

## Kansas historical collections

### Section 8, Pages 211 - 240

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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but the real fact was that a strong Free-State settlement was growing up, and therefore was an eye-sore. The survey as first completed did not include Pawnee, but Jefferson Davis, when the report reached Washington, used his influence with the President to have it included. Charges of speculation and mal-administration were brought against Col. Montgomery, and he was cashiered. We were notified to leave by the 10th of October, but previous to that date the commander was removed, and Major Merrill was appointed in his place. I saw that gentleman, and got from him a written promise to allow me to stay, he promising to use his influence with his successor to let me remain all winter. I did not, therefore, take any step to get me a house. When Col. Cooke came I had an interview with him, and got a partial promise to let me stay. The time of leaving had been extended to the 20th of November. I saw Col. Cooke on the 19th; he said that the President's order must be obeyed, and all the houses razed to the ground. In consequence of my expecting to stay all winter, he gave me another week to get my family and furniture off. It was impossible for me to move in the time, the roads being perfectly impassable from ice and snow. On the 27th or 28th of November, the soldiers came from the fort, and while five men were seated at dinner commenced tearing the building down. They took off the roof and part of the upper logs, and then left. We could not get away, and stayed in the unroofed building until Christmas day. Col. Cooke refused to allow us to make any kind of roof or shelter to protect us from the elements. It was an intensely cold winter. The rain and snow beat in, and very often our garments were frozen stiff. About the 10th of December a fearful snow and rain storm occurred, and our beds and furniture were covered with ice to the depth of two inches. Some of the children, whose heads were protruding from underneath the bed-clothes, had their hair frozen to their pillows, which were obliged to be thawed in the morning. We finally moved a small building to the neighborhood of Ogden, just outside the reserve. All my funds were invested in Pawnee, and by the destruction of the town and my house we were completely impoverished. Col. Cooke stated at the time that all buildings were to be destroyed, yet the stone store built by Mr. Wilson, and the large stone warehouse erected by the Pawnee Association, are still standing uninjured.

After this time till spring, I resided near Ogden, which was then intensely Pro-Slavery, and as a Free-State man had to endure a number of petty persecutions. At one time, in the spring, my wood-pile, which was a very large one, was set fire to, and completely destroyed. It was only by great exertions that my house did not share the same fate. In the spring of 1856, I went with my three eldest children to a claim, on Coal creek, with the intention of farming, etc. It is well known to all the Free-State settlers of Kansas, that last spring a deep scheme was laid to prevent them planting, and otherwise harassing them. The plan followed in our section was to annoy the citizens, burn their fences, and keep them dancing attendance on the bogus courts, as witnesses or jurymen. In the early part of June, I was subpoenaed to attend as witness on several cases that I knew nothing about. The consequence of this was, that a large part of the seed that I intended to sow, was planted too late to be productive, and what grew was destroyed by a large herd of cattle that came down from the Republican fork, when we were all sick and unable to drive them off. In July, a pony, I valued at seventy-five dollars, was stolen by a Pro-Slavery man; another pony was shot by a neighbor, a young Pro-Slavery man, with whom I had a slight dispute. I have been sick since last August, with the fever and ague, bilious fever, and inflammation on the lungs. My eldest children have been sick. My wife, however, has always been in good health, and her exertions and good management have enabled us to keep afloat. All together, my emigration to Kansas has not benefited us so far. If Pawnee had not been destroyed, I should have now been worth two or three thousand dollars. At that time, I estimated my loss at one thousand dollars. Still, if we can manage to live through the winter, and till my crops



come in, and they turn out well, so as to enable me to pay for my claim, and get out of debt, I have no fear for success.

From my experience as a practical farmer, both in the States and here, I believe Kansas to be among one of the best agricultural countries. It is unsurpassed for stock-growing, sheep-raising, and dairy farming. It will be one of the finest States in the Union, and it will be a *free State*. It is the best place for emigration now open. In our section the Free-State men are in a proportion of three-and-a-half to one Pro-Slavery man. The census was taken in August.

## KANSAS EXPERIENCE OF CAPT. SAMUEL ANDERSON.

SOUTH FORK OF POTTAWATOMIE CREEK,  
[FRANKLIN COUNTY,] Dec. 23, 1856. }

I am fifty-two years of age. I have a wife and seven children. My native State is Pennsylvania. I have resided in Illinois seven years. I came to Kansas in June, 1855. My family came in September of the same year. I settled at my present place of residence in October following. I have two sons who are married, who have taken claims adjoining mine. Both of them have one child each. The reason of myself and family emigrating to Kansas was, to get farms and better our conditions. We came by the overland route. I came with a yoke of oxen and a poor, old wagon. The oxen I traded for a claim. My family had two spans of horses and wagons that they came with. The reason why I bought my claim was because I was told that all of the timber claims were taken. This I soon found was false, as there were at least a hundred claims with good timber that had not been preempted. This deception is practiced in all new settlements, to the disadvantage of the settlers.

I had a few provisions when my family came, and some household furniture, but not much. We had, in addition to this, among us all, about fifty dollars. We managed, by working by days' works, to get through the winter. The work which we employed ourselves at was "mauling" rails. We had to haul our provisions from Missouri. It was a cold winter, and of course, as we were circumstanced, we did not have the same comforts that we could have had if we had had some time to prepare for the winter.

Early in the spring of 1856, we made up a team of our two spans of horses, and plowed nine acres, and about the 20th of May began planting. We planted only seven rows, when intelligence reached us that the Missourians had invaded the Territory, and were marching for the purpose of destroying Lawrence. I left my work immediately, started in less than a half-hour, and joined Brown's company, ten miles from my house, at the forks of the creek. One of my sons was absent from home, and the other was compelled to remain with his family on account of sickness. Brown's company numbered about thirty men; some of these were men from my neighborhood. I, with these, reached Brown's encampment about three o'clock. Started immediately, without supper, for Lawrence. We marched as far as Middle creek, nearly all of us on foot, where we were obliged to stop for rest and for something to eat. We had taken a trifle with us, which was all that we had to refresh ourselves with, and after remaining two hours we continued our march. We proceeded, very much fatigued, and some almost exhausted, till we arrived within ten miles of Lawrence, when a messenger met us from this place with instructions for us not to march into Lawrence, as the town had been sacked the day before, and that there were no provisions to feed even those who were there. This disappointed our party much, as all had a great anxiety to have been there to assist in its defense; besides, we were hungry and faint. We went after receiving this sad intelligence four miles from this place to Prairie City, where we got plenty to eat. We were obliged to sleep on the ground without any covering, exposed to the heavy dews, and what made it worse for me, I was unwell with the ague and fever. We remained at this





place four or five days, having plenty to eat, but experiencing much uncomfortableness in our sleeping.

We remained here this length of time watching the actions of the enemy, and to be ready in case of necessity to fight. While we remained here we were informed by a messenger from Lawrence that Gov. Shannon had ordered out a body of troops to disband us, and that they were on their way at this time to carry out these instructions. At this news we went two miles into the prairie, and pitched our tents anew. We had scarcely pitched them when a messenger from Big Pottawatomie came into camp with the intelligence that the enemy were rapidly marching to this creek, to burn the houses, and destroy the inhabitants. This was just at sunset. We immediately prepared, and marched towards our homes, resolving to defend them at all hazards. We marched all night, arriving at Big Pottawatomie about daylight. We remained under arms till the second day, at which time Captain Brown and H. H. Williams were taken prisoners by the Missourians. The Captain Brown I am speaking of was not old Captain John Brown, but John Brown, jr., who remained in prison with Robinson and others. Our company made no resistance to the capture, as it was done by a U. S. official.

After this circumstance, the company dwindled to almost nothing, when I, by a little effort, succeeded to organize a new one from the men on the creek, about thirty in number. A vote was passed by these that they should be known as the Pottawatomie Guards. I was unanimously elected captain of this company, and proceeded immediately to make arrangements to take the responsibility of my charge. I drilled my company each week, and we held ourselves in readiness to march at any moment where our services might be needed.

About three weeks after we had organized, we were sent for from Osawatomie, to assist the people of that town, as they had been threatened to be served in a similar manner with the Lawrence people. We marched immediately, according to request, starting late in the evening, and reaching Osawatomie, after marching on foot twenty-five miles, at three o'clock next morning. We immediately sent out scouts to search for the enemy, but finding no signs of them, after remaining until the second day, in the evening, we returned home. Soon after we returned from this expedition, we learned that a company of over a hundred of the enemy had collected on Big Sugar creek, and were attempting by force to compel the citizens of that creek to sign a paper pledging themselves to either leave the country or join the Pro-Slavery party and support its principles. They had made the attempt to extort this pledge from Mr. Warren, and also Mr. Sutton, who resided on the creek, but on account of their refusing to sign it, they took both prisoners. After a short detention they released Mr. Sutton. They kept Warren ten days, and after extorting a pledge from him that he would not take up arms against them, or inform concerning them of what he had learned during his imprisonment, they released him also. I think he has kept his pledge pretty well, as he has remained inactive ever since. The same threat was made to us on Pottawatomie creek, and that unless we complied with their requirements we must suffer the consequences. A few were for leaving, but a large majority determined to remain, and rather than submit to this base and unjust requirement, or to any other indignity, resolved to "fight it to the death."

On the 25th of August, intelligence reached us that Osawatomie was again threatened; also Sugar and Pottawatomie creeks. In fact, the threat of annihilation and destruction embraced the whole southern part of the Territory—that is, of the Free-State party. We immediately marched for Osawatomie. I was quite unwell—so much so, in fact, that I was in bed when the news came. My son was also sick. But so stirring was the threat, that we determined to start, whether we held out or not; but the excitement of the occasion made us forget our sickness, and in a little while we felt quite well. We met at Osawatomie the companies of Shore and Cline. As nearly as I can remember,



our whole force, the three companies combined, numbered seventy-eight. My command consisted of twenty-five men, when we started from Osawatomie. We marched about six miles from Osawatomie, where we encamped to get something to eat. We had sent out scouts before leaving Osawatomie, and therefore knew pretty nearly where the enemy were; and at this place where we took refreshments, we sent out new scouts, who reported that there were about 175 of the enemy on Middle creek, near the old California road. This was one and one-half miles from where we were. The enemy's camp was on the northwest side of the stream, and on the east side of the road.

After learning these facts we laid our plan of attack. As I was best acquainted with the ground in that vicinity, having lived near that spot for three months, I was assigned the part of cutting off the retreat. I was allowed for this purpose twenty horsemen and sixteen footmen. The horsemen I placed at the crossing of the California road, ten paces apart; the footmen a hundred yards below, at another crossing, the same distance apart. I ordered my men, after stationing them, to call to any who might pass, or attempt it, to halt, and if they would not obey to fire upon them. The two companies under Cline and Shore were to begin the attack from the north; but before I had my men fairly stationed, the firing commenced. After a few discharges, the enemy were heard with heavy tramp like distant thunder rushing through the timber toward where my men were stationed. When they had reached within about fifty yards of us, we cried loudly for them to halt and surrender. Some turned to the right and others to the left, to release themselves, while fourteen in number, of footmen, came forward and surrendered. Many of the horsemen dismounted and left their horses, and passed through the brush on foot and escaped. This was the only way in which they could have escaped. During this time, as they refused to halt, I ordered my men to fire. The effect produced by this fire wounded two men, one of whom died afterwards. The prisoners reported that they saw four or five besides fall from their horses. It was afterwards said that more than this number was missing. Phillips, from Osawatomie, was one of these, and his friends have accused me since of being instrumental in his death, and have threatened to pursue me to avenge it. Thirty-nine or forty horses were taken from the enemy, about thirty-five guns, one keg of powder and much lead, also three wagon-loads of provisions, some coats and hats, boots, etc., besides a large flag with this inscription: "Victory or Death." It was a black flag with red letters. Capt. Brown's coat (of the Pro-Slavery party), was found, with many interesting documents relating to the war.

