

A history of Lawrence, Kansas: from the first settlement to the close of the rebellion

Section 3, Pages 61 - 90

Sara Tappan Doolittle (Lawrence) Robinson, author of "Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life" and wife of Governor Charles Robinson, owned this copy of Richard Cordley's "A History of Lawrence Kansas." She heavily annotated the book in pencil, as did George Washington Brown (in ink). Brown was another prominent supporter of the Free State cause and an associate of the Robinsons. On page 269 Brown recommends that the author revise the earliest history, prior to Cordley's arrival in Lawrence, for accuracy. The book includes several maps and photographs, including a portrait of Sara Robinson between pages 168 and 169.

Creator: Cordley, Richard

Date: 1895

Callnumber: CK 978.1 -D74 L43co c.2

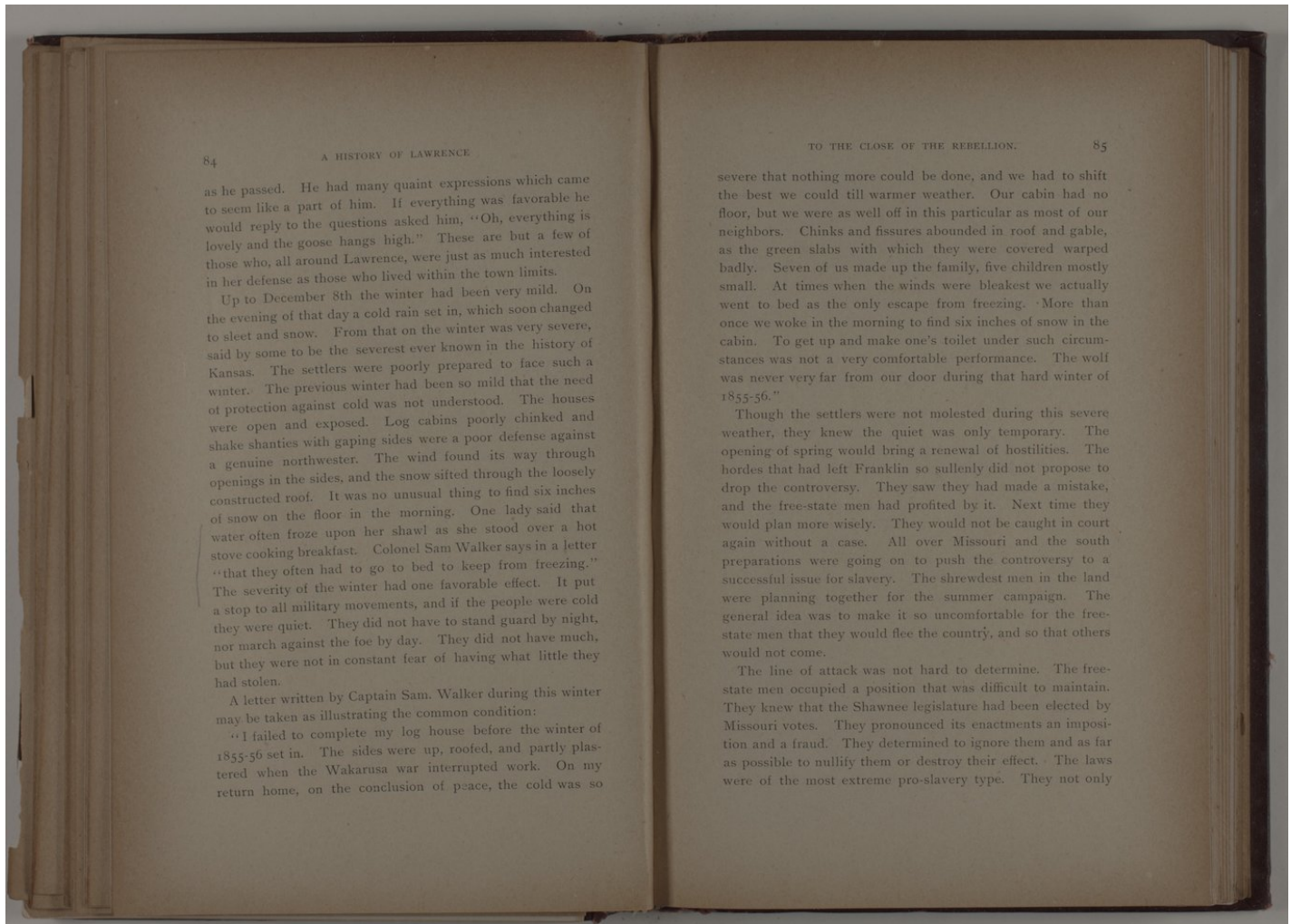
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as he passed. He had many quaint expressions which came to seem like a part of him. If everything was favorable he would reply to the questions asked him, "Oh, everything is lovely and the goose hangs high." These are but a few of those who, all around Lawrence, were just as much interested in her defense as those who lived within the town limits.

Up to December 8th the winter had been very mild. On the evening of that day a cold rain set in, which soon changed to sleet and snow. From that on the winter was very severe, said by some to be the severest ever known in the history of Kansas. The settlers were poorly prepared to face such a winter. The previous winter had been so mild that the need of protection against cold was not understood. The houses were open and exposed. Log cabins poorly chinked and shake shanties with gaping sides were a poor defense against a genuine northwester. The wind found its way through openings in the sides, and the snow sifted through the loosely constructed roof. It was no unusual thing to find six inches of snow on the floor in the morning. One lady said that water often froze upon her shawl as she stood over a hot stove cooking breakfast. Colonel Sam Walker says in a letter "that they often had to go to bed to keep from freezing." The severity of the winter had one favorable effect. It put a stop to all military movements, and if the people were cold they were quiet. They did not have to stand guard by night, nor march against the foe by day. They did not have much, but they were not in constant fear of having what little they had stolen.

A letter written by Captain Sam. Walker during this winter may be taken as illustrating the common condition:

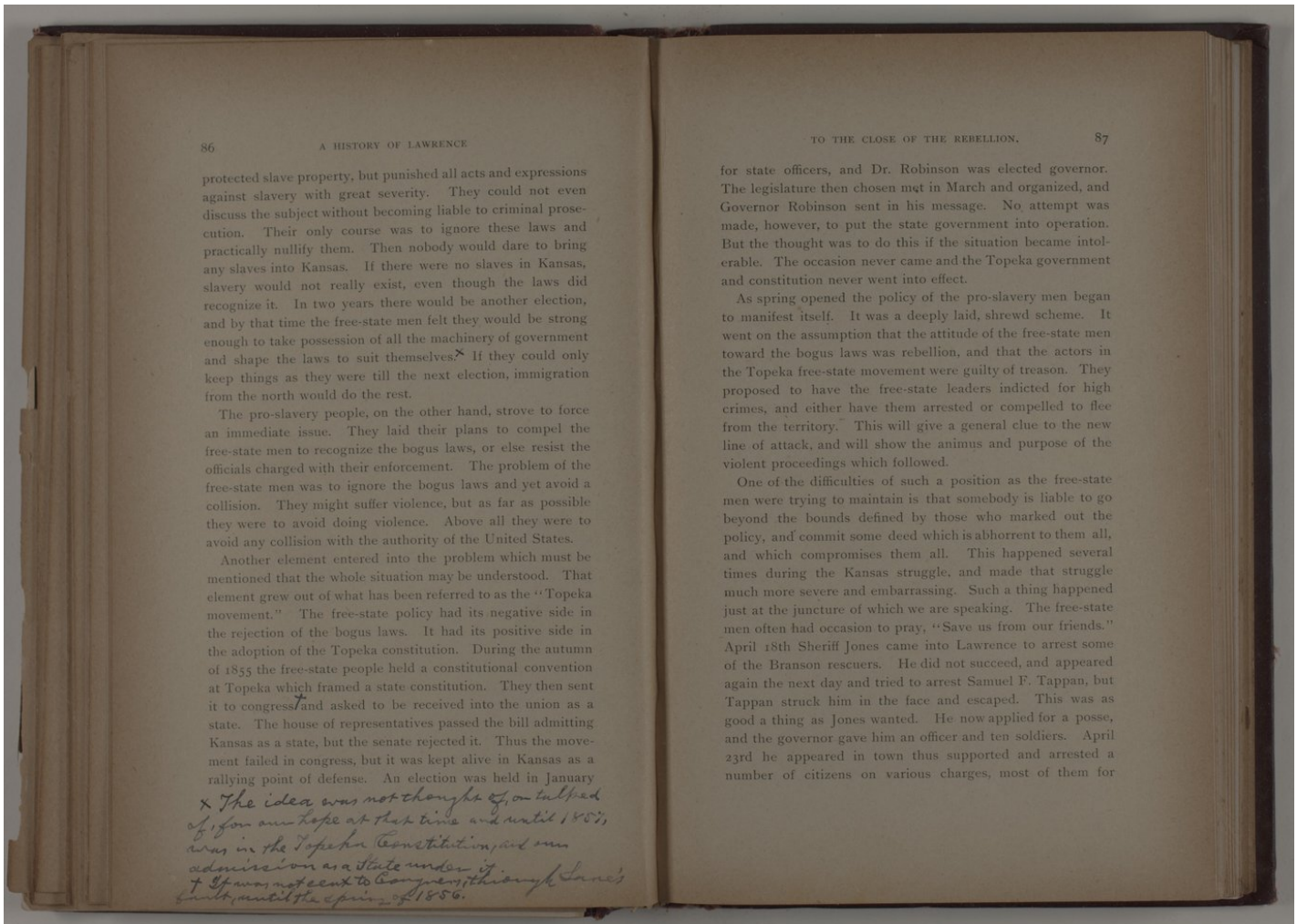
"I failed to complete my log house before the winter of 1855-56 set in. The sides were up, roofed, and partly plastered when the Wakarusa war interrupted work. On my return home, on the conclusion of peace, the cold was so

severe that nothing more could be done, and we had to shift the best we could till warmer weather. Our cabin had no floor, but we were as well off in this particular as most of our neighbors. Chinks and fissures abounded in roof and gable, as the green slabs with which they were covered warped badly. Seven of us made up the family, five children mostly small. At times when the winds were bleakest we actually went to bed as the only escape from freezing. More than once we woke in the morning to find six inches of snow in the cabin. To get up and make one's toilet under such circumstances was not a very comfortable performance. The wolf was never very far from our door during that hard winter of 1855-56."

Though the settlers were not molested during this severe weather, they knew the quiet was only temporary. The opening of spring would bring a renewal of hostilities. The hordes that had left Franklin so sullenly did not propose to drop the controversy. They saw they had made a mistake, and the free-state men had profited by it. Next time they would plan more wisely. They would not be caught in court again without a case. All over Missouri and the south preparations were going on to push the controversy to a successful issue for slavery. The shrewdest men in the land were planning together for the summer campaign. The general idea was to make it so uncomfortable for the free-state men that they would flee the country, and so that others would not come.

The line of attack was not hard to determine. The free-state men occupied a position that was difficult to maintain. They knew that the Shawnee legislature had been elected by Missouri votes. They pronounced its enactments an imposition and a fraud. They determined to ignore them and as far as possible to nullify them or destroy their effect. The laws were of the most extreme pro-slavery type. They not only

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"contempt of court" in not assisting him to make arrests on his previous visits. He was particularly offensive and insolent, and remained in town over night. While he was in the tent of his military posse, someone in the darkness outside shot him and wounded him. The man who fired the shot disappeared, but the citizens disavowed the act and offered five hundred dollars reward for the arrest of the assassin.^x Still they were held responsible for the crime, and it was used with great effect in stirring the passions of the pro-slavery people. It has never been known how severe a wound Jones received. He was reported in the pro-slavery papers as "foully murdered," "mortally wounded," "struck down in the night." As he was able to lead in the sacking of Lawrence less than a month after, his wound could not have been so very severe. But the affair was very unfortunate, as it added to the flame and placed the free-state men in a very awkward position.

The pro-slavery people brought to their aid the powerful influence of the judiciary of the territory. They had the forms of law, and they proposed to use them for all they were worth. The grand jury of Douglas county met at Le-compton early in May. Samuel D. Leconte gave a charge which foreshadowed the new line of attack. He defined treason so as to point very plainly to the leaders of the free-state party. Among other things he said:

"This territory was organized by an act of congress, and so far its authority is from the United States. It has a legislature elected in pursuance of that organic act. This legislature being an instrument of congress by which it governs the territory, has passed laws. Those laws, therefore, are of United States authority and making, and all who resist those laws resist the power and authority of the United States, and are therefore guilty of *high treason*. Now, gentlemen, if you find that any persons have resisted these laws, then you must,

x It was, Sen. Robinson, not the "citizens" who offered the reward.

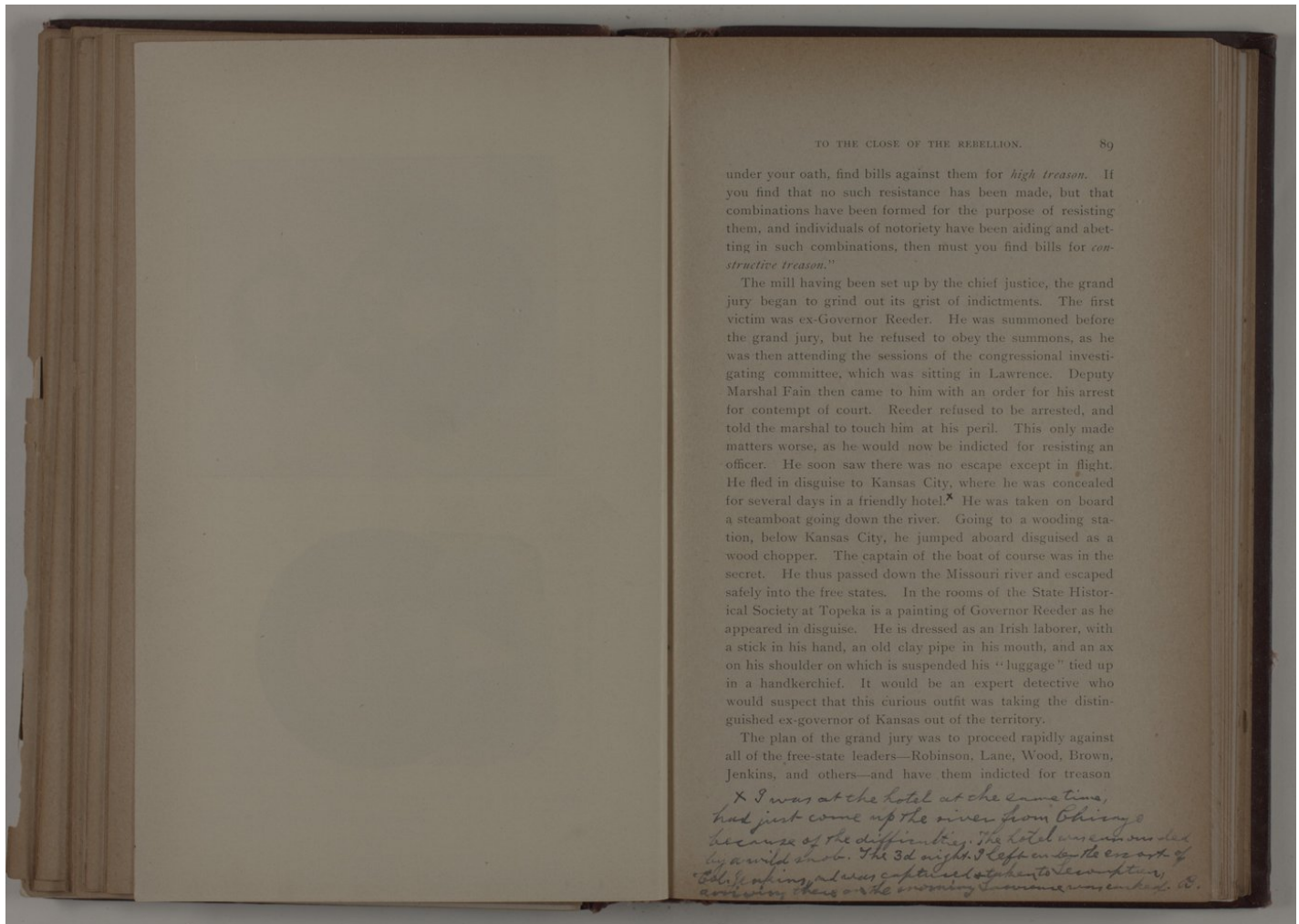
GEN. JAMES H. LANE,
Post U. S. Senator from Kansas.



