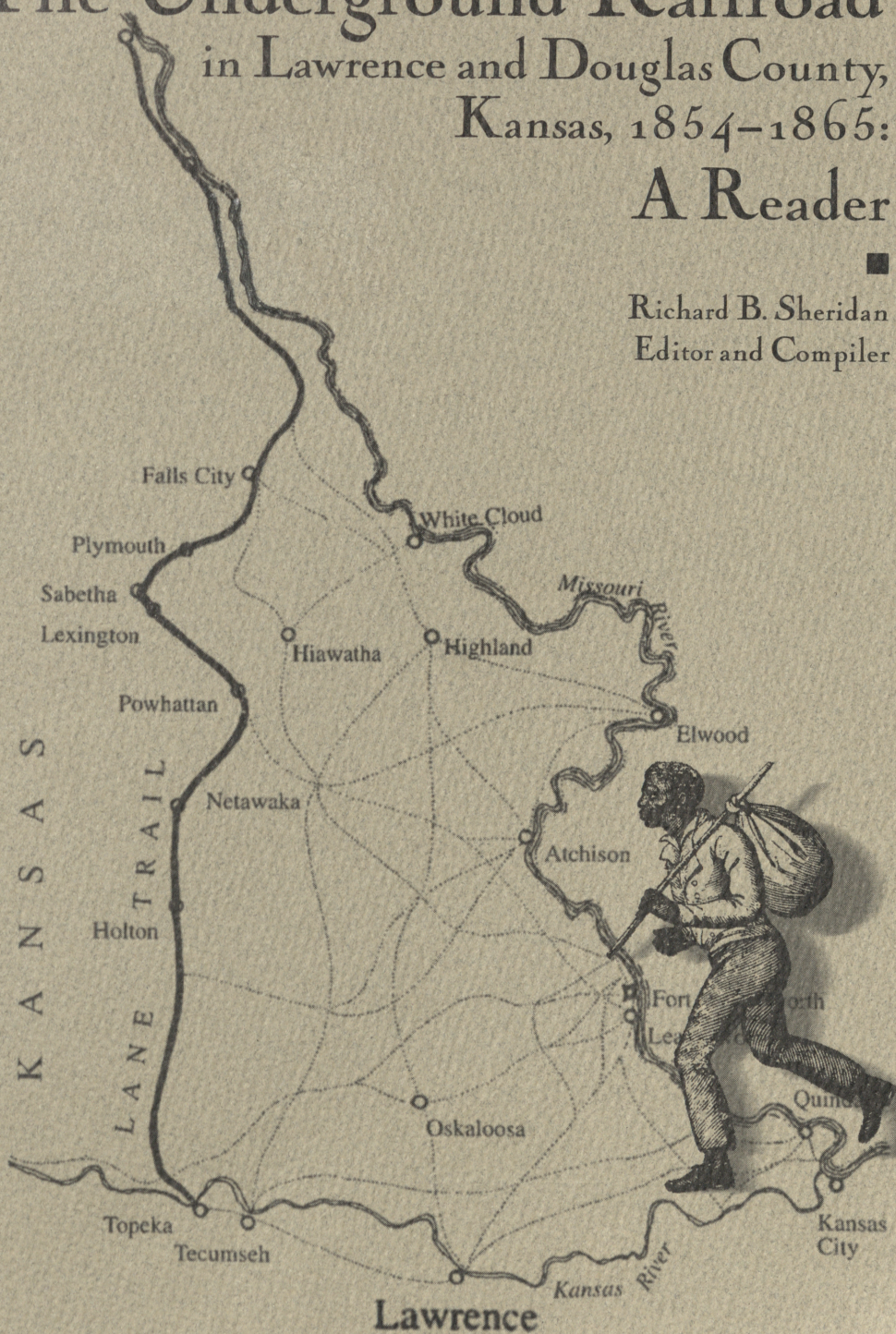


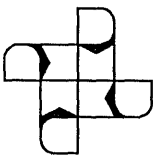
Freedom's Crucible:
The Underground Railroad
in Lawrence and Douglas County,
Kansas, 1854-1865:
A Reader

Richard B. Sheridan
Editor and Compiler



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Lawrence and Douglas County,
Kansas, 1854–1865: A Reader

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Division of Continuing Education
The University of Kansas

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Dedicated to the Memory of My Brother,
Walter Wright Sheridan

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Preface

The Underground Railroad was a system of receiving, concealing and forwarding fugitive slaves on their flight from bondage in the American South to freedom in the North and Canada. Its chain of stations were kept by conductors and station-keepers who helped it work. Likewise, the fugitives cooperated by displaying the cunning and stamina necessary to reach the stations where they were assisted in their flight to freedom. The loosely knit network of stations extended from the seaboard states north of the Mason-Dixon line to the states of the Old Northwest, and from 1854 to 1861 to Kansas Territory. As the narratives in this reader demonstrate, the blacks and whites who were active in the Underground Railroad faced unique difficulties. These included the dramatic struggle between the antislavery North and the proslavery South for possession of Kansas Territory and the armed confrontations and lawlessness that characterized the struggle. The enemies of the Underground Railroad included Missouri slaveowners and politicians; the proslavery Territorial government and Federal law officers; the lawless men, operating singly or in gangs, who kidnapped both free blacks and fugitive slaves to sell or return them to their masters for a ransom or bounty. Beginning in 1857, however, the underlying conditions for a successful Underground Railroad improved as a result of heightened activity and victories gained by antislavery militia units, increased immigration of free-state settlers, and victories for free-state legislative candidates.

The introduction to this reader contains a brief history of the Underground Railroad and its extension to Kansas Territory, and especially to Lawrence and rural Douglas County. This introduction reviews events during the period of "Bleeding Kansas" and the subsequent period of increased activity when more and more fugitive slaves were received, concealed, and forwarded by local conductors and station-keepers. The body of this study consists of fifteen narratives, ranging from original documents to selections from periodicals and books. They are intended to be of use to students and others interested in the

history of "Bleeding Kansas" in the fight over slavery. Only a part of the story of the Underground Railroad in Kansas Territory can be told, chiefly because of the strict code of secrecy that was followed. A considerable body of materials has been assembled in this anthology because of a strong oral tradition and the published recollections and reminiscences of citizens who were active in aiding and protecting fugitive slaves. The final section of the Reader is the Editor's Commentary, which draws on additional materials to analyze and interpret the data in the narratives and assess the Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County. Three of the narratives and part of the Commentary are concerned with the Civil War period, when large numbers of former slaves, who were called contrabands, came to Kansas from Missouri and Arkansas.

There is now a multifaceted program to preserve, commemorate, and interpret the resources associated with the Underground Railroad. On May 15, 1997, the resolution "The Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Act of 1997" was introduced in the House of Representatives by Representatives Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) and Rob Portman (R-Ohio). It links the hundreds of Underground Railroad sites, stories, programs, and activities for the benefit, education, and enjoyment of all Americans.

The purposes of the Act are as follows:

- (1) To recognize the importance of the Underground Railroad, the sacrifices made by those who used the Underground Railroad in search of freedom from tyranny and oppression, and the sacrifices made by the people who helped them.
- (2) To authorize the National Park Service to coordinate and facilitate Federal and non-Federal activities to commemorate, honor, and interpret the history of the Underground Railroad, its significance as a crucial element in the evolution of the national civil rights movement, and its relevance in fostering the spirit of racial harmony and National reconciliation."¹

Recent years have witnessed a number of Underground Railroad activities and events in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas. These include the identification and preservation of sites, routes and trails, conducting tours, displaying artifacts, photos, documents and letters in museum exhibits, historic reenactments, and holding meetings on

the Underground Railroad. Those who have been leaders in these activities and events include Katie Armitage, Martha J. Parker, Betty Laird, Dr. Tolly Wildcat, Dr. Steve Jansen, Judy Sweets, Paul Stuewe, James S. Johnson III, Wayne Wildcat, Lloyd Hammerschmidt, Dr. Dennis M. Dailey, Dr. Robert B. Leonard, Chris and Jeff Reinhard, Maxine Rochelle, Pat Fairchild, and the editor/compiler of this reader.

The new Free State High School in Lawrence presents an opportunity to portray an epic-scale historical painting of the free-state struggle in Kansas. The painting portrays the leaders of the Underground Railroad in Lawrence and vicinity and also the Eastern abolitionists who supported them. Wayne Wildcat, a long-established artist in the community, created the oil-on-canvas painting with the assistance of student apprentices. Wildcat's work reflects the motives of nations and men in many of his historic and thematic paintings. Dr. Tolly S. Wildcat has written historical narratives for all of Wildcat's art and has instructed the student-painters in the history of the Underground Railroad. Since I was working on the conclusion of this study as the Wildcats began their painting project, this book served as the initial source of the research for the painting.

Richard B. Sheridan
Lawrence, December 1997

Endnote

¹105th Congress, 1st Session, House Resolution 1635, A Bill to establish within the United States National Park Service the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom program, and for other purposes.

Acknowledgments

I could not have compiled the narratives and written the editorial sections of this reader without the generous assistance of others. I am especially indebted to the staffs of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka, the Kansas Collection in the Spencer Research Library, and Watson Library at the University of Kansas, the Watkins Community Museum at Lawrence, and the Lawrence Public Library.

For their constructive advice and generous assistance, I wish to thank Burke I. Anderson, Katie H. Armitage, Nancy R. Colyer, Dr. Dennis M. Dailey, Deborah L. Dandridge, David Dary, Dr. Virgil W. Dean, Kristin Eshelman, Pat Fairchild, Ralph Gage, Lloyd Hammerschmidt, Dr. Terry H. Harmon, Mary J. Hawkins, Mary K. Head, Anne E. Hemphill, Nancy E. Hollingsworth, Dr. Steven D. Jansen, John W. Jewell, James S. Johnson III, Bob Knecht, Kathy A. Lafferty, Dr. Ted A. Kennedy, Betty A. Laird, Dr. Robert B. Leonard, Rose Marino, Dr. Patricia Michaelis, Malcolm Neelley, Dr. Lynn H. Nelson, John Peterson, Dr. Ramon Powers, Chris and Jeff Reinhard, N. Lance Reppert, Maxine Rochelle, Rebecca Schulte, Nancy Sherbert, Nancy Smith, Jean Snedeger, Paul K. Stuewe, Judy M. Sweets, Kristin S. Welton, Dr. Fred A. Whitehead, Sheryl K. Williams, and Margaret Wulfkuhle.