The prisoners seemed very humble, and would frequently come to me, and ask if I intended to kill them. They remarked that their leaders had often told them that if they were taken they would be murdered by the Abolitionists. Those who escaped went, some to the States, others to Fort Scott. They were so frightened that they ran their horses almost to death, for fear of being caught. One poor fellow, who lived on Sugar creek, in passing Mr. Arthur's house, told Mrs. Arthur, with whom he was acquainted, that 600 Abolitionists were in close pursuit, with more than 1,000 Sharp's rifles, admonishing her to leave or else she would be killed by them; and turning his head just at this moment, when he was giving this advice, saw some of his comrades coming at full speed, he dropped his narrative, started his horse at full speed, riding about a half-mile, when it fell. He dismounted, leaving his horse, and pursued his course on foot. One of the party, who was neighbor to Mr. Arthur, came to his house and begged protection. He was so frightened that he crawled under the bed. Mr. Arthur is a Free-State man. He related this to our party afterwards.

While we were in pursuit of these fellows, we learned from his wife that they were beyond our reach, when we gave up the chase and returned to our homes. Mr. Arthur was not at home at this time.





On the 28th day of August a messenger was sent from Osawatomie to the creek, informing us that the town was again in danger, as the enemy were prowling around, and requested that every available man on the creek come to its relief. I immediately, as soon as I could collect my men, started. The number was twenty-eight; but three were so unwell as to be unfit to march so far, so arrangements were made for them to ride, and they accompanied the rest. We began our march about 4 o'clock P. M., traveling nearly all night, and getting within four or five miles of the town, when a messenger met us from the town, stating that there would be no further need of us there, as the town had been sacked that day, and that the same company had said they were going immediately to Pottawatomie, to destroy and burn the houses and property there. We immediately turned and countermarched the whole distance without resting. From the time we set out the day before up to the time we got back, at 8 o'clock next morning, we only had a few mouthfuls to eat, which we took in our pockets when starting. In fact, nearly every man on the creek, in anticipation of the execution of this threat, the next day immediately set to work and took those things which were the most valuable from their houses, and secreted them in the brush. We then, every available man on the creek, met, and resolved ourselves to make a stand in defense of our lives and property, even though we forfeited them in the attempt. We kept spies and scouts on the lookout for several days; also kept a guard standing nights. Most of the families slept in the woods; some, however, by clubbing together, stuck to their houses.

About one week after this alarm, we were again called, by old Captain Brown, to march to his assistance, on account of anticipated troubles on Sugar creek, twenty-two miles distant. I immediately marched my men to this place. The enemy against whom we were marching numbered 300, and were marching immediately for the south. Pottawatomie Baker, a Pro-Slavery man, discovered my company when I passed his house, and sent word to the commander of the 300 that I was on my way to reinforce Brown, which so frightened them that they gave up their project and retreated to Westport, in Missouri. I immediately marched my company home, when I learned this, and have never been obliged to call them out since. We have, however, experienced much anxiety, and been several times alarmed since this time. During much of the time this summer, my family, indeed every family on the creek, have been in almost constant fear of being assassinated, or else having their property destroyed by the Border-Ruffians. Since the Middle creek affair, my life has been in almost constant jeopardy. My wife has had to watch outside the house, at times, that I and my sons might sleep in safety; and at times the women and children have been obliged to sleep in the brush. I should not have raised a hill of corn, if it had not been for my little girls, who finished planting the field which I spoke of, when I was called away from my work in the spring. They planted and partially hoed four acres, which would have been good could it have been attended to in season. This is all that I have been able to accomplish toward the support of my family, in the way of raising crops. My sons raised about one and one-half acres. They planted more, but it never amounted to anything but fodder. They have both been with me engaged in the difficulties all summer. One of my sons has been laid up for nearly two months on account of an accident which happened by the discharge of a pistol, which broke one of the bones of his leg.

#### STATEMENT OF SAMUEL F. TAPPAN.

DECEMBER 14, 1856.

I have been in Kansas two years. I have never received any money for Kansas, nor lectured East. I happened to be on my way to Kansas in the latter part of August. At St. Louis, I judged from reports that I could not go up the river. I went to Chicago. There I received an order for a cannon at Rock Island, which I took to Iowa City. At



Davenport, I met Winchell\*, on the 2d day of September; reached Iowa City same evening. On the 3d, our cannon arrived. On the 4th, Dr. Bowen bought one pair of gray horses for the cannon wagon. Besides these, he bought a large bay horse and a sorrel, and a covered wagon; also another covered wagon and a span, one black horse and a small bay mare. That day, the 4th of September, the revolvers arrived from the East. On the 5th, we packed up—put provisions, cartridges and all in the wagons. Dr. Bowen also furnished one tent and two dozen blankets. On the evening of the 5th, Winchell and Dr. Bowen rode out to our camp, ten miles from Iowa City. Winchell said he was going back to Iowa City and take the stage to Tabor, where he would meet us. Dr. Bowen gave me \$50 to pay expenses of our party on the way. While we were at Iowa City, during the night, some one attempted to steal our horses, and also our cannon. They also broke open a store house and destroyed forty Government muskets, thinking they belonged to us. At Knoxville, I had \$30 left. Our loads were heavy, and it was raining, so I hired an extra team for three dollars per day, and we paid his expenses. We paid him \$33. Higginson† paid, at Nebraska City, \$30 for us and \$80 for Lane's‡ party. We met, all through Iowa, people fleeing from Kansas. At Nebraska City, we received a message from Eldridge§ to remain until he came up. Lane told us we could go in without any trouble. Higginson here took charge. We encamped two miles from town, opened our boxes, and gave each man a rifle, revolver, cartridges and knives, each member promising to give them up at Topeka. Our understanding with the committee at Chicago was, that we each were to have a rifle, revolver and knife, to use in the Territory, but not to carry out—that is, those who had none. Higginson paid me back the money I had expended for flour and meal, at White Cloud, out of my private purse. By this time we had been eaten out.

At Plymouth, we gave Redpath|| some ninety-odd revolvers; we had 200 in all, at starting. At Nebraska City, some persons joined us. Plumb¶ gave out twenty-seven rifles; the balance, seventy-three, he handed over to the Central Committee, and ninety-two revolvers, and bowie knives whose numbers I do not know; also, one-half keg of Sharp's rifle balls; cannon we buried at Topeka[?]. Plumb's bill of blacksmithing, etc., was \$20. We had fifteen men to feed every day, until we got to Tabor. At Topeka, we sent back a man named Chubbs; a short man (four feet ten), light complexion, long visage, light eyes, light-brown hair, walked a little bow-legged, short bow legs. Chubbs went with Mr. Trott, of Topeka, who had a wagon, to get the cannon which we had buried twelve miles south of Lexington. Chubbs rode the black mare, bought in Iowa City. At Winterset, (I forgot to mention,) we were joined by a man named Jo, a New Yorker. Chubbs ran away with that horse, disappearing towards Nebraska City. At Topeka, Plumb took two gray horses, the bay horse and the sorrel, and a small bay (the mate to the one Chubbs ran away with), three wagons, and a yoke of oxen (we bought a yoke for \$80, in Nebraska City.) This was done by consent of Higginson. Plumb went up forty miles above Fort Riley, and made a settlement. This party went out on a buffalo hunt; Plumb rode the big bay; shot a buffalo; horse threw him, and ran away. The next day Jo started to look for the runaway horse, with one of the grays. The last seen or heard of him, he was fifteen miles west of their camp. The man, Wm. Eldridge, from Logansport, Ind., who was with him, says they saw something ahead which they took to be the lost horse, but he could not keep up with Jo, who proceeded ahead. This was the last ever seen of him. The arsenal at Topeka was broken up.

\*Hon. James M. Winchell, afterward President of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention.

†Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, of the late war, and author of "Oldport Days."

‡Gen. James H. Lane.

§Col. Shaler W. Eldridge, of Lawrence, at that time in command of the army of immigrants.

||James Redpath, the well-known author, newspaper correspondent, and lecturer.

¶Preston B. Plumb, now United States Senator.





EXPERIENCES OF CAPTAIN THOMAS BICKERTON.

LAWRENCE, Friday, December 5, 1856.

I am a native of Maine, aged forty years. I am a widower. Have no children; both wife and children dead—died before I came here. Having no ties to bind me anywhere, I concluded to come to Kansas. I am a machinist by trade. I followed the sea from the age of thirteen up till about thirty years of age. I then went into the machine shop of Ross Winans, of Baltimore, after having worked one year at Simpson's, at suction pumps. After having worked at Winans's fifteen months, I talked of leaving, and was told, if I would remain I could have work as long as there was work to be had, and at regular wages. In the summer of 1847 I went to Portland to work in the machine shop of the Portland Company. The shop not being ready, I went mackerel-catching for seven weeks, and did well. I then went on to Boston, as the Portland Company was not ready, and went to work in the Boston & Worcester Machine Company's shop; worked until 1849, and then went around Cape Horn to California. Left in May, and arrived in San Francisco in October. I went into a company, and put \$150 into a vessel. This I received back from its sale, and so my passage cost only the labor of working it.

I went straight to the mines. I made \$900 the first winter; got the rheumatism working in the river Yuba; worked cutting a canal across a bend of the river. The water is very cold—snow-water from the mountains. We would work in it until our legs were blue. Finally, I got to having pains in my liver, the company broke up, and I worked around awhile afterwards; but, thinking I was likely to be sick, concluded to return home before my money was run out.

I returned by the Nicaragua route. Remained at Granada six months. At one time there I could scarcely walk across the floor. At this time I carved figure-heads, and made sails; carved figures for the churches. Afterwards, when I got so I could go about I shot birds, and preserved them. I sent them to the Tremont Temple, Boston, where they got burnt up. Afterwards commanded a little schooner on Lake Nicaragua, employed by Dr. Segur. At that time there was no transit company of any note.

Reached Boston in July, 1851. Went to work again at locomotive work. In the fall of 1852 married. Had two children—twins. My wife died in the fall of 1853. One child died at its birth; the other in the summer of 1854. After my wife died I went to Portland, where my child lived with its grandmother. There I taught drawing of evenings, and worked at my trade of days. After my child died I could not contain myself, and so, on March 30th, 1855, I started from Boston, with a company, for Kansas.

We came up the Missouri river, and on the way talked of the election coming off, and said if we were in time we should vote. Arrived at Kansas City the 3d of April. We came up to Lawrence. My claim is just one mile south of Wakefield's. At that time there were no houses. We had been told we could get work here. I bought some stuff at St. Louis, and made a tent on the boat. I persuaded some of the others to do so, and helped them. Four of us picked out claims adjoining each other, seven miles from Lawrence. All were married except myself. Two had brought their families. The one who did not, became discouraged and went back. I had only \$88. I let one family who had no tent stay in mine until they could get a house built, and helped them build it of round logs. After the house was up I took my tent on to my own claim. We helped each other the best way we could; we were all poor. I charged nothing for what I did for my neighbors, and would not have taken anything. I bought a bag of hard bread, and a spade to cut the turf with, and went to work and made a sod house with walls two feet, and a sod chimney.