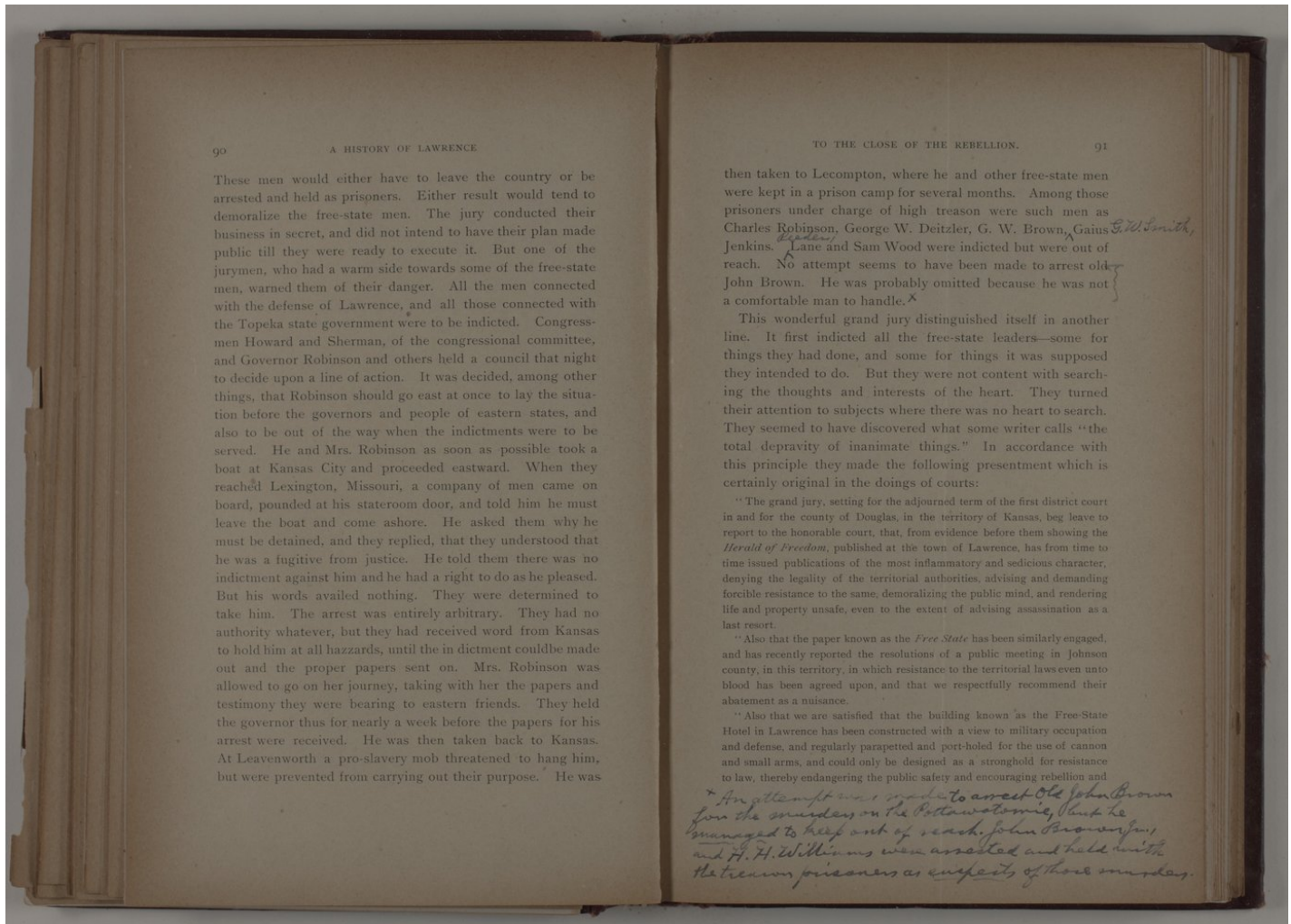
JOHN STEEL,
Editor Kansas Tribune, 1846-47.



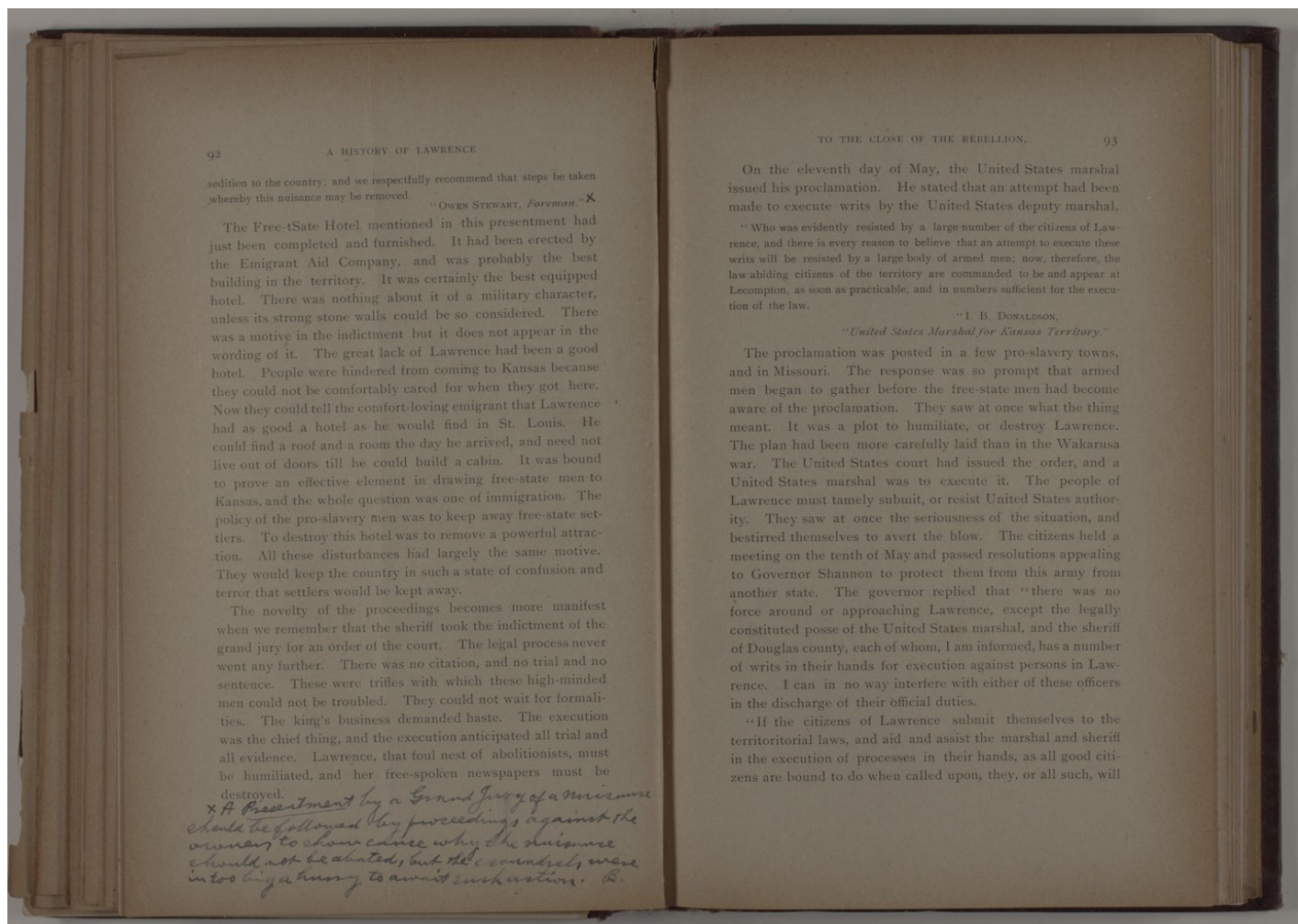
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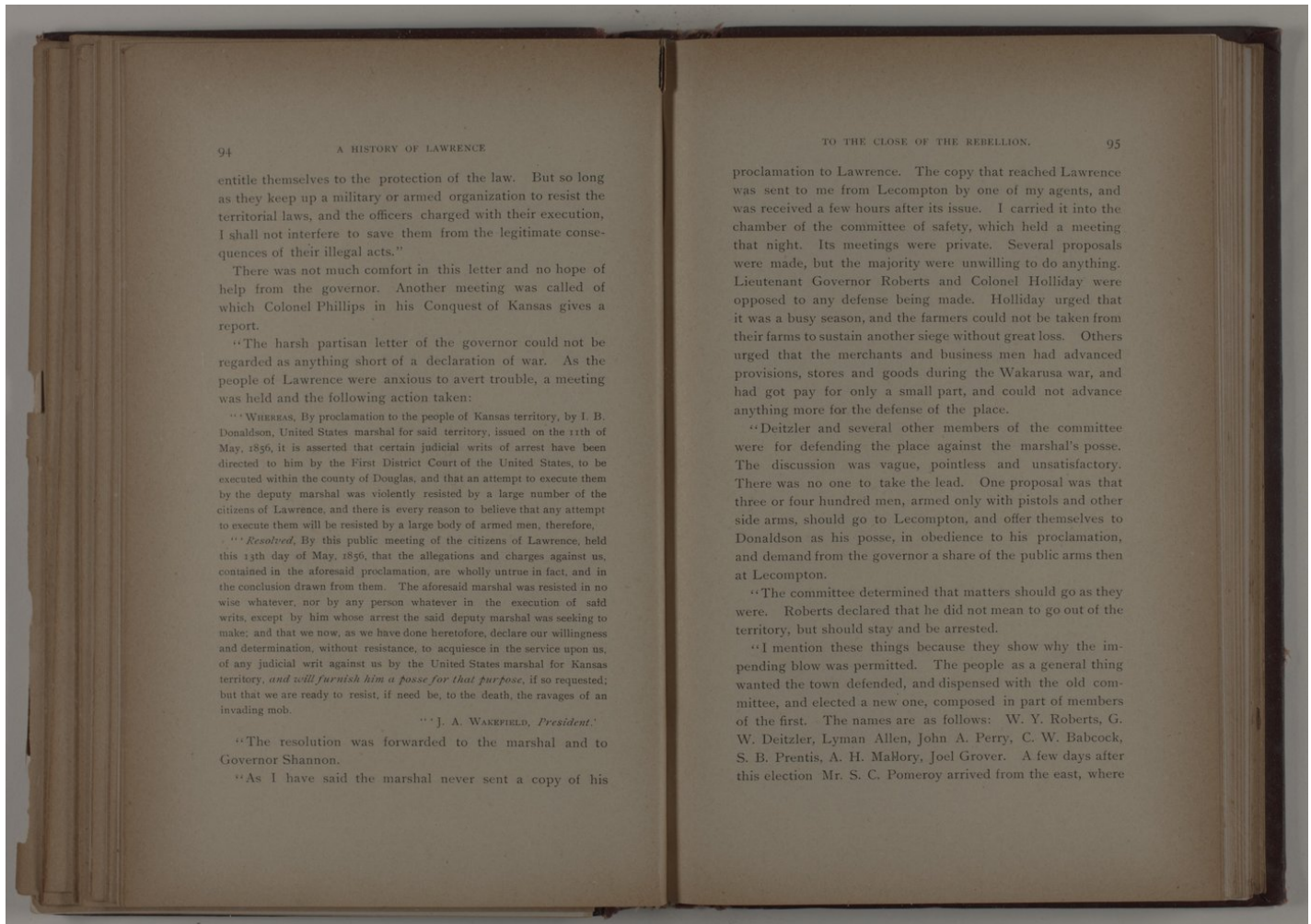
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entitle themselves to the protection of the law. But so long as they keep up a military or armed organization to resist the territorial laws, and the officers charged with their execution, I shall not interfere to save them from the legitimate consequences of their illegal acts."

There was not much comfort in this letter and no hope of help from the governor. Another meeting was called of which Colonel Phillips in his Conquest of Kansas gives a report.

"The harsh partisan letter of the governor could not be regarded as anything short of a declaration of war. As the people of Lawrence were anxious to avert trouble, a meeting was held and the following action taken:

"WHEREAS, By proclamation to the people of Kansas territory, by I. B. Donaldson, United States marshal for said territory, issued on the 11th of May, 1856, it is asserted that certain judicial writs of arrest have been directed to him by the First District Court of the United States, to be executed within the county of Douglas, and that an attempt to execute them by the deputy marshal was violently resisted by a large number of the citizens of Lawrence, and there is every reason to believe that any attempt to execute them will be resisted by a large body of armed men, therefore,

"Resolved, By this public meeting of the citizens of Lawrence, held this 13th day of May, 1856, that the allegations and charges against us, contained in the aforesaid proclamation, are wholly untrue in fact, and in the conclusion drawn from them. The aforesaid marshal was resisted in no wise whatever, nor by any person whatever in the execution of said writs, except by him whose arrest the said deputy marshal was seeking to make; and that we now, as we have done heretofore, declare our willingness and determination, without resistance, to acquiesce in the service upon us, of any judicial writ against us by the United States marshal for Kansas territory, and will furnish him a posse for that purpose, if so requested; but that we are ready to resist, if need be, to the death, the ravages of an invading mob.

"J. A. WAKEFIELD, President."

"The resolution was forwarded to the marshal and to Governor Shannon.

"As I have said the marshal never sent a copy of his

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proclamation to Lawrence. The copy that reached Lawrence was sent to me from Leecompton by one of my agents, and was received a few hours after its issue. I carried it into the chamber of the committee of safety, which held a meeting that night. Its meetings were private. Several proposals were made, but the majority were unwilling to do anything. Lieutenant Governor Roberts and Colonel Holliday were opposed to any defense being made. Holliday urged that it was a busy season, and the farmers could not be taken from their farms to sustain another siege without great loss. Others urged that the merchants and business men had advanced provisions, stores and goods during the Wakarusa war, and had got pay for only a small part, and could not advance anything more for the defense of the place.

"Deitzler and several other members of the committee were for defending the place against the marshal's posse. The discussion was vague, pointless and unsatisfactory. There was no one to take the lead. One proposal was that three or four hundred men, armed only with pistols and other side arms, should go to Leecompton, and offer themselves to Donaldson as his posse, in obedience to his proclamation, and demand from the governor a share of the public arms then at Leecompton.

"The committee determined that matters should go as they were. Roberts declared that he did not mean to go out of the territory, but should stay and be arrested.

"I mention these things because they show why the impending blow was permitted. The people as a general thing wanted the town defended, and dispensed with the old committee, and elected a new one, composed in part of members of the first. The names are as follows: W. Y. Roberts, G. W. Deitzler, Lyman Allen, John A. Perry, C. W. Babcock, S. B. Prentiss, A. H. Mallory, Joel Grover. A few days after this election Mr. S. C. Pomeroy arrived from the east, where

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he had been on business for the Emigrant Aid Society, and was admitted a member.

"A change of ruler does not always bring a change of policy. This second committee was more pacific than the first, although selected by the people with the expectation that resistance would be made. In fact it was the federal authority employed that acted as a weight against them."

It may be added to this account of Colonel Phillips that it had been the settled policy of the state leaders not to resist United States authority. The decision of the committee not to resist does not argue any lack of courage but was in line with the settled policy of the free-state men.

The next day the committee and citizens held a joint meeting and determined to make another effort at pacification. They voted to send resolutions similar to those just quoted to the marshal with a letter as follows:

"Lawrence, May 14, 1856.

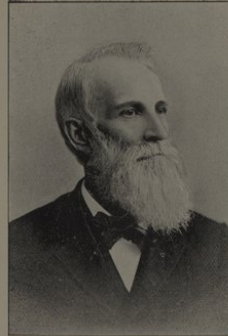
"I B. DONALDSON, United States Marshal for Kansas Territory:

"DEAR SIR:—We have seen a proclamation issued by yourself, dated 11th of May, and also have reliable information that large bodies of armed men in pursuance of your proclamation have assembled in the vicinity of Lawrence.

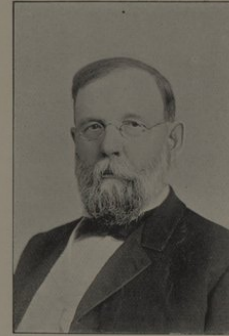
"That there may be no misunderstanding we beg leave to ask respectfully that we may be reliably informed of the demands against us. We desire to state most truthfully and earnestly that no opposition will now or at any future time be offered to the execution of any legal process by yourself or any person acting for you. We also pledge ourselves to assist you, if called upon, in the execution of any legal process.