My greatest debt is to Dr. Barbara L. Watkins, Martha J. Parker, Dr. Tolly Smith Wildcat, Wayne Wildcat, and Audrey Sheridan, without whose help and encouragement this reader could not have been written.

Credits

Photographs, maps, and other illustrations on the pages noted below are used with permission of the following sources:

Albert Castel, p. xxiv

Kansas Collection, University of Kansas Libraries, pp. xix, xx, xxiii, xxxii, 2, 13, 26, 78, 82, 86, 156

Kansas State Historical Society, pp. xxvi, xxvii, xxx, 5, 10, 12, 15, 109, 111, 112, 135, 153

Lawrence Journal-World, p. 9

Watkins Community Museum of History, pp. 3, 6, 20, 29, 42, 63, 68, 69, 100, 116, 142, 143, 147

Harriet Beecher Stowe. Frontispiece from *The May Flower and Miscellaneous Writings* by Harriet Beecher Stowe (Boston: Phillips Sampson, 1855), p. xiv

Harriet Tubman. Frontispiece from *Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman*, by Sarah Bradford (Auburn, NY, 1869), p. xv

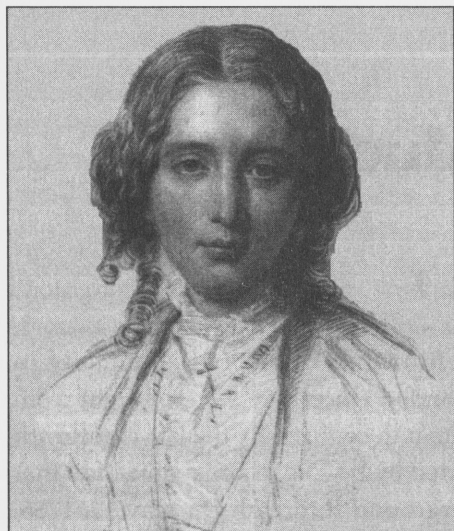
Introduction

I

Chattel slaves have escaped from their masters since antiquity. In the New World they have absconded since they were brought from Africa to the Americas in the sixteenth century. By the late eighteenth century runaway slaves were aided by people in an organization that would later be called the Underground Railroad. On May 12, 1786, George Washington, who owned slaves, wrote of an acquaintance whose slave had escaped from Alexandria to Philadelphia and "whom a society of Quakers in the city, formed for such purposes, have attempted to liberate." According to Wilbur H. Siebert, "secret or 'underground' methods of slave rescue were already well understood in and around Philadelphia in 1804," and as new states were added to the Union in the nonslaveholding North, there developed an intricate network of underground trails, stations, and conductors.¹

According to the 1997 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the Underground Railroad was "a system existing in the Northern states before the Civil War by which escaped slaves from the South were secretly helped by sympathetic Northerners, in defiance of the Fugitive Slave Acts, to reach places of safety in the North or in Canada. Though neither underground nor a railroad, it was thus named because its activities had to be carried out in secret, using darkness or disguise, and because railway terms were used in reference to the conduct of the system."²

Railroad terms were used to help disguise the nature of the organization and preserve its secrecy in a nation whose government declared chattel slavery to be legal and fined and imprisoned persons who helped slaves escape from their masters and mistresses. The reputed "presidents" of the Underground Railroad were Robert Purvis and Levi Coffin. The various routes were known as "lines," the houses giving shelter and protection to runaways were called "stations" or



*Harriet Beecher Stowe was an American writer and philanthropist. Her popular book *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; or, *Life Among the Lowly* was a causal factor in the Civil War.*

"depots," the man or woman who owned the house was the "station master" or "station mistress." People who aided the slaves along the stages of the route were "conductors," and the fugitive slaves were referred to as "passengers," "packages," or "freight." A party of slaves was known as a "train." Harriet Tubman, who was herself a fugitive slave, was one of the most picturesque conductors. She made nineteen trips into the South and brought out more than 300 slaves. By 1860 the number of former slaves who journeyed annually from Canada to the slave states to abduct or rescue their enslaved brethren was estimated at five hundred. Estimates of the total number of slaves who reached freedom through the underground system vary from 40,000 to 100,000.³

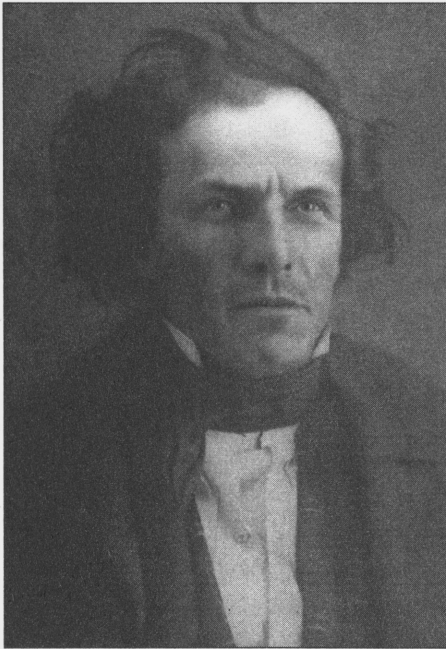
Harriet Beecher Stowe was inspired by the Fugitive Slave Law to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was published in book form in 1852. By portraying Southern plantation slavery as a harsh, inhumane institution, her book aroused deep feelings in the North and also in Great Britain and its empire. She gained intimate knowledge of slavery from both fugitives and ardent abolitionists while living with her family in Cincinnati, Ohio. Together with the negative reaction to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, Mrs. Stowe's classic helped to generate support for the Underground Railroad in the North.⁴

Slaves who were cruelly whipped, poorly fed, and overworked were prone to run away. Prior to the Civil War the typical runaway

slave cut his ties with family, relations, and friends. He fled to the nearby woods pursued by the plantation overseer with gun in hand. If he survived the first few days, he was pursued by his owner and slave catchers who were heavily armed and aided by hounds to pick up the scent of his tracks. The typical runaway had to fight off the pangs of hunger, wild beasts, and winter cold. "But the slaves who escaped were extremely resourceful men," writes John W. Blassingame. "They mailed themselves in boxes, hid in the holds of steamboats, disguised their sex, paid whites to write passes for them. A limited amount of material was needed to begin the journey, but it was crucial: a warm jacket, some pepper, a gun or knife, and a small cache of food were essential." Slaves who took flight found numerous avenues and means of escape. Most of them were men who usually traveled on foot at night. During the day they hid in wooded areas and other out-of-the-way places. Those in proximity to the Missouri River crossed into Kansas Territory by swimming or on rafts, boats, and ferries, while some who came in mid-winter crossed on the ice. However, by far the



In her numerous forays into the South, Harriet Tubman encountered many perils and hardships to rescue African Americans from slavery.



James Henry Lane was the military and political leader of the radical, free-state settlers in Kansas Territory. He recruited African Americans for Civil War regiments in Kansas.

greater number of fugitives who entered Kansas from Missouri crossed over the land border to the south of the Missouri River.⁵

Soon after the opening of Kansas Territory to white settlement in 1854, fugitive slaves could rejoice that there were free-state communities established at Mound City, Moneka, Osawatomie, Lawrence, Topeka, and other settlements where they could expect to receive protection, shelter, food, and encouragement on their way to Iowa and Canada. On the other hand, there were proslavery towns at Leavenworth, Atchison, Kickapoo, Fort Scott, Paola, Lecompton, Franklin, and Tecumseh where a hostile reception awaited the unwary fugitive.

Although not without its hazards, the Underground Railroad came to have more stations and carry more passengers into and out of Kansas Territory from 1857 to 1861. New stations were established at Quindaro, Sumner, Clinton, Oskaloosa, Holton, and other communities. At the height of the border war in 1856 Missourians forcibly stopped steamboats ascending the Missouri River to turn back passengers and freight intended to aid antislavery forces in Kansas. As a countervailing action, James H. Lane and his "Army of the North" proceeded to break the blockade by blazing a trail that crossed Iowa

westward to the town of Tabor, then across the Missouri river to Nebraska City, and from there almost due south to Holton and Topeka with branches to Oskaloosa and Lawrence. After the blockade of the Missouri River was lifted, the Lane Trail became a major trail on the Underground Railroad, moving runaway slaves north and east through Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Michigan, and finally to freedom in Canada.

Even after the free-state citizens of Lawrence achieved a degree of freedom from their proslavery oppressors headquartered at Leecompton, there remained hazards and pitfalls for conductors and passengers on the Underground Railroad. Both federal and territorial fugitive slave laws were strictly enforced. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 imposed penalties of six months imprisonment and a fine of \$1,000 on people who were convicted of helping runaway slaves. Furthermore, draconian punishments were meted out to violators of laws enacted by the proslavery legislature of Kansas Territory. Another problem was that the influx of fugitives into Lawrence attracted unscrupulous men who kidnapped both free blacks and runaway slaves to sell or be returned to their masters for a ransom or bounty of generally \$200. One authority tells of a gang of border ruffians who were kidnappers of fugitive slaves who came to Kansas. These fugitives were taken to Missouri and sold back into slavery, even if they were legally free. One of the local station's mistresses wrote that there were always persons hanging about Lawrence with an eye open to the interests of slaveholders who paid well for the return of their human property.⁶

II

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 established territorial governments in the great unorganized balance of the Louisiana Purchase. It called for the creation of two territories to be called Kansas and Nebraska, the dividing line was established at the fortieth parallel, the present northern boundary of Kansas. Whereas the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had prohibited slavery north of 36 degrees, 30 minutes of latitude in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase, the Act of 1854 organized these two territories and called for what became known

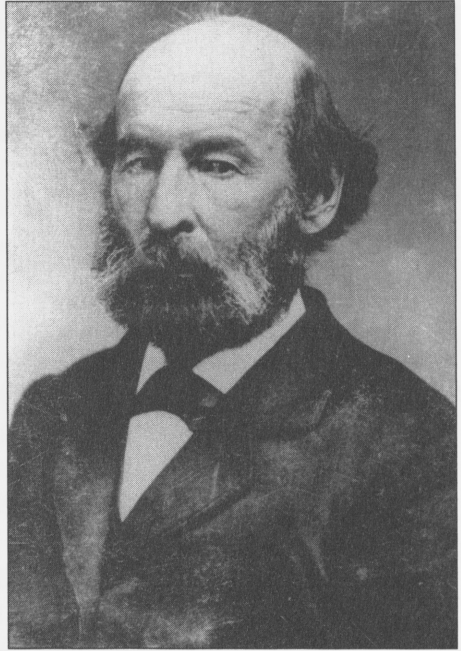
as "squatter sovereignty"; that is, it authorized the white settlers to determine whether they should enter the Union as free or slave states.

