earliest moment to secure possession of the best locations, which they had looked out before. The communication was secretly made with the Indians, the chiefs being sent to Washington for the purpose; and, as soon as certain spots of land were rebel, the information was telegraphed by the leading Republicans, who held the executive ear, to those in Missouri who were prepared to take possession of the best localities. These spots could know that they were open to settlement. Certain tracts of rebel land, which by terms of the treaty were not to be sold, were taken possession of by Mis-

sourians, and the executive has winked at such infractions. The invasions of the Delaware lands were first made by Missourians, but settlers from other localities, seeing that this was done with impunity, and that the whole of the land would be secured and closed against them in this way, went on to these lands also; and after they began to do so, went on in far greater numbers. We subjoin the protest of the Delaware chiefs:

"We, the chiefs, head men and counsellors of the Delaware nation, hereby notify our white brethren that all settlements on the lands ceded by the Delaware Indians, by treaty at Washington, dated 6th May, 1854, are in violation of said treaty; and that we in no wise give our will or consent to such settlements, and if persisted in by our white brethren, we shall appeal to our great father, the President of the United States, for protection.

The following are the outlines of the treaties made with the different tribes in Kansas, and the dates of such treaties. They indicate the amount still reserved for the use of the Indians:

On the 25th March, 1854, a treaty was concluded with the Otoes and Missourias, by which they ceded all their lands in the territory, except a tract on the Big Blue, ten by twenty-five miles.

By treaty, dated March 25th, 1854, the Kickapoos ceded all their lands, except one hundred and fifty thousand acres, which were set apart for the western portion of their cession, and lie on the head waters of the Grasshopper, towards the Nebraska line.

On the 30th March, 1854, the Kaskaskias, Weasteorias, and Pinkashaws, ceded all their lands, except one hundred and sixty thousand acres for each soul in their united tribes. The tribe to have ninety days for selection after the surveys are approved.

On the 6th May, 1854, the Delawares concluded a treaty, by which all their lands were ceded, except a strip along the north side of the Kansas river, ten miles wide, and running forty miles west. The ceded lands to be set up at auction after they were surveyed, and sold to the highest bidder, for behoof of the tribe, deducting the expense of survey and sale.

By treaty with the Shawnees, dated May 10th, 1854, all of their land was ceded, except two hundred thousand acres, to be selected

along the Missouri state line and a parallel thirty miles west of it. The Shawnee families located throughout the reserve are to be allowed ninety days from the approval of the surveys to select two hundred acres for each member. These locations to be selected from the two hundred thousand acres.

By treaty, dated 18th May, 1854, the Sacs and Foxes ceded their lands, except fifty sections of six hundred and forty acres each, to be located in a suitable place, and in a body.

By these treaties many thousand acres of land were thrown open, and will be speedily thrown open, to settlement. Claims were made for the western portion of the country. In spite of a systematic and organized effort on the part of Missouri to get possession of the territory, such was the enterprising character of citizens in the western states, and the wide notice given of the proceedings by the fierce discussion on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, that ere long free-state settlers began to preponderate, and all the political influence, the federal offices and patronages, were thrown into the hands of the slavery extensionists. Two mistakes in these appointments were made; but they were promptly and villanously remedied. The following editorial in the *Washington Union*, the executive organ, on this point, is highly significant:

A gentleman in Virginia calls our attention to the fact that the appointment of President Pierce in the South lay peculiar stress on the appointment of Governor Reeder as proof of his willingness to serve Southerners, and asks us whether, at the time of his appointment, Governor Reeder was regarded as a sound *national* man. It is in our power to answer this question with entire confidence, and to say that down to the time that Governor Reeder came to Kansas to assume the duties of governor of the territory, we had not been, as far as we ever heard, or as far as the President ever heard, a breath of suspicion as to his entertaining free-state sentiments. He was appointed under the strongest assurances that he was strictly and honestly a *national* man. We are able to state, farther, on very reliable authority, that whilst Governor Reeder was in Washington, at the time of his appointment, he conversed with Southern gentlemen on the subject of slavery, and