"We declare ourselves to be order-loving and law-abiding citizens, and only want an opportunity to test our fidelity to the laws of the country, the constitution and the union.

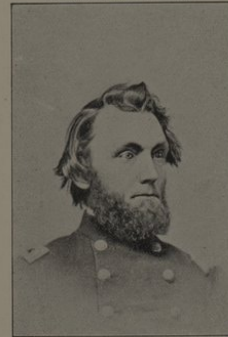
"We are informed also that these men collected about Lawrence openly declare that their intention is to destroy the town and drive off the citizens. Of course we do not believe that you would give countenance to such threats, but in view of the excited state of the public mind we ask protection of the constituted authorities of the government, declaring ourselves in readiness



ROBERT G. ELLIOTT,
Editor of *Kansas Free State*.



T. DWIGHT THATCHER,
Editor of the *Lawrence Republican*.



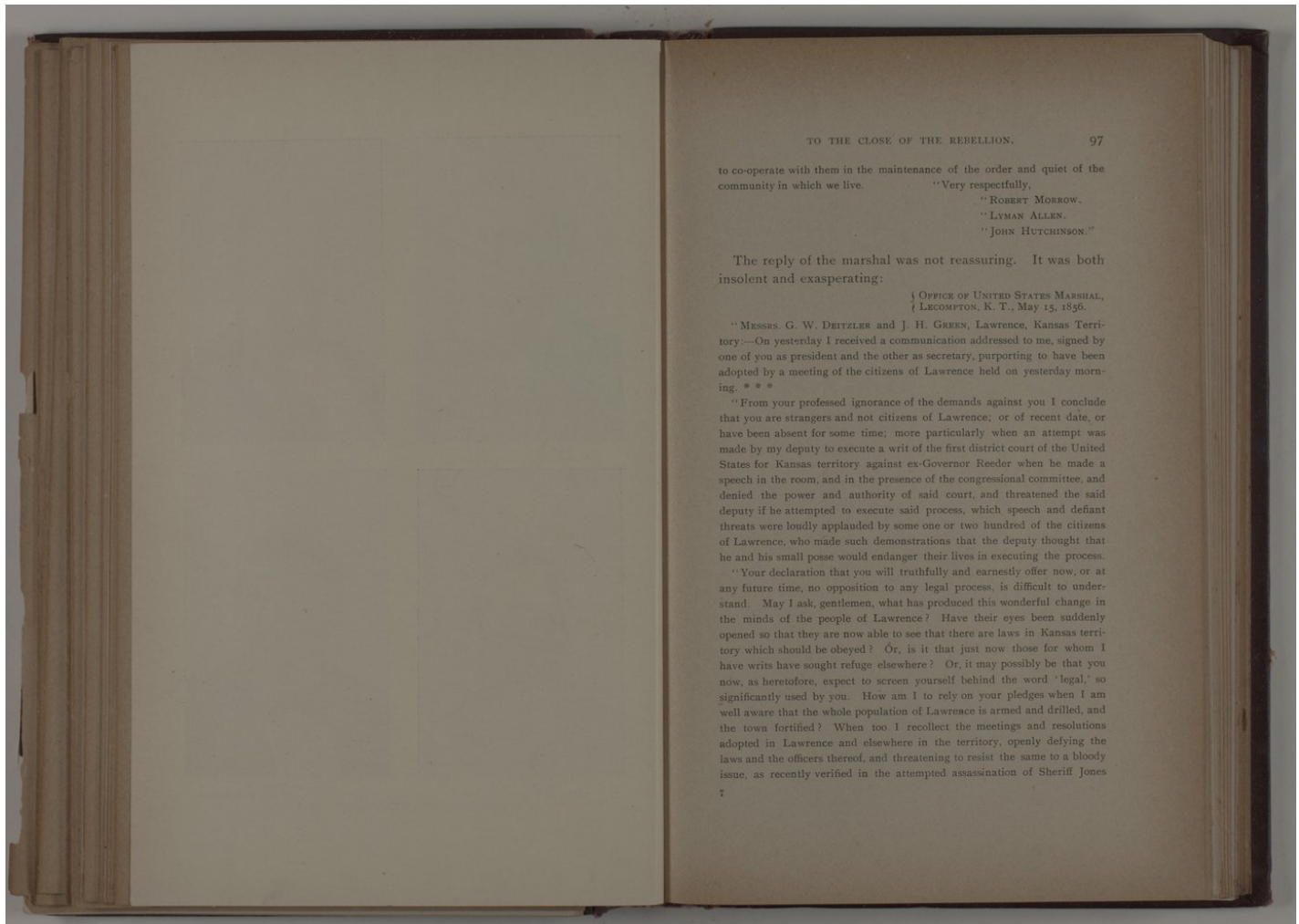
JOSIAH MILLER,
Editor of *Kansas Free State*.



WM. A. PHILLIPS,
Correspondent of *New York Tribune*.

EARLY KANSAS NEWSPAPER MEN.

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to co-operate with them in the maintenance of the order and quiet of the community in which we live. "Very respectfully,

"ROBERT MORROW.

"LYMAN ALLEN.

"JOHN HUTCHINSON."

The reply of the marshal was not reassuring. It was both insolent and exasperating:

{ OFFICE OF UNITED STATES MARSHAL,
{ LECOMPTON, K. T., May 15, 1856.

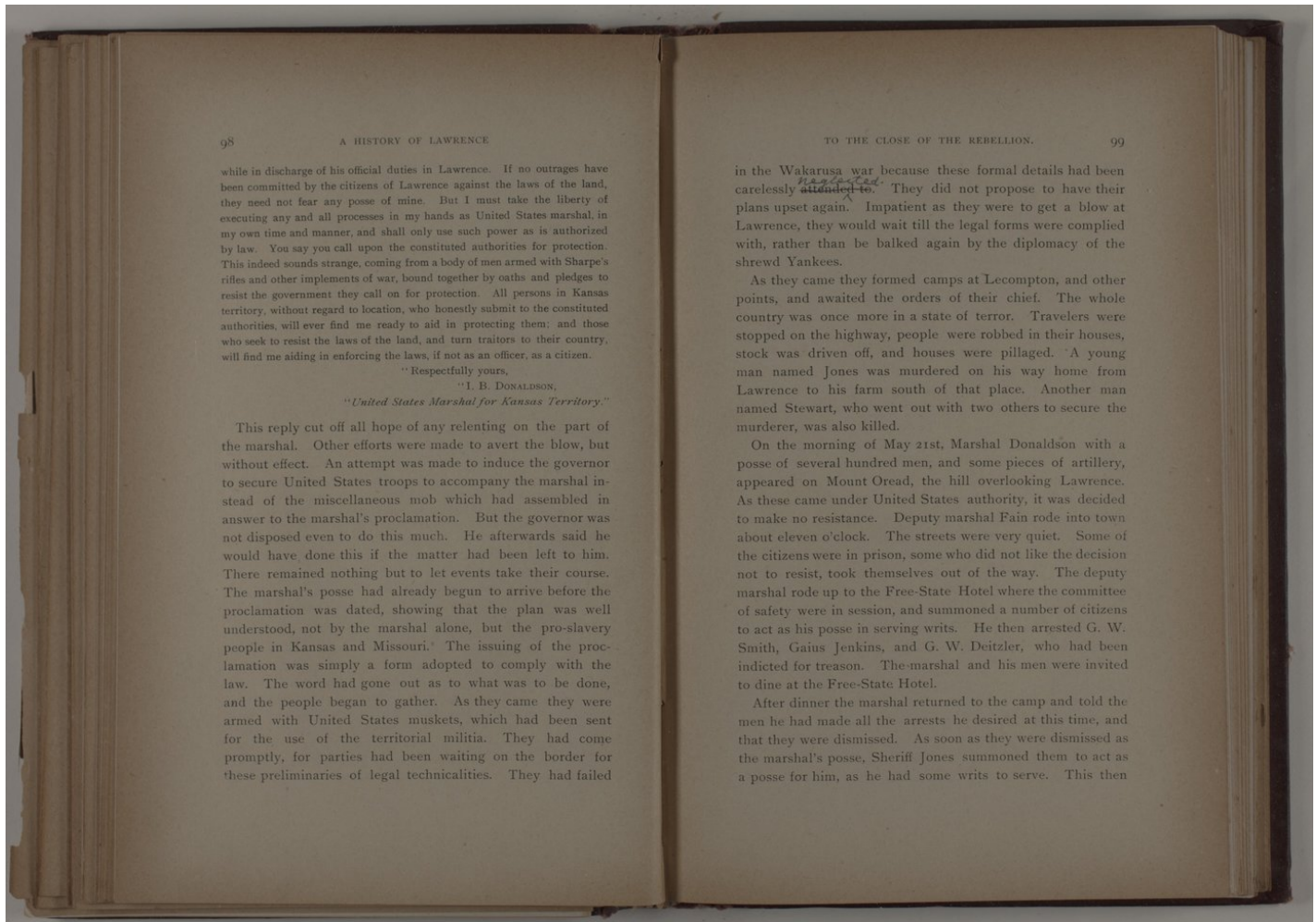
"MESSRS. G. W. DEITZLER and J. H. GREEN, Lawrence, Kansas Territory:—On yesterday I received a communication addressed to me, signed by one of you as president and the other as secretary, purporting to have been adopted by a meeting of the citizens of Lawrence held on yesterday morning. * * *

"From your professed ignorance of the demands against you I conclude that you are strangers and not citizens of Lawrence; or of recent date, or have been absent for some time; more particularly when an attempt was made by my deputy to execute a writ of the first district court of the United States for Kansas territory against ex-Governor Reeder when he made a speech in the room, and in the presence of the congressional committee, and denied the power and authority of said court, and threatened the said deputy if he attempted to execute said process, which speech and defiant threats were loudly applauded by some one or two hundred of the citizens of Lawrence, who made such demonstrations that the deputy thought that he and his small posse would endanger their lives in executing the process.

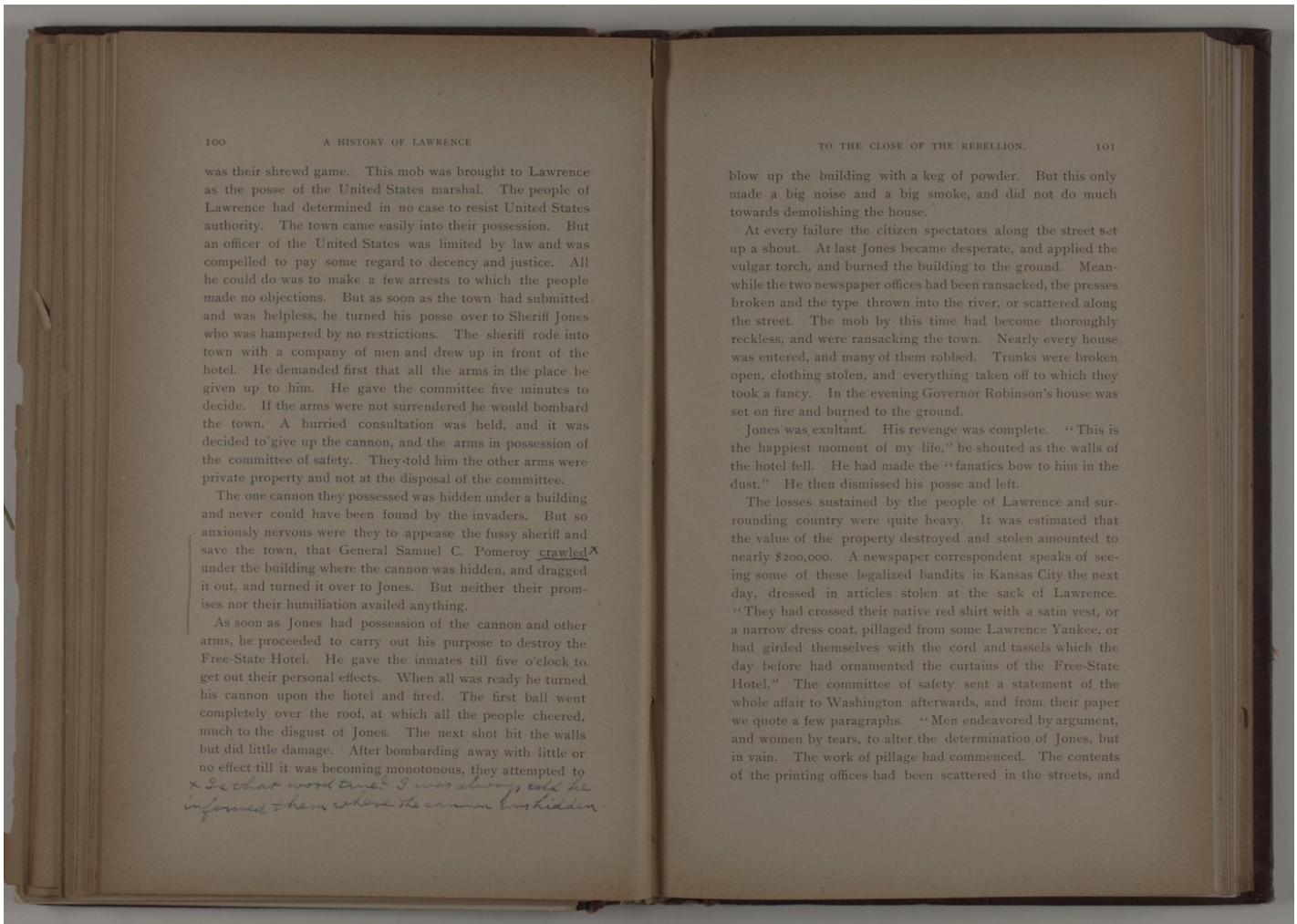
"Your declaration that you will truthfully and earnestly offer now, or at any future time, no opposition to any legal process, is difficult to understand. May I ask, gentlemen, what has produced this wonderful change in the minds of the people of Lawrence? Have their eyes been suddenly opened so that they are now able to see that there are laws in Kansas territory which should be obeyed? Or, is it that just now those for whom I have writs have sought refuge elsewhere? Or, it may possibly be that you now, as heretofore, expect to screen yourself behind the word 'legal,' so significantly used by you. How am I to rely on your pledges when I am well aware that the whole population of Lawrence is armed and drilled, and the town fortified? When too I recollect the meetings and resolutions adopted in Lawrence and elsewhere in the territory, openly defying the laws and the officers thereof, and threatening to resist the same to a bloody issue, as recently verified in the attempted assassination of Sheriff Jones