The way I made my house was this: I stretched a line, and laid up the sod as a mason would lay up brick. I cut my sod by line and measure very exact, dividing the sod into 1x2 feet, and laying them up so as to break joints, one course of sod crosswise, and





the other lengthwise, and after getting up a couple of feet I drove hickory withes about 2 feet apart, first sharpening the ends. I laid round sticks of hickory, about 3½ or 4 inches in diameter, on top of the sod walls, and pinned them fast. These sticks, where they formed or supported the gable ends, were laid in a series, side by side, 2 feet in width, forming at one end the top of the fire-place, and over the door. The only trouble is, the mice dig holes in it. This house is good now, after standing twenty months, while others have fallen down; it is warm and comfortable. The floor is of clay; I wet it and sprinkled it over with ashes, and hammered it down hard. The roof is double-pitch, with a ridge-pole, and covered with clapboards, about three feet in length, rough split, from 7 to 3 inches in width, and were laid lapping. I hired a man to break up 6 acres of ground, and planted with corn, chopping it in with an ax. I went and bargained for stuff enough to make pickets, and drove them into the ground; pickets about 5½ feet long, driven in about a foot, and about a foot apart (too wide, though). I then split out thin rails, rived out and split with a "fro," which I nailed on the top. I, with a spade, mellowed up the ground, and planted potatoes, one bushel. By this time I had got through my money, and I thought now something must be done. My things would grow without me, I knew, and I had a good fence so the cattle could not get in.

I heard there was work to be had up at Fort Riley, and so, to get there, I dug a cellar for a neighbor for one dollar per day, and earned fifteen dollars, and turned to and baked some bread and put it in a bag, and with a shirt or two, blanket and coat, buckled it on my back and started, telling my neighbor, Barber, (Robert; Thomas was afterwards murdered,) to look after my things; that if I got good pay I would stay until late in the fall. I traveled thirty miles the first day, which was in the month of August, and slept at the Baptist Mission. The next night I slept in a hay-stack, at an Indian's, on the Vermillion; the next night at Juniata, on the Big Blue, and the next day, in the afternoon, I was at Fort Riley.

I worked here until the 15th of November for the Government. I applied to Mr. Sawyer, boss over the whole. He asked what I could do. I told him any kind of machine-work. He said there was nothing of that kind to do. I said: "I see you are gearing new tackling for derricks; I am a sailor, and can do that." He said there was nothing of this kind to do. I then said: "I must have work of some kind, as I am in need of money." He sent me down to the mill, to Mr. Merryman. I took the place of fireman to the engine. The engine had not been put up right; they did not understand metallic packing; and the result was it was not set right. I took hold and made it all right. This saw-mill was on the Republican Fork. There was another mill on the Smoky Fork. At that one they ran the engine night and day, with two engineers. They neglected to oil the valve, and it cut into the face of the cylinder, wasting more than half of the steam; so they shut down, and were going to give up altogether. A man by the name of Vogdis was boss over the mill, under Sawyer. Sawyer told him a man had come to him saying he was a machinist; "go to him, and see if he can do anything towards fixing it." I went over and found they had a spare valve; so I went to work and chipped down the face of the cylinder, and filed it level and smooth, and fitted the valve. It took me three days, and I got three dollars per day for this. I then went back to my work, first having set the engine at work with plenty of steam; it was not necessary now to keep up such tremendous fires, as no steam was wasted. Vogdis brought Sawyer to look at it, saying it had never gone so well since he had taken it. Afterwards Vogdis came over and said Sawyer wanted me to take charge of one watch, at ninety dollars per month and rations.

I arrived in Lawrence in November, with \$108, paid all my debts and returned to my house. I then went up to Benicia, and worked three days at a mill.

I then went home again, and learned that trouble was threatened at Lawrence. So,





with my revolver, I started down to town. Here I learned that Lane wanted somebody to go down to Kansas City, and bring up a brass howitzer. A young man named Sumner, David Buffum (afterwards shot), and another Buffum, a cousin, I think, to David, went with me. These fellows came very near getting us all into trouble. They wanted to shoot hogs on the road, and in one instance another man's dog, which would have attracted attention to us, and caused us to be watched. After getting the cannon, too, they wanted to go up by the way of Westport, and cross the Delaware ferry. I opposed this, and crossed near Kansas City, over to the Wyandotte side of the Kaw, pretending to go to Atchison. Our mare was blind, and in getting off of the flat-boat got into the water. I knew it would not do to unload, or we would be exposed at once, so I sung out to the Missourians and Indians who had gathered on the shore, to take hold of a rope fast to the wagon and haul it up the bank, which they did. We traveled all night. The others wanted to stop until morning, but I told them that it would not do; and it was lucky we went on, for we had not been in Lawrence more than half an hour before the enemy had their lines stretched across the river, and across the river we had come over. A troop of cavalry from Lawrence were sent up to guard us in. They met us down by Sarcocie's. Buffum saw them coming, and thought they were Missourians. I was riding along on the wagon, bobbing and bobbing my head with sleep, for you see we were all tired; slept none all night. Says Buffum, says he, "Here comes horsemen! What are we to do?" Says I, "Pull your revolvers, and let 'em have it; because, if they take us, we are sure to be hung, and we may as well kill all we can before we go." But as we got nearer I saw some faces that I knew, and it was all right. As we were coming into Lawrence, the people all set up a shout for the cavalry. We poor fellows who had done all the work they never noticed at all. Well, it's all the same, a thousand years hence.

FRIDAY, Dec. 12, 1856.

When I arrived with the howitzer, Thomas Barber, Robert Barber and Thomas Pearson were just going out home to get some wood and water for the women folks, and to return. Thomas Barber had no arms. Robert borrowed my navy revolver, saying I would not need it. I then went into the trenches, throwing up breastworks to defend the city. I had no gun, but wanted one, the worst kind; there were plenty of others in the same fix. Lane wanted an artillery company formed, and they placed me in command.

After the peace (of Shannon's fixing up), I left for home, and boarded with Robert Barber, after the murder of his brother. The weather was so awful cold people could do nothing except get out a few rails.

Trouble came in the spring again, and ground that had been plowed the year before remained unplanted; so that in this vicinity not over one-fourth was planted compared with what would have been done. My corn stood in the field; had to be left out all winter, and plenty of others like me. The half of this was lost, by prairie hens and in various ways. The garden seed sent from the East was too old, and came to nothing. In the spring I hired ground plowed, promising to pay out of this fall's crop. Then we were going along first-rate. This was in August; I had corn and chickens, and potatoes and beets in the ground. I had come down and sold a load of corn that day—the corn which had stood out all winter. And as I was returning from Lawrence, Grover called out that there was a job under way that night; that those fellows at Franklin were getting too strong, and would soon be so that we could do nothing with them, unless they were routed now.

I should have previously stated, that in the spring of 1856, that is, in May of this year, Jones came in to make arrests, and the people all agreed that arrests might be made, but our arms would not be given up. They were talking of boxing up the howitzer. The howitzer was in the cellar of G. W. Hutchinson's house at this time. John





Hutchinson and Col. Topliff were present at this time. They were the ones who proposed boxing it, and to have my artillery company to defend it with small arms, seeming not to be afraid of firing on the Marshal with little weapons, but that it would not do to use the cannon against him—just like a Nantucket boat steerer who always wants to hit a whale easy, lest it should madden him. I told them if I was to be left in charge of that thing, that I would have it loaded and primed and all ready, with a match in my hand, and the company in there, and that I would lay a false train under the floor in the clay, so if the Marshal came and knocked at the door I would say, "Walk in, sir, and look around, and see if there is anybody here you want to take, but we are a private company, and these are private arms, and you must not touch them;" and if he and his posse should attempt to make any disturbance, we would just fire the train, saying, "Gentlemen, you can't escape; this whole street is undermined!" And so in the confusion and dirt and smoke kicked up by firing the train, we would escape out of the back door with the howitzer, and these rascals as they rushed up into the street were to be popped off by our men from the buildings around, none of our folks being out of their houses.

They agreed to adopt this. My artillery company numbered about eighteen men, all well drilled, so that we could fire five times in a minute. I told them of our arrangement, and told them I did not want anybody to come unless they were willing to fire upon the Marshal, or even the President of the United States, if he came there to disturb us; that we were to go into the arrangement with the understanding that we were not to be beaten; it was conquer or die. So we got nine out of the whole company.

After this arrangement was all made, Lieutenant Governor Roberts sent in, the next morning, and told us it would be resisting the United States authorities, and they, (the Safety Committee,) had concluded not to resist them. When I heard that, says I: "Gentlemen, I'll go out home; you can give up the howitzer just as well without me as with me."

After I left, the howitzer was taken to the next house, a portion of the foundation wall removed, and the cannon secreted there, the wall being put up again. This howitzer was, a few days afterward, delivered up to Sheriff Jones.

The Stubbs were very much enraged at the course of the Safety Committee, and proposed to me to take the howitzer and go off south, and establish ourselves. But this was impossible, for want of provisions, &c. The hotel was destroyed May 21st, 1856. After this the county was chock-full of those devilish fellows, going about and helping themselves to horses, saying they were ordered by Shannon to take our horses for the use of the Territorial troops, of which they were a part. They were bound to destroy Walker's house. He had wind of it, and sent to the neighbors, who all went there. Walker had some of the men stationed in the ravine. By-and-by, about twelve o'clock in the night, these devils came along, all in a body, and rode up to Walker's house. As soon as they began to dismount, our men began to fire on them. One horse was killed, but none of the ruffians, who all fled at the first fire, except several prisoners who were taken. In the morning they were let go. These fellows, of course, became witnesses against us. That's the way our people always did. Shannon and these fellows came, in a few days, to Walker's house, and compelled Mrs. Walker to remove. Walker concealed himself at my house. His house was left as a trap, for a time, to catch our folks in, and subsequently burnt at the time Wakefield's house was.

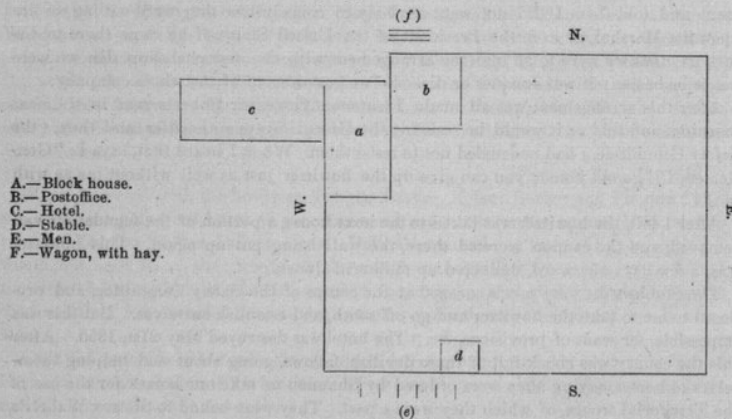
We were, after this, left in comparative peace, until the assembling of our Legislature at Topeka. Marshal Donaldson there read the proclamation to the people outside, who told him they had nothing to do with it. We suspected a Mr. James Tuton, a Methodist preacher, who was a member of the Legislature, of being unsound; and so a court of three was appointed to wait on him to request him to go and take his seat. But he



would not, saying he had heard the President's proclamation, and that was enough for him. This fellow has since been found guilty of handing in the names of our Free-State people to the judiciary, to get out writs against them. He has been recently waited on and whipped, and ten days given him in which to leave the country. He enlisted with Titus, and went around pointing out Free-State people, and showed Hazleton's house.