assured them that he had no more scruples in buying a slave than in buying a horse, and he regretted that he had not money to purchase a number to carry with him to Kansas. We have understood that he repeated the same sentiments on his way to Kansas. We repeat, what we have had occasion to say more than once here before — that no man has ever been appointed by President Pierce to office who was not at the time understood by him to be a faithful adherent of the Baltimore platform of 1852, on the subject of slavery. If any appointment were made contrary to this rule, it was done under a misapprehension as to the appointees. We may add that the evidences of Gov. Reeder's soundness were so strong that President Pierce was slower than many others to believe him a free-soiler after he had gone to Kansas. It is, therefore, the grossest injustice to refer to Gov. Reeder's appointment as proof of the President's willingness to favor free-soilers."

While such were the preparations, on the part of Missouri and the pro-slavery propagandists, to seize Kansas and make it a slave state, they were met by conflicting elements. It is a fact, which all subsequent developments will prove, that the free-state cause has, during the struggles, rested *mainly* on individual enterprise. Societies *have* been formed to settle the territory, and, while they had strictly no political cast, their tendencies were to send in a population favorable to a free-state policy. The following companies have been, and now are, in active operation.

AMERICAN SETTLEMENT COMPANY, NEW YORK CITY. This company founded the Council City settlement. The secretary is Theodore Dwight, 110 Broadway, New York.

THE N. ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY, MASSACHUSETTS. This company has been more instrumental than all others in facilitating emigration, and in introducing capital and useful improvements into the territory. Near one half of the saw-mills in the territory were brought there by its capital. Towns have been laid off, and the process of settling a new country facilitated in an eminent degree. Never, until this and other kindred companies led the way, has capital gone ahead of labor, as a pioneer in the work of employing rich natural resources. It has also aided emigrants in getting to the territory, by carrying on emigration at

wholesale prices." On account of its activity, and the important results flowing from it, it has been intensely hated and misrepresented by the pro-slavery propagandists. It is conducted by Messrs. Thomas B. Spooner, J. M. S. Williams, Eli Thayer, S. Cabot, Jr., Wm. B. P. Waters, Le Baron Russell, M. D., Charles J. Higgins, and E. E. Hale. Its secretary is Thomas H. Webb; and its agents are Gen. S. C. Pomeroy and Gen. C. Robinson.

Other companies were the VEGETARIAN SETTLEMENT COMPANY, the NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT COMPANY, the OCTAGON SETTLEMENT COMPANY, and the NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT SOCIETY, to facilitate and unite emigration. The result of the emigration of good blood has been poured into the "body of the territory," and has never flowed into any other new territory. Not only has capital preceded labor, but a high degree of intelligence and refinement has been introduced among the settlers. The settlers from the Western States, also, have been the best of the better class. The coon-hunting, soft-soap, and other habits of squatters, who have usually officiated as pioneers, have been superseded by a class who had to keep improvement on their minds in order to retain their former habits.

The presence of this class of settlers was regarded with the same jealousy and hatred by the Missouri slavery propagandists. They viewed it as an infraction of their rights, and, well knowing that this class of settlers were, and would be, hostile to slavery, demanded their extradition from the territory essential to securing their ends. Early in July, 1854, about the time that Kansas emigration came to the territory, the following resolutions were adopted at a meeting in Westport, Missouri. They fully indicate a sentiment extensively prevalent in that state, and from which much of the disturbance has arisen.

Resolved, That this association will, whenever called upon by any of the citizens of Kansas Territory, hold itself in readiness to assist and remove any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern Emigrant Aid Societies.

Resolved, That we recommend to the citizens of other counties, particularly those bordering on Kansas Territory, to adopt regulations similar to those of this association, and to indicate their willingness to operate in the objects of this first resolution."

These were no Buncombe, effervescing resolutions; they were the fearful index of what has proved a fearful state of affairs. They were, also, prone to regard all settlers from Eastern or Northern States—in fact all who were not in favor of slavery—as “Emigrant Aid people.” Nor have they treated free-state people, whom they have learned to have no connection with any society, a whit better than the others.