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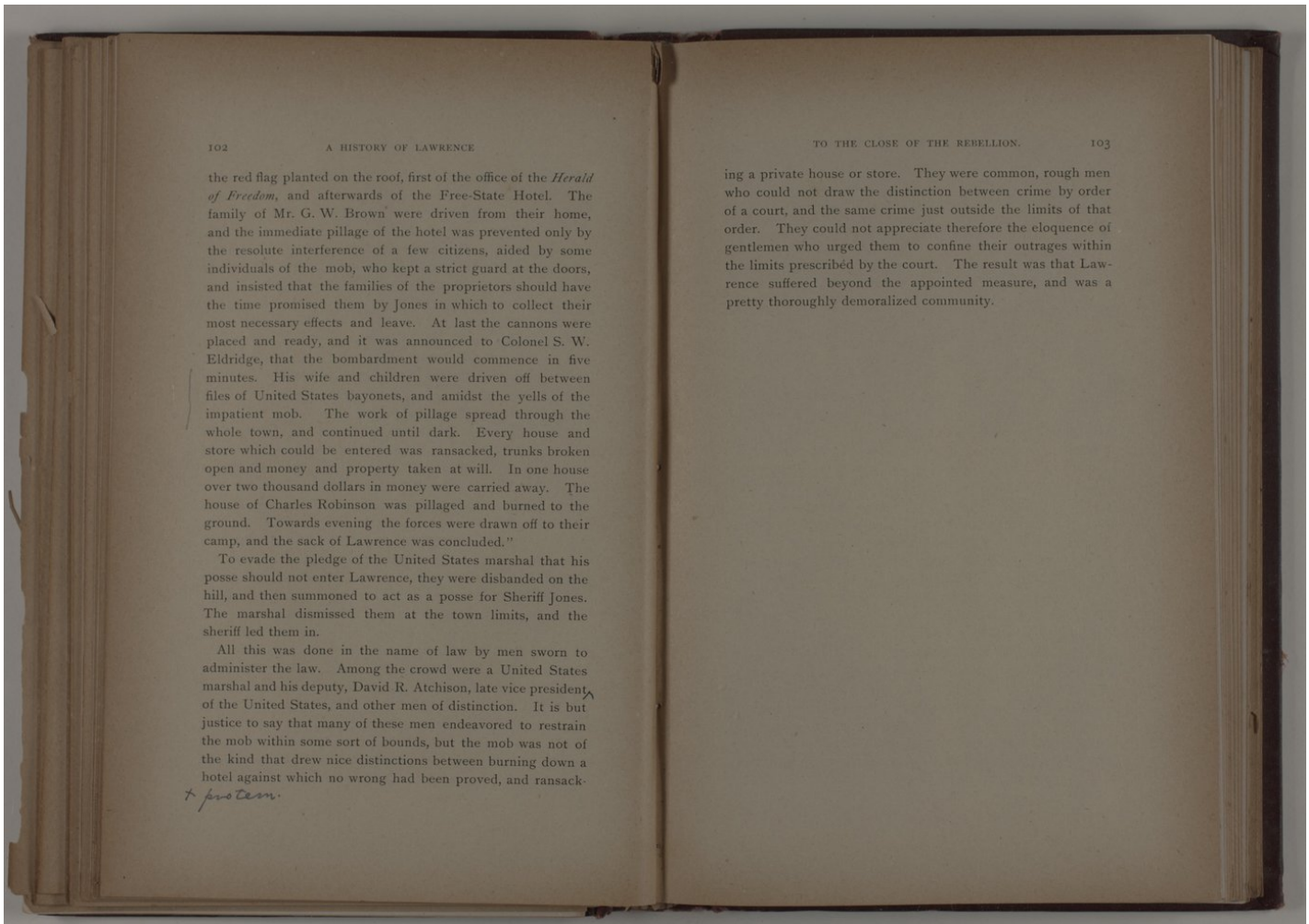
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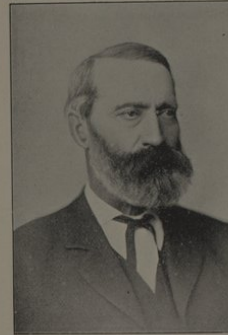
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CHAPTER VII.

THE SUMMER OF 1856.—OUTRAGES EVERYWHERE.—LAWRENCE INVESTED BY PRO-SLAVERY "FORCES."—THE CAPTURE OF FRANKLIN, FORT SAUNDERS, AND FORT TITUS.—TITUS A PRISONER.—GOVERNOR SHANNON MAKES ANOTHER TREATY.—GOVERNOR SHANNON RESIGNS.—DANIEL WOODSON ACTING GOVERNOR.

The sack of Lawrence was followed by an unprecedented condition of affairs. The whole territory was in a confusion. The summer that followed was the most exciting that Kansas ever knew. First of all came what has been known as the Potawatonic massacre. The news of the attack on Lawrence reached Osawatonic the day it occurred and while it was still being prosecuted. Old John Brown at once assembled a company of about fifty men and started for that place. Before reaching Lawrence they learned the particulars of the assault and found they were too late to render assistance. Most of the men returned to their homes, but John Brown with a small band remained. Two days later occurred the terrible tragedy at Dutch Henry's Crossing, which has never been satisfactorily explained, and which was quoted for years as the excuse for pro-slavery outrages without number. Other outrages followed on the other side and continued all summer. Captain Henry Clay Pate led a company of ruffians along the old Santa Fe trail, and robbed Black Jack and Palmyra and other places, and spread terror all about. Old John Brown, learning of his exploits, pounced upon him with a company of free-state men and captured the whole outfit. Then in turn, Colonel Sumner, with some United States troops, overhauled Brown and compelled him to release his prisoners. About the same time General Reid gathered about two hundred men in Missouri and marched through the border counties. He

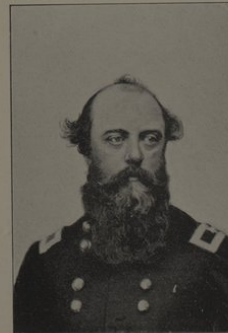
It was John Brown, Jr., who marched his company towards Lawrence, reaching Palmyra the morning after the sack.
A man who knows enough to write a history of Lawrence, and make such statement, has little regard for truth. Pate was trying to arrest Brown for his murder on the Potawatonic.



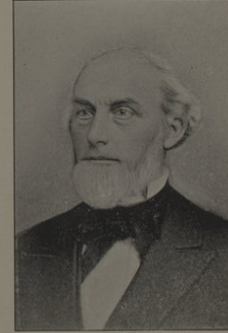
COL. JAMES BLOOD,
First Mayor—1857.



A. D. SEARLE,
First City Engineer.



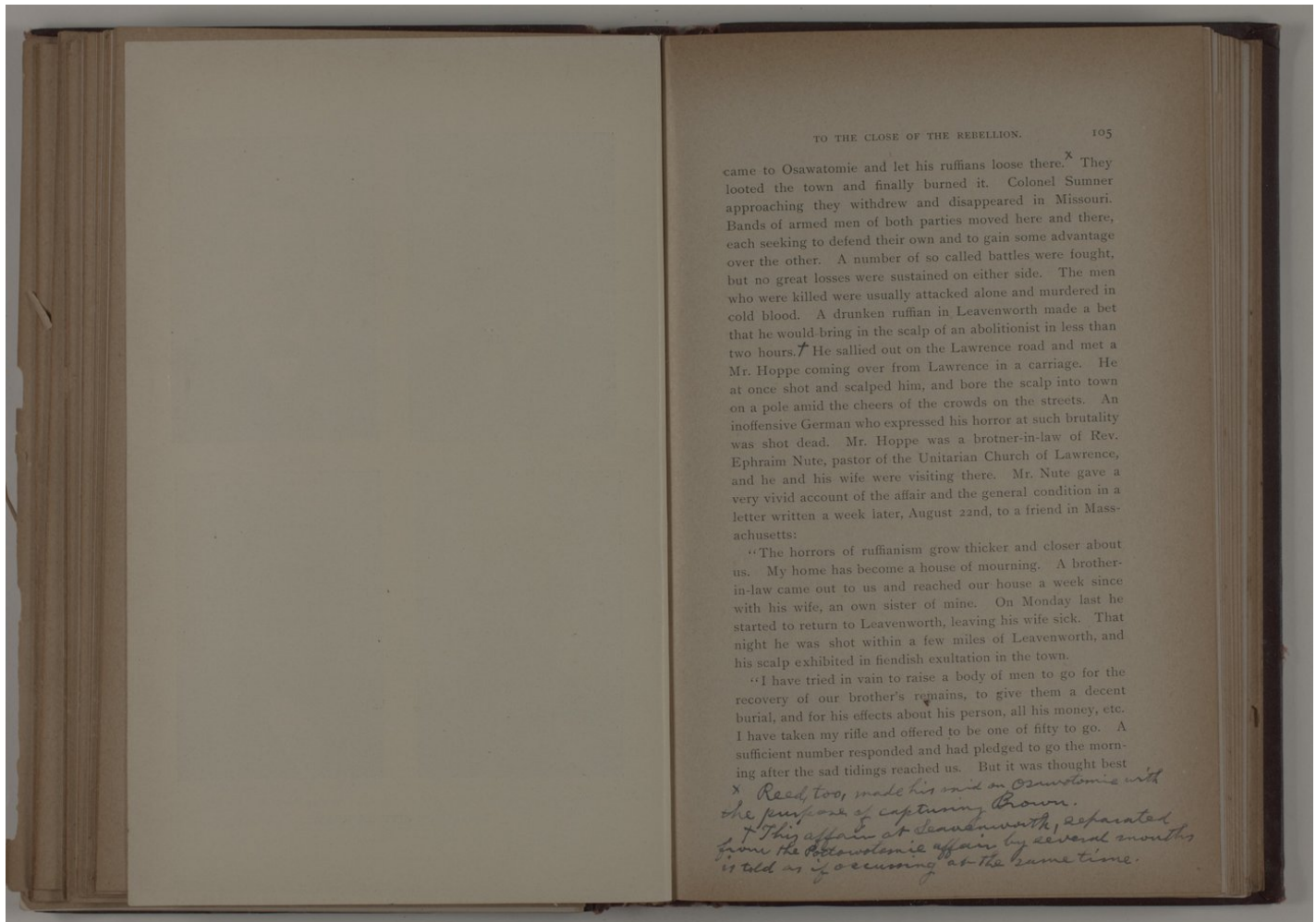
GEO. W. COLLAMORE,
Mayor at the time of the Raid.



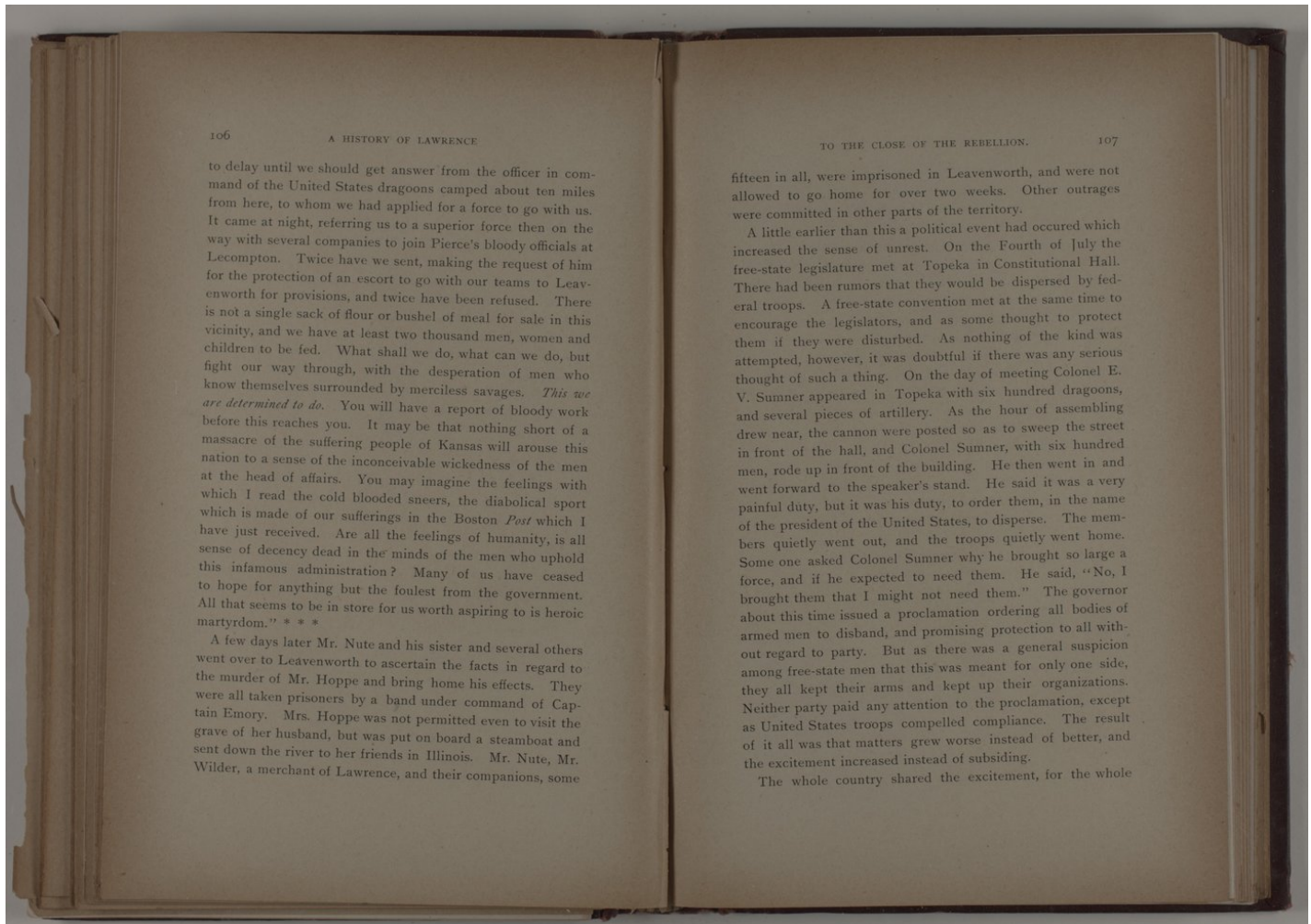
DR. ALONZO FULLER,
Acting Mayor after the Raid.

LAWRENCE CITY OFFICIALS.

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to delay until we should get answer from the officer in command of the United States dragoons camped about ten miles from here, to whom we had applied for a force to go with us. It came at night, referring us to a superior force then on the way with several companies to join Pierce's bloody officials at Leecompton. Twice have we sent, making the request of him for the protection of an escort to go with our teams to Leavenworth for provisions, and twice have been refused. There is not a single sack of flour or bushel of meal for sale in this vicinity, and we have at least two thousand men, women and children to be fed. What shall we do, what can we do, but fight our way through, with the desperation of men who know themselves surrounded by merciless savages. *This we are determined to do.* You will have a report of bloody work before this reaches you. It may be that nothing short of a massacre of the suffering people of Kansas will arouse this nation to a sense of the inconceivable wickedness of the men at the head of affairs. You may imagine the feelings with which I read the cold blooded sneers, the diabolical sport which is made of our sufferings in the Boston *Post* which I have just received. Are all the feelings of humanity, is all sense of decency dead in the minds of the men who uphold this infamous administration? Many of us have ceased to hope for anything but the foulest from the government. All that seems to be in store for us worth aspiring to is heroic martyrdom." * * *

A few days later Mr. Nute and his sister and several others went over to Leavenworth to ascertain the facts in regard to the murder of Mr. Hoppe and bring home his effects. They were all taken prisoners by a band under command of Captain Emory. Mrs. Hoppe was not permitted even to visit the grave of her husband, but was put on board a steamboat and sent down the river to her friends in Illinois. Mr. Nute, Mr. Wilder, a merchant of Lawrence, and their companions, some

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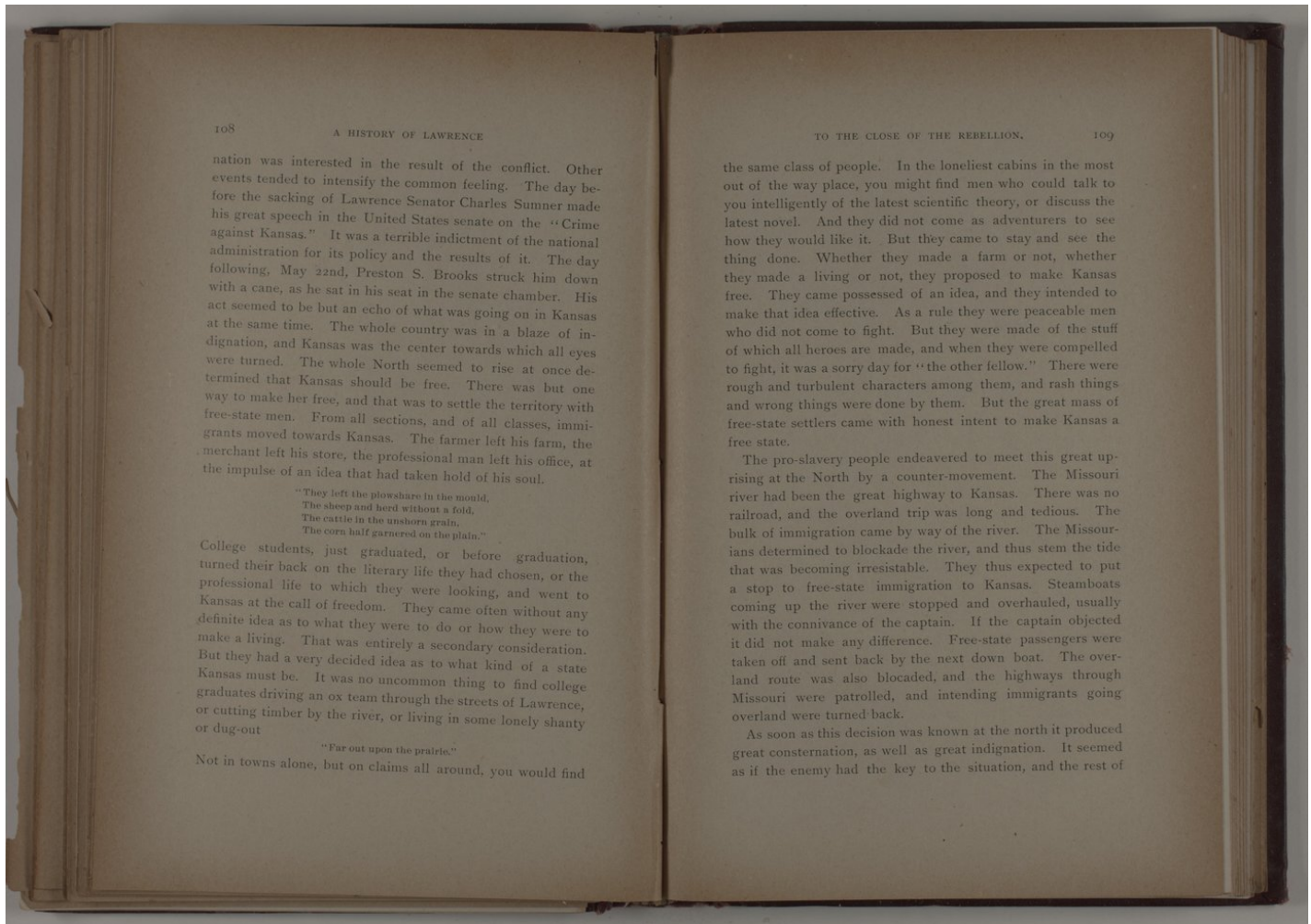
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fifteen in all, were imprisoned in Leavenworth, and were not allowed to go home for over two weeks. Other outrages were committed in other parts of the territory.