As I was saying, I was half-way home after selling my corn, when Grover rode out on the California road after me. My artillery company was in existence, but we had no cannon. Grover said there was a six-pounder up at Franklin, and we must have it to operate on Titus's house. Robert Barber and Thomas Parvin were with me; or rather, I was with them, as I had no team of my own. So I left them and came back, on foot, to Lawrence, with Grover. I met William Hutchinson when I came into town, who told me to come up stairs with him, and he would show me a man from the States named "Cook." I went up, and who should I see but Lane! This was the 11th of August.

The Franklin affair was kept secret from the people. They thought, when they saw us going, that we were going out by the church to drill by moonlight. When we got up near to Franklin who should come along but this "Jo. Cook," on horseback, and make himself known to the boys. They were very much elated with seeing Lane, and seemed now to think that everything would go right.



We were there, firing away, for several hours, uselessly. Some, occasionally, sent to know what we were doing, and told us to blaze away. Finally I got tired of lying there, especially as I had nothing but a pistol; so I went over to Cracklin, behind the stable, and told him something must be done, as it was useless to waste ammunition any longer. I proposed getting some hay, and setting fire to them. Caleb Pratt and Fuller volunteered to go with me, each with an armful of hay. So we went around to the end of the hotel, on the road, thinking there were no windows there, where they could see us. But, just as we got in reach of their guns, they began to fire on us; so we got a wagon from a neighbor's, and filled it, and dragged it to the front of the post office, and set fire to it. We had to draw the wagon up, instead of pushing it ahead of us. Pretty soon after the fire got a-going, we heard a great cry from within of, "Quarter, quarter!" I called out to our men to stop firing. I asked for some one to go with me, and stave in the door. Fuller told me to lead, and he would follow. When we burst in the door, we found the soldiers had run through the hotel and escaped, mostly. Mrs. Crane, whose husband kept the post office, begged: "Oh, don't shoot my husband—don't shoot him!"



One of our men exclaimed: "He deserves to die; he is a great villain!" She said: "I know it—that's just the reason I don't want him shot!" We did not intend to do any violence to him, as that kind of work was always done by the other side.

Our men, I am ashamed to say, were so eager, over the way, in gutting Crane's store, that I could hardly get any of them to help me in taking the cannon out of the block-house, which was the first thing I espied. The post office was not disturbed. The post master opened it for me, and watched, by my request, to see that nothing was disturbed. I went in only to see if any arms or powder were there. Found no cartridges and only five balls. Got the cannon on to its carriage, and brought it to Lawrence. Placed it in a cellar in the face of the hill, at Mr. Rice's. Mrs. Rice, her husband, and the two or three others I found with him, I made hold up their right hand, and all swear not to divulge what they had seen that morning. I then went to work and made a pattern for a ball; as there was no lead in the place, and we had no way of making them of iron, and we had to take Brown's type, of the *Herald of Freedom*.

RECENT STATEMENT BY CAPT. BICKERTON.\*

LAWRENCE, KAS., January 31, 1881.

MR. F. G. ADAMS—*Dear Sir:* In answer to your letter, I will tell the story of the taking of the "Sacramento" as near as I can remember it. At the time I did not deem what we were doing of much importance, so I did not note it down. We marched from Lawrence a little after dark with what arms we could muster, and some with none. The Stubbs, however, were well-armed and well-drilled, under the command of Capt. Joseph Cracklin.

When we arrived on the ground, we commenced firing on the log cabin. The fire was immediately returned through the loop-holes that the cabin was pierced with. The firing was kept up on both sides for a long time, until we had one man killed and several wounded. I began to feel apprehensive that we would not get what we came after, and proposed to Gen. Lane to burn them out. Lane would not hear to it, but finally gave his consent; so I volunteered my services. The first attempt proved abortive. Caleb Pratt and a boy by the name of Ed. Ropes took each of us a bundle of hay; each being well provided with matches, we started towards the house, but the moon would occasionally shine out between the clouds, and we were discovered and fired upon, Caleb Pratt having on white pants. We finally gave up that plan, and loaded a wagon, intending to back it up. Accordingly, the box was taken off from the wagon, and loaded with hay, and we got the wagon up into the street where the log house was. Then, we changed our minds again. In room of backing it up, I concluded it would be better to take the tongue of the wagon, and go directly towards the house. When our plans were completed, I went to Cracklin, the Captain of the Stubbs, and told him not to fire upon the building until he could see by the burning hay that all of our men were away from the building. The plan I adopted was to get the wagon there with as little noise as possible, and if we were discovered and fired upon, then they were to rush to the house, and set fire to the hay. However, fortune favored us. We were not discovered until the tongue grated against the door and fell on the door-step, and then instantly a volley was fired over our heads. I remember saying, as though it was yesterday, that they might fire, and be d—d; that "I will burn you out before I leave." When Fowler and I got behind the wagon, there were only two men left; they were in the act of lighting wisps of hay. Fowler and I soon provided ourselves with wisps, and in a moment had the hay ablaze. Then we retreated, and Capt. Cracklin poured in a volley that brought them to time. They hallooed for quarter in every direction. They supposed the whole

\*As will be seen, this paper is of recent date. It was written by Captain Bickerton without a knowledge on his part that his former account was in the possession of our Society. The slight discrepancies between the two statements illustrate the effects of a lapse of twenty-five years as to the memory of the details of events coming under the observation of the narrator.





building was on fire, but fortunately the wind drew the flames from the building. I immediately started for the door, burst it open, and was the first man in, and saw some of them leaving by the back door. We were glad to get rid of them, for we weren't after them, but after the cannon. In the left-hand corner, as we went into the door, we discovered a gown, bonnet and veil. In removing the wearing apparel, the "Sacramento" was discovered, muzzle down; the carriage and wheels were discovered in the back-yard under the wood-pile. We dug them out, and got the gun mounted as speedily as possible, as morning was far advanced. The burning hay that we had removed from the wagon was of great service to us in lighting up, and the same time showing up a man by the name of Southmade, who had taken Mr. Crane, the landlord, prisoner. His wife appeared, in great despair, clasping her hands, and shouting, "For God's sake, don't shoot Mr. Crane!" Southmade shouted, "He is a d—d old scoundrel. He had ought to have been shot long ago." She said, "I know it—I know it—that is why I am afraid you will shoot him!" We searched for powder and cannon-balls. Our search was rewarded by finding three cannon-balls about as large as potatoes usually are.

We finally formed line of march for Lawrence. Gen. Lane sent word to hide the cannon in some corn-field. I did not like that notion, after having so much work to get it. So I talked with a man by the name of Rice, who had a house on the east side of the hill, and he allowed us to put it in his cellar. After we got the gun dismounted and put in the cellar, we put the wheels and carriage behind the wood-pile. I saw that his wife seemed to take a great deal of interest in what we were doing, and began to think as soon as she got her dishes washed she would be off telling everybody what she had got in the cellar. So I formed the men into line, the lady at the head, and stepped in front and took off my hat, held up my hand, and said: "Do you solemnly swear not to reveal what you have seen this morning, unless it is to the proper authorities?" They all assented, and thus the oath was administered.

The next day Gen. Lane was at the head of about 500 men, at the head of Coal creek, and kept sending messages to me to bring along the gun. I knew that the gun was useless without ammunition; so I sent word back that he might as well have a spare pump as to have the gun without ammunition. So I set myself diligently at work to procure some. I had remembered that Brown had bragged through his paper that he had several tons of type that would be used to make balls to be fired at the enemy, if need be. Brown was then a prisoner in the U. S. Camp. So I went to Miss Gleason, his wife's sister, and asked her for type. She told me that she had had a letter from Brown, with instructions not to let any one touch the type, no matter for what purpose. I tried to prevail on her to let me have the key to the room where the type was stored away, but all to no purpose; she steadily refused. I finally went to William Hutchinson's, early in the morning, into the bed-room where he and his wife were asleep, and explained to him the trouble I was in in regard to the type. He replied that I had as much power as anybody, and that I had best take the type. I went to Miss Gleason, and told her I must have the type, anyhow; if she would give me the keys it would save me breaking the door in, as I was bound to have the type, whether or no. She commenced to cry. I told her it was better that every woman in Kansas should cry than not to have the type. So, very reluctantly, she got me the keys. In a short time I had a hundred six-pound cannon-balls made. That was the first time anything was ever cast in a sand mould in Lawrence. Then we started for Coal creek with my company, to join Lane, and finally marched on Fort Saunders. But the Pro-Slavery men did not care to face the music, and left next day. Then we attacked Col. Titus's fort, and I believe that was the first cannon-ball that was fired on the part of the North, in the struggle for freedom against slavery. We fired eleven round shot before we brought them to terms. The result is well known. I believe the "Sacramento" fired the first ball on both sides. I believe



that was the gun that was used at the Free-State hotel, in Lawrence, but she did not do as good work for them as she did for us, for they missed the hotel from the opposite side of the street.

Yours truly,

THOMAS BICKERTON.

## THE ABBOTT HOWITZER—ITS HISTORY.

The brass howitzer referred to by Capt. Bickerton in the preceding statements, is now in the collections of the State Historical Society. It was recently presented by Major James B. Abbott, of DeSoto. It was the first Free-State cannon brought to Kansas. In order to give the history of this most interesting relic, the following statement of Major Abbott is given, followed by correspondence and other papers relating to it, chiefly from manuscripts not before published:

Several of the letters and manuscript papers which I have deposited with the Historical Society relate to the purchase of arms for the Free-State men, in 1855. After the armed invasion from Missouri, at the election of March 30th of that year, through which the right of the people to make their own laws was usurped, it was apparent that a conflict of arms would come on; and the Free-State men began to prepare for it. They determined that they would neither respect nor obey the acts which should be passed by the Legislature elected through that invasion; and they knew that the Pro-Slavery party meant to pass oppressive acts, and to try to enforce them.

I went East to get arms, starting from Lawrence the latter part of July. I had had correspondence with, and knew some men of influence and means; and I took with me a letter from Gov. Robinson, who was known and respected by the friends of the Free-State people where I was going. I went to Chicago, Detroit, and on to Massachusetts. I went to the "Emigrant Aid" folks, in Boston, and to Amos A. Lawrence. Mr. Lawrence immediately gave the money for the purchase of 100 Sharp's rifles. He gave the money for himself and other friends who joined in the contribution. Among the letters deposited are three from him about this business. His action, and these letters, show what a friend of Kansas he was at that early period, and how quick he was to comprehend the character of the struggle into which we had been precipitated. Some of the other letters I give the Society are written by Frederick Law Olmstead, of New York, a prompt and energetic friend of Kansas. These letters relate to the howitzer, which was purchased by Mr. Olmstead with funds chiefly collected by him as my agent, partly from subscriptions made before I left New York. The howitzer got as far as Kansas City, and was brought up to Lawrence in the midst of the "Wakarusa war," and almost through the enemy's lines. Horace Greeley, David Dudley Field, — Perkins, Charles King, John E. Williams, and others, most of whose names I have forgotten, interested themselves about this gun.

I raised a little money at Providence and Hartford, and this, with what was raised in New York, bought seventeen more Sharp's rifles; and Mr. Olmstead, after consulting with me about it, purchased the howitzer. Joseph R. Hawley gave me, at Hartford, money enough to buy one Sharp's rifle. Mr. Olmstead was an active man in getting the others together, and in collecting the subscriptions; and it was he who suggested the purchase of the howitzer; reckoning, as he did, that for our use it would be as good as a hundred muskets or rifles. When I reached home, the latter part of September, I found the Sharp's rifles, which I had sent ahead of me, there at Lawrence and ready for use; as it was apprehended they would need to be used at the election for delegates to the Topeka Constitutional Convention, which was to be held on the 9th of October. The howitzer came later, but was in time to be brought to the defense of Lawrence at the





time of the invasion, in December; the pretense for which was the rescue of Branson; which rescue, as it happened, I had had a hand in.