The amenities of life, the hospitality for which Southern people are justly reputed, were forgotten in the bitterness of the feud. When one stranger met another the question was where the other “came from,” and his politics on the slavery question. Such was the aspect of affairs when the struggle began, and what we have been describing the preliminary steps. Then began the strife provoked by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and which left no alternative but a struggle or submission;—a warfare predicted by William H. Seward, in the United States Senate in those memorable words:

“Come on, then, gentlemen of the slave states! Since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it on the behalf of Freedom. We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side that is stronger in numbers, and it is in right.”

palm with it in gesticulating precision, as he gave the result of their collective wisdom, thus :

"Tinkum four days — den vote heap — heapum! — sometime — may be."

Our friend broke in despair, and hurried back to be in time to vote himself. Should the reader know of a man in his neighborhood who is a public affliction on account of his electioneering propensities, get him to come out and electioneer amongst the Kaws and Kickapoos and Delawares. It is an infallible remedy.

I have said that slavery had been introduced to the territory even while the Missouri restriction prohibited it; it was also formally recognized some time before it was established by the Bogus Laws imposed on the territory by Missouri. The following is a resolution adopted by a meeting held in the territory, but composed chiefly of Missourians, which is contained in the testimony of the committee on the subject :

"Resolved, That the institution of slavery is known and recognized in this territory; that we repel the doctrine that it is a moral and political evil, and we hurl back with scorn upon its slanderous authors the charge of inhumanity; and we warn all persons not to come to our peaceful firesides to slander us, and sow the seeds of discord between the master and the servant; for, as much as we deprecate the necessity to which we may be driven, we cannot be responsible for the consequences."

A committee of vigilance of thirty men was appointed "to observe and report all such persons as shall * * * by the expression of abolition sentiments produce disturbance to the quiet of the citizens, or danger to their domestic relations; and all such persons, so offending, shall be notified, and made to leave the territory."

The meeting was "ably and eloquently addressed by Judge Lecompte, Col. J. N. Burns of Western Missouri, and others." Thus, the head of the judiciary in the territory not only assisted at a public and bitterly partisan meeting, whose direct tendency was to produce violence and disorder, but before any law is passed in the territory he prejudges the character of the domes-

tic institutions, which the people of the territory were, by their organic law, "left perfectly free to form and regulate in their own way."

Another meeting, held about the same time, in Joseph, Missouri, formed a branch of the association formed in the western part of that state, to sustain and carry out in public the same thing that the Blue Lodge was working for in secret. The following are two of the series of resolutions adopted at that meeting :

"We do not regard slavery, as it exists in our country, as either a moral or political evil."

And also,

"We are in favor of the extension of negro slavery into Kansas Territory."

Thus was slavery admitted into the Territory of Kansas, — territory which had been sacredly guaranteed as free soil. One of the judges of the Supreme Court — Judge Elmore — took a considerable number of slaves with him into the territory, and has always been one of its strong and active champions, although he is a gentleman, and has not participated in any violent movement, merely laboring to secure and take advantage of the lawless efforts of more unscrupulous men.

Every effort was made in Missouri, and amongst the few pro-slavery men in the territory, to bolster this system. The Missouri press on the frontier devoted itself almost exclusively to the work. Force and incendiary resolutions, threats of lawless violence, and a wild denunciation of all who refused their aid to the work, characterized the press of Western Missouri.

But the most amusing thing connected with this literary warfare in the cause, was an elaborate and audacious apology, penned or claimed by Stringfellow. The annexed is one of the most precious portions of this singular and atrocious paper :

"Negro slavery has a further effect on the character of the white woman, which should commend the *institution* to all who see the white race more than they do the negro. It is a shield to the virtue of the white woman."

"So long as man is lewd, woman will be his victim. Those who are forced to occupy a menial position have ever been, will

ever be, the most tempted, least protected. This is one of the evils of slavery. It attends all who are in that condition, from the beautiful Circassian to the sable daughter of Africa. While we admit the selfishness of the sentiment, we are free to declare we *love* the white woman *so much*, we would save her even at the sacrifice of the negro; would throw around her every shield to keep her out of the way of temptation."