A little earlier than this a political event had occurred which increased the sense of unrest. On the Fourth of July the free-state legislature met at Topeka in Constitutional Hall. There had been rumors that they would be dispersed by federal troops. A free-state convention met at the same time to encourage the legislators, and as some thought to protect them if they were disturbed. As nothing of the kind was attempted, however, it was doubtful if there was any serious thought of such a thing. On the day of meeting Colonel E. V. Sumner appeared in Topeka with six hundred dragoons, and several pieces of artillery. As the hour of assembling drew near, the cannon were posted so as to sweep the street in front of the hall, and Colonel Sumner, with six hundred men, rode up in front of the building. He then went in and went forward to the speaker's stand. He said it was a very painful duty, but it was his duty, to order them, in the name of the president of the United States, to disperse. The members quietly went out, and the troops quietly went home. Some one asked Colonel Sumner why he brought so large a force, and if he expected to need them. He said, "No, I brought them that I might not need them." The governor about this time issued a proclamation ordering all bodies of armed men to disband, and promising protection to all without regard to party. But as there was a general suspicion among free-state men that this was meant for only one side, they all kept their arms and kept up their organizations. Neither party paid any attention to the proclamation, except as United States troops compelled compliance. The result of it all was that matters grew worse instead of better, and the excitement increased instead of subsiding.

The whole country shared the excitement, for the whole

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nation was interested in the result of the conflict. Other events tended to intensify the common feeling. The day before the sacking of Lawrence Senator Charles Sumner made his great speech in the United States senate on the "Crime against Kansas." It was a terrible indictment of the national administration for its policy and the results of it. The day following, May 22nd, Preston S. Brooks struck him down with a cane, as he sat in his seat in the senate chamber. His act seemed to be but an echo of what was going on in Kansas at the same time. The whole country was in a blaze of indignation, and Kansas was the center towards which all eyes were turned. The whole North seemed to rise at once determined that Kansas should be free. There was but one way to make her free, and that was to settle the territory with free-state men. From all sections, and of all classes, immigrants moved towards Kansas. The farmer left his farm, the merchant left his store, the professional man left his office, at the impulse of an idea that had taken hold of his soul.

"They left the plowshare in the mould,
The sheep and herd without a fold,
The cattle in the unsown grain,
The corn half garnered on the plain."

College students, just graduated, or before graduation, turned their back on the literary life they had chosen, or the professional life to which they were looking, and went to Kansas at the call of freedom. They came often without any definite idea as to what they were to do or how they were to make a living. That was entirely a secondary consideration. But they had a very decided idea as to what kind of a state Kansas must be. It was no uncommon thing to find college graduates driving an ox team through the streets of Lawrence, or cutting timber by the river, or living in some lonely shanty or dug-out.

"Far out upon the prairie,"

Not in towns alone, but on claims all around, you would find

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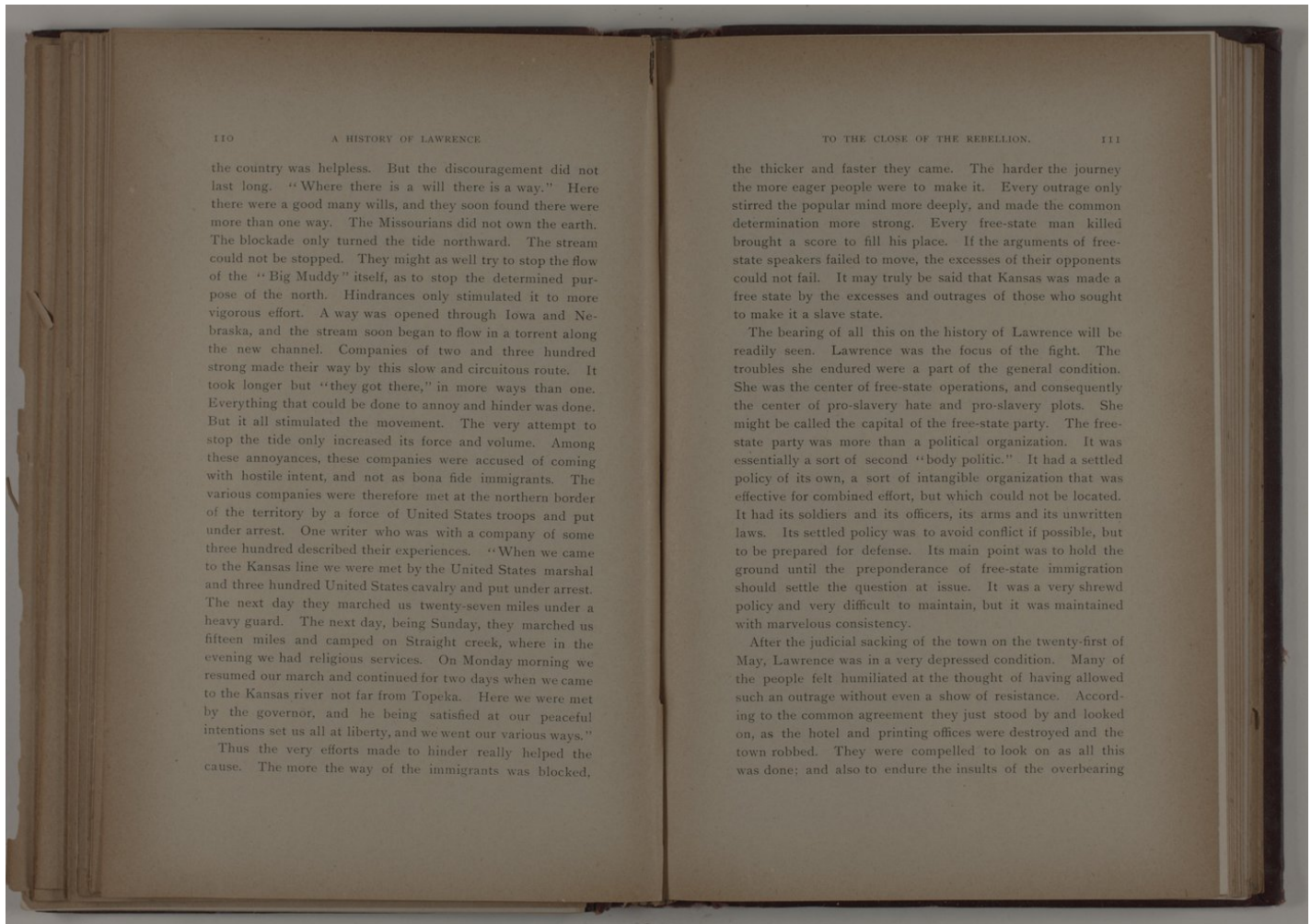
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the same class of people. In the loneliest cabins in the most out of the way place, you might find men who could talk to you intelligently of the latest scientific theory, or discuss the latest novel. And they did not come as adventurers to see how they would like it. But they came to stay and see the thing done. Whether they made a farm or not, whether they made a living or not, they proposed to make Kansas free. They came possessed of an idea, and they intended to make that idea effective. As a rule they were peaceable men who did not come to fight. But they were made of the stuff of which all heroes are made, and when they were compelled to fight, it was a sorry day for "the other fellow." There were rough and turbulent characters among them, and rash things and wrong things were done by them. But the great mass of free-state settlers came with honest intent to make Kansas a free state.

The pro-slavery people endeavored to meet this great uprising at the North by a counter-movement. The Missouri river had been the great highway to Kansas. There was no railroad, and the overland trip was long and tedious. The bulk of immigration came by way of the river. The Missourians determined to blockade the river, and thus stem the tide that was becoming irresistible. They thus expected to put a stop to free-state immigration to Kansas. Steamboats coming up the river were stopped and overhauled, usually with the connivance of the captain. If the captain objected it did not make any difference. Free-state passengers were taken off and sent back by the next down boat. The overland route was also blockaded, and the highways through Missouri were patrolled, and intending immigrants going overland were turned back.

As soon as this decision was known at the north it produced great consternation, as well as great indignation. It seemed as if the enemy had the key to the situation, and the rest of

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the country was helpless. But the discouragement did not last long. "Where there is a will there is a way." Here there were a good many wills, and they soon found there were more than one way. The Missourians did not own the earth. The blockade only turned the tide northward. The stream could not be stopped. They might as well try to stop the flow of the "Big Muddy" itself, as to stop the determined purpose of the north. Hindrances only stimulated it to more vigorous effort. A way was opened through Iowa and Nebraska, and the stream soon began to flow in a torrent along the new channel. Companies of two and three hundred strong made their way by this slow and circuitous route. It took longer but "they got there," in more ways than one. Everything that could be done to annoy and hinder was done. But it all stimulated the movement. The very attempt to stop the tide only increased its force and volume. Among these annoyances, these companies were accused of coming with hostile intent, and not as bona fide immigrants. The various companies were therefore met at the northern border of the territory by a force of United States troops and put under arrest. One writer who was with a company of some three hundred described their experiences. "When we came to the Kansas line we were met by the United States marshal and three hundred United States cavalry and put under arrest. The next day they marched us twenty-seven miles under a heavy guard. The next day, being Sunday, they marched us fifteen miles and camped on Straight creek, where in the evening we had religious services. On Monday morning we resumed our march and continued for two days when we came to the Kansas river not far from Topeka. Here we were met by the governor, and he being satisfied at our peaceful intentions set us all at liberty, and we went our various ways." Thus the very efforts made to hinder really helped the cause. The more the way of the immigrants was blocked,

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the thicker and faster they came. The harder the journey the more eager people were to make it. Every outrage only stirred the popular mind more deeply, and made the common determination more strong. Every free-state man killed brought a score to fill his place. If the arguments of free-state speakers failed to move, the excesses of their opponents could not fail. It may truly be said that Kansas was made a free state by the excesses and outrages of those who sought to make it a slave state.

The bearing of all this on the history of Lawrence will be readily seen. Lawrence was the focus of the fight. The troubles she endured were a part of the general condition. She was the center of free-state operations, and consequently the center of pro-slavery hate and pro-slavery plots. She might be called the capital of the free-state party. The free-state party was more than a political organization. It was essentially a sort of second "body politic." It had a settled policy of its own, a sort of intangible organization that was effective for combined effort, but which could not be located. It had its soldiers and its officers, its arms and its unwritten laws. Its settled policy was to avoid conflict if possible, but to be prepared for defense. Its main point was to hold the ground until the preponderance of free-state immigration should settle the question at issue. It was a very shrewd policy and very difficult to maintain, but it was maintained with marvelous consistency.

After the judicial sacking of the town on the twenty-first of May, Lawrence was in a very depressed condition. Many of the people felt humiliated at the thought of having allowed such an outrage without even a show of resistance. According to the common agreement they just stood by and looked on, as the hotel and printing offices were destroyed and the town robbed. They were compelled to look on as all this was done; and also to endure the insults of the overbearing

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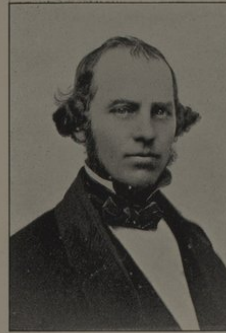
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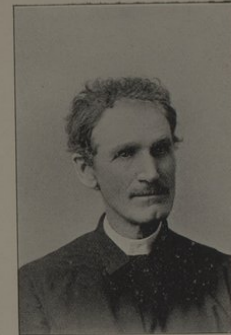
miscreants who exulted in their work, and called the citizens a pack of "cowardly Yankees." This was doubtless the wisest policy they could have chosen, but the situation was very galling. Their foes would have been delighted if they could have provoked them to resistance, and a good deal of their insolence and ostentation were for the purpose of goading them beyond endurance. Had the citizens resisted, even if they had been able to drive the marauders out of town, they would have been charged with resisting officers, and a new batch of indictments would have been issued, and a larger posse would have been secured. As it was, the ruffians were guilty of an unprovoked outrage, and had put themselves in the position of law-breakers, while professing to enforce law.

The feeling of depression was very general. The people knew not what next might come. They were not as well organized as they had been at the time of the Wakarusa war. Their trusted leaders were gone. Robinson was in prison near Leecompton. Many of their ablest citizens were in prison with him. Lane was out of the territory to avoid arrest. A great many others had left to escape indictment. Their leading men in prison, or fleeing from indictments, their beautiful hotel in ruins, their printing presses scattered, their houses broken into and robbed, and no law or courts to which they could appeal for redress, it was not strange that a spirit of despondency should settle over the community.

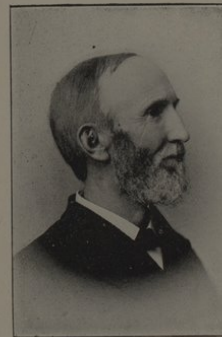
The troubles all over the territory found their focus in Lawrence. Bands of pro-slavery men roved about making travel dangerous and putting life in constant peril. Lawrence became invested by a system of forts, or block houses, where bands of pro-slavery men were housed, and from which they sallied on expeditions of plunder or revenge. One of these so-called forts was at Franklin, four miles east of Lawrence. Another, Fort Saunders, was on Washington creek, twelve miles southwest. A third was near Leecompton and was called Fort



REV. S. Y. LUM.
Preached first sermon.



REV. WM. BISHOP.
First Pastor of Presbyterian Church.



