

Kansas historical collections

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This seventeen volume series is the first serial published by the Kansas State Historical Society from 1875 until 1928. The publication of the Kansas Historical Quarterly followed in 1931. Volumes 1-10 were officially titled the "Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society." The title changed to "Collections of the..." beginning with volume 11. The series contains addresses and papers delivered at the annual meetings, biographical sketches, compiled historical information, and transcriptions of select collections in the Historical Society's holdings. The first seven volumes contain biennial reports of the board of directors. Beginning with volume 8 the biennial reports were published separately. Searchable tables of contents and indexes for each volume are forthcoming.

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KANSAS
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They received the deputation with gladness, manifesting gratitude toward Friends for their former labors to ameliorate their condition, and desires for a continuance of their care.

In 1834 a donation of £300 was received from Friends of London yearly meeting, for the Christian instruction and civilization of the Shawnee Indians west of the Mississippi river, and such other tribes as may be located in the neighborhood. The donation was accompanied by a communication expressing much sympathy with Friends in their good work, and a desire that a "meeting for worship might be established, to be held on first and week-days, and that the objects of care be invited, as they may incline, to sit down with Friends in silence to wait upon the Lord."

In 1835 the committees of Baltimore, Ohio and Indiana yearly meetings met at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and revised the "plan of operations for the Christian instruction and civilization of the Shawnee Indians," which, being submitted to the secretary of war, was approved, and a deputation was sent to visit the Indians, to submit the plan to them, and, if approved, proceed with the preliminaries necessary to put it in operation. The deputation, on return, reported that the Shawnees, in full council, in presence of the government agent, gave their consent fully and freely, and desired that the committee would erect buildings, and open a farm on their land, with the privilege of occupying as long as they wanted to keep up the school, declaring "that they had full confidence in their friends, the Quakers."

During the year 1836 the committees were engaged in erecting the necessary buildings and opening a farm.

In 1837 superintendents were employed, a school opened, a meeting for worship on first and week-days was established, and the superintendents were directed to have portions of the Holy Scriptures read daily in the school and in the family, and to take particular care to instruct the Indian children in the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel.

From this time the committee continued to labor among them with pretty good success for several years, the school numbering from fifteen to forty-five scholars, who were boarded, lodged and clothed at the expense of Friends. During this period many of the Indians built comfortable houses, opened farms, and prepared to enjoy the comforts of civilized life. A considerable number of the Indians were brought under conviction, and embraced the doctrines of the Gospel, but no provision having been made by our yearly meeting for their reception into membership with Friends, they united themselves with the Baptist and Methodist churches. Some of the Shawnees, however, continued to attend Friends' meeting, and in 1852 an Indian by the name of Kako (a as in far), not feeling at liberty to join either of these societies, made application to the committee, and was finally received into membership by Friends of Miami monthly meeting (Ohio); and during the remainder of his life his conduct and conversation were circumspect and exemplary. The closing scene of his life was rather remarkable. He had a large number of Indians collected, and was enabled to address them in a very feeling and impressive manner. His death was triumphant, exhibiting in a striking manner the power of faith in our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

We also believe it to be right to mention in this connection, that in 1860 the head chief of the Shawnee nation voluntarily resigned his office because he could not conscientiously pronounce sentence of death on a member of the tribe who had been tried and found guilty of murder. In a conversation on the subject with our superintendent, he expressed (placing his hand on his breast at the same

time) that it seemed to him, indeed, a very solemn thing to take away the life of a man—it would be taking from him that which not the whole nation, nor even the whole world, could restore to him; and that a forcible conviction in his mind was that a day is coming that will try such transactions very closely.

Although this individual had not connected himself in religious fellowship with Friends, yet he was warmly attached to them, and was a public advocate of the principles of peace, the abolition of slavery, and the cause of temperance. He frequently attended Friends' meetings at the establishment, and was occasionally very earnestly and fervently engaged in public exhortation in the meeting, but more frequently was he so engaged in the evening family readings with the school, where, by his counsel and encouragement, he was particularly helpful to the right ordering of the Indian children; and we doubt not but those good principles thus manifested in him were matured and from time to time strengthened by his acquaintance with Friends.

In the year 1854 the Shawnees made another treaty* with the United States, by the provisions of which they sold all their lands to the government, except the eastern part of their reservation—a tract twenty-five by thirty miles in extent, from which were to be selected 200 acres of land for each man, woman and child of the tribe, to be secured to them individually by the government. The treaty also secured to Friends the use of 320 acres of land, for the benefit of the school, so long as it may be continued. The few families living in the ceded tract were allowed to select 200 acres for each individual at their place of residence.

Should the school be discontinued, the land and the improvements were to be appraised separately and sold, the value of the land to be paid to the Indians and the value of the improvements to be paid to the Friends.

By the regular report received by our superintendent through the past year, we are informed that the school was kept up until the 27th day of sixth month last, when, at the suggestion of the superintendent, with the unity of two members of the committee living in Kansas, it was discontinued, and the teacher returned home and was paid for her services.

The school has been undergoing a gradual change in character for some years, and is now properly a school for Indian orphan children generally. During the last year, while refusing no Shawnee child that was offered, it has received and instructed children from the Wyandotte, Stockbridge, Ottawa, Seneca and Brotherton tribes. All Indian children in attendance were orphans except two.

The teachers' reports show that the children made good progress in their studies, were very susceptible to kind treatment, and easily managed in school.

The Holy Scriptures were regularly read in the school and in the family, and a first-day school kept up, in which all the members of the family took part. The principal branches taught in the school were spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography.

The following notes of the further progress of the work of the Friends at this mission are extracts taken from the reports of the committee in charge of the work as made in the yearly meeting year after year, as noted:

1863.—Early in eleventh month last the committee met at the establishment and made an inventory and appraisal of the personal property, amounting to \$1070. This was sold for \$1111. It did not include the buildings. The school has been discontinued and the premises were left in the care of James and Rachel Stanley. Soon afterward the Shawnee chiefs and council became anxious for a

* See Revision of Indian Treaties, 1873, page 792.



school for their orphan children, offering to pay the expense by an appropriation from their school fund. A contract was concluded through their agent, by which the Friends were to receive eighty dollars per scholar per annum for boarding, clothing, tuition and medical attendance for a number not exceeding fifty. A contract was then made with James and Rachel Stanley to board, clothe and educate such children for seventy-five dollars per annum per capita, and the use of the buildings and farm, the five dollars being retained for medical attention and incidental expenses.

The school, under this arrangement, opened April 1, 1863, under the care of Henry and Anne M. Thorndyke as teachers, with an average attendance of forty-three scholars.

1864.—The superintendent reports they have seventy-six children in attendance—forty-three girls and thirty-three boys—forty-five of these orphans. During the winter smallpox broke out in the school. They had thirty cases and but three deaths.

1865.—Soon after our last report the school closed, owing to great advances in the price of every article necessary for the support thereof, the chiefs and council not being willing at that time to advance the price; after which there was some change made in the council, and at the meeting held in January, 1865, we were informed they wanted the school opened again. We had several satisfactory interviews with them, and concluded a contract in February for reopening the school, by which we agreed to receive at Friends' mission forty Shawnee children, and board, clothe, furnish medicine and medical attendance, and teach the ordinary branches of English education, for the sum of \$31.25 per quarter. The school opened April 1, 1865, with Elisha Parker and wife, superintendents, and Mary E. Hill, teacher. It filled up in a few days and proved very satisfactory.

1866.—Since our last report the Shawnee mission establishment has been carried on by contract as made last year with the chiefs and council of the Shawnee tribe of Indians through their agent. The following summary shows the condition of the school the last year, viz.:

Number enrolled: Males, 35; females, 33; total, 68.			
Average attendance.....	40	In reading.....	34
Orphans (thirty-five no parent)....	54	In writing.....	18
In school over nine months.....	22	In mental arithmetic.....	15
In school over six months.....	27	In practical arithmetic.....	5
Over fifteen years of age.....	6	In geography.....	15
Under ten years of age.....	39	In grammar.....	4
In alphabet.....	17		

1867.—The school has been kept up, with an average attendance of thirty-five scholars.

1868.—The school has been kept up during the past year, with an average attendance of thirty-three scholars. Their general conduct and advancement in literary knowledge have been satisfactory. We have very recently received notice from the council of the Shawnees that they desire to terminate the contract under which the school has been maintained at the close of the present quarter. Most of the children in the school are orphans. Many of them without home or friends to take care of them, if deprived of a home at the mission. The committee, therefore, feels the importance and necessity of endeavoring to maintain a school or asylum for such children, to such extent at least, as can be sustained by the farm.

1869.—At the termination of the contract with the council the school closed, in November, 1868, and most of the children were withdrawn. Such as had no



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other home remained. The council soon afterwards desired it reopened under same contract, and this was done in January, 1869, and continued to do well until April, when the council again changed its mind and the school was closed. This vacillation on the part of the council was not on account of any dissatisfaction with the school, but on account of some consideration relating to the title to the mission farm.

1870.—At this yearly meeting the committee proposed that Levi Woodard and Eli Vestal should sell all the property belonging to the mission and close up its affairs in Kansas. To this the yearly meeting assented, and Woodard and Vestal were so directed; and further, to receive all moneys then in the hands of the Indian committee, and pay all over to the treasurer of the yearly meeting.

1871.—The following is the report of the committee consisting of Woodard and Vestal, who were appointed in 1870 to close out the mission affairs:

"To the Yearly Meeting: We the committee appointed to sell the personal property and close up the business connected with the Shawnee mission report that we sold at public sale, on the 11th day of November, 1870, all the property that was then in readiness for sale, the grain not being in condition for market, and realized therefor..... \$687 25

For grain sold afterwards.....	271 00
Funds in hands of superintendent.....	63 75
Received of Indian committee, May 22, 1871.....	1,191 11
Received of Indian committee, September 12, 1871.....	*5,000 00
Received interest on above.....	97 50
Total.....	\$2,810 61
Paid out since report of Indian committee last year:	
For hogs.....	\$98 00
Provisions.....	14 00
Work done for rent not collected.....	86 00
Marketing grain, advertising and sale expenses.....	60 00
Balance salary of superintendent.....	200 00
Forward to treasurer, May 22, 1871.....	1,189 31
Forward to treasurer, September 20, 1871.....	1,159 75
Exchange.....	3 55
	\$2,810 61

The treasurer of the yearly meeting made the following report as to the money he had received, in any way relating to the affairs of the Shawnee mission, with an account of the investments he had made of the funds:

Received, November 17, 1870, of the United States, the value of improvements on land sold.....	\$5,000 00
Less exchange.....	7 50
	\$4,992 50
Received, July 28, 1871, six months' interest on \$5000 of bonds bought,	293 04
Received, May 28, 1871, of committee, from sale of personal property....	1,186 31
Received, September 27, of committee, from sale of personal property..	1,162 75
	\$7,634 60
Invested:	
November 17, 1871, United States 6s of 1881.....	\$4,500 00
Premium.....	503 35
July 28, 1871, United States 6s of 1881, premium.....	291 42
September 28, 1871, cash on hand.....	2,339 83
	\$7,634 60

The order of the yearly meeting as to the disposition of this money was that it should be invested in permanent stocks, and that the interest should be expended by another Indian committee, which is engaged in a wider field of effort to help on the work of Indian civilization.

*This probably is an error; if \$500, then the totals agree.



Thus closed the missionary work among the Shawnee Indians which was begun by the Friends of Baltimore yearly meeting in 1808. The Ohio yearly meeting afterwards joined hands with Baltimore; and in 1821 the Indiana yearly meeting stood in with the others, and soon afterwards assumed the whole work and carried it to the end.

There are no detailed reports of this work except the annual reports of the committee in charge made to the yearly meeting. These have never been published except in the annual minutes of each yearly meeting. These minutes were published in pamphlet form each year, and no file can be found except in the hands of some very careful person who has preserved and bound them for his own use.

Charles F. Coffin, of Chicago, Ill., informs me that he has a complete file of these minutes. I have nearly a complete file in my hands, which was preserved by John Hadley, jr., late of Springboro, Ohio, which now belongs to W. R. Evans, Esq., of Indianapolis, Ind., to whom I am indebted for the courtesy of their use.