It would seem almost incredible that a community could be so degraded as to issue and tolerate such monstrosity. It proves not only the low state into which society has sunk, but the reckless and unprincipled character of those engaged in this pro-slavery warfare. We do not know how the ladies of the slave states will regard this *excessive* consideration. They certainly must appreciate very highly a "love" so Platonic. This delicate sensibility is certainly the most chivalrous thing we ever heard of. Its safeguards to morality are of the most patent kind. It introduces a new school of morals, which it is a pity that the eminent philosophers of former days did not survive to contemplate. The only wonder is that the philosopher did not carry his deductions further. It certainly might be urged to be as great a remedy for matrimony. *Professor* Stringfellow has stopped short in the middle of his conclusions, although we incline to the opinion that his system, if carried into practical effect, would not.

The candid admission of "selfishness," in the second paragraph, is delightfully refreshing. Taken in connection with what precedes it, it certainly is the coolest piece of impudence of which we have ever heard.

A slight acquaintance with the characters of those with whom this doctrine is in favor, clearly explains its hidden meaning, and exposes the true intent and significance of this apology.

Shortly after the arrival of Gov. Reeder, he was waited upon by the pro-slavery men and Missourians, and urged to call an election for the territorial legislature at once. As this was evidently a movement to thrust forward matters of the greatest importance, Gov. Reeder declined to act on such suggestion. He saw very clearly from what quarter this effort to forestall action

was, and, fearing that there was no power in the territory to secure a fair and impartial expression of popular sentiment, he got the threatened evil day afar off, in hopes that "something would turn up."

Beatings and scenes of violence of various kinds were of frequent recurrence. A man dared not express himself as a free-soiler in some communities, without subjecting himself to insult or violent assault. Every one who was not a slavery extender was styled an "abolitionist," and, in spite of the protest of many sensitive free-state men, this distinction was insisted on; and it was argued that all who were not for slavery and slavery-extension were against it, and *ergo* all who were against it were abolitionists."

The distinction between establishing and abolishing slavery does not appear to be understood, or is at least ignored. Those who are engaged in the work of slavery extension have resorted to expedients a great deal worse than that.

The following morsel from the *Atchison Squatter Sovereign* illustrates the manner in which these outrages were received, and the unblushing manner in which they are publicly chronicled. The "difficulty" alluded to was a gross assault on a man who had sorely avowed free-state sentiments.

Monday of last week a fight came off at Doniphan, K. T., in which bowie-knives were used freely. The difficulty arose out of a political discussion, the combatants being a pro-slavery man and a free-soiler. Both parties were badly cut, and *we are happy to say* that the free-soiler is in a fair way to 'peg out,' while the pro-slavery man is out and ready for another tilt. Kansas is a hot road for free-soilers to travel."

That such modes of justifying villany of this kind should be excused by an intelligent and independent press, was to be expected. The manner in which such a course was vindicated from such attacks is equally characteristic. We clip again from the *Standard* of pro-slavery and nullification:

"We can tell the impertinent scoundrels of the *Tribune* that they may exhaust an ocean of ink, their Emigrant Aid Societies

spend their millions and billions, their representatives in Congress spout their heretical theories till doomsday, and his Excellency Franklin Pierce appoint abolitionist after free-soiler as our governor, *yet we will continue to lynch and hang, to tar and feather and drown every white-livered abolitionist who dares to pollute our soil.*"

CHAPTER XXX.

CONDITION OF CONQUERED KANSAS.

KANSAS was now politically prostrate. Her Legislature was dispersed by federal troops; her leading men languishing in prison. The Missouri river was closed to emigration from the free states, and the tedious and uncertain route through Iowa was menaced, and the only security by that route was by companies, sufficiently strong and determined to take care of themselves. The free-state movement being crushed for the time, or prevented from securing defence for the settlers, there was no legal security for free-state men. The territorial officers imposed by the general government, and the local officers thrust on the people by the Legislature of the Shawnee Mission, were tools of the slave power, and active co-workers in the task of making Kansas a slave state. The leaders of the free-state movement had a prison for a reward. The promulgation of free-state sentiments was branded "TREASON," and the federal troops enforced the usurpation of Missouri and the slave power.