Even before Kansas Territory was thrown open to legal settlement in May 1854, many Missourians had crossed the border to locate their claims on the best sites in the territory. In most instances they disregarded the Indian titles by which the lands were held. Slavery on a limited scale was already established in the Territory, and had been for many years, in violation of the laws of the United States. When Missourians crossed the border in large numbers, they set off alarm bells in the New England states and especially Massachusetts. Eli Thayer, a member of the Massachusetts legislature and an ardent abolitionist, developed a plan to form a company to encourage antislavery emigrants to go to Kansas Territory. Other aid societies and companies in the North labored to increase emigration to Kansas, but none were as dedicated as the founders of the New England Emigrant Aid Company.⁷

Missourians and other Southerners were alarmed by the activities of the emigrant aid companies of the North and began to promote Southern emigration to Kansas. Mass meetings were held in western Missouri towns, condemning the Northern aid companies and passing resolutions urging Southern emigration and strong action against Northern immigrants. Secret organizations sprang up along the border. They were formed with the intention of extending slavery into Kansas. Furthermore, in the winter of 1855-56, there was an extensive movement in aid of emigration from the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. On April 7, 1856, a force of about three hundred men under Colonel Jefferson Buford left Montgomery, Alabama, for Kansas.⁸

The territorial government of Kansas was established in fall 1854, when President Franklin Pierce appointed Andrew H. Reeder, a Pennsylvania attorney, as the first governor. Reeder arranged for the election in November for a Congressional delegate. At the urging of David H. Atchison, former U.S. Senator for Missouri and leader of the proslavery fight for Kansas, many Missourians rode to Kansas on election day and voted for the proslavery candidate. A similar result followed at the election of a territorial legislature on March 30, 1855.

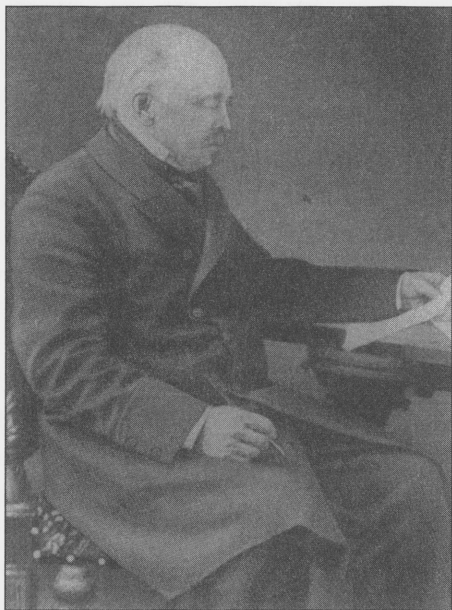
Free-state settlers in Kansas called the legislature elected by the Missourians the "Bogus Legislature" and the laws it enacted "Bogus



Eli Thayer was an educator, originator of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and congressman. He supplied John Brown with arms to defend the free-state settlers of Kansas.

Laws." These laws were intended to encourage the introduction of slaves into the Territory by imposing severe penalties on persons who interfered with slave property. Anybody who denied the right to own slaves, or circulated abolitionist literature, was subject to imprisonment for at least five years. "If any persons shall entice, decoy, or carry away out of this Territory any slave belonging to another, with intent to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slave, or with intent to effect or procure the freedom of such slave, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, and on conviction thereof, shall suffer death, or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years." Furthermore, any person who aided, assisted, harbored, or concealed any slave who had escaped from the service of his master or owner in another state or territory, should be punished in like manner.⁹

Free-state settlers reacted angrily to the laws and their enforcement by the proslavery government. At a meeting at Topeka in October and November 1855, they organized an "illegal" government that prohibited both chattel slavery and free blacks from the Territory. Thomas H. Gladstone, the Englishman who visited Kansas as a correspondent for *The Times*, of London, wrote that "the Free-State organiza-



Amos Lawrence, wealthy merchant and philanthropist, was a prominent member of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Lawrence, Kansas, was named after him.

tion . . . gave rise to the double governorship, double judiciary, double legislature, double militia, and in general, double claim to obedience, which has constituted so peculiar a feature in the politics of Kansas."¹⁰

III

The site of Lawrence, Kansas, on the south bank of the Kansas or "Kaw" River, forty miles west of the Missouri border, had been for decades prior to 1854 a camp site and meeting place for Native Americans, explorers, traders, gold-seekers, soldiers, and emigrants. Trails had been blazed to carry Mormons, Oregon settlers, gold miners, and Santa Fe traders. The U.S. Army had constructed a network of forts and military highways, and private entrepreneurs had established companies to carry mail, passengers, and freight to the Southwest and Far West. The town of Lawrence was built near the slopes of a hill known as Mount Oread, which forms the divide between the valleys of the Kansas and Wakarusa rivers and spreads down into the level bottom land to the south, east, and west. Lecompton, the proslavery capital of Kansas during the greater part of the territorial period, is located on the Kaw River twelve miles northwest of Lawrence. Dou-

glas County, of which Lawrence became the county seat in 1861, is located in the second tier of counties west of Missouri and the fourth tier south of Nebraska. The Kansas River, which is a tributary of the Missouri River, is the main watercourse, and the Wakarusa River is a tributary of the Kansas River. The Santa Fe Trail crossed the southern part of Douglas County, and the California Trail passed near Lawrence and left the county beyond the present town of Big Springs. It is estimated that at least one-third of the 98,000 emigrants who headed west in 1850, most of them bound for the gold fields of California, followed the trail that took them near or across the future site of Lawrence. Douglas County was part of the Shawnee Indian Reservation in the pre-settlement period. Although Lawrence was selected as a town site in late July 1854, the Shawnee Indians' title to the site was not extinguished until four months later. On the north side of the Kaw was the Delaware Indian reservation.¹¹

Under the leadership of Eli Thayer, the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company (later changed to New England Aid Company), was chartered on April 26, 1854, with a capital limit of \$5,000,000. Together with his supporters, Thayer immediately set to work holding public meetings to sell the Company's stock and recruit emigrants to make Kansas a free state as well as to yield profits for the Company. On the first of August 1854, the first group of about thirty immigrants arrived in the Territory, selected a site, purchased the prior improvements and squatter claims to the townsite, and proceeded to construct rude homes for the coming winter. The second party sent out by the Company left Worcester, Massachusetts, August 29, 1854, consisting of sixty-seven persons. This party was led by Dr. Charles Robinson, resident agent of the Company, and Samuel C. Pomeroy, its financial agent. The numbers increased further with the arrival of the third and fourth Emigrant Aid parties.

The new town was variously known as Waukarusa, New Boston, and, by the Missourians, Yankee town, until, at a town meeting, it was named for Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston, a prominent industrialist and treasurer of the Company. The Aid Company not only recruited emigrants to go to Kansas, but also furnished them with needed information, secured favorable rates of transportation, and supplied capital in the form of hotels and lumber mills. The Company played an important part in founding the free-state towns of Lawrence, Topeka, Manhattan, and Osawatomie. During the period of its activity,

it expended nearly \$150,000 and assisted 3,000 persons who settled in Kansas Territory. On the other hand, the Company had financial difficulties and was unable or unwilling to deliver on a number of its promises. As a consequence, most of the free-state immigrants preferred to come to the territory independent of the Company. They came to a much greater extent from New York, Pennsylvania, and the states in the Ohio Valley than from the New England states.¹²

From the beginning of white settlement, proslavery settlers and their supporters in Missouri were determined to control the political and economic life of Lawrence and Douglas County. The influence of the Missourians is revealed by the report of the Congressional Committee on the election of members to the territorial legislature on March 30, 1855. The evening before, and the morning of the day of election, about one thousand men from eleven counties in Missouri arrived in Lawrence and camped in the ravine a short distance from town, near the place of polling. "They were armed with guns, rifles, pistols, and bowie knives; and had tents, musical instruments, and flags with them. They brought two pieces of artillery, loaded with musket balls." The Missourians who were interviewed said they had a right to make Kansas a slave state. The Congressional Committee found that of the 1,034 names appearing on the poll-lists, 232 were legal voters, and 802 were nonresident and illegal voters. Actually, the number who voted the free-state ticket was not over fifty.¹³

IV

If the proslavery newspapers of Kansas and Missouri were correct, Lawrence had become an active station on the Underground Railroad by April 1855. The *Lawrence Herald of Freedom* of April 11, 1855, reprinted the following article from the Kickapoo *Kansas Pioneer* under the heading "Abolitionists in Kansas."

It will be seen by the following that the Abolitionists of Kansas have already commenced the work of stealing and secreting slaves from Missouri, and endeavoring to cloak their actions under the disguise of Free State men. Who dares censure Missourians, and western and southern pro-slavery men in general, rising in their strength and power to make this a slave State, when their



As the Kansas agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, Charles Robinson facilitated the early settlement of Lawrence and was a leading politician.

property is in so much jeopardy. Can it be reasonably supposed that Missourians can sit quietly and tamely and see their slaves run into Kansas by a class of men who have congregated at Lawrence for the unholy and unlawful object of stealing negroes, without a sturdy, determined and resolute resolve to put down such corruption and rotten-heartedness? We must defend our rights, our property, and the Constitution of the United States.¹⁴

According to the *Leavenworth Herald*, as reprinted in the *Herald of Freedom*, on May 26, 1855, "We learn from a reliable source that a secret association is now in existence at Lawrence, the object of which is to abduct and run off all negro slaves in the Territory. This nigger-thieving band must be broken up." From the *Frontier News*, of Westport, Missouri, the *Herald of Freedom* reprinted on June 16, 1855, the following news item, "We every day see handbills offering rewards for run-away negroes, from Jackson and neighboring counties. Where do they go to? There is an Underground Railroad leading out of western Missouri, and we would respectfully refer the owners of lost niggers to the conductors of these trains. Enquire of Dr. [Charles] Robinson, sole agent for the transportation of fugitive niggers."¹⁵



The Civil War on the Border was waged chiefly in Missouri and Kansas and extended to Arkansas, Texas, and the Indian Territory.