By CHARLES F. COFFIN.*

The copy of the report of the Indian committee to Indiana yearly meeting, made in 1862, and quoted in full by Doctor Hobbs, was intended as a condensed history of the work of Friends of that yearly meeting amongst the Shawnee Indians. It is, however, quite condensed. A full history of the work might be taken from the reports of the Indian committee, as found in minutes of the yearly meeting for many years, while the work was going forward. The condensed report in Doctor Hobbs's paper of transactions after 1862 I find has been taken from these minutes and is correct so far as it goes.

The care of the Friends of this yearly meeting alone over the Indians was continued until after the first inauguration of General Grant as president of the United States, when, at his request, a number of tribes in Kansas and on the border were placed under care of Friends, of the United States, and a committee was appointed by each yearly meeting in the United States, which acted together, and was called the "associated executive committee on Indian affairs," which has continued work among the Indians until the present time. The Shawnee Indians, who were especially the object of the care of Friends of Indiana yearly meeting, had in the meantime sold their land in Kansas and removed into the Indian territory, near the Kansas border, and were affiliated with the Cherokee Indians. This tribe had in the meantime, through the labors of Friends and others, become largely civilized. There were educated men amongst them and the habits of white life had been generally adopted, and many of them in their new location had opened good farms. The work of civilization and the intermixture of white blood had to a great extent eradicated almost all the appearance of Indians amongst them.

The work of Friends is now extended over many of the small tribes in Kansas and vicinity, and the results have been quite remarkable. In fact, the "Indian problem" as it used to be spoken of, has been solved, and the work of education and of religious instruction have gone forward until many of the tribes have become quite enlightened.

The Society of Friends has now more than 500 Indian members, and quite a number of meetings made up almost entirely of Indians. The remnant of Modocs removed into the territory, under the charge of Friends, proved particularly susceptible to religious work, and there grew up amongst them several ministers

*For many years clerk of Indiana yearly meeting, and member of the associated executive committee on Indian affairs.

of the Gospel, one or two of whom were quite remarkable men; but the climate was not healthful for them, and death removed several of the most striking Christians, who died full of the faith and hope of the Gospel, amongst them these ministers.

In the year 1894, accompanied by my wife, we visited several of the mission stations in the tribes under care of Friends, and were greatly interested in seeing the advance in civilization and Christianity amongst them. A meeting of Friends was held at the town of Blue-jacket, on the lands belonging to the Shawnees, which was attended by several of the Shawnees and other Indians; amongst others, Charles Blue-jacket, their old chief, became a steady attender of the meetings, and took part in the devotions. He was a local minister amongst the Methodists previous to this time, and I believe always retained his connection with them, although attending Friends' meeting frequently. He was an interesting man, of fine physique, educated, and of great force of character. We were guests at his house, which we found in excellent condition, with all the comforts possessed by the whites around them. His grown daughters were beautiful and attractive young ladies, well educated, and in every respect, except a shade of color, like white people. Indeed, his whole household and family bore all marks of refinement and culture. He has since died.

Friends still continue their mission work amongst these various tribes, and have assisted in their education. They will probably, however (as their land has been divided into allotments), soon intermingle with the whites around them, and form reputable citizens of the country. Amongst these tribes the young people who have been educated do not fall back into Indian habits. The danger is that they will adopt the evil habits of the whites, as they are surrounded largely by evil influences; and yet, on the whole, the work has proved quite satisfactory, and the results show that it is possible to make good Christians and useful citizens out of Indians.

Much of this work was commenced within the limits of the state of Kansas, and all of it is so near the border as to be considered in connection with the history of that state.

By NATHAN AND LYDIA HENSHAW.*

In the year 1831, the Shawnee Indians, with whom Friends had been laboring for a number of years in Wapakoneta, Ohio, agreed with the government to exchange their reservation for lands west of the Mississippi river. The chiefs expressed a wish that Friends would continue with them, as they had always been true to them, and they were very desirous to have their children educated. In 1832 they removed to eastern Kansas (Johnson county). In 1833 three members of the Indian committee of Indiana yearly meeting visited the families of the Indians in their new homes, encouraging and advising them as they saw fit, and reported: "The Indians are settled on an excellent tract of land, nearly one-half of which is rich, dry prairie; the remainder well timbered, with good mill streams, and apparently healthy, and they appear to be satisfied."

The reports of Indiana yearly meeting for 1834 note: "The concern for the civilization of the Shawnee Indians, who have heretofore been under our care, in the future will be carried on by the yearly meetings of Baltimore, Ohio, and Indiana, the active part of the work devolving on Indiana and Ohio jointly; that a suitable family be placed among them to superintend the work, and a school be kept up regularly, with at least twenty-five scholars, who are to be taught the use of letters and the domestic arts; that the secretary of war be asked to ap-

* Written January 28, 1897.



point Friends as subagent, blacksmith, etc., in order that there may be Friends enough in the neighborhood for a regular meeting." A valuable tract of 320 acres was leased of the Indians; two natives were employed to build two houses of hewn logs, twenty feet square, one and one-half stories high, with a brick chimney in each end, and another for school and meeting-house, of same dimensions, to be warmed by a stove.

In 1837 Moses Pearson and wife, of Ohio (parents of Mahala Jay), were employed as superintendent and matron, and moved out in wagons, with their family, to take charge; Mary H. Stenton, assistant matron; and Elias Newby, as teacher. The amount expended that year for salaries, traveling expenses, freight, etc., is reported as \$756. A meeting was established and held regularly twice a week, a few of the Indians attending first day meetings. Fifty acres of ground was fenced, broken, and put in cultivation. Moses Pearson is spoken of as one of our best workers. In the year 1842 Thomas H. and Mary W. Stanley took charge of the mission, a brother, James Stanley, acting as assistant.

The year 1844 was a very wet one, causing a general failure of crops; consequently great destitution among the Indians. Thomas H. Stanley informed Eastern Friends, and almost all the yearly meetings, through their meeting for sufferings, contributed to their relief. Thomas Wells, who was several times connected with the work, came West and received and distributed the donations. In 1845, finding there had been more funds sent than was really necessary for the relief of the Indians, permission was obtained of the donors to use the surplus in building a good house, which was greatly needed. The plan proposed by Thomas H. Stanley, and adopted, was to construct a house 24x70 feet, three stories high—the basement of stone, for kitchen, dining-room, and cellar; the upper stories of frame, school rooms in each end, dormitories above, with four rooms in the middle of the building for the family. Thomas and James Stanley went into the forest, chopped and hauled the logs to the mill for the lumber, hewed the framing timber, and did most of the work in erecting the building, which still stands, within a few miles of Kansas City (then an insignificant place, known as Westport Landing), a monument to their integrity, energy, and faithfulness. Thomas H. and Mary W. Stanley still live, beloved by all who know them—"green in old age." The former has probably been a representative to our yearly meeting every year since its origin; has traveled over the Indian Territory many times, since his wards have been again removed; oftentimes on foot, "without money and without price," looking after the spiritual and temporal welfare of the children of the forest of many tribes, and gladdening the hearts of the missionaries in their isolation.

In the year 1847 Jesse and Elizabeth Harvey, with their family, were placed in charge of the mission; Dr. Wm. Foster Harvey, long since a minister, and his sister, Sarah, as teachers; and the late Dr. Thomas B. Harvey, of Indianapolis, as industrial teacher or farmer. Before the close of the first year, Jesse Harvey, superintendent, was called from "works to reward," and was laid to rest in the little burying-ground on the mission farm, the rest of the family still remaining at their post for two years.

The reports of the year 1849, from Richard and Sarah Ann Mendenhall (the latter, late of Lawrence), illustrate the thoroughness with which the Indians were instructed both "in the use of letters and the domestic arts": "First-day school has been regularly kept up, and the children exercised in Scripture quotations and Barclay's Catechism. Also there has been made about 500 pounds of butter, 600 pounds of cheese; 84 pounds of wool spun, 42 yards of linsey woven blankets; 32 yards of rag carpet, and a piece of linsey for dresses made; over 50

pairs of stockings knit, 130 garments made up for the girls and over 100 for the boys; also 50 sheets and towels, etc., for house use (all before the day of sewing-machines); one beef, 7000 pounds of pork, salted on the farm; over 60 acres of corn and other vegetables cultivated; 56 children in school, 30 of whom can read the Scriptures, and seem more interested in reading them than in any other book; most can write and cipher; 20 can read and spell easy lessons; 6 are in the alphabet."

James and Rachel Hall Stanley were in charge of the work several years before the close of the mission, and were remarkable for the spirit of self-sacrifice they manifested, often using almost their entire salary, of about \$300 for both superintendent and matron, to support the institution. Few persons have labored as arduously with their own hands in such positions as did she as matron. She has just entered into her rest, to receive her reward.

Many orphan children took refuge in this home, and greatly appreciated the care and affection bestowed upon them. Old John Wolf used frequently to attend the meetings, and preach to the children in their native tongue.

Though the accessions to the church at the time were comparatively few, those now situated among them in the Indian Territory tell us the good done was incalculable; that the children of parents educated at that mission prove beyond doubt that the labor and treasure were not spent in vain. Through the instrumentality of Jeremiah Hubbard and others in the field, many have connected themselves with Friends, and we know of a few able ministers from the tribe who, for many years, held that position in the Methodist church. A number of Friends were formerly connected acceptably with the work whose names space forbids mentioning. Hence we see Quakerism in Kansas was not of so recent date as some may suppose.

In the year 1854 Ira Hadley settled on the Cottonwood river, near where the city of Emporia now stands. The following year the family of Joseph Moon arrived, and in 1856 Curtis Hiatt, Thomas H. Stanley and three other families joined them. Their meeting was held twice a week, at the residence of Curtis Hiatt and Joseph Moon for about three years, when a meeting-house was built, and a large colony of Friends soon gathered. During the border-ruffian troubles they experienced many dangers. Ira Hadley was once arrested by a band of ruffians, but his cool, easy manner threw them off their guard, when he put spurs to his horse and escaped, notwithstanding several shots were fired after him. A company who became disheartened and left the country for the East came to one of the Friends to get him to join them; but he replied, "No; I came here to make my home, and expect to live and die near the Cottonwood," and is there yet. The country was traversed by bands of wild Indians, and several murders were committed by border ruffians, but Friends escaped unhurt.

All milling, groceries and dry-goods had to be transported in covered wagons from Kansas City, Fort Leavenworth, or Westport, the nearest point being about 100 miles. Cottonwood monthly meeting was set up by Ackworth quarterly meeting, Iowa, tenth month, 6th, 1860, then belonging to Indiana yearly meeting. The approach of the civil war brought a large number of valuable Friends from North Carolina and Tennessee, many of whom settled here. In third month, 1868, Cottonwood quarterly meeting was opened by Indiana yearly meeting. It was then composed of two monthly meetings, Cottonwood and Toledo, but has since spread its branches until its meetings number seventeen, and a new quarterly meeting has been set off from it, known as Buffalo quarter.

Richard Mendenhall, who was a personal friend and neighbor of old John Brown, was a prominent man in early Kansas history, his home often proving a



place of refuge and safety to free-state men when in danger and trouble. A monthly meeting is still held here, known as Spring Grove meeting.

In the year 1861 William and Penelope Gardner and Winslow and Margaret Davis came from North Carolina, settling in the village of Hesper, where Jonathan Mendenhall and family and a few other Friends had previously located; very soon a little meeting was organized, first at J. Mendenhall's house, afterward in the schoolhouse. Although little was heard without but talk of war, and the clicking of instruments of war by day and night, as soldiers were passing to and fro through the country, the little company of Friends endeavored to keep their minds stayed in the quiet, feeling they were engaged in their Master's work. A meeting for worship and a preparative meeting were first established in a small meeting-house built for the purpose. Gradually the number was increased by other settlers, and in 1864 a monthly meeting was granted by Kansas quarterly meeting. Quantrill and his band of 300 marauders passed through Hesper on their way to Lawrence, stopped, and surrounded the house of Adella Davis in the night, and demanded to know who lived there. On being told it was a lone widow with her little children, they quietly passed on to the next corner, to the home of a Union refugee from Missouri, and murdered the father of the family, forcing a young man from the house to pilot them to Lawrence, twelve miles away.