It is a grand fact, that never must be forgotten by the American people, *military power is and ever must be inimical to popular institutions.* Speculating on the political principles of a military officer, who is mainly taught to regard government as a necessary pay-master, and political authority as something connected with promotion, is like trusting to the manhood of a dough-face, or appealing to the tender mercies of the usurer of the tribe of Levi. To expect a delicate discrimination, a nice balancing of social and political rights, a careful watch and protection of the people of Kansas, to flow from the mere fact of turning some six or seven hundred dragoons loose to manage the territory, is

simply preposterous. The hope that this expedient would act as a sedative, and secure justice and the country's peace, may be very creditable to a sanguine heart, but the result proves that the remedy itself was stupid, and the mode of applying it still more so.

Drilled to the doctrine of implicit and unquestionable obedience, the troops were incapable of comprehending the meaning or importance of popular rights. Trained to obey regulations which they have had no hand in making, they consider obedience in others the only indication of propriety. With them the words "treason" and "insubordination" are potent and significant, and to them popular liberty and popular rights are unmeaning and worthless things.

Ever hopeful, the free-state settlers earnestly looked to the troops for protection and peace. Attached to the general government, — feeling for it a respect that Western states rarely evince, and Southern states never, — they could not realize their persecution to be systematic and remorseless. The evidence sent through the country, by the committee of Congress, of their wrongs and the gross fraud of the territorial law; the sack of Lawrence and other outrages; the war waged on the settlers of Kansas by the slave power, — all of these colossal evidences of their sufferings, they trusted would work the cure, and that the peace of the country and the well-being of Kansas would promptly receive the only remedies that could meet the case. Alas! they waited and hoped, and were deceived. And now a yawning depth was before them. On the one side political ruin and ostracism from Kansas; on the other security, and peace, and freedom for the territory. Between these there was a *step* — the Rubicon. In that barrier stood not only the slave power in the territory, which is trifling, but the slave power out of it; and there was a corrupt territorial government, corrupt territorial courts, a corrupt general government, and the leap for freedom and security must be on the sharp points of United States bayonets and sabres.

In all the Kansas struggle the slave power has never yielded an inch of ground. A fraud might be so monstrous that even conservative men in the South would deprecate it, but the fruit of the villany was never relinquished. An outrage might be so

monstrous that every honest man in the country, North or South, would indignantly speak against it; but the power it gained for pro-slaveryism has been jealously guarded, and its protection made the test of political orthodoxy. Yet, at every step, the squatters have hoped, and from every expedient that was to give the slave power a firmer foothold, they have expected something more impartial. Unfortunate fatuity! The slave power could *only win* by such expedients, and it is *determined to win*. Coarse and brutal though each act in the drama, this was the only means of bolstering the weakness of a coarse and brutal system. Fairness was ruin, impartiality equal to a relinquishment. Thus, on the advent of dragoon government, the people said, "Well, we will be protected. These Missourians dare not come here now. Pro-slavery men will not molest us; and then the evidence which has gone on to Congress will secure us at last our rights." It was the same hoping, trusting, peace-loving spirit. The slimy reptile, slavery, was merely wrapping another coil round its victim. The free-state settlers had been so outraged that they would have been vindicated in the eyes of the world for defending themselves. The first fiery spirits had already sprung into the contest. A mere handful of the free-state party had dared to meet the war declared against them, and "Franklin" and "Palmyra" had attested their courage and superiority. But this had been foreseen, and "the people must be protected, and the *peace* preserved."

Liberty and constitutional right were filched from those of the American people who settled in Kansas, first by demagogues, then by Missouri and her pro-slavery allies; and, lastly, the federal troops secured the fruit of outrage and crime, and did their best to clinch the villany.

The conquest of Kansas from guaranteed freedom to slavery was premeditated, and deliberate; but many of those most influential in accomplishing it dared not avow the policy by which they were inspired. Conservative Southern men, terrified at the charge of "abolitionism," which was hung over their head like a whip of scorpions, dared not question the suicidal policy which was endangering the peace of the country, and inflicting an irreparable blow on republican institutions. Corrupt Northern politicians,

greedy for political power, were willing to sacrifice their own honor, as well as the interests of those they represented, for the chance of power and place. For this they struggled to blindfold and deceive those they had robbed of their political birthright; for this they were false to the country that had trusted them, and the constitution they had sworn to protect.