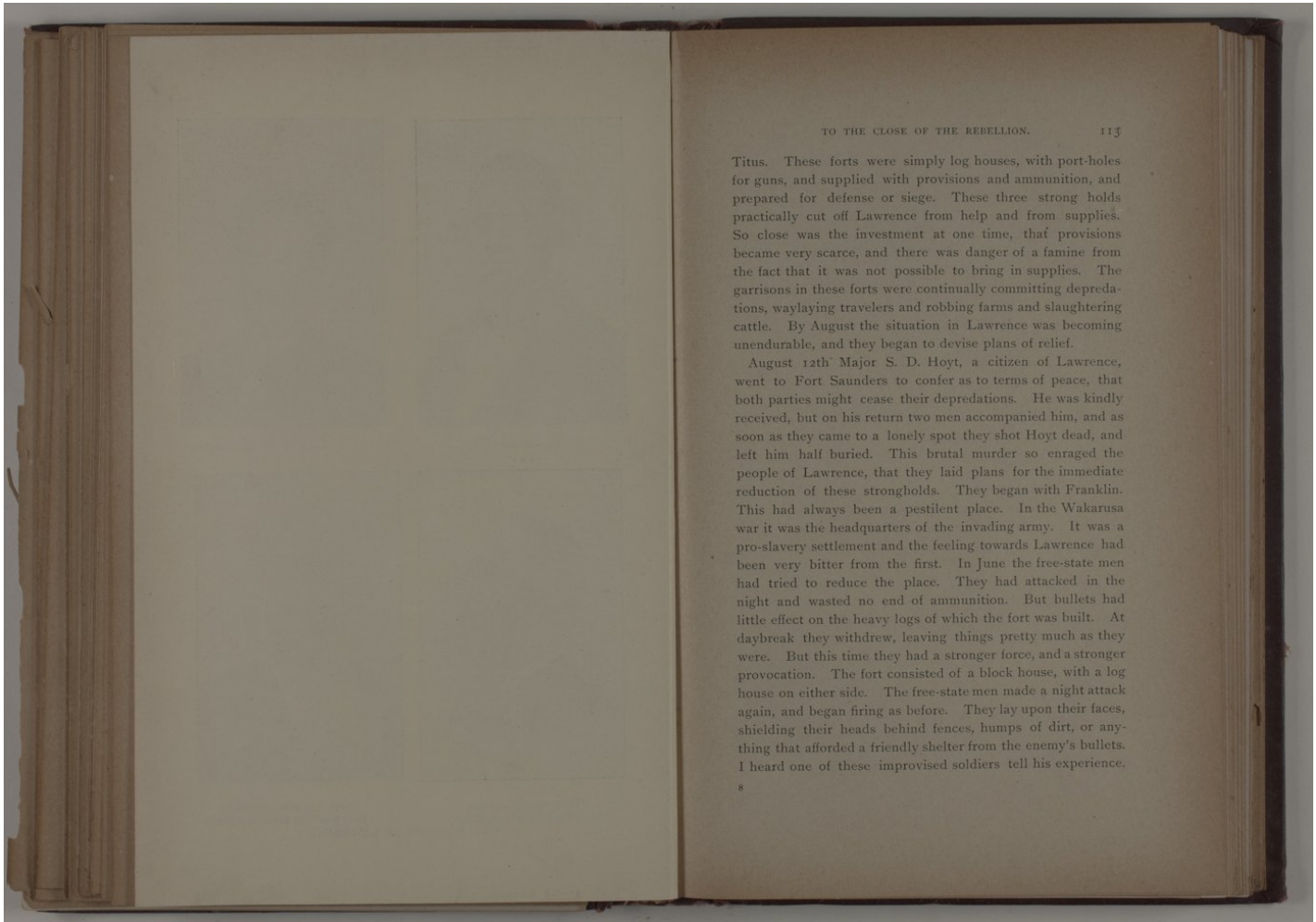
REV. RICHARD CORDLEY,
Pastor of Congregational Church.



REV. CHARLES REYNOLDS,
First Rector of Episcopal Church.

EARLY PASTORS OF LAWRENCE.

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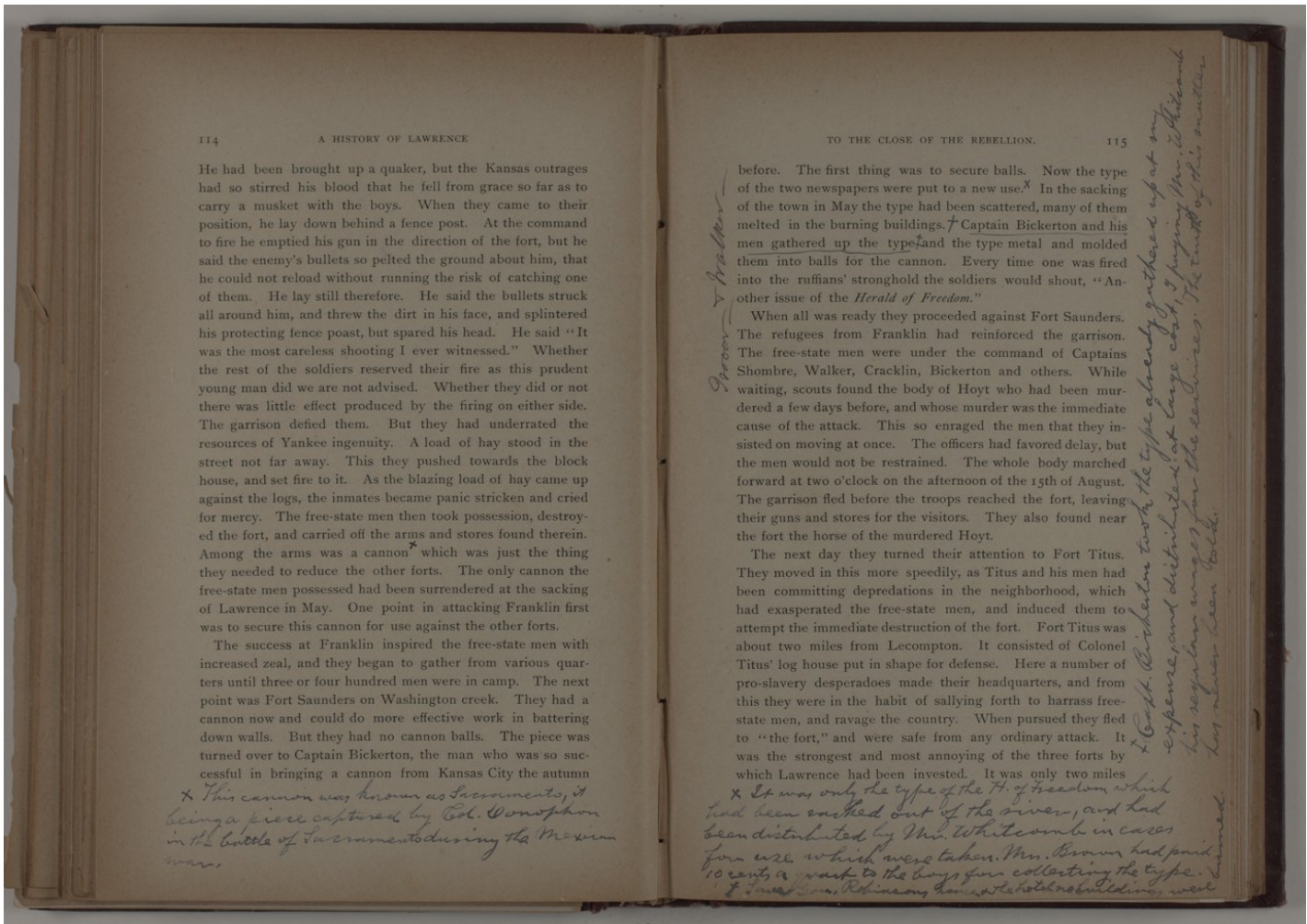
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Titus. These forts were simply log houses, with port-holes for guns, and supplied with provisions and ammunition, and prepared for defense or siege. These three strong holds practically cut off Lawrence from help and from supplies. So close was the investment at one time, that provisions became very scarce, and there was danger of a famine from the fact that it was not possible to bring in supplies. The garrisons in these forts were continually committing depredations, waylaying travelers and robbing farms and slaughtering cattle. By August the situation in Lawrence was becoming unendurable, and they began to devise plans of relief.

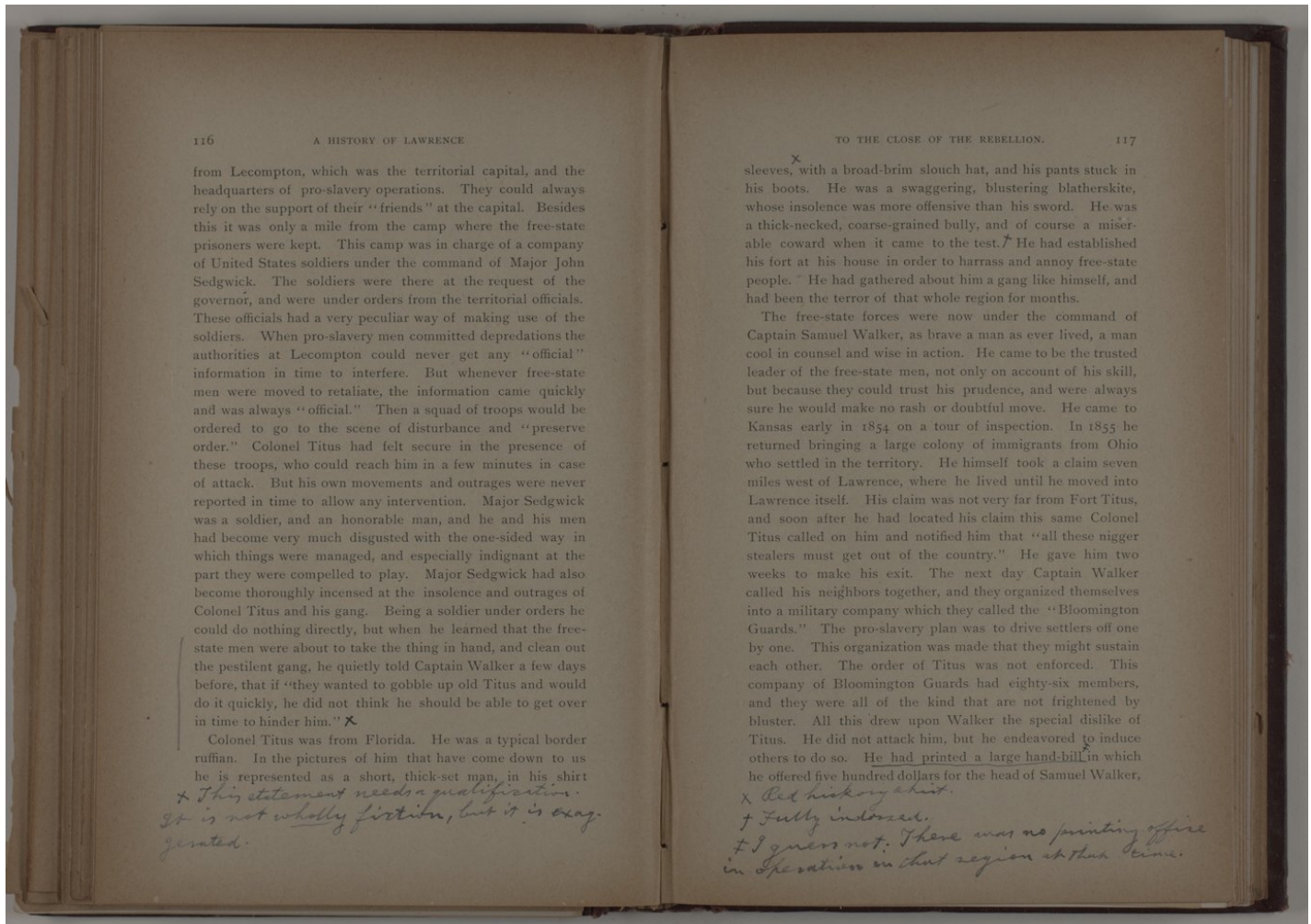
August 12th Major S. D. Hoyt, a citizen of Lawrence, went to Fort Saunders to confer as to terms of peace, that both parties might cease their depredations. He was kindly received, but on his return two men accompanied him, and as soon as they came to a lonely spot they shot Hoyt dead, and left him half buried. This brutal murder so enraged the people of Lawrence, that they laid plans for the immediate reduction of these strongholds. They began with Franklin. This had always been a pestilent place. In the Wakarusa war it was the headquarters of the invading army. It was a pro-slavery settlement and the feeling towards Lawrence had been very bitter from the first. In June the free-state men had tried to reduce the place. They had attacked in the night and wasted no end of ammunition. But bullets had little effect on the heavy logs of which the fort was built. At daybreak they withdrew, leaving things pretty much as they were. But this time they had a stronger force, and a stronger provocation. The fort consisted of a block house, with a log house on either side. The free-state men made a night attack again, and began firing as before. They lay upon their faces, shielding their heads behind fences, humps of dirt, or anything that afforded a friendly shelter from the enemy's bullets. I heard one of these improvised soldiers tell his experience.