Sadness is but a feeble term to express the feelings of those pioneers on that beautiful summer morning, as they watched the smoke ascending straight as a pillar of cloud toward heaven from one home after another, while brave, defenseless men, called from their beds, were being shot down promiscuously, while the arms of their pleading wives were thrown around them. Is it any wonder the people of Kansas look with pity on the ignorance of Eastern political writers, who assail the people of our state "with want of character," when it was settled by the bravest and truest of every state in the Union? But we digress. At this time Levi Jessup and wife, of Indiana, were visiting the families of Hesper meeting, and while the experiences referred to were new and sorrowful to them, they were a great comfort to Friends, and I presume he never preached a more feeling funeral sermon than the one over the remains of that poor man.

In the year 1869, by common consent, Kansas quarterly meeting was divided; Kansas and Tonganoxie monthly meetings to constitute Spring Dale quarter, and Hesper and Spring Grove to form Hesper quarter. In the same year a quarterly meeting was established at Spring River, for the southeastern part of the state and the western portion of Missouri.

In the year 1869 a request was forwarded to Indiana yearly meeting for a yearly meeting to be held in Lawrence, to be known as Kansas yearly meeting. After the request was made, monthly meetings, previously requested, were organized at Lawrence, and at Shawneetown, in Johnson county; the latter place near the Friends' mission, where Amasa and Lydia M. Chase, Eli and Jemima Vestal, and a number of others had located.

Not having means at their command to build a suitable house to accommodate the rapidly-growing population, William C. Coffin consented, with the sanction and authority of the committee, to visit Friends of other yearly meetings as solicitor. He was most kindly received, and raised about \$8000 from the meetings in America, and \$16,000 from Friends of London and Dublin, which enabled them to erect a commodious house, at a cost of \$31,079 for building and premises. Kansas yearly meeting was opened in 1872, with representatives present from every yearly meeting on the American continent. Dr. Wm. Nicholson and

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Drusilla Wilson were appointed clerks, and filled the position for many years. The first statistical report shows a membership of 2514, with four quarterly meetings and twenty-five established meetings. The last yearly meeting reports a membership of 10,848, fifteen quarters, and 110 established meetings, a large number of one new quarter being Indians, who show by their lives that they are "acquainted with Christ."

Among the first pioneers in Kansas called to definite work, Abel Bond might be mentioned as one who felt work to be a distributor of religious tracts, always traveling on foot; at one time canvassing the country to and from the Pacific in this way, distributing to all he met.

Many Friends took an active part in the struggle for the prohibitory amendment in our state. Perhaps first among these were Jonathan and Drusilla Wilson, then of Lawrence. When the "crusade" spirit reached us, she was the unanimous choice for president. We take the following from her diary: "It was undertaken with many misgivings on my part lest I might not do justice to the cause, but this crusade was an inspiration of the Holy Ghost, sent from heaven to arouse action in this great work. . . . One morning, at the close of one of our visits to a saloon, the proprietor said to me: 'Our business is just as legal as the business in which your husbands are engaged; we have paid our license, and the city is bound to protect us in our business.' We retired from that saloon wiser, if not better. I said to the women: 'It is time we had changed our crusade from the saloons to our fathers, husbands and sons who make them their agents for a stipulated price.' They then made frequent visits to the city councils, endeavoring to get the state law on the dram-shop act enforced in the county; this failing after a majority of the voters had signed the petition for no license. We often met in council, and to take counsel of God; held mass meetings; visited churches and Sunday schools; circulated petitions all over the state to be presented to the legislature for a constitutional amendment. During one year Jonathan and Drusilla Wilson traveled over 3000 miles in their carriage and addressed 300 audiences, besides Sabbath-schools and bands of hope." She was for many years local president, and for three years state president, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Her diary closes on this subject with "I can exclaim with the Psalmist, 'Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.'"

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THE following is the action taken by the state of Kansas for participation in the dedication of the Chickamauga park. On February 18, 1895, Gov. E. N. Morrill* approved the following act:

AN ACT to create a commission and provide for the erection of monuments and tablets to mark the position of Kansas troops on the battle-fields of Chickamauga and Chattanooga.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has provided, by an act approved August 19, 1890, for the purchase and improving of 7600 acres of land

*EDMUND N. MORRILL was born at Westbrook, Cumberland county, Maine, February 12, 1834. He was educated in the common schools and at Westbrook Academy, and learned the trade of tanning. He settled in Brown county, Kansas, in March, 1857. He began business in Kansas with a sawmill. In 1857 he was elected from Brown and Nemaha counties to the first free-state legislature, serving in the special session, December, 1857, and the regular session, January, 1858. In 1861 he enlisted as a private in company C, Seventh Kansas cavalry, was made a sergeant, and in August, 1862, promoted a captain and commissary of subsistence. He was honorably discharged in October, 1865. In 1866 he was elected clerk of the district court, and in 1867



in Tennessee and Georgia to be known as the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, providing for the improving and beautifying of it, for the purpose of preserving and suitably marking for historical and professional military study of the fields of some of the most remarkable maneuvers and most brilliant fighting in the war of the rebellion in which Kansas troops won distinguished honors; and

WHEREAS, The same act provides that it shall be lawful for the authorities of any state having troops engaged, either at Chattanooga or Chickamauga, to enter upon said lands and approaches of said park for the purpose of ascertaining and marking the lines of battle of troops engaged therein, by monuments, tablets, or otherwise; and

WHEREAS, It is but a just recognition of Kansas' brave soldiers that suitable tablets should mark their position, and monuments be erected to commemorate their deeds of heroism on the battle-field: therefore,

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas:

SECTION 1. That the governor of the state of Kansas be and he is hereby authorized to appoint a commission consisting of five soldiers of the state of Kansas who served with honor in the battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga, not less than three of whom served in a Kansas regiment in that battle, to locate and erect suitable memorials and monuments commemorative of the deeds of the soldiers of Kansas who fought on those battle-fields.

SEC. 2. The said commission is hereby authorized to erect suitable memorial structures, monuments, and tablets, to properly commemorate the heroic deeds of the soldiers of Kansas who took part in said engagements, and to audit the accounts therefor and pay for the same out of the moneys hereinafter appropriated, and said commission is also authorized to audit and pay the actual expenses of said commission out of said appropriation. Said commission shall keep an accurate account of all disbursements, and shall make a full report thereof and of the execution of their trust to the governor on or before the 15th day of November, 1895.

SEC. 3. That the sum of \$5000 be and the same is hereby appropriated out of any funds in the treasury of the state not otherwise appropriated, to be drawn and used by said commission for the purpose heretofore mentioned, and the auditor of state is hereby authorized to draw his warrants on the treasurer of state for the purposes and amounts specified herein.

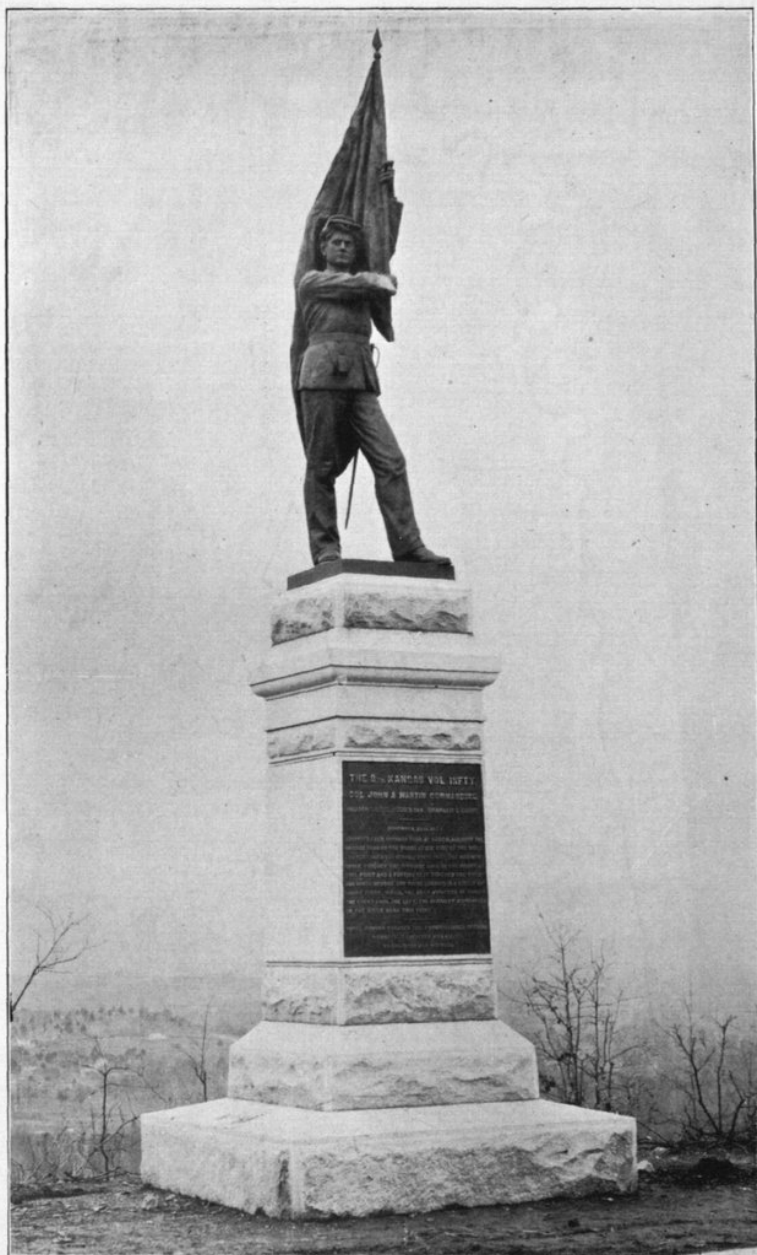
SEC. 4. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its publication in the official state paper.

The following Kansas soldiers who took part in the battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga were appointed as such commission: Lieut.-col. J. L. Abernathy,* Maj. S. R. Washer,† G. W. Johnson, J. F. Starnes, and L. Akers.

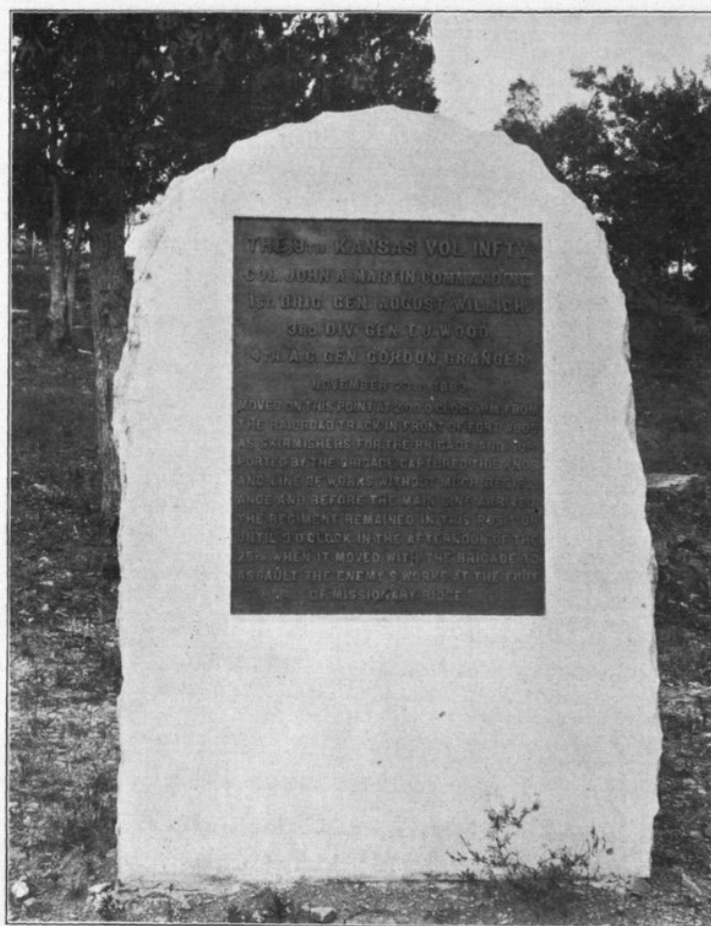
county clerk, of Brown county. He served in this latter capacity until 1872, when he was elected to the state senate. In 1876 he was reelected. In 1882 he was elected to Congress, of which body he was a member for eight years, distinguishing himself as the special champion of the old soldier. In 1890 he voluntarily retired from Congress. In 1894 he was elected governor of Kansas by a large plurality. In 1896 he was defeated. He has been engaged in the banking business at Hiawatha since the war, and has the credit of having never foreclosed a mortgage. He has been a director of the State Historical Society since 1879, and for the year 1895 was president of the Society.