I was not acquainted with all the circumstances relating to the bringing of the howitzer up from Kansas City to Lawrence, but I have recently learned from Col. Shaler W. Eldridge some of the circumstances. Col. Eldridge was, at the time, proprietor of the principal hotel at Kansas City, and was very serviceable to the Free-State men in many ways, as all the old settlers well remember. He informs me that when David Buffum and Capt. Bickerton, or whoever it was who came with Buffum—he only remembers the name of David Buffum—came down for the howitzer, they came to him in the evening, told him their errand, and requested him to aid them by some means to get the gun out of the warehouse that night. He told them they could do nothing about it that night, but next morning he would see what could be done. So in the morning he prepared an order, to which he signed the name of Mr. Hutchinson, the person to whom the howitzer and other goods were consigned, at the warehouse of Riddlesbarger & Bartley. He went to the warehouse with the order, told Mr. Riddlesbarger that Mr. Hutchinson had sent to him to pay some freight for him. Mr. R. made out a bill for all the freight in Hutchinson's name, and Col. Eldridge paid it (amounting to \$40), as he well remembers. There were other light goods—some brooms, he remembers, among other things. He remarked that a man would come with a wagon to haul the things away. He then sent Buffum down, telling him to load the howitzer in the bottom of the wagon, and put the brooms and other light things on top, so as to conceal the contraband freight. Mr. Riddlesbarger betrayed no suspicion to Col. Eldridge as to the character of the freight. Mr. Joseph Savage, who was intimate with Buffum, says he well recollects that the latter told him that Mr. Riddlesbarger remarked to him, while they were loading the freight, that the Missourians charged him with helping the Yankees in their smuggling of arms into the Territory—a thing he would not do for the world. He hoped there was nothing of the kind in this lot of things. Buffum peeped through a knot-hole into a box, and told Riddlesbarger that he saw a wheel of a cart, he guessed it was. Mr. R. looked, and said he reckoned so, too. It was a wheel of the howitzer carriage.

The gun was surrendered to the Pro-Slavery party, at the sacking of Lawrence, May 21st, 1856, and was recovered at the exchange of prisoners after the battle at Titus's, which occurred on the 16th of August, the same year.

GOVERNOR ROBINSON'S LETTER.

LAWRENCE, July 26, 1855.

MR. THAYER—*Dear Sir:* The bearer, J. B. Abbott, is a resident of this district, on the Wakarusa, about four miles from Lawrence. There is a military company formed in his neighborhood, and they are anxious to procure arms. Mr. Abbott is a gentleman in whom you can place implicit confidence, and is true as steel to the cause of freedom in Kansas. In my judgment the rifles in Lawrence have had a *very good* effect, and I think the same kind of instruments in other places would do more to save Kansas than almost anything else.\* Anything you can do for Mr. Abbott will be gratefully appreciated by the people of Kansas. We are in the midst of a revolution, as you will see by the papers. How we shall come out of the furnace, God only knows. That we have got to enter it, some of us, there is no doubt; but we are ready to be offered.

In haste, very respectfully yours, for freedom for a world,

C. ROBINSON.

[The above letter has the following indorsement:]

"OFFICE OF THE NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY,  
"No. 3 Winter street, BOSTON, Aug. 10, 1855."

"Dr. Charles Robinson, within mentioned, is an agent of the Emigrant Aid Company, and is worthy of implicit confidence. We cheerfully recommend Mr. J. B. Abbott to the public.  
C. H. BRANSCOMB, *Secretary pro tem.*"

\* Referring to 100 Sharp's rifles, contributed in the month of May preceding, and brought to Kansas by Gen. Geo. W. Deltzler. [See Kansas Memorial, page 147.]



THE ABBOTT HOWITZER.

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LETTER OF MR. LAWRENCE.

BOSTON, August 11, 1855.

DEAR SIR: Request Mr. Palmer to have one hundred Sharp's rifles packed in casks, like hardware, and to retain them subject to my order. Also to send the bill to me by mail. I will pay it either with my note, according to the terms agreed on between him and Dr. Webb, or in cash less interest at seven per cent. per annum.

Yours truly,

AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

MR. J. B. ABBOTT, care of A. Rogers, Hartford, Conn.

BOSTON, August 20, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR: This installment of carbines is far from being enough, and I hope the measures you are taking will be followed up until every organized company of trusty men in the Territory shall be supplied. Dr. Cabot will give me the names of any gentlemen here who subscribe money, and the amount—of which I shall keep a memorandum, and promise them that it shall be repaid either in cash, or in rifles, whenever it is settled that Kansas shall not be a province of Missouri. Therefore, keep them in capital order, and above all, take good care that they do not fall into the hands of the Missourians after you once get them into use.

You must dispose of these where they will do the most good, and for this purpose you should advise with Dr. Robinson and Mr. Pomeroy.

Yours truly,

AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

MR. JAMES B. ABBOTT, care of A. Rogers, Hartford.

BOSTON, August 24, 1855.

My Dear Sir: The rifles ought to be on the way. Have you forwarded them? How much money have you received? The Topeka people will require half of these.

Yours truly,

AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

MR. J. B. ABBOTT.

CALL FOR ASTOR HOUSE MEETING.

NEW YORK, September 5, 1855.

Dear Sir: Mr. J. B. Abbott, a settler of Kansas, now on a visit East, desires to lay before such citizens of New York as are interested in the triumph of freedom over slavery in that vicinity, some facts illustrative of the actual state of things there existing, which could not be properly communicated through the public press. For this purpose, you are urgently requested to meet us at the Astor House, on Friday evening at eight o'clock.

CHARLES KING.  
JOHN E. WILLIAMS.  
F. A. CONKLING.  
HORACE GREELEY.  
PAUL BALROCK.  
ALANSON NASH.

LETTERS OF FREDERICK LAW OLNSTEAD.

MY DEAR SIR: Little has been done here yet, except in the arrangements of preliminaries. To-night I had a little meeting in my room. Greeley, Field, Priestly, Elliot, Perkins, made out a list of names, and to-morrow one or two paid collectors will be employed to call personally, with a short circular note, to the effect that the Kansas settlers need immediate assistance, and urging that liberal contributions be made, which will be taken charge of and used under their directions by their authorized agent. I hope in a week from this to have funds sufficient to purchase for you 100 ——. It is thought best that the way in which the money is to be used should not be mentioned. It is for the Kansas settlers, with whom I am in correspondence, to direct that, and I keep my own counsel.

Will you please write me, authorizing me to act as agent (in your place), and also another paper directing me how to use any money that may come into my hands for





you (until further orders). Also, please write the names of your contributors in New York, and the amounts contributed by each.

God speed the right. Yours truly, FRED. LAW OLMSTEAD.  
89 Moffat's Building, New York, Sept. 17. Care Dix & Edwards, 10 Park Place.

*My Dear Sir:* I can delay writing to you no longer, although I have nothing to communicate at all satisfactory. The whole fund now at my command is less than \$350. I shall try a few days longer in hopes to make it up to at least \$400 before I make my purchases. With regard to the objects for which I shall use it, I shall probably act as I indicated to you in my last conversation. I have the advice of a veteran officer, and I shall in a few days send you a letter of military advice which I shall receive from him for you. He entirely agrees with the view I took of your position. You have as many S's [Sharp's rifles] as you can use to advantage. For the bulk of your arms, the old-fashioned pieces would really be better than S's. This he says, with the highest opinion of S's for special service. I shall, therefore, probably either send you an H. [howitzer] or M's [muskets], and some things that will be of peculiar value under certain circumstances which are not unlikely to occur in a defensive position.

By this mail I shall send a valuable book. It is out of print, but I hope to obtain several copies which are in private hands. The pencil marks are to be disregarded, but the ink marks you are advised to observe carefully. Yours truly, O.

MOFFAT'S, N. Y., Oct. 4.

NEW YORK, October 7, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR: I wrote you three days ago, and sent by same mail a little book, which I think will be useful.

I have ordered, and, unless my arrangements fail, shall have ready for shipment on the 10th, the instrument I proposed to purchase for you; and with it twenty-five shell and twenty-five canister cartridges, and all necessaries except powder, which you had better order from St. Louis. The necessary quantity for these cartridges will be of coarse powder, 12 pounds, and perhaps one-fourth that of rifle powder, for charging the shells. I shall send you by private conveyance, if possible, instructions for charging, etc., so clear that I think you will have no difficulty to use the instrument with the best effect, if there should unfortunately be occasion.

One discharge of it at musket range is considered equally effective with a simultaneous fire of one hundred muskets, while its moral effect in producing consternation and panic upon an enemy, especially of undisciplined men, is far greater. If you can use it properly, as I doubt not you will, it is worth a dozen field pieces.

It will come by the underground, via Chicago and ———, as agreed.

Yours truly,

ACTING COMMISSIONER.

NEW YORK, October 24, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR: I have this day shipped the goods, (noted in previous advices to you,) in five cases (marked 1—5) to care of B. Slater, St. Louis.

Yours, respectfully,

FRED. LAW OLMSTEAD.

JAMES BURNETT ABBOTT, Esq., Lawrence, K. T.

The history of this gun since the time of its recovery after the battle of Titus's, has not been fully traced. It is believed to have been in southeastern Kansas about the time of the troubles in that quarter, in 1858. Hon. Joel Moody and others remember that it was in Linn county for a time, during the war of the Rebellion, and that it accompanied Lane's brigade in the expedition into Missouri in 1861. The entire career of this interesting and very illustrative relic can no doubt yet be traced. Since the war it has



been in the keeping of the authorities of the city of Lawrence, by whom it has been now for many years watchfully cared for. But Maj. Abbott always regarded it as the property of the people of Kansas; and he prudently held receipts for it, in order that he might, if possible, direct its final disposal in such manner as might be presumed to be most satisfactory to the generous friends of freedom in Kansas who contributed the means with which it was procured. The following papers refer to it:

FROM MAJOR J. B. ABBOTT.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Feb. 3, 1858.

CAPT. O. P. BAYNE, *Little Osage*—Dear Sir: I saw your letter, accompanied with Mr. Johnson's and others, and also one was put into my hands last night by Mr. P. B. Plumb. The first I referred to Gen. W. A. Phillips, as I was engaged on the Board of Commissioners to investigate frauds at the elections of the 21st of December and 4th of January, and could not give the attention which your necessities required. I understood that Gen. Phillips had gone down, and the howitzer, with ammunition, were at his disposal, and consequently rested satisfied, knowing the deep interest which the General felt in your cause. To-day I learned that Phillips was yet in town, and waiting for the return of Gen. Lane, in order, as I suppose, to get direction of the Board of Militia. If I had been at liberty, I would have started at once, recruiting all the way to Fort Scott. I would have acted entirely independent of the Territorial militia. I would have made the expedition paid the whole expense, and made no calculations for any pay whatsoever from the present Government. I would have driven out every band of robbers I should find in your county, and would have destroyed their nests; and in doing this, I am satisfied the people would sustain me. And I believe this to be the only practicable plan to successfully put a stop to these unendurable outrages.

JAMES B. ABBOTT.

COL. THOMPSON'S RECEIPT, AND EXPLANATION.

MAY 13, 1861.

Received of J. B. Abbott, per A. Cutler, one howitzer, delivered to me as Quartermaster South Division Kansas Militia.