Editor George Washington Brown of the *Herald of Freedom*, which was the organ of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, denied the above charges in vigorous prose. He complained that the proslavery press had been crying out for months against Lawrence and trying to bring a mob down on the place. He asserted that the people of Lawrence had no "Secret Association" among them and had formed no conspiracy. The free-state leader Samuel N. Wood confirmed Brown's denial of an Underground Railroad in Lawrence. In a Fourth of July speech in Lawrence in 1855, he said that the people of Missouri had no ground to fear the people of Lawrence if they would "mind their own affairs and let ours alone, for it is not true that the settlers in Kansas have enticed away a single negro, or attempted to do so." He said that while the first rail on the Underground had not been laid, he warned that the workmen were in readiness and would commence operations with a will if foreign intruders again interfered in their affairs.¹⁶

The Underground Railroad was severely handicapped by the proslavery men's threats and actions to destroy Lawrence and the pre-occupation of its citizens with the town's defence. What the Missourians and their Southern allies most resented about Lawrence was the town's leadership in repudiating the so-called bogus territorial legislature and the laws it enacted. It was not enough to repudiate these actions. Indeed, the free-state leaders of Lawrence, Topeka, and other towns set up their own government and laws in defiance of the constituted territorial government.

The first armed confrontation between proslavery and free-state forces began on November 21, 1855, with the killing of Charles Dow, a young free-state man from Ohio, by Franklin Coleman, his proslavery neighbor from New York, over a claim dispute. The killing of Dow caused intense excitement, especially when a party of free-state men rescued a friend of Dow who had been arrested by Samuel J. Jones, the proslavery sheriff of Douglas County, and his posse. Sheriff Jones applied to Wilson Shannon, governor of Kansas Territory, to augment his posse in order to march on Lawrence to arrest free-state men for whom he held warrants. As a precaution, the governor sent a telegram requesting President Franklin Pierce "to authorize federal military aid from Fort Leavenworth to protect the Sheriff of Douglas county in executing the laws and preserving peace and good order in the Territory."¹⁷



Sara Tappan Doolittle (Lawrence) Robinson, came with her husband, Charles Robinson, from Boston to Lawrence, Kansas Territory, in 1854. She is the author of Kansas, Its Interior and Exterior Life.

Sara Tappan Doolittle (Lawrence) Robinson, wife of Governor Charles Robinson of the free-state government, kept a diary during what came to be known as the "Wakarusa War." A few days after the killing of Charles Dow, she wrote, "The design of the pro-slavery men is to drive out all who are firm and true to the principles of freedom and in this design the officials sympathize." "Business is nearly given up here," she wrote on December 1, noting that never were there more rumors in circulation. The leaders of the town had appointed a "Committee of Safety. They are taking all possible steps for the defense, learning as much as they can of the movement of the enemy." Two days later she noted that forts and entrenchments were to be thrown up under the direction of Colonel James H. Lane. At the same time, reports had come in of three hundred men between Lawrence and Westport, Missouri, three hundred already in camp on the Wakarusa, and two hundred more who were crossing the Delaware Indian Reserve towards Lawrence—"making in all a force eight hundred strong for the destruction, the annihilation of Lawrence."¹⁸

From her home on the side of Mount Oread, Sara Robinson observed the preparations for war. She saw men working both day and night with spades and mattocks to complete three earthen forts, each one hundred feet in diameter, which guarded the town's approaches,

and the entrenchments connecting them. The "self-defensive organization" was drilled and armed with the highly effective Sharp's rifles that had been sent to Lawrence by supporters in Boston. She asserted that "not one man could stand before the deadly fire of the Sharp's rifles." Two ladies of Lawrence went out ten miles in a carriage and brought in two kegs of gunpowder hidden under their skirts. Also, a brass howitzer had been smuggled through enemy lines to enhance the fire power of the town's defenders.¹⁹

THE DAY OF OUR ENSLAVEMENT !!

To-day, Sept. 15, 1855, is the day on which the iniquitous enactment of an illegal and fraudulent Legislature have declared commences the prostration of the Right of Speech and the curtailment of the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS!! To-day commences an Era in Kansas which, unless the sturdy voice of the People, backed, if necessary, by "strong arms and the sure eye," shall teach the tyrants who attempt to enshroud us the lesson which our Fathers taught to kingly tyrants of old, shall prostrate us in the dust, and make us the slaves of an Oligarchy

Worse than the veriest Despotism on Earth !

To-day commences the operation of a law which declares: "Sec. 12. If any free person, by speaking or by writing, or set or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate or cause to be introduced into this Territory, written, printed, published or circulated in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of Felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years."

Now we DO ASSERT and we declare, despite all the bolts and bars of the iniquitous Legislature of Kansas, that

"PERSONS HAVE NOT THE RIGHT TO HOLD SLAVES IN THIS TERRITORY."

And we will emblazon it upon our banner in letters so large and in language so plain that the infatuated invaders who meeted the Kansas Legislature, as well as

THAT CORRUPT AND IGNORANT LEGISLATURE

Itself, may understand it— so that, if they cannot read, they may SPELL IT OUT, and meditate and deliberate upon it; and we hold that the man who fails to utter this self-evident truth, on account of the insolent enactment alluded to, is a poltroon and a slave worse than the black slaves of our persecutors and oppressors.

The Constitution of the United States, the great Magna Charta of American Liberties,

Guarantees to every Citizen the Liberty of Speech and the Freedom of the Press !

And this is the first time in the history of America that a body claiming Legislative powers has dared to attempt to wrest them from the people. And it is not only the right, but the bounden duty of every Freeman to spurn with contempt and trample under foot an enactment which thus basely violates the rights of Freemen. For our part we DO and SHALL CONTINUE to utter this truth so long as we have the power of utterance, and nothing but the brute force of an overbearing tyranny can prevent us.

Will any citizen—any free American—brook the insult of

AN INSOLENT GAG LAW!!

the work of a Legislature elected by bullying ruffians who invaded Kansas with arms, and whose drunken revelry, and insults to our peaceable, unoffending, and comparatively unarmed citizens, were a disgrace to manhood, and a burlesque upon popular Republican Government! If they do, they are slaves already, and with them Freedom is but a mockery.

In this page from his Kansas Weekly Tribune of September 15, 1855, Editor John Speer defied a law passed by the proslavery legislature to censure free-state newspapers on the slavery issue.

Writing on December 5, Mrs. Robinson said, "More than a week has passed since an attack was threatened, and not one blow has been struck yet." The following day she noted that the town guard had again been fired upon, and more of the free-state messengers who had been sent to different parts of the territory and states had been taken prisoner.

Crowds of horsemen were passing over and down the hill. Some of them were our mounted guard—others were from the camps of the invaders. The enemy have now nearly surrounded us. The camp on the Wakarusa, just south of Lawrence, cuts off connection with the southern settlements. There are strolling bands of men all through the Delaware Reserve, while quite a body of them are camped in the woods just opposite the town, preventing people passing to and from Leavenworth, and other colonies north. They still have camps at Lecompton, and below Franklin.

Furthermore, Mrs. Robinson said that supplies intended for Lawrence had been cut off, and that people had been turned from their homes at midnight and their corn cribs and haystacks burned.²⁰

After the siege of Lawrence had been maintained for two weeks, peace negotiations were commenced by Governor Shannon and the civilian and military leaders on both sides. The Governor said that "a misunderstanding had occurred, that the people of Lawrence had violated no law, that they would not resist any properly appointed officer in the execution of the laws, and that the guns would not be given up." He concluded the conference by advising the proslavery forces to go home to Missouri. Governor Robinson believed that his side had won a brilliant victory, while the proslavery men had suffered a humiliating defeat. The latter had some "1,900 men march from forty to one hundred and fifty miles to serve a warrant issued by a justice of the peace and then return, after cursing, swearing, shivering and freezing for two weeks, as they came, minus the whiskey, without serving any process whatever, legal or otherwise."²¹

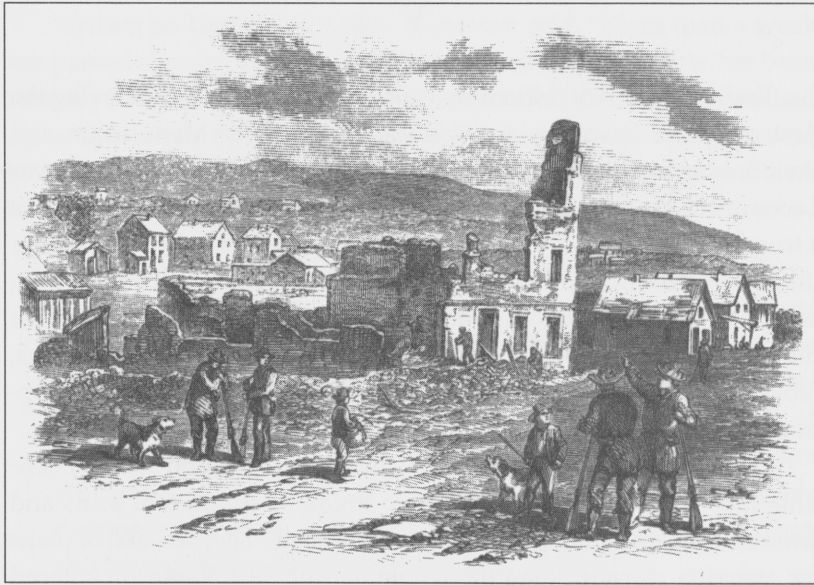
V

Ending the almost bloodless Wakarusa War without achieving the destruction of Lawrence aroused the anger of the Missourians and their Southern allies. They left their camps on the Wakarusa and near Lecompton, threatening to return. Sara Robinson called the settlement a truce, not a peace. "The war is over for the present," she wrote in her diary. "Yet we cannot hope for any permanent peace until the strong arm of an executive, who will not disgrace his office, be interposed for the protection of the settlers, who in good faith came to make homes, rebuilding the old landmarks so ruthlessly torn down by the corruption of men in power."²²

Despite severe winter weather, Lawrence men and women continued to work on the fortifications, augment supplies of arms and ammunition, and station sentinels at their posts. They learned of plans for guerrilla warfare along the whole border. Sara Robinson entered in her diary on February 22, 1856, "No attack yet made upon us. In spite of all the talk, and the marshalling of armed men in the border towns, we awaken each morning with wonder, to say we 'still live'." However, by the middle of May she said that there were from eight hundred to one thousand armed men encamped around Lawrence who intended to destroy the town.²³