* J. L. ABERNATHY was born in Warren county, Ohio, in 1828. He died at Leavenworth, December 16, 1902. He came to Kansas in 1856, and engaged in the furniture business at Leavenworth. He was a very successful banker and manufacturer, and left an estate worth \$1,000,000. He was an elder in the First Presbyterian Church, and superintendent of its Sabbath-school. He gave large sums to Park College, and maintained a free kindergarten school in Leavenworth. He enlisted in 1861, and was made captain of company A, Eighth Kansas, and was mustered out as lieutenant-colonel at the close of the war. At Kansas City he owned the largest furniture factory in the West.

† SOLOMON R. WASHER was born at Indianapolis, Ind., February 2, 1836. He resided in Indiana until 1860, when he came to Kansas, settling at Atchison. By occupation he is a grain merchant. He has served the public as a member of the board of education, street commissioner, county treasurer, and postmaster. In November, 1861, he enlisted as a private in the Eighth Kansas, and was appointed sergeant-major. He served through the grades of lieutenant and captain, was brevetted major, and discharged at Fort Leavenworth, January 6, 1866. He was wounded at the battle of Chickamauga, September 20, 1863.



Kansas at Chattanooga — Mission Ridge.



Kansas at Chattanooga—Orchard Knob.

They entered upon their labors with praiseworthy diligence, and faithfully performed all the duties assigned to them. Governor Morrill accepted the invitation extended to the state of Kansas by the National Park Commission, and was present at the dedication of the park, September 19 and 20, 1895, accompanied by the following members of his personal staff: S. M. Fox, adjutant general; C. S. Elliott, paymaster general; H. G. Cavanaugh (captain Thirteenth United States infantry), inspector general; W. S. Metcalf, aide-de-camp. He was also accompanied by Maj. William S. McCasky, Twentieth United States infantry, and Maj. John K. Rankin, both of whom were present and served in the battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga.

On the morning of September 20 the commission turned over to the state of Kansas the monuments and tablets erected to mark the lines and to commemorate the heroic services of the Kansas troops on the several battle-fields. They were received with appropriate honors.

The report of the Kansas commission is as follows:

His Excellency E. N. Morrill, Governor of State of Kansas, Topeka, Kan.:

DEAR SIR—The commission appointed by you, under the authority of the legislature (see house bill No. 201), to mark the positions occupied by Kansas troops in the battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga, and to purchase and erect monuments to their memory, have completed the work assigned to them and have the honor to hand you herewith their report.

Your commission, consisting of S. R. Washer, G. W. Johnson, J. F. Starnes, L. Akers, and J. L. Abernathy, organized March 4, by the election of J. L. Abernathy, president, and S. R. Washer, secretary.

In April the commission visited the battle-fields of Chickamauga and Chattanooga and marked the positions the Kansas troops occupied in these battles. Your commission advertised for designs and proposals, and received quite a number of sketches, but learned that parties doing the work were to meet and submit designs to the Wisconsin commission. Your commission decided to send the president and secretary to Milwaukee to select and contract for monuments. After seeing a large number of designs, your commission finally selected a large granite sarcophagus and two granite markers for the Chickamauga field, the first base of sarcophagus to be 9 feet by 5 feet 2 inches by 1 foot 11 inches high; second base, 7 feet 2 inches by 3 feet 4 inches and 2 feet high; the die, 6 feet 1 inch by 2 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 10 inches high. The four sides of this stone and the foregoing are rock-faced, with marginal lines, and the peak is fine-hammered. On the front there is cut in large letters in the granite: "Eighth Kansas Infantry, Third Brigade, First Division, Twentieth Army Corps." On the reverse side is the following inscription, in bronze plate:

"On September 19, 1863, the Eighth Kansas volunteer infantry, Col. John A. Martin, commander, Heg's brigade, Davis's division, McCook's corps, went into action east of this point, and was in the hottest part of the battle from 12:30 until 6:00 p. m. During the battle Colonel Heg was killed. Colonel Martin assumed command of the brigade, and Lieut.-col. J. L. Abernathy commanded the regiment. The fighting during this day was severe. The ground where this monument stands was repeatedly occupied by the opposing forces. At the close of the day the regiment bivouacked west of the Viniard house. During the night the division moved to the high ground west of Crawfish Springs road, and north of Widow Glenn's house. September 20, at twelve o'clock, the brigade went into action on the Brotherton farm, but was soon forced to retire to McFarland's Gap. The regiment joined General Thomas at six p. m. Total number engaged, 406. Loss: 2 commissioned officers killed, 9 commissioned officers wounded, 28 enlisted men killed, 156 enlisted men wounded, 25 enlisted men missing. Total loss, 220, or fifty-five per cent. of strength of regiment."

On the end of this monument there is in bronze plate the seal of the state of Kansas.

About 500 yards east of where this monument stands your commission placed one granite marker, with the following inscription: "The Eighth Kansas volunteer infantry occupied this position at one p. m., September 19, 1863."

About half a mile north of the monument another granite marker fixes the position of the Kansas troops in the second day's battle.

Your commission erected a large granite boulder on Orchard Knob, Chattanooga, of the following dimensions: One solid piece 4 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 6 inches at base and 6 feet 6 inches high. The front of face is fine-hammered. The sides and rear and top are rock-faced. On the front there is a bronze panel, on which appears the following legend:

"On November 23, 1863, the Eighth Kansas volunteer infantry, Col. John A. Martin commanding, first brigade, third division, fourth army corps, moved on this point at two o'clock p. m., from the railroad track, in front of Fort Wood, as skirmishers for the brigade, and, supported by the brigade, captured this knob and line of works without much resistance, and before the main line arrived. The regiment remained in this position until three o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th, when it moved with the brigade to assault the enemy's works at the foot of Mission Ridge."

In the battle of Chattanooga, the Kansas troops were among the first to reach and drive the enemy from Mission Ridge. Your commission had erected at this point a fine granite shaft, of the following size and description: Material used for this monument is Barre granite for pedestal and bronze for the statue. The first base is 6 feet 9 inches by 6 feet 9 inches and 1 foot 6 inches high. The four sides are rock-faced, with marginal lines. The wash is fine-hammered. The second base is 4 feet 3 inches by 4 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 6 inches high. The sides of this also are rock-faced, with marginal lines; the wash fine-hammered. The next stone is 3 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 3 inches and 1 foot high; the side rock-faced, with marginal lines. The die is 3 feet 2 inches by 3 feet 2 inches by 3 feet 8 inches high, all four sides fine-hammered. Above this is a plinth 2 feet 11 inches by 2 feet 11 inches and 9 inches high; sides rock-faced, with marginal lines. On this there is a cap 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 6 inches and 1 foot 7 inches high; sides fine-hammered and molded. Above this is a plinth 2 feet 7 inches by 2 feet 7 inches and 1 foot high; sides rock-faced, with marginal lines; wash hammered. The whole of this base is surmounted by a bronze statue of the color-bearer, bearing aloft the stars and stripes. The bronze statue is 6 feet high to top of head. The entire height of the monument is 17 feet 11 inches, containing 175 cubic feet of granite, and weighing 31,500 pounds. On the front is a bronze panel bearing the following inscription: "Eighth Kansas Volunteer Infantry." The following legend, also in bronze plate, is upon the face of this monument:

"November 25, 1863, the Eighth Kansas volunteer infantry, Col. John A. Martin commanding, Willich's brigade, Wood's division, Granger's corps, advanced from Orchard Knob at three p. m., and with the brigade carried the works at the foot of the ridge, and continuing the assault up its face, the regiment broke through the opposing lines on the crest of the ridge at this point, and a portion of it pursued the enemy 200 yards beyond, and there engaged in a lively but short fight, while the rest assisted in driving the enemy from the left. The regiment bivouacked on the ridge near this point. Total number engaged, 219. Loss: 1 commissioned officer wounded, 2 enlisted men killed, 23 enlisted men wounded; total, 26."

Upon one of the sides of this monument there is also the seal of the state of Kansas, in bronze. This monument is in a conspicuous place, overlooking Chattanooga, and your commission was very fortunate in securing this position for the monument.



Kansas at Chickamauga — Viniard's Place.

WITH JOHN BROWN IN KANSAS.

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These monuments were all completed and received by your commissioners on the 20th of September, and by your request were turned over to you, as governor of Kansas, for such disposition as you might think best, and under the rules and regulations for the government of the Chattanooga and Chickamauga National Military Park.

Your commission deem it unnecessary to speak of the valor and bravery displayed by the Kansas troops engaged in these battles. The record of the dead and wounded tells the story in more eloquent words than we could use. Your commission believe that they have executed their trust in a manner which will meet your approval, and that citizens of Kansas visiting the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park will be pleased with the work of your commission and with the record of the troops from Kansas in both of these battles.

In the discharge of their trust your commission have expended the following sums:

April 15, expense of five commissioners to Chattanooga to locate positions of Kansas troops in battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga,	\$260 90
April 23, expenses of president and secretary to Milwaukee to examine and select monuments.....	90 15
Expense of secretary's office to date	76 53
Bill of Smith's Granite Company, for three granite monuments and two granite markers, set up, complete.....	3,600 00
Bill of American Bronze Company, for die and two copies of state seal in bronze.....	50 00
September 20, expense of five commissioners to Chattanooga to inspect and receive monuments.....	395 05
Total expenditure.....	\$4,472 63

Leaving a balance of appropriation unexpended of \$527.37.

I have the honor to enclose herewith my imperfect blue-prints of designs of the monuments.

Trusting that the foregoing report and the manner in which the work of your commission has been performed may meet with your approval, I have the honor to be,

J. L. ABERNATHY, *President of Commission.*

S. R. WASHER, *Secretary.*

WITH JOHN BROWN IN KANSAS.

Written by AUGUST BONDI,* at request of Maj. Henry Inman, and published in the *Salina Herald* in January and February, 1884.

PURSUANT to your request that I should give you my recollections and views of the character and deeds of freedom's hero, John Brown, in reply to the slanderous article of Utter,† I have tried my utmost to refresh my memory and

* AUGUST BONDI was born in Vienna, Austria, July 21, 1833. His father, Herz Emanuel Bondi, was born at Prague, Bohemia, December 24, 1790; his mother, Martha Franke, was born at Prague, Bohemia, December 24, 1806. His father engaged in manufacturing in Vienna, but was impoverished by the political disturbances of the '40's, and in September, 1848, emigrated to the United States with his family, consisting of his wife and son — the subject of this sketch — and a daughter, Henrietta. They settled in St. Louis, Mo. In August, 1857, they moved onto

† REV. DAVID N. UTTER, pastor of a Unitarian church in Chicago, published, in the November, 1883, issue of the *North American Review*, an article entitled "John Brown of Osawatomie." It was a bitter arraignment of Brown for his connection with the killing of certain pro-slavery settlers on Pottawatomie creek, which occurred May 24, 1858. (See foot-note, page 439, volume 7, *Collections Kansas State Historical Society*; also writings of Richard J. Hinton, George W. Brown, W. E. Connelley, John J. Ingalls, F. B. Sanborn, etc.)



recall that border war (ended now for more than a quarter of a century), and my intimate relations with the grandest personality of that eventful struggle.

About the middle of May, 1855, I, with a friend named Benjamin, of St. Louis, settled on the Mosquito branch of Pottawatomie creek. About the end of May I called upon one Henry Sherman ("Dutch Henry"), living about four miles from our claim. I had heard he was a German, and I wished to make his acquaintance. After a short talk this worthy said he had heard we were free-soilers, and he therefore would advise us to clear out, or ours might be the fate of Baker. Baker was a settler on the Marais des Cygnes, whom a band of ruffians had taken from his house, whipped, and hanged upon a tree, but had been taken down before life was extinct, and released, upon his promise to leave Kansas—all this because Baker was from Vermont. On my return from Sherman's I had some words with one Wilkinson, who saluted me in the style of Dutch Henry.