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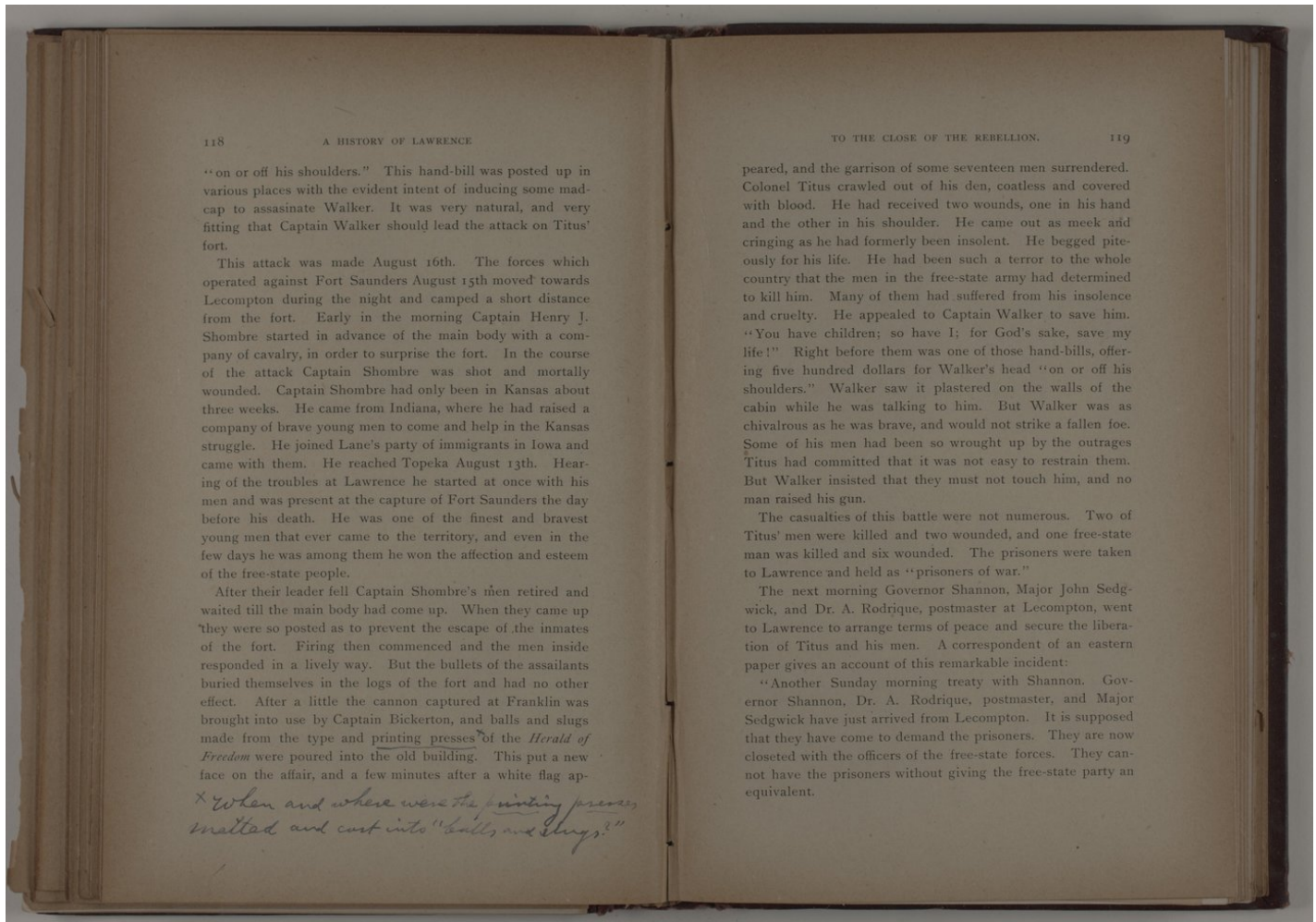
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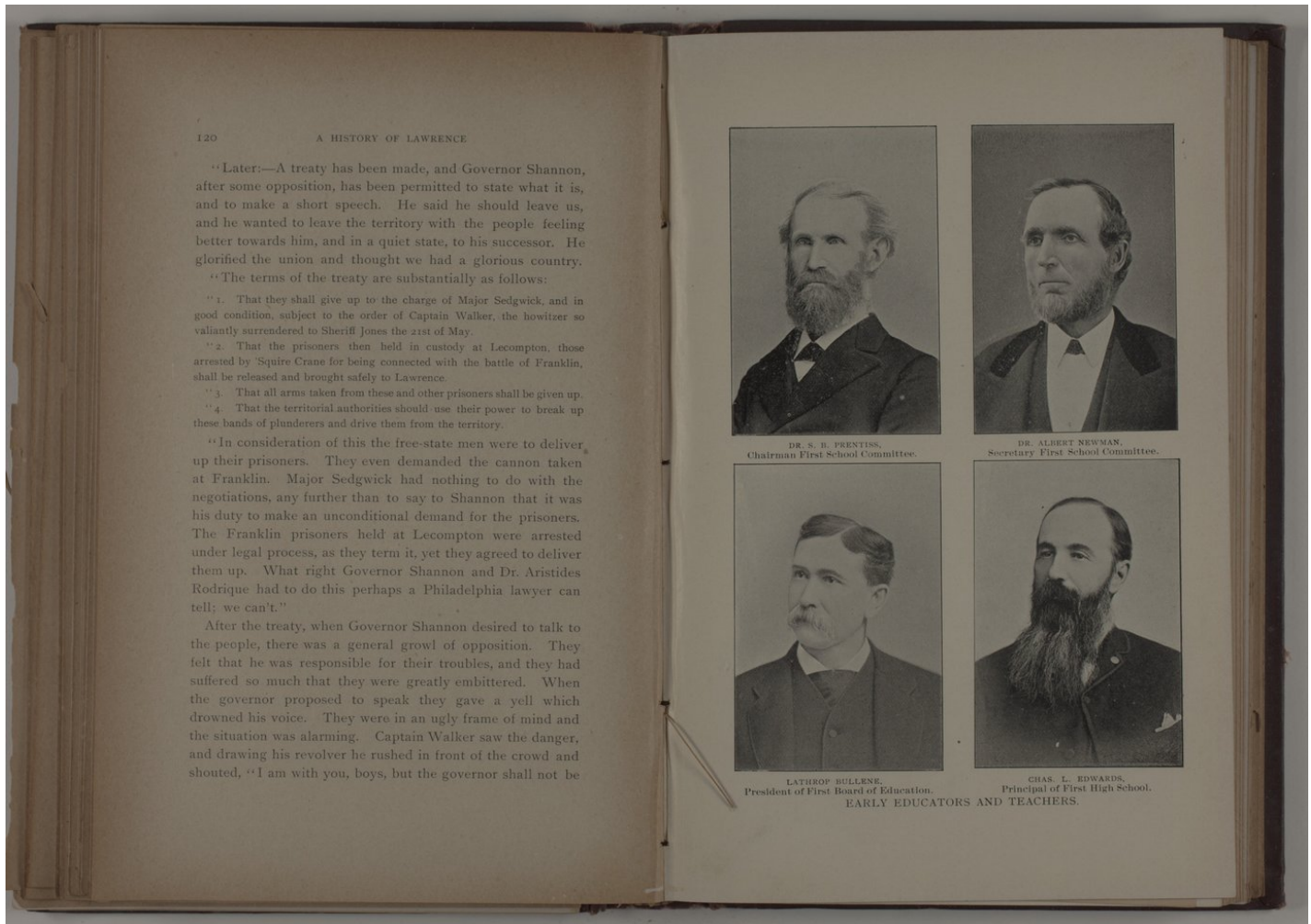
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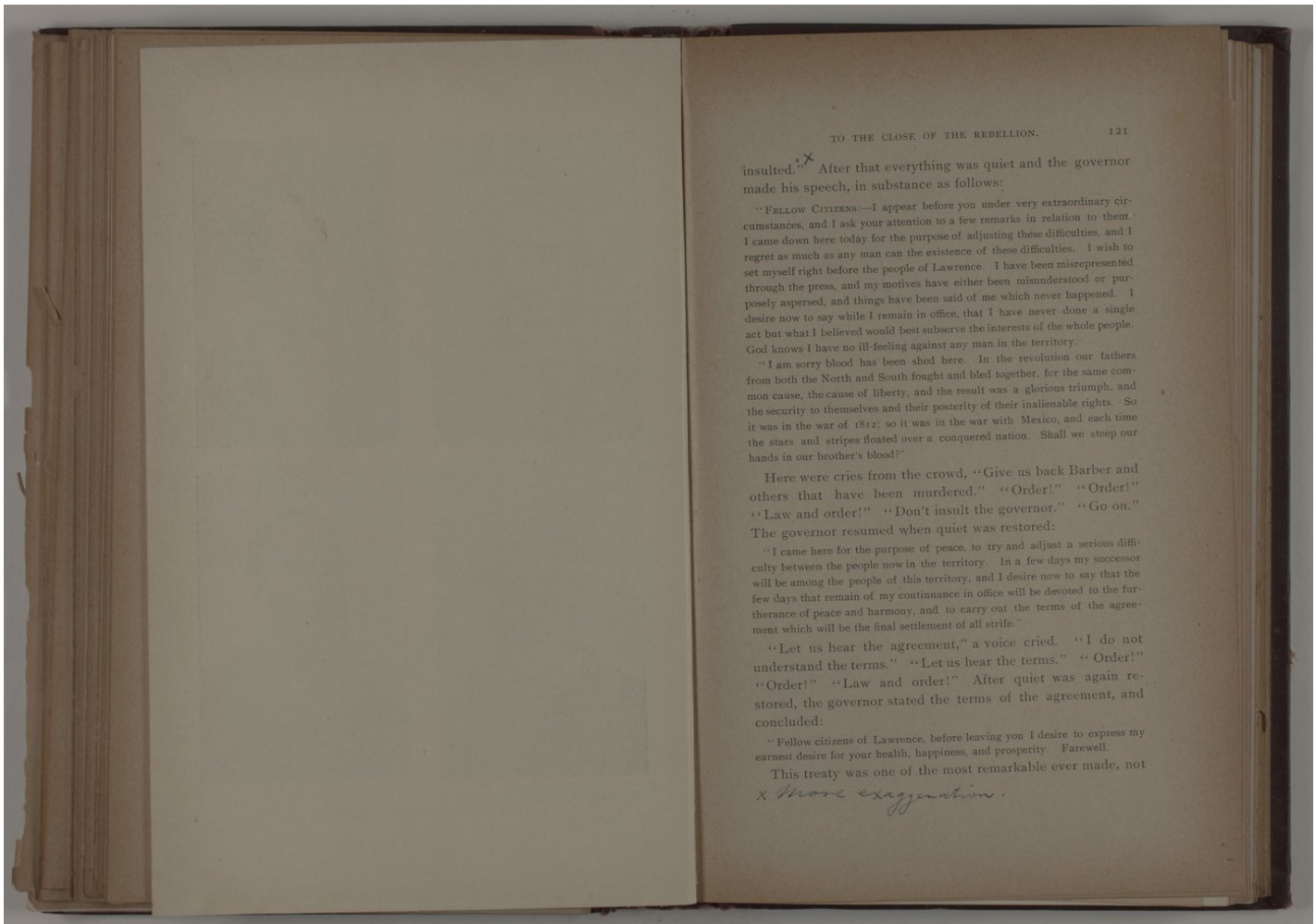
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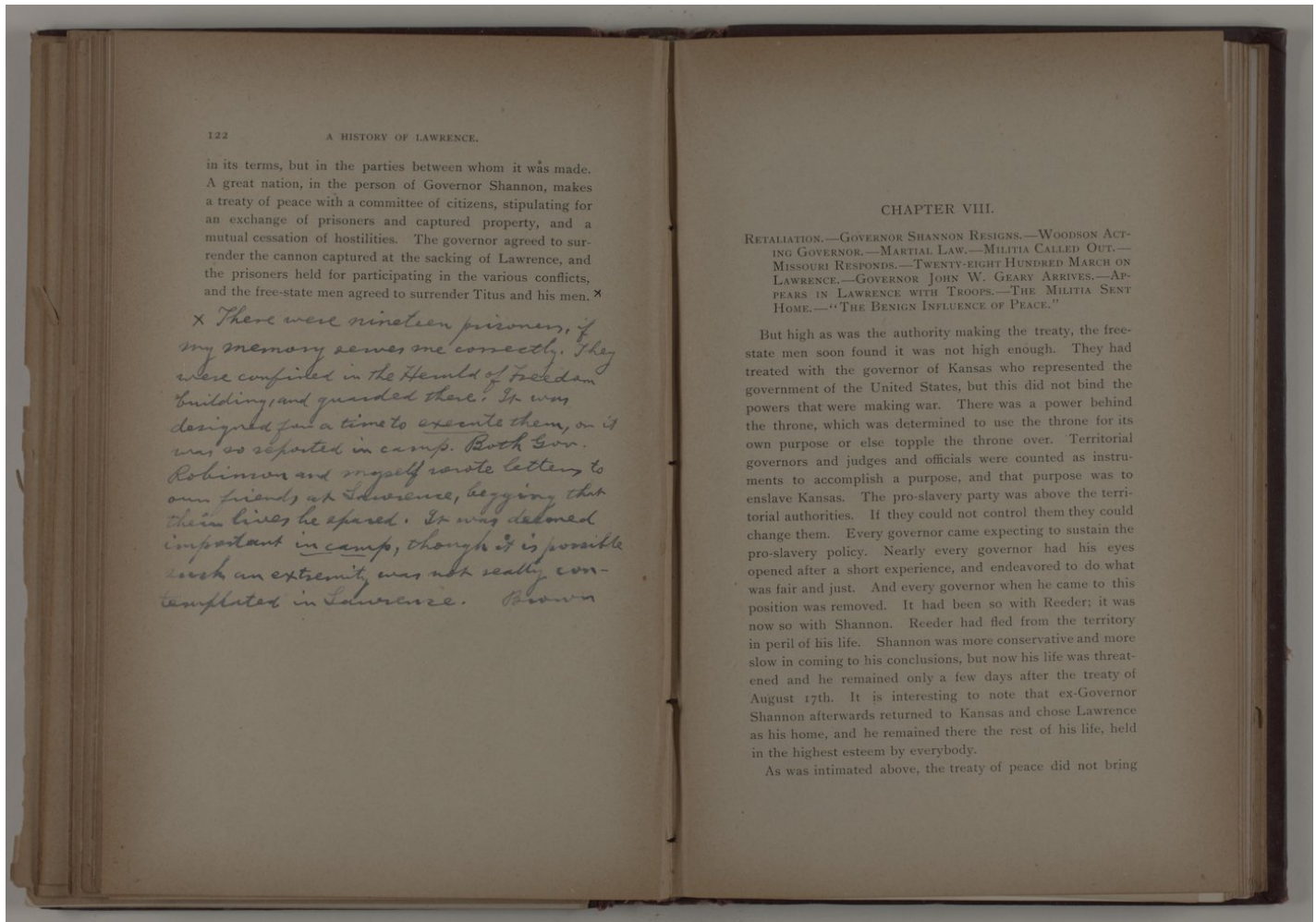
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in its terms, but in the parties between whom it was made. A great nation, in the person of Governor Shannon, makes a treaty of peace with a committee of citizens, stipulating for an exchange of prisoners and captured property, and a mutual cessation of hostilities. The governor agreed to surrender the cannon captured at the sacking of Lawrence, and the prisoners held for participating in the various conflicts, and the free-state men agreed to surrender Titus and his men. ✕

✕ There were nineteen prisoners, if my memory serves me correctly. They were confined in the Herald of Freedom building, and guarded there. It was designed for a time to execute them, as it was so reported in camp. Both Gov. Robinson and myself wrote letters to our friends at Lawrence, begging that their lives be spared. It was deemed important in camp, though it is possible such an extremity was not really contemplated in Lawrence. Brown

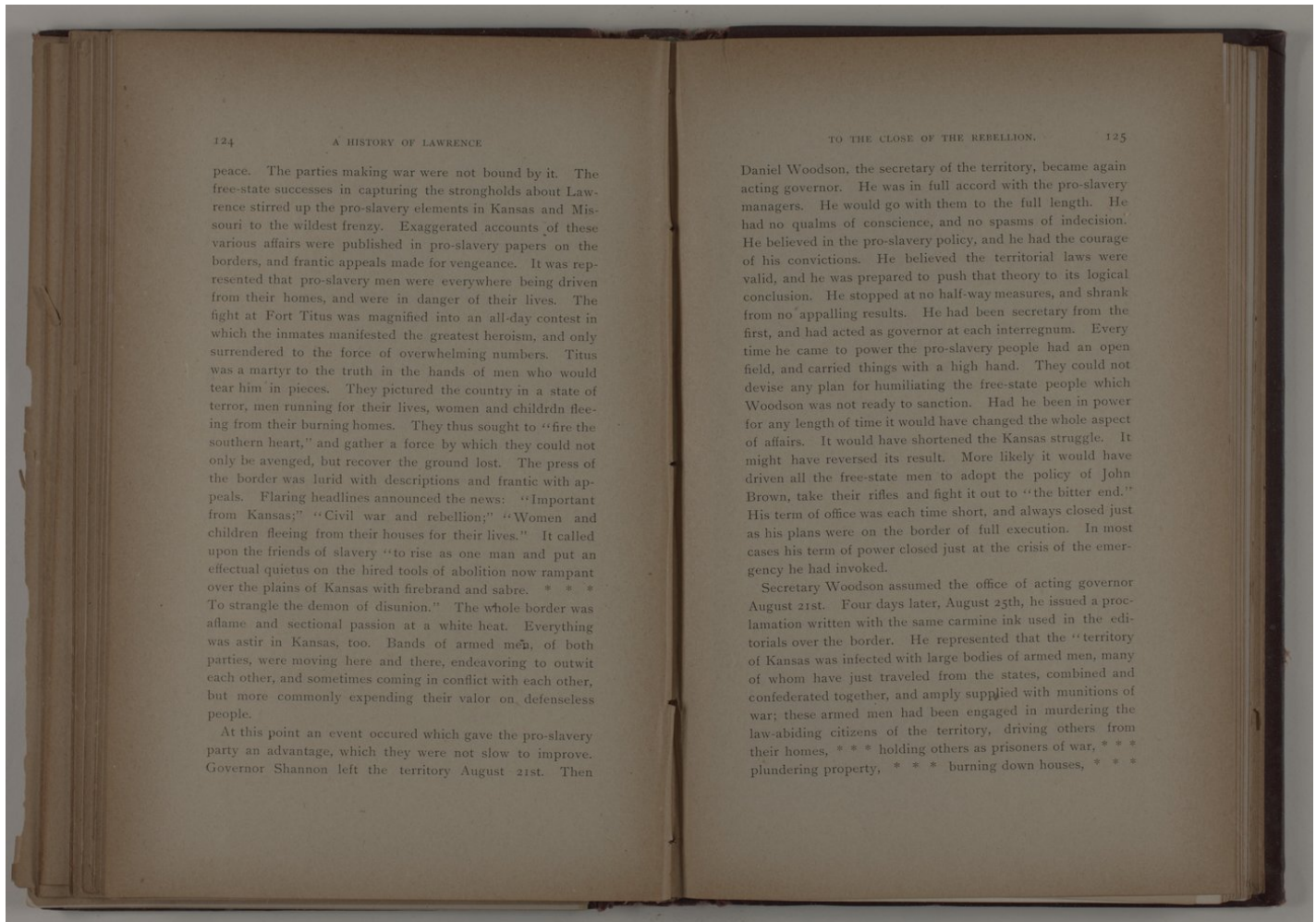
CHAPTER VIII.

RETALIATION.—GOVERNOR SHANNON RESIGNS.—WOODSON ACTING GOVERNOR.—MARTIAL LAW.—MILITIA CALLED OUT.—MISSOURI RESPONDS.—TWENTY-EIGHT HUNDRED MARCH ON LAWRENCE.—GOVERNOR JOHN W. GEARY ARRIVES.—APPEARS IN LAWRENCE WITH TROOPS.—THE MILITIA SENT HOME.—“THE BENIGN INFLUENCE OF PEACE.”

But high as was the authority making the treaty, the free-state men soon found it was not high enough. They had treated with the governor of Kansas who represented the government of the United States, but this did not bind the powers that were making war. There was a power behind the throne, which was determined to use the throne for its own purpose or else topple the throne over. Territorial governors and judges and officials were counted as instruments to accomplish a purpose, and that purpose was to enslave Kansas. The pro-slavery party was above the territorial authorities. If they could not control them they could change them. Every governor came expecting to sustain the pro-slavery policy. Nearly every governor had his eyes opened after a short experience, and endeavored to do what was fair and just. And every governor when he came to this position was removed. It had been so with Reeder; it was now so with Shannon. Reeder had fled from the territory in peril of his life. Shannon was more conservative and more slow in coming to his conclusions, but now his life was threatened and he remained only a few days after the treaty of August 17th. It is interesting to note that ex-Governor Shannon afterwards returned to Kansas and chose Lawrence as his home, and he remained there the rest of his life, held in the highest esteem by everybody.