Proslavery attacks on Lawrence climaxed on May 21, 1856, when a large posse assembled near Lawrence. The force numbered from five to eight hundred armed men, made up of Missourians, Carolinians, Georgians, and Alabamians. The advance guard camped on Mount Oread, where they planted their cannon overlooking the town. Governor Robinson's house was commandeered and used as the headquarters of the invaders. Deputy U.S. Marshal W. P. Fain entered the town with a few men and arrested several persons. After he dismissed the posse, it was taken over by Sheriff Jones.²⁴

The first attacks were on the printing offices of the *Kansas Free State* and the *Herald of Freedom*, the town's two newspapers. The presses were broken up, and, together with the stocks of paper, thrown in the street, and the type carried to the river and thrown in. Coming to the Free State Hotel, Sheriff Jones informed Colonel Shalor Eldridge, the proprietor, that he had orders from Judge Samuel D. Lecompte of the First District Court at Lecompton to demolish the hotel and destroy



This illustration shows the destruction of the Free-State Hotel in Lawrence on May 21, 1856. It was made from a daguerreotype taken by an unknown photographer for Mrs. Charles Robinson.

the printing offices. The hotel had been a thorn in the flesh of the Lecompton government since it had been built by the New England Emigrant Aid Company and served as the headquarters of free-state activity. It was a strongly built, three-story stone building. Fifty rounds were fired at the hotel from a cannon but with little success in penetrating its thick walls. Four kegs of gunpowder were then exploded with little effect. Finally the building was set on fire and the walls soon came crashing to the ground. Sheriff Jones was ecstatic, exclaiming, "This is the happiest day of my life." Following the destruction of the hotel, stores were broken into and looted. Governor Robinson's house was burned, and many other homes were ransacked. William Phillips, who was special correspondent of the *New York Tribune* for Kansas, wrote that "Nearly a hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of property was stolen or destroyed," in what became known as the "Sack of Lawrence."²⁵

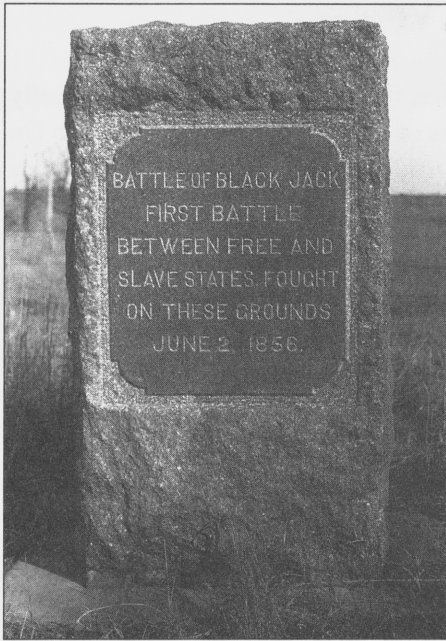
VI

After the sacking of Lawrence, the border war continued chiefly by the actions of guerrilla parties of free-state men. According to Dr. John H. Gihon, secretary of Colonel John W. Geary, the third governor of Kansas Territory,

Some of these [parties] committed depredations upon their political opponents under the pretense of recovering horses and other property of which themselves and neighbors had been robbed. They attacked the proslavery men in the roads and at their dwellings, and committed most flagrant outrages. These organizations and their actions were condemned by the prominent and more respectable portions of the Free-State party, and very few of the actual settlers of the territory had any lot or part in their proceedings. They were chiefly composed of men of desperate fortunes, who were actuated in many instances as much by a disposition to plunder as from a spirit of retaliation and revenge for insults and injuries they had received.

John Brown was the leader of one of these free-state guerrilla bands. His most highly publicized exploit in Kansas was the brutal murder of three proslavery men and two teen-age boys that became known as the Pottawatomie Massacre. It was said to have been motivated by a spirit of retaliation and revenge for the proslavery sack of Lawrence.²⁶

On a more formal basis, the border war was continued by military and quasi-military forces of the Territorial and free-state governments. John Brown led a group of free-state men in a victory over a proslavery force at the Battle of Black Jack in the southern part of Douglas County on June 2, 1856. Three of the proslavery forts in Douglas County were destroyed by free-state forces in summer 1856. On the night of August 12, a force commanded by James H. Lane attacked the fort at Franklin, near Lawrence, and the defenders were allowed to escape after the fort was set on fire. Four days later Lane and his men marched against Fort Saunders on Washington Creek. The defenders deserted without firing a shot. Captain Samuel Walker and his free-state men attacked Fort Titus, near Leecompton, on August 16, taking twenty prisoners and a quantity of arms and ammunition.²⁷



John Brown successfully led a free-state military force against a large party of Missourians at the Battle of Black Jack near Baldwin, Kansas, on June 2, 1856.

Another major threat to Lawrence was made in September 1856, when 2,500 proslavery men surrounded the town under the command of Generals Atchison and Stringfellow. They were eager and impatient for an assault on what they called the “abolitionist stronghold,” which was defended by three hundred armed citizens, including women and teen-age boys. After stationing United States troops for the protection of Lawrence, Governor Geary went to the camp of the Missourians at Franklin. Here he called a council of the officers, directed their attention to his previously issued proclamation ordering armed bands to disperse. They finally agreed to do so, though “not without some murmurs of disappointment and disaffection.”²⁸

“The year 1857 was in marked contrast with that of 1856,” wrote the Reverend Richard Cordley, a historian of early Lawrence, Kansas. “There were no more armed invasions from Missouri, and no attempts to overthrow the free-state cause by violence.” Immigration revived and was stimulated by the influx of Eastern capital. Lawrence was the center of attraction to immigrants. Most brought money with which to pay for lodging, purchase supplies, and begin to speculate in town lots or the purchase of preemption claims in rural Douglas County

and elsewhere. They came chiefly from the states to the north and east of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers and added strength to the free-state settlers in Kansas Territory.²⁹

VII

The War of the Rebellion or Civil War, 1861–1865, brought profound changes to Lawrence and its citizens. In the early years of the conflict troops regularly passed through on their way to battlefields in Missouri and the South. They often stopped and camped for several days. “At one time,” wrote Reverend Cordley, “two regiments fresh from home, lay encamped for several weeks just above the town, waiting to be ordered to the front. They were a noble lot of men, and the citizens became very warmly attached to them, and followed them with deep interest when they went.” After the men had seen action, there was an influx of sick and wounded from the battlefields of Missouri and Arkansas. “All the vacant rooms that could be secured were put to use for hospital service, and ladies volunteered to assist in nursing the poor fellows. Everything possible was done to make them comfortable, and to restore them to health and their country. Quite frequently pro-Union refugees from the South came to Lawrence and remained till it was safe to return to their homes.”³⁰

Cordley asserted that the influx of African American slaves into Lawrence was one of the most unique movements caused by the War. Fear of being “sold down South,” by their masters in Missouri impelled many to flee to freedom in Kansas. “Wherever Union soldiers were stationed, slaves would escape from their masters and run into camp. They had the most implicit faith in ‘Massa Lincoln,’ and most thoroughly believed that the war was for their liberation. They knew, as everybody did, that it had grown out of slavery.” When slaveowners went to the camps to reclaim their bondsmen, they were generally rebuffed by Union officers who declared the fugitives to be “contrabands of war.” Large numbers of contrabands found their way to Lawrence, either on their own account or under the escort of Union army chaplains. Numerous Lawrence black men volunteered for service in the First and Second Kansas Colored Infantry Regiments. In an article “Negro Patriotism,” the Lawrence *Daily Republican* of July 21,

1862, noted, "A Company of colored men has been organized to join [General] Lane's Brigade. Yesterday morning, seventy-five names were enrolled, and the number will soon be raised to a hundred." Two weeks later the company completed its organization and another company was in formation.³¹

Undoubtedly the most dastardly and disastrous blow to fall on Kansas during the Civil War was William Clarke Quantrill's guerrilla raid on Lawrence. It was motivated by grievances shared by Quantrill's men for attacks on their families and communities in Missouri by Kansas regiments, especially those commanded by James H. Lane and Charles R. Jennison; and by Quantrill's personal grievances against Lawrence and its citizens for real and alleged crimes he had been charged with when he resided there in 1859 and 1860. The following brief account of the Lawrence Massacre by Quantrill and his men was written by Reverend Richard Cordley, an eyewitness to the tragedy, and printed in the *Annals of Kansas* under the date August 21, 1863:

On the 20th of August, a body of between three and four hundred crossed the State line at sundown. Riding all night, they reached Lawrence at daybreak. They dashed into the town with a yell, shooting at everybody they saw. The surprise was complete. The hotel, and every point where a rally would be possible, was seized at once, and the ruffians then began the work of destruction. Some of the citizens escaped into the fields and ravines, and some into the woods, but the larger portion could not escape at all. Numbers of these were shot down as they were found, and often brutally mangled. In many cases the bodies were left in the burning buildings and consumed.

The Rebels entered the place about five o'clock, and left between nine and ten. Troops for the relief of the town were within six miles when the Rebels went out. One hundred and forty-three were left dead in the streets, and about thirty desperately wounded. The main street was all burned but two stores. Thus, about seventy-five business houses were destroyed, and nearly one hundred residences. They destroyed something near two millions of property, left eighty widows and two hundred and fifty orphans, as the result of their four hours' work. Scenes of brutality were enacted, which have never been surpassed in savage

warfare. The picture is redeemed only by the fact that women and children were in no case hurt.

Besides being the outstanding event of the Civil War in Kansas, the Lawrence Massacre has been judged the most atrocious act of the Civil War. "Nothing else matched it in stark horror and melodramatic circumstances," writes Albert Castel."³²

VIII

The following fifteen narratives are concerned with the Underground Railroad and the Civil War contrabands in Lawrence and Douglas county. They are concentrated on events in the period from 1857 to 1865, lending support to the editor's belief that the Underground was perhaps of minor importance during the period of "Bleeding Kansas" in 1855 and 1856. Narrative No. 1, which was written by Nancy Smith, a Lawrence journalist, draws on museum and library holdings and the research of local historians—chiefly Mrs. Katie Armitage and Dr. Steven Jansen—to tell the story of the Underground Railroad. Fugitives from Missouri often found temporary havens with farmers in Douglas County before they were brought to the Lawrence vicinity to continue their journey. There are four such narratives—two by women, Nos. 4 (Mrs. J. B. Abbott) and 5 (Annie Soule Prentiss); and two by men, No. 6 (Stewart), and No. 11 (Hinton and Gill), which is concerned with John Brown. Brown, with his men, liberated eleven slaves from Missouri and, together with a child who was born on the journey, were conducted to Canada via Douglas County, where they stopped for several days in January 1859. Narrative No. 9 (Gardner) tells of a fugitive slave named Napoleon Simpson who was shot and killed in a skirmish between members of the family who harbored him and a gang of proslavery men.