Not content with filching civil rights from the people, these corrupt popular leaders undertook to demonstrate that republicanism is a humbug, by corrupting the popular opinion on which it rests. The term "popular sovereignty" was made the foundation-stone of American despotism, and the weapon by which the people were defrauded of those civil rights on which the prosperity of the state depends was called "allowing the people to settle their *local* affairs for themselves."

The idea of the free-state and slave-state interests quietly deciding "their own *local* institutions for themselves" is as infernal a piece of political rascality as ever imposed on the American people. The two systems are the antipodes of each other. They cannot live together. They cannot breathe together. They cannot *merge* their differences. If Kansas is a slave-state no free-state man can remain; for, in order to bolster up slavery among the population now here, the laws would have to be so oppressive and despotic that freedom could not live under them. This talk of the "people settling the question of slavery for themselves" is merely a pretext under which the antagonistic elements in our government are invited to a warfare on a coveted battle-ground. O, you have but to see the hatred with which men there regard each other, to feel this; the suspicion with which one traveller regards another, to feel its weight! If slavery triumphs, the principle on which our government is founded is virtually overthrown. If freedom triumphs, the greatest evil in our country is kept in bounds.

Murder, rapine, highway robbery, were committed in the name of "law and order," and the appeals of an oppressed people fell unheeded and unanswered on the ears of a corrupt administration. Not satisfied with all the villany that had been done, and all the outrages by which the conquest of Kansas to slavery was consummated, a party, calling itself a *democratic* party, had the hardi-

hood to make these usurpations and crimes the platform on which they stood, and the *argument* by which they dared to appeal to the people for their suffrages. The cry of "save the Union" was raised; that cry under which the stability of our institutions had already received the most fatal stabs. "Saving the Union" had been the blind and the whip under which coercive and unfair legislation was smuggled in; and, having accomplished this, the same cry was raised to cover up the designing schemes of nullification and secession.

The pro-slavery party were jubilant in their triumph. Flushed with a victory in which fraud rather than military power had triumphed, they gave way to rejoicings. The portion of the Southern regiment, stationed at Atchison, joined with the Missourians and pro-slavery men of the territory in a celebration, of which I give the following, from the account of the Atchison pro-slavery paper:

"At the head of the table hung the 'blood-red flag,' with the lone star, and the motto of 'Southern Rights' on the one side, and 'South Carolina' on the other. The same flag that first floated on the rifle pits of the abolitionists at Lawrence, and on the hotel of the same place, in triumph, now hung over the heads of the noble soldiers who bore it so bravely through that exciting war.

"The following are among the toasts drank:

"Kansas: our chosen home — stand by her. Yes, sons of the South, make her a slave state, or die in the attempt! (This toast was received with loud and continued applause.)

"Disunion: by secession or otherwise — a beacon of hope to an oppressed people, and the surest remedy for Southern wrongs. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

"The city of Atchison: may she, before the close of the year '57, be the capital of a Southern republic. (Cheers.)

"Kansas: we will make her a slave state, or form a chain of locked arms and hearts together, and die in the attempt.

"The distribution of public lands: one hundred and sixty acres to every pro-slavery settler, and to every abolitionist six feet by two."

And, also, the following from the proceedings of a celebration of *slavery* in South Carolina :

" Kansas : already stained with the blood of Southern martyrs in the cause of justice and our most sacred rights. May her streams become rivers of blood, and her forests charnel-houses, before her soil shall be contaminated, and her atmosphere polluted, by the free-soil partisans of the North.

" Kansas : it has risen like the ghost of Banquo, to sear the eyeballs of rampant fanaticism ; but, ere they clutch it, they must cross many *Brooks*, whose *caney* growth will resist them.

" Kansas :

' Strike while the iron 's hot, —
Strike with men and means ;
And let the Yankees see we've got
The right to hold the reins.'

" Kansas : the battle-ground upon which is to be decided the fate of Southern rights *under the Union*."