E. D. THOMPSON,

Quartermaster South Division Kansas Militia.

In reference to his possession of the howitzer, Colonel Thompson, in answer to inquiry, writes the Secretary of the Society, from Lawrence, under date of February 22, 1881, as follows:

In relation to receipt for howitzer, the circumstances were these: At that time I had been appointed by Gov. Robinson as Lieutenant Colonel and Acting Quartermaster, and was attached to the staff of Maj. Gen. Samuel Walker, commanding the Southern Division of the Kansas State Militia. There were reports in circulation of a threatened incursion by the Rebel sympathizers, then congregating in western Missouri, which caused a general looking-up of arms and material, and as I was also acting ordnance officer the gun was turned over to me as such. A few days afterwards the Second Kansas Volunteer Infantry, which was being organized here, and of which I became Adjutant, was suddenly ordered to the border, and from thence to the Missouri campaign, and I left the gun here. Whether formally turned over to any one, I do not now recollect.

Allow me to express my interest in the zeal and exactitude with which you are gathering up these reminiscences, which, however trivial, will become hereafter of interest to all our citizens.

I am, respectfully yours,

E. D. THOMPSON.





The following note is self-explanatory:

MAJOR ABBOTT'S APPLICATION.

LAWRENCE, KAS., Feb. 9, 1881.

HON. SAMUEL KIMBALL, *President of the Council of Lawrence*—Dear Sir: I have been requested by the Hon. F. G. Adams, Secretary of the Kansas Historical Society, and also by a number of the early Free-State settlers of our State, to try and make arrangements to have the mountain howitzer, (purchased with the donations of money made by gentlemen in New York city, in July and August, A. D. 1855,) placed in the State Historical room at the Capitol, with a brief history of said gun to be engraved thereon.

Knowing that you were one of the early settlers, as well as one of the earnest workers in the Free-State cause, and must therefore be in sympathy with this movement, I therefore take the liberty, in behalf of those I represent, as well as for myself, to request that you lay this matter before the Council of your city, (who, I understand, have said gun in custody,) and if possible obtain permission to have the same sent to Secretary Adams, for the purpose above mentioned, by to-morrow, so that mention can be made of the fact in the Historical Report, now going to press. If this request is granted, I am authorized to say that all expense of transportation, repairs and engraving will be borne by the Historical Society.

Hoping for a favorable consideration and action in this matter, I remain,

Very truly yours,

JAS. B. ABBOTT.

Mr. Kimball promptly responded to this request—procured the consent of the members of the City Council and of City Marshal Sam. Walker, and shipped the gun to the Historical Society. In common with many others, Mr. Kimball and Marshal Walker have a personal interest in this old relic. When it was carried off by Capt. Titus and others of Sheriff Jones's posse, at the sacking of Lawrence, on the 21st of May, 1856, Capt. Walker pledged himself to its recovery within six months from that time. Less than three months thereafter, on the 16th of August, he stormed Titus's fort, captured its commander, and then extorted from Governor Shannon a stipulation that this howitzer should be given him in exchange for his prisoner. Mr. Kimball rode in the posse with Walker when the stipulation was redeemed.

The papers which follow refer more or less to events connected with this howitzer.

RICHARD B. FOSTER'S STATEMENT.

The following account is here given, for the object of making clear the connection of the events which are mentioned in the papers which follow it, as well as some of those which precede it. It was written by Rev. Richard B. Foster, who has been for years past a prominent and well-known citizen of Osborne county. The account is extracted from a letter written by Mr. Foster to his brother, the Rev. Daniel Foster, and was published in the Lowell (Massachusetts) *Journal and Courier*, of August 30, 1856. It was written from Lawrence, and dated August 19th. It is found in that mine of materials of Kansas history, the Webb scrap-books, in the collection of our Society:

I was a participant in three glorious affairs which took place in this Territory last week, to wit: At Franklin on the 12th, at Washington on the 15th, and at Titus's camp,



near Lecompton, on the 16th. First, let me say that war is a terrible thing. I have before heard of it: I have now seen it. I have heard the balls whistling about my ears. I have stood where men were shot down as you would shoot wild beasts. I have heard the groans of the wounded and dying. I have seen the bloody corpses of the dead, and truly war is a terribly cruel thing. Still, war is preferable to slavery. But to the facts: Since the cessation of hostilities in June, Buford's gang, who came to "see Kansas through," have been busy fortifying themselves at different points in block-houses, in squads of from twenty-five to fifty in a place. These gentry are above working for a living. They depend upon the contributions of Southern aid societies—they have eked out their means of subsistence by depredations upon the Free-State men. Their most common mode is stealing horses, which they run off to the border counties of Missouri and sell. Any kind of plunder, however, when the odds are ten to one in their favor, is in their line. The most outrageous and reckless of these bands was collected in a camp and log fort near Lecompton, under Col. Titus, of the Territorial militia, who is, with good reason, suspected of having been formerly a pirate on the coast of Florida. The Free-State boys had for some time brooded over a plan for breaking up these dens of thieves. Last Tuesday, the 12th of August, Maj. Hoyt, one of the most highly esteemed and honorable citizens of Lawrence, went into one of the camps on Washington creek, which was under the command of Capt. Saunders. He went without any arms, as a Free-Mason, upon the invitation of Saunders, a brother Mason. He was received with apparent kindness, and on leaving was accompanied by two men, who shot him in a piece of woods. They lodged two balls in his body, and then shot him after he had fallen, through the head. They put some corrosive substance upon his face to disfigure him, and returned with his horse and effects.

This act set the train on fire. The Lawrence boys determined to disperse these scoundrels, and recover some of their stolen property. That evening we started from Lawrence, *i. e.*, 25 horsemen and 56 footmen. On arriving at Franklin, the first point of attack, we found the enemy had been apprised of our expedition, and were prepared to give us a warm reception. Their log fort was flanked on the one side by another log building, in which was kept the post office, and on the other by a large hotel. We could make no impression upon them with our rifles, and they refused to surrender. We were determined, however, to recover our cannon, which we wanted for routing these nests of land pirates. We accordingly surrounded the fort, and commenced a brisk firing with Sharp's rifles, which they vigorously returned. This continued about three hours. One of our men was killed, and several wounded. We then loaded a wagon with hay, backed it against the post office, and set it on fire. When the flames burst forth, the poltroons cried lustily for quarter. We then extinguished the fire, the enemy in the meantime making good their escape. They left in our hands the cannon, and upwards of fifty muskets. We took our own arms again, and emptied upon the ground several barrels of whisky, and went on our way. The citizens of Franklin took no part in this attack.

The night had passed in this engagement at Franklin. We had now to prepare balls for the cannon, and we were not ready to proceed to Saunders's till Friday. We marched upon his fort to the number of nearly 400. When about three miles distant, they could see us on a hill, and they at once fled. We found their flag in the bushes, with the motto, "Enforce the laws." Some arms, ammunition and tents fell into our hands here. We reduced the fort to ashes.

That night Col. Titus was out with his desperadoes, engaged in his favorite pastime of stealing horses, and intending, as it is supposed, to attack Judge Wakefield's house, which, however, he found too strongly guarded. They stole three or four horses and went back to their fort, little dreaming how hard retribution was treading on their heels. In the morning his fort was surrounded, and the firing commenced. One of our best men, Capt. Shombre, was mortally wounded before our cannon arrived. That was soon





brought up, and planted forty rods from the fort. It was loaded with balls run from the type metal of the *Herald of Freedom* press, which Col. Titus had destroyed last May. When the first shot was fired the Lawrence boys shouted, "*The Herald of Freedom is issued again!*" The cannon was fired six times. At the sixth fire they surrendered. One of their men was killed, and Col. Titus badly wounded. We took nineteen prisoners and a quantity of arms and ammunition. Some of the tents were identified as belonging to the Chicago company. I had the good fortune to receive the sword of Col. Titus, a very nice article which I mean to transmit to my children. The United States troops were within a mile of us, in camp, but they did not interfere. The fort was destroyed, and Titus and his gang were marched to Lawrence.

The following day (Sunday) Gov. Shannon and Major Sedgwick came to Lawrence, and held a consultation with the Committee of Safety. It was agreed that the five Free-State prisoners arrested by the troops should be released, and the property taken at the sacking of Lawrence returned, and that then our prisoners should be set free.

The men of Kansas have struck a noble blow. In the moment of victory they have shown great moderation. They are no longer to be trodden in the dust. Money contributed to help them will no longer benefit the Border-Ruffians. Kansas needs men and money. Kansas can never be made a slave State if the friends of freedom are true to their duty at this time. The men and women now here will suffer great privations, be stripped of everything, and many of them slain, unless immediate aid in men and money is furnished. They may be overborne, but they cannot be driven away. Could you have seen the spirit of the men, and of the women, too, as the last few days have called it forth, you would agree with me, that these pioneers for American freedom will stand firm to the last, be the odds against them what they may.

I have seen the State prisoners—most noble men are they. They are in prison because they are the best men in Kansas.

Yours, fraternally, for freedom and justice, R. B. F.

#### CAPTURE OF COL. TITUS—THE TREATY—THE EXCHANGE.

The following account of the capture of Fort Titus, and subsequent events, is from correspondence of the *New York Times*, dated Lawrence, Sunday, Aug. 17, 1856. It is found in the Webb scrap-books. It is believed to have been written by Col. Sam. F. Tappan. Mr. Kimball and Maj. Abbott vouch for the general correctness of the statements, and they are corroborated by cotemporary records:

When the advance guard of the Free-State forces arrived at Judge Wakefield's, on the California road, they were fired upon by a company of Pro-Slavery men under Col. Titus. The fire was returned, and Titus and his men retreated, leaving one of their number dead behind them.

Colonel Titus's cabin was within two miles of Lecompton, and like the other brigand leaders, he had fortified it against attack. Early in the morning a party of the Free-State cavalry made a charge upon some tents near the cabin, the inmates of which ran for the cabin, and were followed by the horsemen, who went too near the cabin, when they were fired upon by those inside, wounding four—one, Capt. Shombre, from Indiana, mortally. The cannon was then brought up, and Capt. Bickerton coolly brought his piece to bear upon it. Seven balls had been fired into it, when Col. Titus showed the white flag, and surrendered. Seventeen prisoners, twenty-five stand of arms and a quantity of provisions were taken; the cabin was then burned. During the attack, the



United States troops, who were encamped near by, took a position between the Free-State forces and Lecompton, directly upon the road. Unwilling to attack the troops, as they feared they would be compelled to, instead of attacking Lecompton the Free-State men with their prisoners marched to Lawrence.

Col. Titus was wounded in the head and shoulder, another of his men was wounded, and two others killed. There were six wounded on the Free-State side. Col. Titus had taken an active part in the "sack of Lawrence," and on that day publicly declared, "That if ever he came into the place again he would kill every d—d Abolitionist in it." Some of the prisoners taken with him also participated in this "sack," and assisted in destroying the presses of the *Herald of Freedom* and of the *Free-State*, and throwing the type into the river. The cannon balls used in firing at the cabin of Col. Titus were made of the lead melted from the type of those presses, dug from the sand on the bank of the river; and as they plowed their way through the walls of Titus's cabin, they shrieked, "Surrender to Freedom!" as they sped on their way. Capt. Bickerton, when he pointed his cannon at the walls of the cabin, calmly announced that he should give them "a new edition of the *Herald of Freedom*." Col. Titus, instead of coming to "kill Abolitionists," came whiningly begging of the "d—d Abolitionists" to save his miserable life. He was supplied with comfortable quarters, and a physician to attend him. The other prisoners were confined in the *Herald of Freedom* building, where, on the 21st of May, some of them thought they had struck a death-blow to the freedom of speech, with the blood-red banner of South Carolina disunion waving over them. How strange the contrast! Yet such is the fortune of war.