Reaching home, Benjamin and I held a council of war. Benjamin (who had worked several days at the settlement on the Marais des Cygnes) reported that no help could be expected thence, where the settlers were all from Missouri or Arkansas. He had heard, however, of a small settlement of Ohio men about five miles to the northeast, and we agreed that these ought to be seen. Next morning Benjamin went there, and returned about noon with Frederick Brown, who brought a greeting from his three brothers, and assured us that they would always be found ready to assist us.

a claim near Greeley, Anderson county, Kansas. In May, 1867, the family removed to Salina, and remained with the son until their deaths. The father died September 26, 1868; the mother, August 19, 1889; and the daughter, March 28, 1896. August Bondi had a classical and scientific education to his fifteenth year, and lived in Vienna, Austria, until September 4, 1848. He lived in St. Louis until March, 1855, when he started for Kansas on the "Polar Star." He crossed the line into Kansas April 2, 1855, and in May settled on the Mosquito branch of Pottawatomie creek, in Franklin county. He removed to Greeley, Anderson county, in March, 1857; thence to Leavenworth, August, 1865; and in July, 1866, to Saline county, which has been his home to this day. Since settling in Kansas he has worked in stores, printing-offices, on steamboats, kept tavern, taught school, farming most of the time until 1877, with an interval of thirty-seven months in the army; and in later years has engaged in real estate, loan and law practice. He has served as a member of the school board, township trustee, clerk of the district court, land-office clerk, member of the State Board of Charities, postmaster at Greeley, in the early days, and postmaster at Salina from May, 1894, to August, 1897.

In 1848 he was a member of the Vienna Academic Legion, Captain Zach's company; in 1852, 1853, and 1854, active in the ranks of the Benton (or free-state) Democratic party, in St. Louis, Mo. In 1856, he was with Capt. John Brown at Ottawa camp, in May; at Black Jack, June 2, and at Osawatimie August 30. In 1857 he stumped Anderson county for the Topeka constitution; participated in fight at Bayne's ford, on Little Osage, in Bourbon county, against United States marshal's posse, December 2, 1857, for which action he was removed from postmastership at Greeley; was present at the first organization of "jayhawkers," near Mound City, December 14, 1857, of which he is the sole survivor. November 1, 1861, he was mustered in as first sergeant of company K, Fifth Kansas cavalry, commanding said company at times, and participating in every scout and engagement of the regiment, still carrying in his body two ounces of lead. He stumped Saline county against prohibition, and in 1882 joined the Democratic party. In church relationship he is a Jew. At Leavenworth, June 28, 1890, he was married to Henrietta Einstein, who died August 24, 1900, leaving nine living children. Mr. Bondi has preserved his Academic Legion membership card to this day, and at the semicentennial reunion of the Academic survivors, March 12, 1898, he was informed that but one other card existed. The Academic Legion consisted of the students of the university, technical college, and academy of arts, about 9000 in all, four-fifths of them being boys from fifteen to twenty-five years of age. They organized the revolution in the German Austrian states, assisting Kossuth's efforts for free government in Hungary. The movement collapsed through the apathy of the masses and Russian intervention.

John Brown, Jr., in a letter to the committee of the quarter-centennial celebration, January 29, 1886, mentions August Bondi as one of his company. (Page 465, volume 3, Collections Kansas State Historical Society.)

In the course of that summer (1855) I got acquainted with the rest of the Browns who at that time resided in Kansas, namely, John Brown, jr., Jason, Owen and Salmon Brown. They had claims on Middle creek, and owned a herd of full-blooded Devons, brought from Ohio. They had come to Kansas with their families and all their property, and, as free-state men, had the intention of helping to make Kansas a free state by lawful means; but they were also firmly resolved to resist force by force. During this summer there was considerable immigration both from the North and the South—the Northern men in the majority; but the pro-slavery men had the advantage of being generally well armed and under better organization. On their side, too, were all the gangs of robbers and murderers who had long considered the borders of Missouri and the Indian Territory as the starting-point, of their plundering raids. The free-soilers abstained from voting at the first legislative election, held in March, 1855, for the Missourians had a second time taken possession of the polls, and only allowed their own friends to vote. In the early part of October the free-state men held an election* of their own for a territorial convention. I was then down with the fever, but the neighbors, two Germans, placed me in an ox cart and conveyed me to the voting-place.

Here I first got acquainted with Captain Brown. He told me that he had heard from his sons and kindred of our need, and that he had come to stand by them and us in the coming struggle. Besides his four sons, above named, he had also two brothers-in-law, Orson Day and Rev. S. L. Adair, settled near Osawatimie, in Kansas. If John Brown himself did not come as a settler, his principal object in coming was to help, by counsel and deed, his children and kinsmen in their deadly conflict with murderous ruffians. It was in Kansas, too, that he came to the conviction not only that slavery was a crime against the negroes, but that its continuance and spread would bring innumerable evils and crimes upon the whites; and to get rid of its effects, the cause, he thought, should be destroyed.

A few days after that October election I went to St. Louis, and, consequently, know nothing of the so-called "Wakarusa war," in December, 1855.

I returned to Kansas in the spring of 1856, and arrived on my claim the morning of May 21, the day when Lawrence was sacked. The same day mounted messengers brought news of the danger which then threatened Lawrence, and at two P. M. the Pottawatomie rifles, under the command of H. H. Williams,†

*An election of delegates to the Topeka constitutional convention was held October 9, 1855, and on December 15, the election on its adoption or rejection.

†HENRY H. WILLIAMS was born in Hudson, Columbia county, New York, September 26, 1828. In the spring of 1855 he came to Kansas. He was the third settler on Pottawatomie creek, in Anderson county. Soon after his arrival he attended a free-state meeting, of which he was made secretary, John Brown being chairman. The meeting repealed certain squatter laws that a pro-slavery organization had established. He was a delegate to the Big Springs convention, September 5, 1855. He marched to the defense of Lawrence in December, 1855. When the Pottawatomie rifles were organized, John Brown, jr., was made captain, and H. H. Williams, second lieutenant. In December he was a delegate to a free-state convention, at Lawrence, to nominate officers under the Topeka constitution. In January, 1856, he and John Brown, jr., were elected members of the house of representatives under the Topeka constitution. He walked to Topeka to take his seat, a distance of sixty-five miles. He declined to accompany John Brown on the trip which resulted in the Pottawatomie massacre. In May, 1856, he was arrested by a pro-slavery mob and taken before a pro-slavery grand jury at Paola. He had his hands tied behind his back for a week, when chains were obtained, and he was made to walk to Prairie City, part of the way chained by the ankle to another man, and a portion of the way carrying the chain in his hand, the other end still being on his ankle. He was one of the free-state prisoners at LeCompton and Tecumseh. He was sheriff of Miami county in 1857, and again elected in 1859. In 1861 he enlisted, and participated in the battles of Cane Hill.



of Osawatomie, were on their march toward Lawrence. Theodore Weiner, who kept a store on my claim, and I, joined them. After a march of three miles we overtook the Osawatomie rifles, under the lead of a certain Dayton. The two companies marched together about a mile further, where we found Capt. John Brown, with his sons, John, Owen, Frederick, Salmon, and Oliver, and his son-in-law, Henry Thompson, waiting for us; and here John Brown, jr., took command of the Pottawatomie rifles.

On the morning of May 22, the whole command, reenforced by free-state men from Palmyra* and Prairie City, advanced nearly to Palmyra and went into camp. Here we first heard of the bombardment of Lawrence. In a council of war, it was resolved to wait further news before going forward toward Lawrence. In the evening a messenger came from that town with the request that we would return home, so as not to exasperate the pitiless enemy.

The heads of the free-soil party, who at that time had the upper hand in Lawrence, and therefore in Kansas, belonged to that class with whom interest always counts for more than principle, as was the case in 1848 in Germany. The chief of those foolish leaders at that time was S. C. Pomeroy,† afterward nicknamed the "Christian statesman." These cowards buried their guns and rifles, and were ready for anything to keep up the speculation in Lawrence town lots. The Osawatomie and Pottawatomie rifles counted, together, sixty-five men; the Palmyra guards, Captain McWhinney, and the Prairie City guards, under Captain Shore, in all about forty men. All these captains expressed their disgust at the thought of disbanding, for they said that in three days more, at farthest, enough men would have come together to drive Jones and his Missourians out

Prairie Grove, Van Buren, Fort Wayne, and Pilot Knob, being a major in the Tenth Kansas. He was provost marshal of St. Louis for a while. In 1845 he was elected sheriff of Jackson county, Missouri, his family having removed to Kansas City in 1863. In April, 1867, he returned to Osawatomie and engaged in the hardware business. In 1867 he was elected to the house of representatives, and in 1868 elected to the state senate. In 1879 he was a state-house commissioner, and assisted in building the west wing. He has for many years lived in California.

* Palmyra was the forerunner of Baldwin. It never reached the dignity of incorporation. Baldwin was incorporated by the territorial legislature February 4, 1859. Prairie City was located about one mile and a half southwest, on the northeast quarter of section 8, township 15 south, range 20 east. It was incorporated February 4, 1859. The battle between Brown and Pate, later described in this article, occurred four miles east of Prairie City, or probably two miles south of east of the present town of Baldwin, on section 7, township 15 south, range 21 east; all being in Palmyra township, Douglas county. Prairie City—now extinct—was an ambitious place. June 25, 1857, S. S. Prouty established *Freemen's Champion* at Prairie City, in a tent which was erected by the ladies for that use. He issued eleven numbers, when publication was suspended. In three months it was resumed, and continued until September, 1858. In fifteen months forty numbers had been issued. In September, 1859, the material was taken to Burlington. Prouty became a lieutenant and quartermaster in the army, first state printer, from 1869 to 1873, and one of the most prominent newspaper men in the state. He died at Topeka, January 31, 1889. The Historical Society has a complete file, bound, of *Freemen's Champion*.

† SAMUEL C. POMEROY was born in Southampton, Mass., January 3, 1816. He was educated at Amherst. In 1840 he became an anti-slavery man. He happened to be present, May 30, 1854, when President Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He said to the president: "Your victory is but an adjournment of the question from the halls of legislation at Washington to the open prairies of the freedom-loving West, and there, sir, we shall beat you." He started from Boston on the 27th of August, 1854, with 200 emigrants for Kansas. On the 8th of September they crossed the line at Kansas City, destined for Lawrence. He settled at Atchison. He vigorously canvassed the East for the free-state cause in Kansas. He managed the aid business during the drought of 1861. Upon the admission of the state he was elected United States senator, and reelected in 1867. In 1873 he was defeated for a third term by the celebrated York exposure. Senator A. M. York, of Montgomery county, got \$7000 from him for his support, and in joint convention he denounced Pomeroy for bribery and turned the money over to the presiding officer. Almost unanimously the joint convention voted for John J. Ingalls to succeed him. He died at Whitinsville, Mass., August 27, 1891.

of the territory. But without consulting old Brown, a majority of the men at last resolved to stay in camp until the next morning, and then by slow marches return home.

At nine o'clock that morning a messenger arrived from Pottawatomie creek, reporting that the pro-slavery men, Wilkinson, Doyle and his sons, and William and Henry Sherman (*alias* "Dutch Henry"), had been going from house to house of the free-state men, and had threatened that shortly the Missourians would be there and make a clean sweep of them. At some places, where the men were absent, they had grossly insulted their wives and daughters. This news created great excitement in our camp. Still the majority thought it better not to start before morning. Old Brown, who felt indignant, called his sons, his son-in-law (Thompson), Weiner, Townsley and me aside, and said: "Something must be done to show these barbarians that we, too, have rights." After that he wished to know if we all were ready to obey him, and then ordered Townsley to get ready his team, but in a few words requested me not to go with him. He thought I might be elsewhere of greater service to the good cause if for the present I remained behind, and, if need be, keep open the communication between his men and their families. The remainder of that night (May 22)* those who remained in camp talked about the situation and the best means to defend the free-state cause.