Alas, these were not idle and unmeaning words! Every line and every syllable have been attested by fraud and crime in Kansas; and, while I write, they are echoed by the complaints of enslaved freemen, the wail of bereaved widows, and the unheeded plaint of political prisoners who languish in captivity, for loving freedom fearlessly and well. Liberty stands aghast at the fearful prospect, and asks, if these things be done under republican rule to-day, what will our popular institutions be worth to-morrow?

But Kansas, though conquered by Missouri and her allies, is not yet subdued. Every vestige of popular liberty and constitutional privilege has, indeed, been stricken down, but a liberty-loving people remain. Until that freedom-loving race has been "wiped out," there can be no peace and security for the power that has thus trampled on their rights, or for the institution of negro slavery, for the sake of which all this villany and wrong has been done. Liberty and independence do not exist in Kansas to-day, but a people loving these is upon her soil. "Truth crushed to earth will rise again." Our political elements have become very corrupt, because we have forgotten principle in remembering

party; but there is a shaking in the "valley of dry bones," and, perhaps, the suffering that has been undergone has purchased a watchfulness on the part of the people, worth all the blood, and treasure, and heart-wrung agony it has cost.

Yet it is possible that the war of conquest may be followed by a war of extermination. Perhaps the struggling, liberty-loving TREASON in the territory may furnish the apology for an attack, in which not only freedom, but the *love of freedom*, will be blotted out. The slavery extensionists well know that without this the fruit of their conquest will turn to ashes on their lips. They know this, and God in heaven only knows what the corrupt men who have been the most active participators in this warfare may not attempt. The spirit that has so far triumphed is exhibited in the following paragraph from a border paper :

"Several parties have inquired of us why the law has not been put in force at Topeka, as well as at Lawrence, against abolition newspapers. Topeka is no better than Lawrence; it is also demoralized; but it is not so well known abroad. If both Topeka and Lawrence were blotted out, entirely obliterated, it would be the best thing for Kansas that could happen. The sooner the people of Topeka sound their death-knell the better; they are too corrupt and degraded to live. We would like to be present and raise our Ebenezer in the funeral. It is silly to suppose, for an instant, that there can be peace in Kansas as long as one enemy of the South lives upon her soil, or one single specimen of an abolitionist treads in the sunlight of Kansas territory."

The foregoing is but one of many such paragraphs which might be given. Such sentiments are a fearful indication of the corruption of the popular mind.

But if that war of extermination is begun, it will prove the war of freedom. The suffering settlers in Kansas have been driven to extremity, and are now nerved to fight. Kansas was settled, in great part, by a peace-loving people; a people in whom delicate sentiment, and a refinement which hates the horrors of blood, are strongly rooted. Imagine an over-sensitive Englishman moralizing over the dead body of a Russian whom he has slain in the trenches

of Sevastopol, and you have a picture of the free-state settler in Kansas, contemplating the horrors of a civil war, which he would suffer much to avert. They have suffered much, perhaps *too* much to avert it; they appeal from their wrongs to the great American brotherhood to right those wrongs. In the vindication of justice, peace may yet be secured, but without it there will surely be war and bloodshed, and with these the triumph of freedom; for,

"Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft is **EVER** won."

Kansas, the Italy of America, the debatable ground, has still much to tempt. Landscapes of unsurpassed loveliness, a soil of unmatched fertility, with the richest natural elements, exhibit the value of the future empire whose fate was tossed recklessly, by unscrupulous politicians, in the scale, to vibrate between the conflicting claims of freedom and slavery.

There is a healthy freshness and vitality in the atmosphere of Kansas as favorable to pulmonary weakness as the table lands of Mexico. As you inhale the vigor-giving breezes, you acquire a nerve and elasticity, in the possession of which you might forget that the rights of American freemen had been subdued, in order that slavery might be planted upon its soil; or, if it cannot make you forget this, it may inspire you with the thought that freedom can reconquer what she has lost. What matters it that free speech, and a free press, are "*treason*" in Kansas? What matters it that the judiciary is the obedient slave of slavery? What matters it though the federal troops hold in their iron grasp the Kansas that Missouri and slavery conquered? There is, thank God, still a spirit and vitality in the American character which will rise above all these obstacles, and will yet write RESURGAM! on the tomb of Kansas Liberty.