Another Sunday morning treaty with Governor Shannon: Governor Shannon, Dr. A. Rodrigue, P. M., and Major Sedgwick, have just arrived from Lecompton. It is supposed they have come to demand the prisoners. They are now closeted with the officers of the Free-State forces. They cannot have the prisoners without giving the Free-State party an equivalent.

LATER: A treaty has been made, and Gov. Shannon, after some opposition, has been permitted to state what it is, and to make a short speech. He said he should leave us, and he wanted to leave the Territory with the people feeling better toward him and in a quiet state, to his successor. He glorified the Union, and thought we had a glorious country, and then concluded.

The terms of the treaty are substantially as follows:

1. That they shall give up to the charge of Major Sedgwick, and in good condition, subject to the order of Captain Walker, the howitzer so valiantly surrendered to Sheriff Jones on the 21st of May.
2. That the prisoners then held in custody at Lecompton—those arrested by 'Squire Crane for being connected with the battle of Franklin—should be released and brought safely to Lawrence.
3. That all arms taken from these and other prisoners should be delivered up.
4. That the Territorial authorities should use their power to break up these bands of plunderers, and drive them from the Territory.

In consideration of this, the Free-State party were to deliver up their prisoners. They never demanded the cannon taken at Franklin. Major Sedgwick had nothing to do with the negotiations, any further than to say to Shannon that it was his duty to make an unconditional demand for the prisoners. The Franklin prisoners held in Lecompton were arrested under legal process, as they term it, yet they agreed to deliver them up. What right Governor Shannon and Dr. Aristides Rodrigue, P. M., had to do this, perhaps a Philadelphia lawyer can tell—we can't.

LATER—The prisoners exchanged: Captain Newby and his company of dragoons have just arrived in town with the Franklin prisoners, who this morning were examined be-





fore a justice of the peace, and released according to contract. Captain Newby brings a request from Major Sedgwick to Captain Walker, asking him to come for the howitzer, which had been placed, according to agreement, in his charge. The various military companies are under arms. The prisoners express themselves thankful for the kindness shown them, and make loud promises of the same treatment to Free-State men, should the fortune of war ever place them in their hands.

The prisoners are now in wagons, and under escort of the dragoons, guarded also by the Free-State forces, on the move for Lecompton. Captain Walker, with a detachment of men, has gone for the howitzer.

For months back, the papers of the North have been mourning over a Kansas subjugated to slavery. To-day, they may cheer for a Kansas conquered by freedom. Next week, we may want powder, ball, and men. The towns on the border are alive with excitement. Already the Missourians are coming in at Leavenworth. They may have to go out.

#### EXPERIENCE OF N. W. SPICER IN KANSAS.\*

I am a native of Susquehanna county, Pa. I am a carpenter and joiner by trade. I was receiving \$40 per month in the spring of 1856, when the news reached me of the Kansas difficulties, and I determined to have a hand in the operation myself. I immediately went to Chicago, where, after some delay, I joined a company of emigrants bound for the "land of promise." And on the 17th day of June, we started on the cars, intending to take the river route for the Territory. At my exit from Chicago I had \$60. The company of which I was a member were promised our passage free and \$30 in money or its equivalent in provisions when we should have reached our destination. A Sharp's rifle was also promised us.

After reaching Alton, we took passage on the Missouri river steamer, "Star of the West." In about four days we reached Leavenworth city, on the borders of the Territory. Before we reached this point, we encountered considerable opposition, having our guns taken from us by a large force. But here the spirit of mobbery and ruffianism increased to such an extent that we were compelled to return on the same boat. There were seventy-five men when we set out from Chicago.

On our return from Leavenworth, and when we were ready to pursue the overland route, there were but about thirty of the original party left. These kept on their way through Iowa and Nebraska, and after a tedious journey of many weeks, on the 13th day of August we reached Topeka, the Free-State capital of the Territory.

Before we had time to pitch our tents, a messenger arrived from Lawrence, bringing information of the difficulties at Franklin, that had occurred the day before, and bringing intelligence that the enemy were assembling in large force at Fort Saunders, near Washington creek. This was a stronghold occupied by the enemy in harassing, plundering and robbing the Free-State settlers in the neighborhood. Large numbers of the Free-State men had already assembled within three miles of the fort. The messenger requested all who could to repair to the spot to reinforce them.

In less than half an hour from the time the message arrived, the Chicago company were prepared, and ready to start. We traveled nearly all night, and on the 14th, at 2 o'clock, we reached the general encampment of Free-State men.

During the day a scouting party under Capt. Shombre started from camp to reconnoiter the ground of the enemy, and also find and bring in the murdered remains of Hoyt, who, we had been informed, had been assassinated by the gang in the fort, the day before. They returned late in the afternoon, bringing in the mutilated remains of the

\*From the Hyatt manuscripts.





murdered man. When the corpse was exposed, the men were very indignant, and swore revenge.

Next morning the men wished to be led to the fort, but Lane deemed it imprudent, (or rather, I should say "Capt. Cook," who had not as yet undisguised himself.) He sent the same scouts out again, who returned about 11 o'clock. Cook wished to postpone the attack until next morning, but the men becoming so enraged at the suggestion, he changed the programme that he made, and arranged that the attack should be made that afternoon.

At 2 o'clock the whole number of about five hundred accordingly set out for the fort. Before they had got in sight the enemy fled, leaving forty guns, the horse of the murdered Hoyt, and much other plunder, in our possession. We returned to our encampment, and after dispatching a hasty supper started for Lawrence.

Before all the men had left the camp, intelligence reached us of new difficulties at Leocompton. We immediately changed our course, and steered for this place. We marched until about midnight, when we arrived in the vicinity of Judge Wakefield's. Here we encountered a gang of horse thieves, headed by a desperado under the appellation of Col. Titus. This gang, finding themselves closely pressed by our advance scouts, at once fired upon them, which was returned with such success as to wound and kill two of their men. One of their number was taken prisoner; also two of their horses were left on the ground, which were secured by our party.

We stopped for the night about a mile from where this occurred. During the night, Titus, fearful that we would attack him in his house, which was a mile south of Leocompton, on the Lawrence road, sent a dispatch, and caused the whole force in town to come to his defense. They returned, however, early in the morning.

At daybreak, the horsemen under Shombre, learning the state of affairs, started in advance of the main body to surprise Titus and his men, and take them prisoners. They rode so close to the house, that they were fired upon unawares. Several men were badly wounded—Capt. Shombre mortally. One of the men in the house was killed by a return fire.

Soon the whole force came up. The cannon was stationed in front, about 50 rods from the house, the Chicago Sharp's riflemen diagonally from it below, and covered by a rail fence. After a few discharges of the cannon and rifles, a white flag was suspended from the window, when the firing ceased. All who were in the house, nineteen in number, were taken prisoners. Their horses, arms and munitions were also taken, when the whole force took up their march for Lawrence. The reason why the company did not pursue their journey to Leocompton, was on account of the United States troops interfering.

Directly after, Gov. Shannon came to Lawrence, which was the Sunday following, and Col. Eldridge addressed the men assembled, numbering over 500. He stated that they, of Lawrence, would probably be subject to an attempt on the part of their enemies to invade the town again. It would be necessary to have men for her defense, and if the Chicago company would relinquish, for the time being, the project of locating their claims, and remain and be ready against any emergency to fight if necessary, he, as agent for the committee, would be responsible for their support. The men, on account of this promise, remained.

During our sojourn here we were constantly active. Some of the men of the Chicago company went to Osawatomie; others assisted in bringing grain and hay to Lawrence. At one time we went to Topeka, under Col. Harvey's command, to bring arms and other munitions that were in charge of Mr. Moore to Lawrence.

About this time, as I had been a scout, and was pretty active when the regiment was made up, I was given the office of Adjutant. Prior to this, I had been elected First





Lieutenant of the Chicago company. My father is a military officer, and I had learned the discipline under him.

At one time during the company's stay at Lawrence, assistance was called for from the people on Little Stranger creek, toward Leavenworth. In this campaign, we took between thirty and forty horses and mules, and surprised and took a company of Carolinians who were on their way to reinforce a company of Pro-Slavery men at Atchison. We immediately released them, and returned on our horses to Lawrence. Two nights we ambushed in the woods, about 100 in number. Nothing of importance, however, occurred at either time, excepting a heavy thunder-shower, when we managed by rolling our guns up in our blankets to keep them dry.

We had not returned from this expedition long enough to become rested, before we were summoned to march to Hickory Point. We were successful in our mission, until our return, when we were all surprised, and were taken prisoners by United States troops to Lecompton. After being detained there about a week, I with some others passed the guard, and made our way to Lawrence.

Soon after I escaped, a militia company was formed for its protection, which I joined, and was elected orderly sergeant. This officer receives for his services \$20 per month. My time is now expired, and I intend settling on a claim. I have no means, except as I draw for my services (two months) in the militia. During the summer and fall I was obliged to expend what means I brought with me for the necessities of life, such as food, clothing, etc. I am now destitute of clothing, bedding, etc., suitable for the winter. I am determined, however, to stay in Kansas and fulfill the object of my coming, which is to assist, if possible, to MAKE KANSAS A FREE STATE.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS TERRITORY, Dec. 6, 1856.

## LETTER OF JAMES MONTGOMERY.\*

MOUND CITY, LINN CO., KAS., May 8, 1861.

GEO. L. STEARNS, ESQ.,† *Medford, near Boston*:

DEAR SIR: Your favor, dated April 22, came to hand by yesterday's mail, and the duplicate, to care of G. W. Collamore, came with it.

Without designing to flatter, I must be allowed to say that you have shown yourself a friend in need. We are in a perilous position here, and have not ammunition enough to make a respectable fight. I have organized a regiment, and hope soon to increase it to a brigade. I have accepted a position on the Governor's staff, with the rank of colonel, with the understanding that I am to be a member of the war council, and that my position on the staff shall not interfere with any other command which the people may give me. I have just received a letter from Leavenworth companies, proposing to coöperate with us, and "go in for the war."

I think our true policy, for the present at least, is to defend our own doors. The Missourians have had a strong force along the line of Linn and Bourbon for several months, and they have increased it recently.

\* From the Hyatt manuscripts.

† Wilder's Annals, page 461, under date of April 17, 1867, has this entry: "Death, in New York, of George L. Stearns, the early friend of Kansas and John Brown." When the noble and self-sacrificing band of men and women who befriended Kansas, and through Kansas the cause of human liberty, shall have just tribute paid them, none will be found more deserving of such tribute than George L. Stearns, of Medford, Massachusetts. Elsewhere in this report reference has been made to the great work done for Kansas by him and his noble wife in 1856. These two were the constant and unfailing friends of John Brown and Montgomery, and men of their class, and none did so much as they to furnish the means by which these devoted men carried on their warfare against slavery, and for the protection of the settlers of Kansas.—F. G. A.



LETTER OF JAMES MONTGOMERY.

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They have also been trying to stir up the Indians on our border, and in this they have been aided by the agent for the Osages. Four Lodge, a chief of the Osages, is anxious for mischief; but the Little Bear gives the Missourians no countenance. He seized their emissaries, and telling them they "talked bad talk to Indian," tied them with ropes to the horns of his saddles and dragged them out of the country. The Union men near us have determined to stand their ground, and have called on us to assist them.