As was intimated above, the treaty of peace did not bring

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peace. The parties making war were not bound by it. The free-state successes in capturing the strongholds about Lawrence stirred up the pro-slavery elements in Kansas and Missouri to the wildest frenzy. Exaggerated accounts of these various affairs were published in pro-slavery papers on the borders, and frantic appeals made for vengeance. It was represented that pro-slavery men were everywhere being driven from their homes, and were in danger of their lives. The fight at Fort Titus was magnified into an all-day contest in which the inmates manifested the greatest heroism, and only surrendered to the force of overwhelming numbers. Titus was a martyr to the truth in the hands of men who would tear him in pieces. They pictured the country in a state of terror, men running for their lives, women and children fleeing from their burning homes. They thus sought to "fire the southern heart," and gather a force by which they could not only be avenged, but recover the ground lost. The press of the border was lurid with descriptions and frantic with appeals. Flaring headlines announced the news: "Important from Kansas;" "Civil war and rebellion;" "Women and children fleeing from their houses for their lives." It called upon the friends of slavery "to rise as one man and put an effectual quietus on the hired tools of abolition now rampant over the plains of Kansas with firebrand and sabre. * * * To strangle the demon of disunion." The whole border was aflame and sectional passion at a white heat. Everything was astir in Kansas, too. Bands of armed men, of both parties, were moving here and there, endeavoring to outwit each other, and sometimes coming in conflict with each other, but more commonly expending their valor on defenseless people.

At this point an event occurred which gave the pro-slavery party an advantage, which they were not slow to improve. Governor Shannon left the territory August 21st. Then

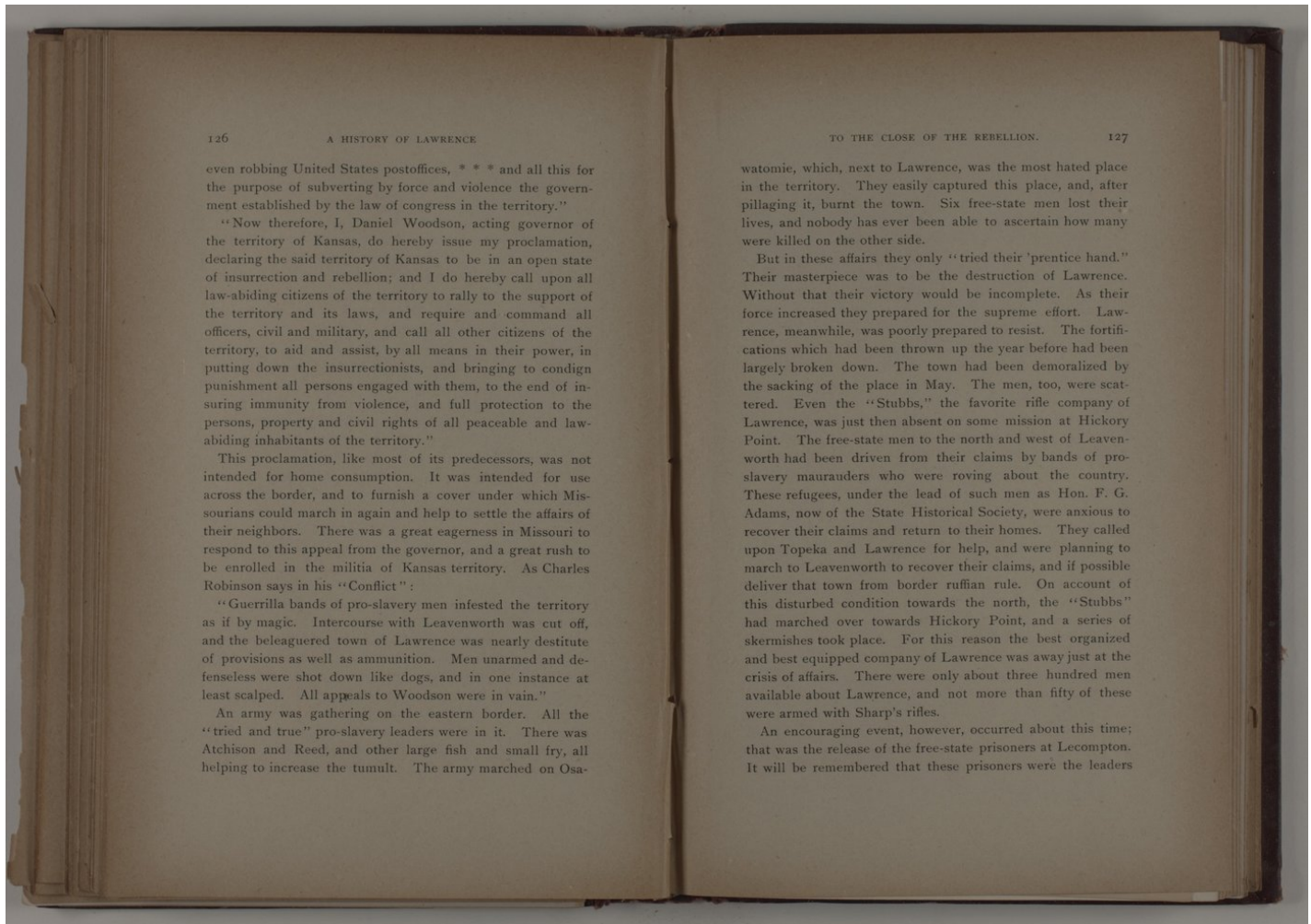
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Daniel Woodson, the secretary of the territory, became again acting governor. He was in full accord with the pro-slavery managers. He would go with them to the full length. He had no qualms of conscience, and no spasms of indecision. He believed in the pro-slavery policy, and he had the courage of his convictions. He believed the territorial laws were valid, and he was prepared to push that theory to its logical conclusion. He stopped at no half-way measures, and shrank from no appalling results. He had been secretary from the first, and had acted as governor at each interregnum. Every time he came to power the pro-slavery people had an open field, and carried things with a high hand. They could not devise any plan for humiliating the free-state people which Woodson was not ready to sanction. Had he been in power for any length of time it would have changed the whole aspect of affairs. It would have shortened the Kansas struggle. It might have reversed its result. More likely it would have driven all the free-state men to adopt the policy of John Brown, take their rifles and fight it out to "the bitter end." His term of office was each time short, and always closed just as his plans were on the border of full execution. In most cases his term of power closed just at the crisis of the emergency he had invoked.

Secretary Woodson assumed the office of acting governor August 21st. Four days later, August 25th, he issued a proclamation written with the same carmine ink used in the editorials over the border. He represented that the "territory of Kansas was infected with large bodies of armed men, many of whom have just traveled from the states, combined and confederated together, and amply supplied with munitions of war; these armed men had been engaged in murdering the law-abiding citizens of the territory, driving others from their homes, * * * holding others as prisoners of war, * * * plundering property, * * * burning down houses, * * *

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even robbing United States postoffices, * * * and all this for the purpose of subverting by force and violence the government established by the law of congress in the territory."

"Now therefore, I, Daniel Woodson, acting governor of the territory of Kansas, do hereby issue my proclamation, declaring the said territory of Kansas to be in an open state of insurrection and rebellion; and I do hereby call upon all law-abiding citizens of the territory to rally to the support of the territory and its laws, and require and command all officers, civil and military, and call all other citizens of the territory, to aid and assist, by all means in their power, in putting down the insurrectionists, and bringing to condign punishment all persons engaged with them, to the end of insuring immunity from violence, and full protection to the persons, property and civil rights of all peaceable and law-abiding inhabitants of the territory."

This proclamation, like most of its predecessors, was not intended for home consumption. It was intended for use across the border, and to furnish a cover under which Missourians could march in again and help to settle the affairs of their neighbors. There was a great eagerness in Missouri to respond to this appeal from the governor, and a great rush to be enrolled in the militia of Kansas territory. As Charles Robinson says in his "Conflict":

"Guerrilla bands of pro-slavery men infested the territory as if by magic. Intercourse with Leavenworth was cut off, and the beleaguered town of Lawrence was nearly destitute of provisions as well as ammunition. Men unarmed and defenseless were shot down like dogs, and in one instance at least scalped. All appeals to Woodson were in vain."

An army was gathering on the eastern border. All the "tried and true" pro-slavery leaders were in it. There was Atchison and Reed, and other large fish and small fry, all helping to increase the tumult. The army marched on Osa-

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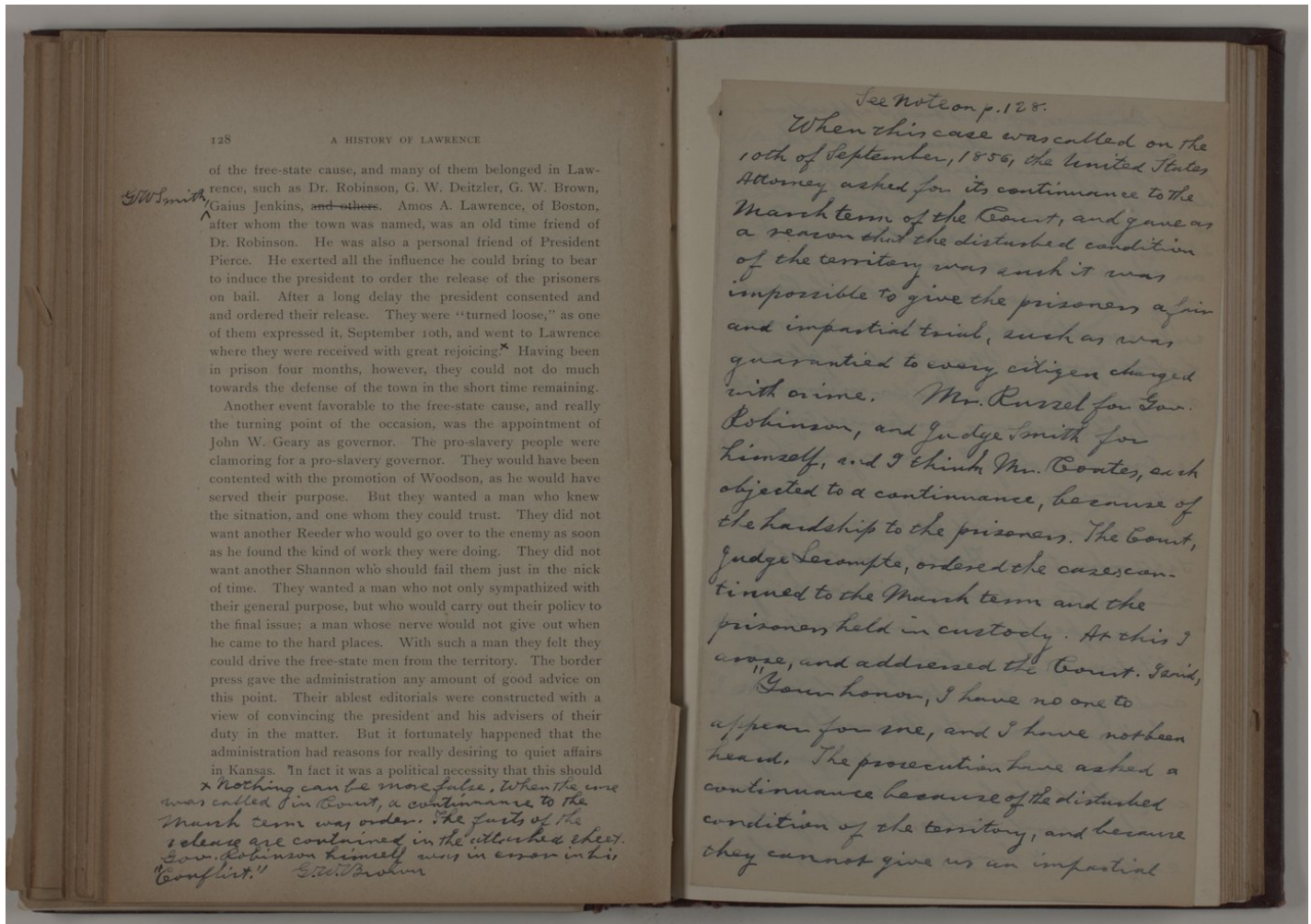
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watomie, which, next to Lawrence, was the most hated place in the territory. They easily captured this place, and, after pillaging it, burnt the town. Six free-state men lost their lives, and nobody has ever been able to ascertain how many were killed on the other side.

But in these affairs they only "tried their 'prentice hand." Their masterpiece was to be the destruction of Lawrence. Without that their victory would be incomplete. As their force increased they prepared for the supreme effort. Lawrence, meanwhile, was poorly prepared to resist. The fortifications which had been thrown up the year before had been largely broken down. The town had been demoralized by the sacking of the place in May. The men, too, were scattered. Even the "Stubbs," the favorite rifle company of Lawrence, was just then absent on some mission at Hickory Point. The free-state men to the north and west of Leavenworth had been driven from their claims by bands of pro-slavery marauders who were roving about the country. These refugees, under the lead of such men as Hon. F. G. Adams, now of the State Historical Society, were anxious to recover their claims and return to their homes. They called upon Topeka and Lawrence for help, and were planning to march to Leavenworth to recover their claims, and if possible deliver that town from border ruffian rule. On account of this disturbed condition towards the north, the "Stubbs" had marched over towards Hickory Point, and a series of skirmishes took place. For this reason the best organized and best equipped company of Lawrence was away just at the crisis of affairs. There were only about three hundred men available about Lawrence, and not more than fifty of these were armed with Sharp's rifles.

An encouraging event, however, occurred about this time; that was the release of the free-state prisoners at Leecompton. It will be remembered that these prisoners were the leaders

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trial because of it. This, I apprehend, is no cause for continuance on the part of the government, for it is the duty of the government at all times to preserve the quiet of the country. It would be a cause for continuance on the part of the prisoners, but they have not asked it. The Court will recollect that I was arraigned before you on May 22d. I plead not guilty, and asked for an immediate trial. The case was continued to June 10. On that day I was again brought into Court, and was again informed that the case would go over to the September term. Here I am, the third time in Court, each time asking for a speedy trial, such as the constitution of the nation guarantees, and again it is decided the case shall go over to the March term.

"Your honor, I have diligently consulted the law in similar cases, in the several States. In all of them, so far as I have examined, the

uniform requirement is, that if the State has had two adjournments for any cause, the prisoner, being each time ready for trial, on his third appearance he shall be discharged on common bail, which means his own personal recognizance. For these reasons, And this in even cases of murder. The United States Courts are guided in their practice in Criminal Procedure by the State laws. For these reasons, your honor, I object to a further continuance of this case, unless released on my personal recognizance."

As I closed Judge Lescompte turned to Mr. Isaacs and said:

"I think the points are well taken." "I think so, too," said Isaacs, and the ^{prisoners} were all discharged on their personal recognizances.

Then Col. Brooke appeared, and stated that his regiment was very much inconvenienced in holding

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the prisoners, and he wished some disposition could be made of John Brown, Jr., and H. H. Williams, so as to save him from further responsibility for their case. Judge Secombe: Let these other prisoners give bonds for their appearance, in the sum of (my recollection is \$500 each, but I see Mrs. Hazelrigg says \$1,000.) I became bondsman for John Brown, and Gov. Robinson for H. H. Williams. Neither of these gentlemen appeared at the Marsh term, but no prosecution was made on the forfeited bonds.

At the Marsh term a nolle prosequere was entered as to the treason prisoners, and thus ended the case.

Mr. Lawrence interested himself in behalf of the prisoners, and did everything possible in their behalf, but the President of the United States has no control over the

actions of a judge. The Court had used in its instructions to the jury that constructive treason was an indictable offense, and it is probable he had discovered it, and was made ready to accept back on that account.



MARY (BOUGHTON) BROOKS



SARAH A. BROWN



LIZZIE (HASSELL) FRENCH



LUCY (WILDER) WOODWARD

FIRST TEACHERS IN CITY SCHOOLS.