In the afternoon of May 23 messengers from Lawrence arrived, and reported that Colonel Sumner, commanding the Second United States dragoons, had issued an order forbidding the gathering of armed men of either party, and there was no doubt Sumner would strictly enforce his order. Now it was urged from all sides that we disband. A few only demurred; our provisions were nearly gone, and to go to war on an empty stomach is unpleasant; so that evening (May 23) the Pottawatomie and Osawatimie rifles went home. Late in the evening I arrived at my claim, in company with an old neighbor, Austin, who was afterwards named "Old Kill-devil," from a rifle he had of that name. The family of Benjamin (whom we had left when we departed for camp) had disappeared, and no cattle were to be seen. This latter was a serious matter, for there was nothing left in the shape of provisions. When I told Austin that I was willing to stay with him until the last of the border ruffians had left the country, he encouraged me, and assured me that he would find Benjamin's family and protect them, at all events. This the old man faithfully did; and in memory of his friendship and self-sacrifice I have placed a simple slab upon his soldier's grave, near Helena, on the Mississippi.†

*Mr. Connelley's account of the Pottawatomie affair differs somewhat from Mr. Bondi's as to dates. The former states that the Browns were summoned to the defense of Lawrence on May 22, and on the same day started for the beleaguered city. Before camping that night they learned that Lawrence had been destroyed the day before, May 21. In the morning, on May 23, a messenger arrived from the Pottawatomie with intelligence which caused Captain Brown to return the same afternoon to the Pottawatomie. The Doyles and others were killed on the night of Saturday, May 24.

†Mr. Bondi explains: "I first met Freeman Austin May 21, 1856, when we tramped together in the Pottawatomie rifles, commanded by Capt. John Brown, jr., to the relief of Lawrence, and afterward we were frequently together; as he was a carpenter, a No. 1 mechanic, he worked often for my friend, Jacob Benjamin, and did also considerable work on a hewed-log house I had erected on my Mosquito creek claim, we became intimate. He was a native of Pennsylvania, had been in the Mexican war, would never talk of family or old home; lived mostly with Samuel Houser, on the Marais des Cygnes, near Osawatimie, in which neighborhood he pre-empted a fine claim. He was with the Pottawatomie boys in the capture of the blockhouse and fortifications of New Georgia, six miles southeast of Osawatimie, in August, 1856. Freeman Austin took part in the battle of Osawatimie, August 30, 1856. He had joined John Brown the evening before. His presence of mind and unerring rifle, named by him 'Kill-devil,' saved



The evening of May 24 I arrived, tired and hungry, at the camping-ground of old Brown, a log cabin on the banks of Middle creek, upon the claim of his brother-in-law, Orson Day. This is one of the cabins which, under the name "John Brown's cabin," has since become famous. Day built it as a first shelter for his family, in the winter of 1855-'56, and Brown dwelt in it with his younger sons. It was about twelve miles west from Osawatimie, on the bottom land of North Middle creek. Here, also, I found my friend Weiner, from whom I first heard an account of the killing of Doyle and his sons, Wilkinson, and Dutch Henry's brother William. In this account Weiner never expressed himself positively as to who killed those persons, and I could only guess about it. I was astonished, but not at all displeased. The men killed had been our neighbors, and I was sufficiently acquainted with their characters to know that they were of the stock from which came the James brothers, the Youngers, and the rest, who never shrank from perpetrating crime if it was done in the interest of the pro-slavery cause. As to their antecedents, the Doyles had been slave-hunters before they came to Kansas, and had fetched along two of their bloodhounds. "Dutch Bill" (Sherman), a German, from Oldenburg, and a resident of Kansas since 1845, had amassed considerable property by robbing cattle droves and emigrant trains. He was a giant, six feet four inches high, and for some weeks before his death had made it his pastime (in company with the Doyles) to break in the doors of free-state settlers, frightening and insulting the families, or once in a while attacking and ill treating a man whom they encountered alone.

It would take too much time to recount their atrocities. Wilkinson was one of the few Southerners who were able to read and write, and who prided himself accordingly. He was a member of the border-ruffian legislature, and a principal leader in all attempts to annoy and extirpate the free-state men. Although he never directly participated in the murders and robberies, still it was well understood that he was always informed a short time before an invasion of Missourians was to occur, and on the very day of his death he had tauntingly said to some free-state men that in a few days the last of them would be either dead or out of the territory. In this he referred to the coming invasion of Cook, at the head of 250 armed men from Bates county, Missouri, who made their appearance about the 27th of May and plundered the whole region. His men carried off a good many prisoners, but abstained from killing them, as they feared that for every murdered free-soiler John Brown would kill one of their number.

Should Mr. Utter ever visit southeastern Kansas, and make inquiries of any old settler there of the years 1855 and 1856, he will find the above statement confirmed as often as he may meet with a settler of those years still living. As a full man cannot understand the pangs of a fasting man, so Mr. Utter, in his luxuriously furnished study at Chicago, cannot imagine the feelings of frightened mothers who do not know which is worse, the day or night, nor how soon the fruits of their labor will be destroyed by a band of miscreants, or themselves be called to mourn the death of some of their loved ones.

the Osawatimie saw- and grist-mill. When the handful of free-state men scattered, he retreated with Capt. John Brown through the timber, but stopped at the mill, behind some saw-logs, and, as two border ruffians ran up, one with a burning torch, to fire the mill, he shot the torch-carrier; the other left for assistance, which soon came, so Austin related to me, but while they carried their wounded comrade off, no more attempts were made against the mill. He was mustered into company K, Fifth Kansas. I saw him last July 27, 1861, as he was taken to the hospital sick with chronic diarrhea. He died at Helena, July 30, 1861, in the hospital. He was about sixty-three years old. The congressional commission audited and issued to him a voucher for \$300 for tools, etc., lost and destroyed when the storehouse and log cabin on my claim were burned, in May, 1866, by Captain Cook's company of border ruffians."

John Brown and his small body of soldiers with him only executed upon those scoundrels a just sentence of death for the benefit of several hundred unprotected families. There was no cabin on the banks of the Pottawatomie in which, after the events of that night became known, fathers and mothers did not go to their day's work with a lighter heart, nor was there any pro-slavery man who did not perceive that the so-called "peace policy" (born of the selfishness of Eastern speculators) had come to an end, and that only good behavior could shield him from the arm of the avenger. Southern Kansas looked upon John Brown as the instrument of God's vengeance.

On the 26th of May, 1856, at an early hour in the morning, our little crowd rode onto the claim of John Brown, jr., on Vine branch, one mile and a half from Middle Creek bottom. About five o'clock in the afternoon of that day, Carpenter, from near Prairie City, joined us, and reported that he had come, at the instance of his neighbors, to request Captain Brown's assistance against the border ruffians, who, in spite of all proclamations, continued to harass the settlers. Colonel Sumner, of the Second United States dragoons, was the only Northern army officer in Kansas—all others were from the South—and, while taking good care to carry out the letter of their instructions, lacked the good will to do more. The orders were to disperse all armed crowds. Whenever they received news of any devilment committed by the border ruffians they started after them in slow marches, but never reached anywhere in time to prevent mischief, and, if once in a while they caught up with a band of Southerners, the officers in command of the United States detachment halted the ruffians and read them the proclamation. The boss galoot, entitled "Cap." by his crowd, then stepped in front of his band, and with a few words admonished them to go home, which they seemed to do at once, by striking promiscuously for the next timber, where they at once reorganized for another raid. To complete the utter ruin of the free-state people, Governor Shannon had also issued a call for the enlistment of a "state militia,"* "to maintain law and order," and Buford, Titus, Pate, and others of like ilk, had recruited the same from Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina.

It was Carpenter's mission to beg Captain Brown's assistance in behalf of the settlers of the southern part of Douglas county against these marauders, organizing under territorial laws, and armed with guns furnished by the government. Captain Brown declared to Carpenter his readiness to start at once. One of his sons went to Mrs. Jason Brown to tell her to send any inquiring friend who wished to join us to Carpenter, near Prairie City. We started after dark, eleven in number, viz.: Capt. John Brown, Fred. Brown, Watson Brown, Oliver Brown, Salmon Brown, Owen Brown, Henry Thompson (Captain Brown's son-in-law), Theodore Weiner, James Townsley, Carpenter, and myself.

Captain Brown carried a saber and a large-sized revolver; his sons and Thompson had a revolver, cutlass and a squirrel rifle each; Townsley an old musket; Weiner a double-barreled shotgun; Carpenter one revolver, and myself a flint-lock musket of 1812 pattern. Watson and Oliver Brown and myself rode bareback. Fred. Brown rode ahead; Owen Brown and Carpenter about ten steps behind; then followed Captain Brown and the rest, two by two. Going from Middle creek to Ottawa creek we had to follow part of the way the old military road from St. Louis to Fort Leavenworth.

* August 31, 1855, commissions were issued by Acting Governor Woodson, by and with the advice and consent of the council, to Hiram J. Strickler, as adjutant general of the Kansas militia; to A. M. Coffey, as major-general southern division, Kansas militia; to William P. Richardson, as major-general northern division; to four brigadier-generals and to eight colonels.

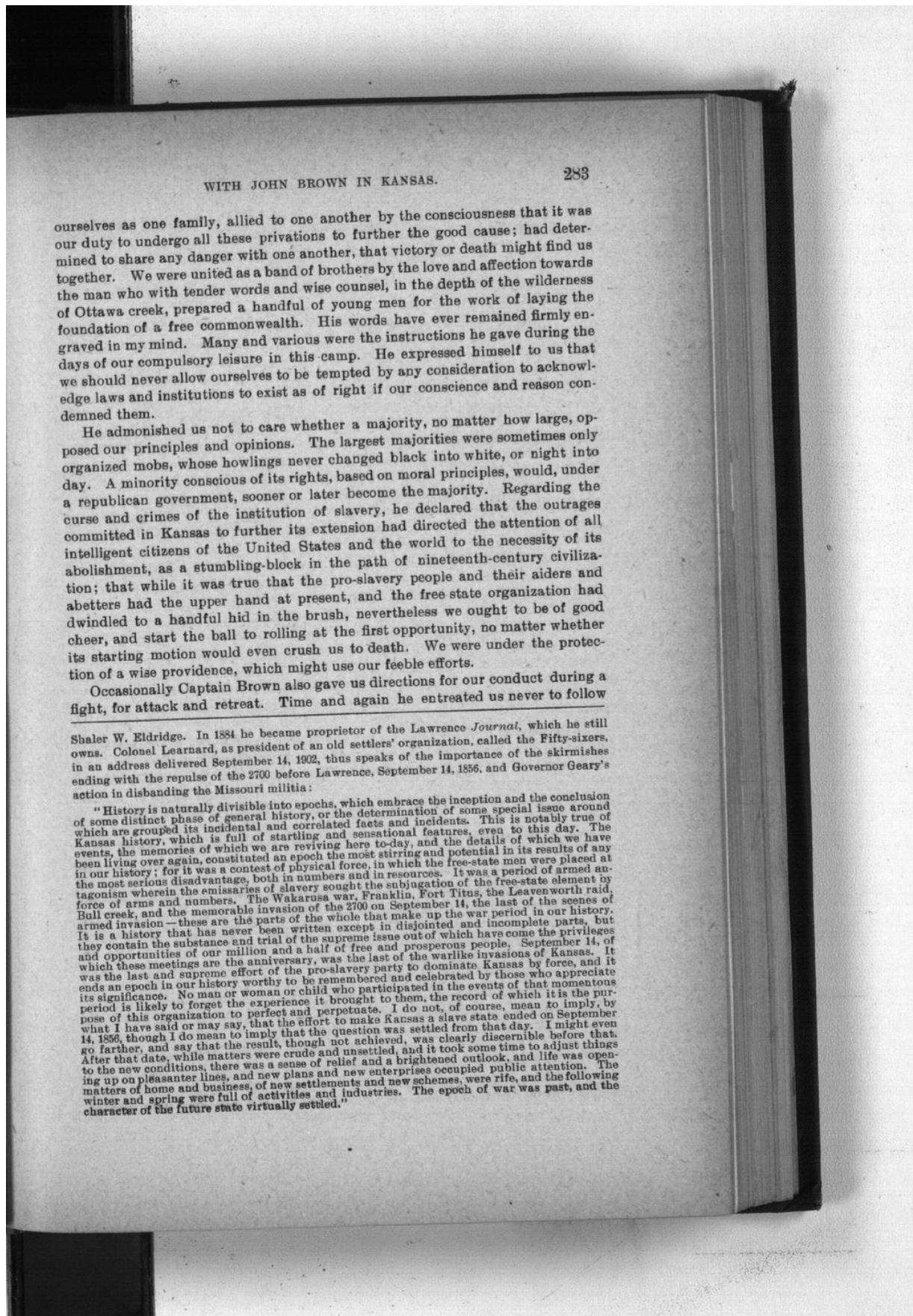


Arriving near the Marais des Cygnes crossing of the same road, we discovered right ahead several camp-fires, and by their light about 100 yards before us a sentinel in the United States uniform. Fred. Brown continued to advance, and Carpenter informed the old man that he supposed we had struck a detachment of the United States troops acting as a posse of a deputy United States marshal. Captain Brown exchanged a few words with Carpenter, then ordered us to ride ahead, not to betray any anxiety, and strictly to obey his orders.