Seven narratives have a chiefly urban setting. Nos. 2 (Herd), 3 (J. B. Abbott), 8 (Bowles), and 10 (Cordley) focus on the risks incurred from kidnapers and slave catchers in attempts to harbor slaves. No. 3 (J. B. Abbott) tells of a plan to escort a group of threatened free blacks to a safe haven in Iowa. Soon after leaving Lawrence, however, they were captured by a band of border ruffians. Mrs. J. B. Abbott's narrative (No. 4) has both a rural and urban setting. Three of the narra-

tives—Nos. 6 (Stewart), 7 (Tappan) and 8 (Bowles) are letters written by Lawrence conductors to New England abolitionists requesting financial assistance. No. 8 (Bowles) also described in some detail the conditions of the Underground Railroad in Lawrence. No. 10 tells of a female slave that Reverend Richard Cordley and his wife harbored in 1859. Two of the narratives—No. 13 by Cordley, and 14 by R. B. Sheridan—are concerned with the activities of the contrabands who came to Lawrence and Douglas County during the Civil War. Three of the narratives are related only in part to Lawrence and Douglas County. No. 12 tells of a raid led by Quantrill on a plantation in Missouri to liberate slaves. This raid turned into a tragedy when he betrayed the abolitionists by leading them into an ambush. Three of the abolitionists were killed. No. 11 is concerned with John Brown and the liberation of slaves from Missouri. No. 15 focuses on the experiences of a slave in Missouri who escaped to Kansas and enlisted in a colored regiment. This former slave came to Douglas County at the end of the Civil War and became a farmer.

Endnotes

¹Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Macmillan, 1967 [1898]), pp. 17–28, 33–36, 42–46.

²"Underground Railroad," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1997), Vol. 12, p. 126.

³Sarah Bradford, *Harriet Tubman, The Moses of Her People* (New York: Citadel Press, 1994), pp. 32–66, 75–80.

⁴Siebert, *Underground Railroad*, pp. 104–5, 321–22.

⁵John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 192–207.

⁶Siebert, *Underground Railroad*, pp. 21–26, 48.

⁷Alice Nichols, *Bleeding Kansas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 7–16.

⁸William E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, 1918), Vol. I, pp. 526–29.

⁹Daniel W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, Kans., 1875), pp. 57–58.

¹⁰T. H. Gladstone, *The Englishman in Kansas, or Squatter Life and Border Warfare*. Foreword by James A Rawley (Lincoln, Nebr.: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1971 [1857]), pp. 276, 283–92; William Frank Zornow, *Kansas: A History of a Jayhawk State* (Norman, Okla.: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1957), pp. 67–74.

¹¹David Dary, *Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas; An Informal History* (Lawrence, Kans.: Allen Books, 1982), pp. 5–24; David Dary and Steve Jansen, *Pictorial History of Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas* (Lawrence, Kans.: Allen Books, 1992); Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History* (Chicago, 1911), Vol. 1, pp. 535–40.

¹²Charles Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict* (New York: Harper Bros., 1892), pp. 66–75; Robert W. Richmond, *Kansas: A Land of Contrasts* (Saint Charles, Mo.: 1974), pp. 64–65.

¹³“The Congressional Committee Report on Kansas Territory,” quoted in Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict*, pp. 104–8.

¹⁴*The Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, Kans., April 11, 1855.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, April 11, May 26, and June 16, 1855.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, May 26, 1855; Samuel N. Wood’s speech is quoted by Robinson in *The Kansas Conflict*, pp. 149–51.

¹⁷Nichols, *Bleeding Kansas*, pp. 50–58; Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict*, pp. 183–206.

¹⁸Sarah T. L. Robinson, *Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life*, 4th ed. (Boston, 1856), pp. 105, 121, 132.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 141–42.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 147.

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 146–50; Charles Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict*, pp. 206–9.

²²Sara Robinson, *Kansas*, pp. 157–58.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 184, 191, 221.

²⁴Nichols, *Bleeding Kansas*, pp. 105–9.

²⁵William Phillips, *The Conquest of Kansas by Missouri and Her Allies* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1856), pp. 289–305.

²⁶John H. Gihon, M.D., *Geary and Kansas. Governor Geary’s Administration in Kansas* (Philadelphia: Charles C. Rhodes, 1857), pp. 86–87.

²⁷Wendell H. Stephenson, *The Political Career of General James H. Lane* (Topeka, Kans.: Kansas State Historical Society, 1930), pp. 75–77.

²⁸“Executive Minutes of Governor Geary,” *Kansas Historical Collections, 1886–1888* (Topeka, Kans.: 1888), Vol. IV, pp. 532–34.

²⁹Reverend Richard Cordley, D.D., *A History of Lawrence Kansas: From the First Settlement to the Close of the Rebellion* (Lawrence, Kans.: E. F. Caldwell, 1895), pp. 142–44.

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 182–84.

³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 183–86; *Lawrence Daily Republican*, July 31 and August 14, 1863.

³²Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, pp. 347–48; Albert Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861–1865* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1958), pp. 136, 208–10.

1. The "Liberty Line" in Lawrence, Kansas Territory

by Nancy Smith

Amtrack trains still make two stops in Lawrence each day, but 120 years ago, another railroad wended its way through the city.

No iron tracks marked its route, but the famous Underground Railroad helped runaway slaves journey to freedom in Canada. They hopped between private homes and other hiding places on their way north, aided by people with strong anti-slavery convictions.

Escape to Lawrence was considered as good as freedom, according to one account of those days. Records show Lawrence was part of the best-financed branch of the mysterious transportation system sometimes called the Liberty Line.

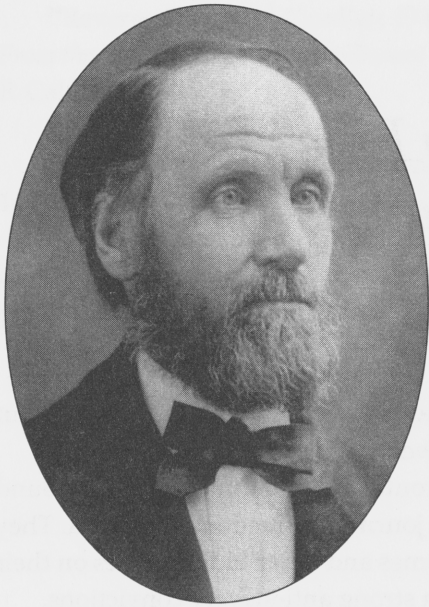
It also was one of the stops abolitionist John Brown made on what historian Wilbur Siebert described as one of Brown's "boldest adventures, one of the boldest indeed in the history of the Underground Railroad."

First organized about 1838 in Philadelphia, the Underground Railroad slowly spread from the East Coast all the way west to Kansas Territory, where it reportedly got established about 1855, mainly to help slaves fleeing Missouri.

Historical documents on Brown's trip in the winter of 1858-59 are readily available, including an account by Brown himself, but overall, written records on the railroad's operation are scarce locally.

Steve Jansen, director of Elizabeth M. Watkins Community Museum, said evidence of the Underground Railroad's operation here is

Nancy Smith, "The 'Liberty Line' in Lawrence: An important stop on the 'Liberty Line'," *Lawrence Journal-World*, February 22, 1987, p. 2C. The editor of this reader is indebted to Nancy Smith and Ralph Gage, general manager of the *Lawrence Journal-World*, for granting permission to reprint this article.



Joel Grover and his wife, Emily, were active in the free-state movement and the Underground Railroad.

scant partly because it was illegal. It violated the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which called for both fines and imprisonment of people who helped runaway slaves. Slave hunters who were paid \$200 for each returned slave proved ruthless in their quests.

Also, Jansen said, the term "Underground Railroad" is taken too literally by many people today. It was not a smoking, whistling iron horse running on real iron rails above or below ground.

Some people think the railroad here consisted of tunnels under the 600 block of Massachusetts [street] and over by the Elgin (Woody) baseball field near the hospital, but that wasn't the case either.

The railroad was made up of people's homes and outbuildings, Jansen said. The community museum's collection contains some solid documentation of the places and people who hid runaway slaves. Oral history points to a few others.

Along with some information gleaned from local historians and libraries, and the Kansas State Historical Society, a sketchy picture of Lawrence's "U.G.R.R.'s" operation, as it was often referred to, comes into focus.

The most important local hiding place probably was the big stone Grover barn—today preserved as part of Fire Station No. 4 at 2819 Stone Barn Terrace. A paper on that barn titled "Significance as an

Underground Railroad Depot" by Craig Crosswhite is in Watkins' collection, and information from local historian Katie Armitage reveals some of the building's abolitionist secrets. (See Narratives 5 and 11, pp. 41-43, 83-84.)

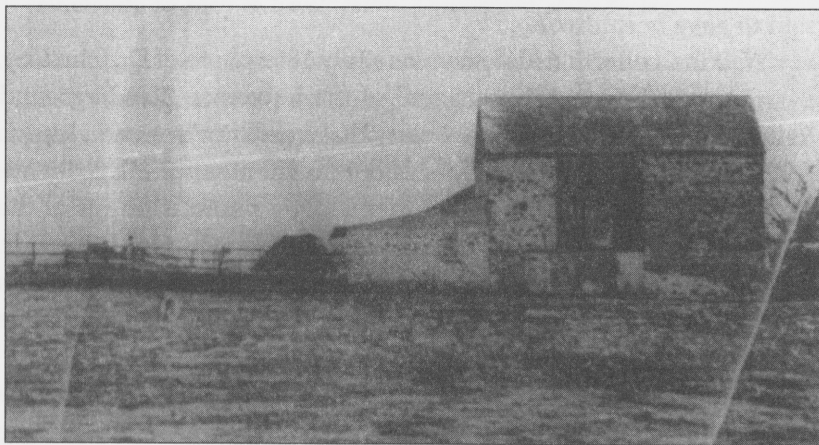
Crosswhite wrote that the abolitionist spirit permeated Lawrence from the earliest days of its founding in the summer of 1854. "The New England Emigrant Aid Society specifically saw its purpose as establishing a bastion of anti-slavery sentiment near the border of the proslavery state of Missouri."

Joel Grover, a New Yorker, came to Lawrence in September 1854 with the second party sponsored by the New England Emigrant Aid Society out of Massachusetts.