If we have to fight, we will carry the war out of Kansas. We have an artillery company in our town, officered by men who served in the Mexican war. I wrote you asking for those two small breech-loading guns in Lawrence. I hope you will not refuse us. They have no carriages, but we could fit them up here. I would also like to have leave to rifle them and sight them accurately. We have a gunsmith here who, I am confident, could put them in good order. In haste,

Yours,

J. MONTGOMERY.



## FIRST SETTLEMENT OF GENEVA, ALLEN CO.

BY E. FISK.

GENEVA, ALLEN CO., KANSAS, 25th July, '78.

*Secretary of the Kansas Historical Society:* The two most prominent motives that led to the settling of Geneva were, first, a desire on the part of those who effected that settlement to assist in counteracting and defeating the nefarious attempt then being made to spread the curse of slavery over the virgin soil of Kansas; and secondly, to contribute something towards giving character to the population of the embryo State, by establishing a Church of Christ on the then extreme outposts of civilization, and by inaugurating and setting in motion such educational agencies and facilities as should be found practicable.

The purpose to effect such settlement originated in two places, to wit: St. Johns, Mich., and Java, Wyoming county, N. Y. A number of gentlemen in each place forming themselves into branches of what was afterwards called the "Union Settlement Company," each appointed a man to constitute a locating committee. Prof. Moore was appointed by the Michigan branch, and the writer by the New York branch, who, in the discharge of the duties assigned them, left their homes in the month of February, 1857, and proceeded to Kansas, to accomplish the object for which they were appointed.

Kansas Territory was then in a very unsettled state, and it was impossible to forecast what the events of the opening year would be. The committee carried no arms themselves, but remembering the atrocities of the preceding year, when to procure the stipulated pay for a pair of six-dollar boots, Free-State men were wantonly shot down for their scalps, and hunted and killed everywhere like wild beasts, we were not very strongly inclined to reprove those of our fellow-emigrants who had provided themselves with Sharp's rifles, and who, it was obvious, intended to use them if it could not be avoided.\* We felt, I imagine, very much as the conscientious Quaker did who hired a profane bystander to curse his neighbor's cattle that refused to be driven out of his field. He did n't like, he said, to do the swearing *himself*—it was against his principles—but he thought the cattle *richly deserved it*.

The committee, after visiting various portions of the Territory, finally fixed on the Neosho Valley as being, on the whole, a place best adapted to carry out the objects contemplated by the company. On the beautiful "divide" which contains the site of Ge-

\*In Wilder's Annals, page 105, is mentioned the murder of Hopps by Fugit, Aug. 19, 1856. The following is quoted from the Annals:

"Fugit was arrested in 1857, after Henry J. Adams became Mayor of Leavenworth. A letter in the St. Louis Democrat, dated May 27, 1857, says:

"Fugit is the same person who made a bet in this city (Leavenworth,) last August, that before night he would have a Yankee scalp. He got a horse and rode out into the country a few miles, and met a German, a brother-in-law of Rev. E. Nute, named Hopps. He asked if he was from Lawrence. Hopps replied that he was. Fugit immediately leveled his revolver and fired, the shot taking effect in the temples, and Hopps fell a corpse. The assassin dismounted from his horse, cut the scalp from the back of his head, tied it to a pole, and returned to town, exhibiting it to the people, and boasting of his exploits. The body of the victim was found shortly after, and buried on Pilot Knob, about two miles distant from this city. This same Fugit is one of a party who, when the widow came from Lawrence to look for her band's corpse, forced her on board a steamer, and sent her down the river."



neva, a few wagon tracks were then the only visible indications that a white man had ever been there. On the neighboring divide, however, a few claims had been taken, and abandoned through fear of the Border-Ruffians; and occasionally, along the river, three miles distant, a family might be found, who still remained for the purpose of using the rich, unoccupied prairies as ranches for their stock. These would have preferred that the country should not be settled at all.

Having fixed upon a beautiful and healthy elevation, some three miles from the Neosho, as a desirable spot to lay out a village, the committee reported to the company the result of their labors; and early in the month of April, 1857, a number of families arrived, accompanied by several young men who sympathized with them in their undertaking, or who wished to try their fortunes in a new country. Among the leading men who constituted the first settlers of Geneva, may be named: Rev. G. S. Northrup, Dr. B. B. L. G. Stone, J. H. Spicer, J. M. Mattoon, J. C. Redfield, Prof. Moore, Hiram Moore, C. Holman, George Esse, S. T. Jones, G. Waite, the writer, and others. The number of families and persons properly constituting the first settlers, cannot now be accurately ascertained, as quite a number either did not remain, or subsequently left.

As is the common experience of settlers in a new country, these families suffered great privations during the first years of their pioneer life. Situated more than 100 miles from their base of supplies, with no shelter but their tents to protect them from the fierce storm or the burning sun, poorly supplied with utensils for working the soil, and ignorant of the proper methods of cultivation, dependent for the necessities of life on their limited store, and often prostrated with malarial diseases, nevertheless, for the most part, bore up with a fortitude and cheerfulness worthy of their undertaking, and went steadily and determinedly forward to the accomplishment of their object.

Immediately on their arrival a Sabbath school was organized, and meetings for public worship and for mutual edification and improvement were instituted. A common school was soon opened by Prof. Moore and his excellent lady, and this was supplemented, a few years later, by an academy, in which the higher branches of education were taught.

The "Colony," as it was called, was found to embrace persons who had been members of churches of different orders, and these, to obviate the evils which denominational rivalry is liable to produce, and also for the purpose of combining the influence of all the friends of a pure Christianity, unanimously agreed to form a church from whose polity and creed should be eliminated whatever was regarded by any body of intelligent evangelical Christians, as being destitute of scriptural authority, and to retain and employ only such doctrines and measures as all such bodies conceded to be not contrary to the word of God. It hardly needs to be said that nothing indispensable to church order and discipline was found to be wanting, and that no change was needed to make it in all respects a Congregational church. This fact is entitled to the closest and most careful study of all friends of Christian union.

The town of Geneva was laid out in the same spring, and a hotel erected and building commenced. The colonists were to a man staunch teetotallers, and no intoxicating liquors have been sold there to this day. In the following spring L. L. Northrup opened a store and commenced the sale of goods. He likewise the same season erected a steam saw mill, thus furnishing the settlers the means of obtaining a supply of lumber for purposes of building, fencing, etc.

Neosho Falls, a town three miles distant, was laid out the same year, on the Neosho river, and a flouring mill, driven by water power, erected, thus furnishing additional conveniences, the want of which had previously been greatly felt. The experiences of the settlers during the famine of 1861 and the war of 1861-5 do not differ essentially from those of the settlers of other towns of Kansas, and it is therefore unnecessary that I should describe them, or continue the subject further, unless particular items of information should be desired.



## THE WYANDOTTE CONSTITUTIONAL CON- VENTION.

RECOLLECTIONS OF HON. BENJAMIN F. SIMPSON.

The Delegates that assembled at Wyandotte on the 5th day of July, 1859, to form a Constitution for the State of Kansas, met in the shadow of coming events. For even then the approaching glory of Lincoln was lighting up the shame of the Buchanan administration, and the throes of that eventful struggle that resulted in the death of slavery were beginning to be felt through all the land. They were an earnest and thoughtful class of men, who believed that the National Republican party would soon control the Government, and admit Kansas into the Union, and to them had been committed the task of laying deep and broad the foundation of a new political fabric, rearing the superstructure, placing the columns, designing the entablature, adjusting the dome, and surrounding the structure with all the evergreens of a well-regulated State.

They numbered fifty-two; and of these thirty-five were Republicans, and seventeen Democrats—it being the only Constitutional Convention held in the Territory in which all parties participated. Eighteen delegates were lawyers, sixteen farmers, eight merchants, and five physicians; while the surveyors, land agents, manufacturers, mechanics and printers each had one or more representatives.

Robert Graham, of Atchison county, was the oldest member, and his years numbered fifty-five. B. F. Simpson, of Lykins, who was in his twenty-third year, was the youngest. Eighteen delegates were less than thirty years old, eleven delegates were over forty, while one exceeded fifty years of age.

Five were from Kentucky, one from Virginia, and England, Ireland, Scotland and Germany contributed one each.

Marshall and Washington counties were represented by J. A. Middleton, a young lawyer, native of Pennsylvania, and twenty-five years of age.

Nemaha sent Thomas S. Wright, a Pennsylvania lawyer, aged fifty years.

Brown was represented by Samuel A. Kingman, a native of Massachusetts, and then in his thirty-eighth year.

Doniphan sent down Benj. Wrigley, formerly of Ohio, a lawyer, and twenty-nine years old; John W. Forman, a merchant, from Kentucky, aged forty years; E. M. Hubbard, merchant, a native of Kentucky, and thirty



years of age; J. Stairwalt, farmer, from Ohio, and forty-six years old; R. J. Porter, a merchant, of Troy, a native of Pennsylvania, and twenty-eight years old.

Atchison elected Robt. Graham, a native Irishman, a merchant by occupation, aged forty-five years; Caleb May, a Kentuckian, farmer, in his forty-fourth year; and John James Ingalls, born in Massachusetts, a lawyer, aged twenty-six years.

Leavenworth contributed Samuel A. Stinson, a native of Maine, lawyer by profession, aged twenty-six; Wm. C. McDowell, born in Ohio, a lawyer, and thirty-one years old; John P. Slough, of Ohio, lawyer, thirty years old; William Perry, a native of New York, lawyer, aged twenty-eight years; Frederick Brown, a native of Germany, by occupation a manufacturer, and thirty-two years old; Samuel Hipple, formerly of Pennsylvania, a land agent, twenty-eight years old; Robert C. Foster, born in Kentucky, a lawyer, aged twenty-four years; A. D. McCune, Ohio, a farmer, aged thirty-one years; John Wright, Indiana, a farmer, thirty-three years old; and Paschal S. Parks, Indiana, a lawyer, twenty-six years old.

From Johnson county there was John T. Burris, born in Ohio, a lawyer, and Dr. John T. Barton, a native of Virginia, who had lived twenty-eight years.

Lykins county was there, in the persons of W. P. Dutton, born in New Hampshire, farmer, forty-two years old; and B. F. Simpson, Ohio, a lawyer, in his twenty-third year.

The delegates from Linn county were: J. M. Arthur, born in Indiana, a farmer, and aged forty-two, and Josiah Lamb, originally from Indiana, a mechanic, and of the same age as his colleague.

Bourbon county sent J. C. Burnett, a Vermonter, farmer, aged thirty-two, and William R. Griffith, a native of Indiana, a farmer, and thirty-nine years old.

The delegate from Allen county was J. H. Signor, formerly of New York, a surveyor, and only twenty-five years old.

Woodson and Coffey sent Allen Crocker, a native of Indiana, a farmer, and thirty-five years old, and Samuel E. Hoffman, born in Pennsylvania, a lawyer, aged twenty-five years.

From Anderson county, James G. Blunt was sent. He was born in Maine, was a physician, and thirty-three years old.

Franklin county was represented by James Hanway, a native of England, a farmer, and was forty-nine years old.

Douglas county had seven delegates, as follows: Solon O. Thacher, born in New York, a lawyer, twenty-eight years old; James Blood and his brother, N. C. Blood, natives of Vermont, both merchants, the first thirty-nine and the other forty-two years of age; Wm. Hutchinson, a Vermonter, farmer, and thirty-five years old; R. L. Williams, born in Kentucky, a merchant, and aged forty-two years; P. H. Townsend, New Hampshire, a farmer, thirty-