The sentinel allowed Fred. Brown and Carpenter to advance to within twenty-five steps, and then halted them with the usual "Who goes there?" and clear through the still night air rang Fred's answer, "free state." The sentinel called the corporal of the guard. We others, by our captain's order, continued to ride on to within about five steps of Fred. and Carpenter, and formed like a very disorderly crowd. Carpenter explained to the corporal that we were farmers near Prairie City, and had ridden to Osawatimie at the request of the settlers there to protect them against a raid from Missouri.* We had been there two days, with no Missourians to see or hear from, our provisions had run out, and so we had concluded to go home. The commanding officer, Lieutenant McIntosh, company F, Second dragoons, now came up, and Carpenter repeated his tale, none of the others mixing in the conversation. The deputy United States marshal made his appearance, and insisted that the lieutenant should hold us until daylight, but McIntosh replied to him that he had his orders, and could not detain peaceable travelers, and called out to us, "Pass on"; and so we went on in slow gait till we had reached the hills on the other side.

About four o'clock on the morning of the 27th day of May, we reached the hiding-place on Ottawa creek which Carpenter had picked out for us; it was in a bend of the creek, in the midst of virgin forest about one-half of a mile thick. We made our camp near a large, old oak log, and tied our horses in the bushes. Captain Brown inspected the surroundings, put out guards, and appointed reliefs. After a while Carpenter brought in some corn for our horses, and a small sack of coarse flour (wheat ground in an iron corn-mill), and Captain Brown commenced to prepare breakfast. We stayed here up to the morning of Sunday, the 1st of June, and during these few days I fully succeeded in understanding the exalted character of my old friend. He exhibited at all times the most affectionate care for each of us. He also attended to cooking. We had two meals daily, consisting of bread made of the flour above mentioned, baked in skillets; this was washed down with creek water, mixed with a little ginger and a spoon of molasses to each pint. Nevertheless we kept in excellent spirits; we considered

*OSCAR E. LEARNARD came to Kansas in the fall of 1855, settling in Lawrence. He made the trip from Ottumwa, Iowa, on horseback. He soon enlisted on the free-soil side of the controversy, and in 1856 was in command of a squad of horsemen, engaging in the forays of that season. He was born at Fairfax, Vt., November 14, 1832, on the same homestead where his father was born and upon which his grandfather made the first settlement. He is the ninth generation of his family in this country, his ancestor, William Learnard, coming from England in 1630. Colonel Learnard was educated at Bakersfield Academy and Norwich University. He traveled for a year in the South, and then graduated at the Albany Law School. In the spring of 1857 he located the town of Burlington, in Coffey county. He was elected that fall to the territorial council, and served three sessions. He was president of the convention, at Osawatimie, May 18, 1859, at which the Republican party was organized. (See sixth volume of Historical Collections, pages 312-316.) Upon the organization of the state government he was elected judge of the fifth judicial district, but resigned at the breaking out of the war to accept the position of lieutenant-colonel of the First Kansas infantry. He served in the state senate from Douglas county for the sessions of 1868, 1869, and 1870. He served one year as superintendent of Haskell Indian School, appointed by President Cleveland, although always an ardent Republican. For twenty-six years he was tax commissioner and special attorney of the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Memphis (now the Frisco) railroad. His wife is a daughter of Col.



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ourselves as one family, allied to one another by the consciousness that it was our duty to undergo all these privations to further the good cause; had determined to share any danger with one another, that victory or death might find us together. We were united as a band of brothers by the love and affection towards the man who with tender words and wise counsel, in the depth of the wilderness of Ottawa creek, prepared a handful of young men for the work of laying the foundation of a free commonwealth. His words have ever remained firmly engraved in my mind. Many and various were the instructions he gave during the days of our compulsory leisure in this camp. He expressed himself to us that we should never allow ourselves to be tempted by any consideration to acknowledge laws and institutions to exist as of right if our conscience and reason condemned them.

He admonished us not to care whether a majority, no matter how large, opposed our principles and opinions. The largest majorities were sometimes only organized mobs, whose howlings never changed black into white, or night into day. A minority conscious of its rights, based on moral principles, would, under a republican government, sooner or later become the majority. Regarding the curse and crimes of the institution of slavery, he declared that the outrages committed in Kansas to further its extension had directed the attention of all intelligent citizens of the United States and the world to the necessity of its abolishment, as a stumbling-block in the path of nineteenth-century civilization; that while it was true that the pro-slavery people and their aiders and abettors had the upper hand at present, and the free state organization had dwindled to a handful hid in the brush, nevertheless we ought to be of good cheer, and start the ball to rolling at the first opportunity, no matter whether its starting motion would even crush us to death. We were under the protection of a wise providence, which might use our feeble efforts.

Occasionally Captain Brown also gave us directions for our conduct during a fight, for attack and retreat. Time and again he entreated us never to follow

Shaler W. Eldridge. In 1884 he became proprietor of the *Lawrence Journal*, which he still owns. Colonel Learnard, as president of an old settlers' organization, called the Fifty-sixers, in an address delivered September 14, 1902, thus speaks of the importance of the skirmishes ending with the repulse of the 2700 before Lawrence, September 14, 1856, and Governor Geary's action in disbanding the Missouri militia:

"History is naturally divisible into epochs, which embrace the inception and the conclusion of some distinct phase of general history, or the determination of some special issue around which are grouped its incidental and correlated facts and incidents. This is notably true of the Kansas history, which is full of startling and sensational features, even to this day. The events, the memories of which we are reviving here to-day, and the details of which we have been living over again, constituted an epoch the most stirring and potential in its results of any in our history; for it was a contest of physical force, in which the free-state men were placed at the most serious disadvantage, both in numbers and in resources. It was a period of armed antagonism wherein the emissaries of slavery sought the subjugation of the free-state element by force of arms and numbers. The Wakarusa war, Franklin, Fort Titus, the Leavenworth raid, Bull creek, and the memorable invasion of the 2700 on September 14, the last of the scenes of armed invasion—these are the parts of the whole that make up the war period in our history. It is a history that has never been written except in disjointed and incomplete parts, but they contain the substance and trial of the supreme issue out of which have come the privileges and opportunities of our million and a half of free and prosperous people. September 14, of which these meetings are the anniversary, was the last of the warlike invasions of Kansas. It was the last and supreme effort of the pro-slavery party to dominate Kansas by force, and it ends an epoch in our history worthy to be remembered and celebrated by those who appreciate its significance. No man or woman or child who participated in the events of that momentous period is likely to forget the experience it brought to them, the record of which it is the purpose of this organization to perfect and perpetuate. I do not, of course, mean to imply, by what I have said or may say, that the effort to make Kansas a slave state ended on September 14, 1856, though I do mean to imply that the question was settled from that day. I might even go farther, and say that the result, though not achieved, was clearly discernible before that. After that date, while matters were crude and unsettled, and it took some time to adjust things to the new conditions, there was a sense of relief and a brightened outlook, and life was opening up on pleasanter lines, and new plans and new enterprises occupied public attention. The matters of home and business, of new settlements and new schemes, were rife, and the following winter and spring were full of activities and industries. The epoch of war was past, and the character of the future state virtually settled."



the example of the border ruffians, who took a delight in destruction; never to burn houses or fences, so often done by the enemy. Free-state people could use them to advantage. Repeatedly he admonished us not to take human life except when absolutely necessary. Plunder taken from the enemy should be common property, to be used for the continuance of the struggle; horses to go to recruits, cattle and provisions to poor free-state people.

Before every meal the captain spoke the blessing aloud. He was an orthodox Christian; some of his sons were free-thinkers, regarding which he remarked that he had tried to give his children a good education, and now they were old enough to choose for themselves. Once he also talked about temperance, when Carpenter brought a pint of whisky into camp for Weiner's special benefit. Old Brown was a teetotaler, but still liberal enough on that subject.

On the morning of the 28th of May, Ben. Cochrane, a settler on Pottawatomie creek, and a member of the Pottawatomie rifles, joined us. He related that in the last raid the ruffians had burned my cabin, stolen my cattle, and plundered Weiner's store; all this had happened in the presence of United States troops, under their commanding officer. Captain Cook, company F, Second United States dragoons, was requested by the settlers to interfere. He refused, as he claimed not to have any orders to that effect; but he compelled the leader of the border-ruffian militia outfit, whose name was also Cook, to surrender all his prisoners to the United States troops. In the afternoon of the same day Carpenter brought Charles Kaiser into our camp. Kaiser had a claim three or four miles from our hiding-place, and had become acquainted with Captain Brown during the Wakarusa war. He was about thirty-three years old, and a native of Bavaria; had long resided in Hungary, where he had served during the whole of the revolutionary war of 1849. His face was marked with saber cuts and lance thrusts. He was extremely well pleased to find me a member of the old Vienna legion. He, Weiner and myself became very intimate in a few minutes. Kaiser was full of fun; no matter how serious the occasion, he was on hand with his jokes.

At our supper of the 28th of May, Captain Brown expressed his surprise that while Carpenter had informed many of the surrounding settlers of our presence in the neighborhood, still none as yet had come to see us. Such action seemed to him very strange, as we had come by their request, and had no other purpose in view at that time than to strike a blow in their behalf to assist them in getting rid of their enemies. He thought these people very much discouraged, and because in the last three or four days no horses had been stolen, no cabins plundered, all thought of resistance had been given up, and for our handful to go to war by themselves would be certain destruction without any benefit to the cause.

It was during that evening that Captain Brown used the following words: "If the cowardice and indifference of the free-state people compel us to leave Kansas, what do you say, men, if we start South, for instance to Louisiana, and get up a negro insurrection, and thereby compel them to let go their grip on Kansas, and so bring relief to our friends here?" Fred. Brown jumped up and said: "I am ready." Requested to give my opinion, I replied, that having traveled through the South during the years of 1851 and 1852, I was satisfied no baker's dozen could kick up a negro rebellion worth while, nor with any other certainty than that of having Judge Lynch to pass on their cases. Kaiser spoke up: "Never mind, captain, the reorganized border-ruffian militia will do its share to wake up the people to drive out these scoundrels; because, if they don't, the free-state men will not have teams enough left this fall to take their families out of Kansas. The settlers are as yet all busy planting corn, and no

neighborhood wishes to leave work for fight; but it won't last long, and the militia will soon arrive in this neighborhood, because little has been stolen here as yet, and much greater the inducement for them to come."

All this proves that two things were uppermost in the heart of old Captain Brown—the total abolishment of slavery and the liberation of Kansas from its oppressors. In his views and motives he never held anything in common with any of the free-state party of Kansas. These leaders, afterwards political bosses of Kansas, had come to Kansas as played-out politicians at home, whose ambition now consisted in swimming with the lately discovered current. These men were not overanxious for positions which implied bodily risks. What were they doing while Robinson and others were prisoners under guard of the United States troops and old Brown was straining his utmost to rally the disheartened people to strike a telling blow? They were East lecturing.