"It is rare," Crosswhite wrote, "to find personal accounts of participation in the underground railroad in Kansas in the 1850s . . . (but) there is a rich oral tradition still alive that states that the barn that Joel Grover built in 1858 was used as such a station."

The barn served primarily as a "last stop" locally, he said. "Fugitives, who were often hidden in various persons' homes in town, could be brought to Grover's when the time was near to send a group on to Topeka or Valley Falls without anyone observing the activity."

Crosswhite uncovered two oral history accounts of such activity. One was taken in the 1880s by Zu Adams of the state historical society



This stone barn, now part of Fire Station No. 4, Lawrence, Kansas, was built by Joel Grover in 1858. The large barn provided easy concealment and travel facilities for fugitive slaves on the Underground Railroad.

from Elizabeth Abbott, wife of Major James A. Abbott, a well-known free-state leader of the 1850s. (See Narrative 4, pp. 37–39.)

The other was from Mrs. S. B. Prentiss whose father aided fugitives. Mrs. Prentiss' story was published by the *Kansas City Star* in 1929 as part of a series celebrating the 75th anniversary of the Kansas Territorial Act. (See Narrative 5, pp. 41–43.)

Mrs. Abbott told how two teen-age boys stayed at their Lawrence home, and how the youngest, 14, determined to go outdoors after several days of hiding in the house. "It seemed pitiful to see their desire for liberty," she said. Perhaps because of the risky excursion outdoors, both boys were taken that night to "the next stopping place," which Mrs. Abbott said she thought was Joel Grover's barn.

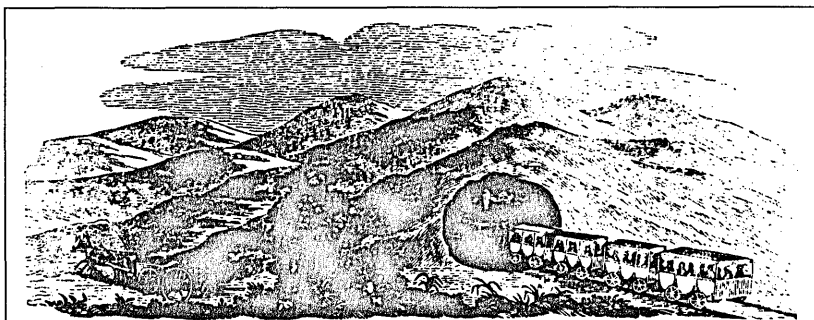
Mrs. Prentiss' story centered on John Brown's famous, and last, foray in Kansas with about a dozen runaway slaves along the Underground Railroad to Canada. She recalled the group stayed at her family's cabin one night and then went on to "Mr. Grover's stone barn," where they hid for several more days.

Mrs. Prentiss was the great-aunt of Anne Hemphill, Rt. 2, and raised Mrs. Hemphill's mother and aunt. Mrs. Hemphill said last week that her great-grandfather, Amasa Soule, came in the same Emigrant Aid party as Grover, and also was reported to have been active in the Underground Railroad. He hid runaway slaves at or near his cabin, which sat along a branch of Coal Creek in the Vinland area.

She said her grandfather, William Lloyd Garrison Soule, also was said to have been involved.

Watkins' collection also contains a July 1859 photo of Dr. John Doy, a surgeon and "general manager" of the Lawrence "Underground Railroad depot," and the rescue party that freed him from a St. Joseph jail. He had been imprisoned for about six months for allegedly abducting slaves in Missouri. The original Doy photo is on file at the state historical society, and among the rescuers pictured, is the Rev. John E. Stewart who ran a cattle operation south of Lawrence and was known as the "general traffic manager" of the local U.G.R.R. (See Narrative 3, pp. 26–27.)

Maj[or]. James B. Abbott, another of Doy's rescuers, in an article in the state historical society's collection, described Lawrence as "the best advertised anti-slavery town in the world" and said Doy was falsely accused when he was jailed.



LIBERTY LINE .
NEW ARRANGEMENT --- NIGHT AND DAY.

The improved and splendid Locomotives, Clarkson and Lundy, with their trains fitted up in the best style of accommodation for passengers, will run their regular trips during the present season, between the borders of the Patriarchal Dominion and Libertyville, Upper Canada. Gentlemen and Ladies, who may wish to improve their health or circumstances, by a northern tour, are respectfully invited to give us their patronage.

SEATS FREE, *irrespective of color.*

Necessary Clothing furnished gratuitously to such as have "*fallen among thieves.*"

"Hide the outcasts—let the oppressed go free."--*Bible.*

☞ For seats apply at any of the trap doors, or to the conductor of the train.

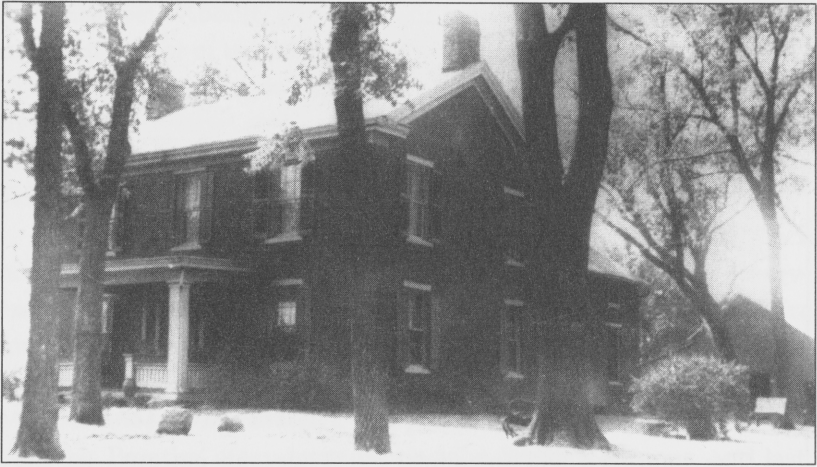
J. CROSS, *Proprietor.*

N. B. For the special benefit of Pro-Slavery Police Officers, an extra heavy wagon for Texas, will be furnished, whenever it may be necessary, in which they will be forwarded as dead freight, to the "Valley of Rascals," always at the risk of the owners.

☞ Extra Overcoats provided for such of them as are afflicted with protracted *chilly-phobia.*

Just prior to the Civil War, the Underground Railroad was increasingly active in bringing slaves out of Missouri. "Stations" in Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois moved these former slaves to freedom. This 1844 Chicago Western Citizen advertisement thinly disguised its purpose by announcing the "Liberty Line" with "regular trips" running "during the present season between the borders of the Patriarchal Dominion and Libertyville, Upper Canada."

On that occasion, according to Abbott's account, 13 free blacks from Lawrence feared they would be abducted illegally by slave hunters and decided to move further north for safety. They were aided by Doy and his son. "All had their freedom papers," Abbott wrote, "except for two, Wilson Hays and Charles Smith, who had worked as cooks at the Eldridge House and were known to be free men."



The Robert Miller home at 1111 East 19th Street, Lawrence, was built in 1858. One of the outbuildings was a smokehouse where fugitive slaves were secreted.

The record shows Doy was “arrested” by armed border ruffians, including several from Douglas County, and taken with his son and the blacks to Weston, M[issouri], where the Doys were tried. The son was released, but the doctor ended up in jail at St. Joseph. No mention was made of what happened to the black people.

Doy himself is said to have recorded this episode in a little book, *The Narrative of John Doy of Lawrence, Kansas*, published in New York City in 1860.

Richard Cordley, another early settler just out of Andover Theological Seminary in Iowa [*sic.* Massachusetts], also recorded his memories of the Underground Railroad in a book, titled *Pioneer Days in Kansas*, which is on file at Watkins. Cordley was minister at the Plymouth [Congregational] Church and is the man for whom Cordley School is named. In the chapter titled “Lizzie, and the Underground Railroad,” Cordley tells that in the summer of 1859, a family in his church named Monteith asked him to help them hide a slave named Lizzie. (See Narrative 10, pp. 67–76.)

“In my college days I had discussed the Fugitive Slave Law in Lyceum and elsewhere,” Cordley wrote. “I had declared that if a poor wanderer ever came to my house, I should take him in and never ask whether he were a slave or not. It is easy to be brave a thousand miles away. But now I must face the question at short range. Theory and practice affect one very differently in a case like this. But I felt there

was only one thing to do. So we told our friend to bring his charge to our house, and we would care for her as best we could."

Lizzie stayed with the Cordleys until autumn when she went back to the Monteiths.

"Our means did not allow a very elaborate table, but she knew how to make the most of everything." Cordley recalled. A simple but delicious cake which she made was known in our family and among our friends for years as "Lizzie Cake."

"We did not wonder that her master set a high price on her, or that he was anxious to recover his property. She did not complain of cruel treatment from her owners, but she had a great horror of going back."

In late autumn, Cordley said, Monteith returned with Lizzie, saying her master had found her hiding place and the U.S. marshal and a posse were coming to "take her at all hazards." The Cordleys hid her for the rest of that day and into the evening. Monteith had promised a wagon would come at 10 p.m. to carry her to "a place of safety," and the Cordleys spent a watchful evening until at 12:30 a.m., when the wagon arrived.

"We never knew where Lizzie's rescuers went," Cordley wrote, "and did not inquire. It is often just as well not to know too much." Much later, they learned, she did make it to freedom in Canada.

Although this account was written in 1903, more than thirty years after the incident, Cordley still is considered a good source on the subject, Mrs. Armitage said, because he came to Lawrence in 1857. She describes him as Lawrence's first historian.

Good documentation also is available on another local family's involvement in helping escaping slaves. They were the [Robert and] Josiah Millers, originally from South Carolina and their homestead was at 1111 E. 19th. The Dennis Dailey family lives there now, and the home is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Dailey, a Kansas University professor, said his information comes mostly from a relative of the Miller family who lives in Iowa and from reading the Miller family papers in the Kansas Collection at KU's Spencer Research Library.

D. C. Smith of Des Moines, whose mother was the late Vanera Miller Smith of Lawrence, recalled in a telephone interview being told as a small child how his family helped runaway slaves. He added he

may have some old letters sent between family members in Kansas and South Carolina during that time.

Dailey said the slaves reportedly were hidden in a smokehouse, the foundation of which remains on his property. Watkins' collection includes a letter from Texas to the Daileys regarding three doctoral candidates who were documenting locations of "way stations" along the Underground Railroad in 1984.