On the 29th day of May, Captain Shore, of Prairie City rifles, and Doctor Westfall, a neighbor of Mr. Carpenter, came into our camp and told us that many horses and other property had been stolen near Willow Springs, about ten or fifteen miles distant, and asked old Brown what he calculated to do. Brown replied with the question: "Captain Shore, how many men can you furnish me?" Shore answered that just now his men were very unwilling to leave home. Brown then said, "Why did you send Carpenter after us? I am not willing to sacrifice my men without having some hope of accomplishing something."

On the evening of the 29th of May, Captain Shore visited us again and brought us some flour. Captain Brown then told him that if his men continued unwilling to turn out, we had no business to stay there much longer, as the enemy would sooner or later find our hiding-place. Captain Shore then requested Captain Brown to wait a few days. The Missourians suspected our presence not far from Prairie City, and he believed their fear of Brown had so far protected this immediate neighborhood from raids. Should it ever be found out that Brown had left it would be worse than ever. Brown, in his answer, gave him time until the next Sunday to gather the settlers, that with our combined force we might hunt for the militia, and offer them battle wherever we found them. Shore promised to do his best. Before leaving on the 30th of May, Redpath, the well-known newspaper writer, visited us.*

Redpath declared that it showed well for the settlers that, in spite of the great rewards offered, nobody had, as yet, been found to pilot the enemy to our camp. He asked us to remain in good spirits; that while we alone represented the aggressive anti-slavery agitation of the United States, also on our perseverance alone depended the ultimate victory of the good cause. He also advised Brown not to leave Douglas county, and he would try to scare up some provisions, so that the Lawrence "stubbs" (a military organization of about twenty young men) might join us. Redpath was very cheerful. After he had left, Captain Brown decided to stay where we were for the present, that we might realize the expectation of our friend.

On the morning of the 31st Captain Shore informed us that a large company of Missouri militia had gone into camp on the Santa Fe trail near Black Jack (spring). At about ten o'clock P. M. of the same day, came Captain Shore, Captain McWhinney, and Carpenter, and reported that three men, pro-slavery mili-

*In his book entitled "Eccentricities of Genius," Maj. James B. Pond says of James Redpath: "'Jim' Redpath did several first things, to some of which I have already made reference. He was also the first 'interviewer' in the United States, as his 'interview' (as he called it in the *Tribune*) with old John Brown, which I witnessed, giving the Puritan leader's account of the fight with Henry Clay Pate at Black Jack, one of the memorable events of the free-state struggle, was the earliest of actual newspaper interviews."



tia, a few hours before, had broken into a house in Palmyra, about a mile from Prairie City, while the inmates, amongst them seven free-state men, were at supper. The three Missourians disarmed the seven free-state men and carried away their revolvers, five double-barreled shotguns, and two rifles. It was impossible to put up with such a shameful outrage. Rumors had been sent through the settlement summoning every one to appear at Prairie City, at ten o'clock in the forenoon next day. Captain Shore concluded with the words, "We expect you with us." Captain Brown grabbed Captain Shore's right hand, and answered, "We will be with you."

It was near midnight when our visitors left us. Next morning, on the 1st of June, Captain Brown had breakfast early, by sunup, and shortly afterwards Carpenter arrived to pilot us. We mounted with a will. Carpenter, Kaiser, and Townsley assisted Weiner to empty his bottle; Captain Brown called out, "Ready, forward march!" and we were on the road.

It is hardly possible to give an accurate description of our appearance. Our clothes readily showed the effects of the bushwhacking business, continued for the last ten days; we had come down to wearing ideas, suspicion and memories of what had once been coats, pants, and hats. Still, in the best of spirits, and with our appetites still better, just whetted by our scant breakfast, we followed Captain Brown toward Prairie City.

After a short ride we arrived at Prairie City. We there found about a dozen settlers gathered around the principal building of the village, a hewed-log house, eighteen by twenty-four; the same was afterwards occupied by Dr. H. J. Canniff, and then, in conjunction with two small cabins, represented the town. After picketing our horses we joined those present, and were informed that a number were expected, as the circuit preacher had made an appointment for the day. Shortly after large numbers commenced to arrive from all directions, some afoot, some horseback, some with their families, in all sorts of vehicles, generally with ox teams; the men armed with all sorts of guns. All respectfully saluted old Brown, who never tired of walking among the different groups, and, with words of cheer, encouraging the crowd to shake off the border-ruffian yoke. Divine service commenced at noon. So many were assembled that only women were admitted inside the house. Never have I met with a more attentive or devout congregation; and when the minister prayed for peace for the sorely tried people of Kansas, unanimous responses were felt as well as spoken.

The prayer was hardly finished when three men with guns across their saddles were seen galloping towards the village. They came within about fifty yards and halted. The two brothers Moore, who alone were armed with carbines, and four or five others, mounted and went out to meet the strangers, when they turned and put spurs to their horses, but, racing down the first hill, one of their horses fell, and they surrendered to their pursuers. The prisoners, brought before Captain Brown, acknowledged that they were from the camp of the Kansas militia at Black Jack, on the Santa Fe trail, commanded by H. Clay Pate, from Westport; that their company numbered about eighty, all armed with good rifles and revolvers. One of the prisoners owned up that he was one of the three who had raided Palmyra the evening before, and, as they had been ignorant of the free-state meeting, they had come to Prairie City for the same purpose. The prisoners and their arms were turned over to Captain Shore, who detailed seven of his men as guard. These border ruffians were free to talk, and, among other things, they informed us that they had several free-state prisoners in their camp—one of them an old man, a preacher, named Moore, whom they had "picked up near Westport and taken along for their special fun." The two

Moore at once knew this to be their father, and begged us to start at once; but Captain Brown declared that we should not start before night had set in, and attack the enemy at daybreak, to which proposition all agreed. Captain Brown then requested the women to prepare supper; teams were then started to bring in provisions, which soon returned with sufficient quantities of flour and meat, gathered in the neighborhood.

About half an hour before sundown supper was finished and Captain Brown began to organize the crowd. About forty men, the Prairie City rifles, put themselves under the leadership of Captain Shore. Carpenter, the Moores and Doctor Westfall asked Captain Brown for permission to face next day's dangers in his company, which was freely granted. On unanimous request, Captain Brown consented to be commander-in-chief. After sundown the order to saddle up was given, and it was night when our force of sixty men started from Prairie City. Captain Brown's company formed the advance-guard, with Carpenter and Westfall as pilots. About midnight we halted in a post-oak grove some two miles from the enemy. All hands rested as well as they could near their horses. During this rest Captain Shore agreed to Captain Brown's plan of attack in all of its details. It was agreed to leave the horses with a small guard, to move on foot up to within a mile of the enemy; then Captain Brown's company in advance and center, Captain Shore's men thrown out as skirmishers on each flank, and all together, without firing a shot, to charge upon the border-ruffian camp.

Captain Shore detailed five men as guard with the horses. Captain Brown prevailed upon his son Fred. to stay with them. At first streak of day we started, Brown's company ahead, consisting of Captain Brown, Owen Brown, Watson Brown, Salmon Brown, Oliver Brown, Henry Thompson, Charles Kaiser, Theo. Weiner, Carpenter, the two Moores, Doctor Westfall, Benj. Cochrane, August Bondi, and James Townsley. After a march of a mile and a half we reached the summit of a hill, and before us, about a mile distant, was the hostile camp, in the midst of a small grove. Captain Brown called out, "Now, follow me!" and down-hill he and his company started on a run. We had not yet run down half of the hill when we were greeted with the shots of the Missouri picket, and at the same time we heard the guns of Shore's men replying behind us. Soon the Missourians sent whole volleys against us, but on charged Brown's company. When we arrived at the foot of the hill we saw before us the old Santa Fe road, with its oldest wagon trail, which in many places had been washed out some two or three feet wide and some two feet deep. Beyond, within about 200 yards, was the Missouri camp.

Captain Brown jumped into the old washed-out trail and commanded "Halt, down!" and his companions followed his example. Now we saw that not a man of Captain Shore's company, except Captain Shore himself, had followed down-hill. Most of them had already disappeared; a few were yet on the brow of the hill, wasting ammunition, and very soon those also retired in the direction of their comrades. So, right in the beginning of the fight, Brown's forces had been reduced to his own men. He scattered them all along that old trail, and, using it as a rifle-pit, we opened fire, to which the enemy replied with continuous volleys. Weiner and myself were posted on the extreme left flank; Captain Brown passed continually up and down the line, sometimes using his spy-glass to inspect the enemy's position and repeatedly cautioning his men against wasting ammunition. About a quarter of an hour after we had reached the old trail, Henry Thompson was shot through the lungs and was led away by Doctor Westfall; shortly after Carpenter was shot through the right arm and had to retire. Then Captain Shore squatted himself on the ground and said to Captain Brown,



"I am very hungry." Brown never answered, and went his way to see that the gaps caused by the absence of Thompson, Carpenter and Westfall were filled as well as possible.

Captain Shore then spoke up: "Boys, I shall have to leave you to hunt up some breakfast"; and the hero of that day, according to Mr. Utter, got up and "dusted." After the lapse of another half-hour, Townsley asked Captain Brown for permission to go for ammunition. Captain Brown never answered, and Townsley left. Neither he nor Captain Shore returned to us until after Pate's surrender, when they came to us, following behind the Lawrence "Stubbs."

It might have been about nine o'clock in the forenoon when Captain Brown stopped near me and Weiner, and, after having looked through his spy-glass at the enemy's position for quite a while, he said: "It seems the Missourians have suffered from our fire; they are leaving one by one. We must never allow this; we must try and surround them, and compel them to surrender." He then walked down our line, spoke with some of the men, and returned with the Moore boys to where Weiner and myself were posted, and beckoned us to follow him. The five—Captain Brown, the two Moores, Weiner, and I—ran up a hill south of the Missouri camp. As soon as we had gained a commanding position within 200 yards of the enemy, Captain Brown ordered the two Moores to aim with their carbines at horses and mules exclusively, and not to shoot any men at this time, as he wanted to take as many prisoners as possible. The Moore boys, with four shots, killed two mules and two horses, which, we could perceive, created great consternation in the Missouri camp. We saw several leaving.

Now Captain Brown drew and cocked his revolver, and declared that he should advance some twenty yards by himself, and if then he should wave his hat we should follow, Weiner and myself ahead, the Moores to come up slower; that, if necessary, they could cover our retreat with their carbines. According to previous agreement our comrades along the Santa Fe trail would run to us as soon as they saw his signal with his hat. Captain Brown advanced some twenty steps, then waved his hat, and we four behind him, as well as the seven along the Santa Fe road, charged against the Missouri camp. Captain Pate stepped out in front of his men, waved a white handkerchief, and called out to Captain Brown that he was ready to leave. Captain Brown kept on until within five feet of Captain Pate, and then covering the hostile commander with his revolver, called out, "Unconditional surrender." The rifles slipped from the grasp of the ruffians and Pate surrendered his sword.

Twenty-four well armed cut-throats laid down their arms; some thirty had run off during the engagement; seven more or less seriously wounded lay on the ground. The booty of the day consisted of thirty stands of United States rifles and accouterments, as many revolvers, thirty saddle-horses and equipments, two wagons and their teams, and a large amount of provisions, ammunition, and camp equipage.*

*This is known in history as the "Battle of Black Jack." Among the manuscripts of John Brown in the collection of the Kansas State Historical Society are two copies of the following contract for the exchange of prisoners. They are each signed in the handwriting of the men named: John Brown and S. T. Shore in behalf of the free-state men, and H. Clay Pate and W. B. Brockett for the pro-slavery. One copy is perfectly clean, and the other badly torn. The latter has on the back: "Indorsed by United States Marshal Hays, Colonel Coffey, General Heiskell, or Judge Cato, friends at Baptiste Paola, K. T." The paper reads:

This is an article of agreement between Capt. John Brown, sr., and Samuel T. Shore, of the first part, and Capt. H. C. Pate and Lieut. W. B. Brockett, of the second part, and witnesses that, in consideration of the fact that the parties of the first part have a number of Captain Pate's company prisoners, that they agree to give up and fully liberate one of their prisoners for one of those lately arrested near Stanton, Osawatomie, and Pottawatomie, and so on, one of the former for one of the latter alternately, until all are liberated. It is understood and