Mrs. Armitage said there were probably a number of other Lawrence homes where people hid slaves. She added oral history even points to the use of some caves as hiding places but nothing written has ever been found to document that. She also said "a lot of people fantasize that a lot of houses in old West Lawrence were used, but I'm dubious." She said that is not the oldest part of town and many of the homes there had not been built at the time the Underground Railroad was in operation. She said that some day, she hopes to do an indepth study of the Underground Railroad in Lawrence, a project no one has tackled yet.

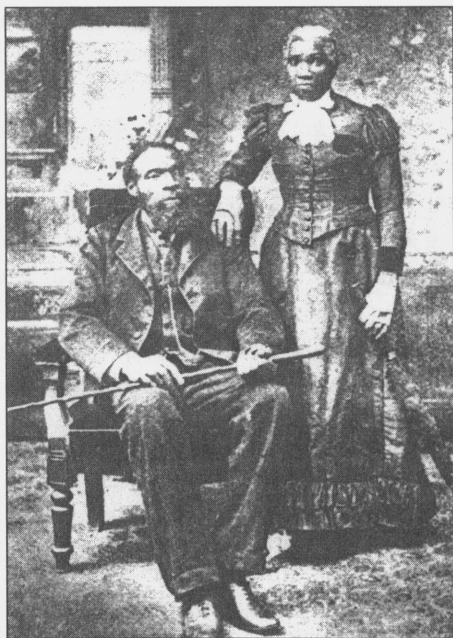
If a 1859 letter written by J. Bowles of Lawrence to F. B. Sanbourne in Concord, Mass., is any indication, such a project would be quite an undertaking. The letter says, in part, "To give you an idea of what has been done by the people of this place in U.G.R.R., I'll make a statement of the number of fugitives who have found assistance here. In the last four years, 1855 to 1859, I am personally known to the fact of nearly three hundred fugitives having passed through and received assistance from the abolitionists here at Lawrence." (See Narrative 8, pp. 51-55.)

John Brown's famous 1858 raid into Missouri to free a group of slaves was undertaken after a slave named Jim Daniels, on the pretense of selling brooms, came to Brown's camp near the Missouri line to ask for help. Daniels said he, his wife, two children and another Negro man were soon to be sold by their owner, James Lawrence of Missouri. (See Narrative 11, pp. 77-88.)

The following night, December 20, 1858, Brown made his raid into Missouri. According to Wilbur Siebert's 1898 book, *The Underground Railroad From Slavery to Freedom*, the following is Brown's own account of the event:

Two small companies were made up to go to Missouri and forcibly liberate the five slaves, together with other slaves. "One of these companies I assumed to direct. We proceeded to the place, surrounded

Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Harper were among the slaves who were rescued by John Brown and his men in the winter of 1858–59. They stopped over for several days in Lawrence in late January, 1859. This photo was taken in the late 1890s in Windsor, Canada.



the buildings, liberated the slaves. . . . We then went to another plantation, where we found five more slaves; took some property and two white men."

"We moved all slowly away into the territory for some distance and then sent the white men back, telling them to follow us as soon as they chose to do so. The other company freed one female slave, took some property, and, as I am informed, killed one white man (the master) who fought against liberation."

On the way back to his camp, according to Siebert, "Brown asked the slaves if they wanted to be free, and then promised to take them to a free country. Thus was Brown led to undertake one of his boldest adventures, one of the boldest indeed in the history of the Underground Road. With a mere handful of men he purposed to escort his band of freedmen on a journey of 2,500 miles to Canada, in the dead of winter, and surrounded by the dangers that the publicity of his foray and the announcement of a reward of \$3,000 for his arrest was likely to bring upon him."

A biographer of Brown, James Redpath, writing in 1860 and quoted by Siebert, said, "When the news of the invasion of Missouri spread, a wild panic went with it, which in a few days resulted in clearing Bates


and Vernon counties of their slaves. Large numbers were sold south; many ran into the Territory and escaped; others were removed farther inland."

According to various accounts, Brown hid his group first in the Mound City and Osawatomie areas, where one of the women had a baby who was named John Brown. He then moved them north, reaching Major J. B. Abbott's home near Lawrence January 24, 1859, and also staying at the Grover Barn for several days while planning the next leg of their journey.

Next, they went north over the Lane Trail, from Topeka through Holton to Nebraska City and across the Missouri River to Civil Bend, Iowa. At Springdale, Iowa, they stayed with Quaker families and then went on by [railroad] freight car to Chicago, where the detective Allen Pinkerton reportedly helped them get to Detroit. There, under Brown's directions, they were ferried across the Detroit River to Windsor, Canada, on March 10, 1859.

This trip marked John Brown's last trip to Kansas. He returned to Virginia, making the raid at Harper's Ferry that culminated in his execution in December 1859.

\$100 Reward!



Runaway from the subscriber, living in Independence, Mo., on Tuesday the 10th inst., one negro man named

NELSON,

about 21 years of age, five feet 10 inches high, copper color, mustache and whiskers, had on when he left a suit of white flannel cloth, a brown wool hat,

I will pay \$25 reward if taken in the county, \$50 if taken in the State, and one hundred dollars if taken out of the State, and secured so that I can get him.

HENRY J. BROWN.

Independence, Mo., December 12, 1861.

Because the average fugitive slave was valued at about one thousand dollars, slaveowners sought to track down and recapture the escapees. Under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, anyone caught harboring a fugitive slave would be sentenced to serve six months in prison and pay a \$1,000 fine.

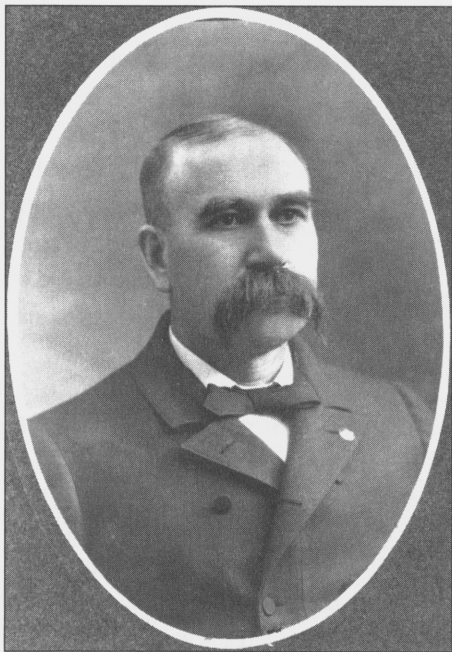
2. *Quantrill and the U.G.R.R. in Lawrence, Kansas Territory*

by Sidney S. Herd and William E. Connelley

*Sidney S. Herd came to Kansas from Pennsylvania in 1855 with his parents, three brothers, and a sister. He lived on the family farm about seven miles west of Lawrence until the Civil War. At the outbreak of hostilities, he enlisted in the First Kansas Battery and served until the end of the war. He then returned to Kansas, bought unimproved land north of the Kansas River, and by his industry and prudence made it one of the best farms in Douglas County. Later he entered the wholesale produce and feed business and served as marshal and chief of police of Lawrence. Herd was interviewed by William E. Connelley, long-time secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, on November 4, 1907, two years prior to the publication of Connelley's book *Quantrill and the Border Wars*.*

Yesterday, Monday, November 4, 1907, I [William E. Connelley] went to look for information concerning [William Clarke] Quantrill during the time he was there under the name of Charley Hart. This was the summer of 1860, with a portion of both the spring and fall—perhaps all the fall and a few days of the winter. He went to Lawrence immediately after his school closed near Stanton, [Kansas]. This must have been early in April, for his letters written in the last of March say

William E. Connelley's interview with Sidney S. Herd, Lawrence, Kansas, November 4, 1907, in *William Elsey Connelley MS. Collection. Interviews and Correspondence relating to Quantrill and Border Warfare*, Box 13, Kansas State Historical Library, Manuscript Department, Topeka. The editor is indebted to Dr. Patricia Michaelis, society curator of manuscripts, for granting permission to publish this interview.



William E. Connelley was the long-time secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka, a collector of manuscripts, and a prolific writer of Kansas history.

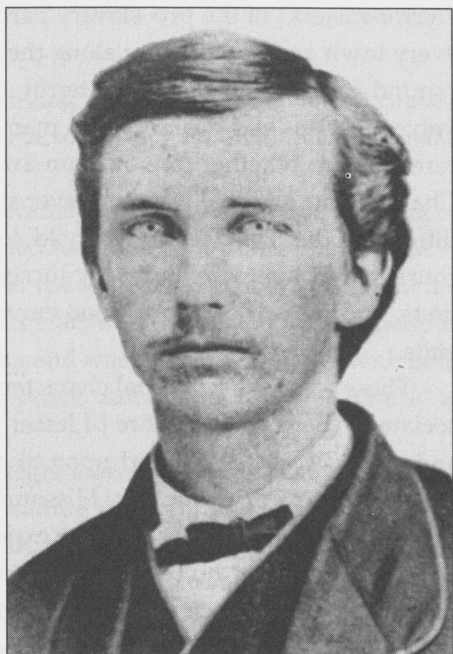
his school will close in a few days, and he requests that his mail be sent to Lawrence.

S[Sidney] S. Herd lives now at 825 Kentucky street, Lawrence, Kansas, and I called on him to see what he would say about Quantrill. Herd's father came from Pennsylvania and settled in Douglas county probably in the fall of 1854. Herd's brother, Jacob or "Jake" Herd is the Jake Herd of the Dr. [John] Doy book [*Narrative of John Doy*] published in New York in 1860. Jake Herd was a terror to free-state men and gloried in the name "Jake Herd, the border ruffian." See Dr. Doy's book for accounts of him.

S. S. Herd, or Sidney Herd, as he is called at Lawrence, was a young man, at work on the Ferry boat at the ferry over the Kansas River at Lawrence, in 1860, when Quantrill arrived at Lawrence. The first that Herd knew of Quantrill was when he began to ride a pony down from the Delaware Indian Reserve to the ferry. Herd thinks this must have been about the middle of April or first of May. He gave his name as Charley Hart, and Herd did not know him by any other name, nor was he known by any other name at Lawrence. Hart would ride the pony to the ferry and hitch it in the brush on the north side of the river. He would then come down to the ferry-boat and talk to Herd

and the other hands on the boat. An acquaintance was thus worked up. Quantrill or Hart would run foot-races with the others and jump in the sandy bars along the river in rivalry with them. For some time he did not cross the river. He was at that time living at the house of John Sarcoxie, son of Sarcoxie, chief of the Delawares. John Sarcoxie lived on Mud Creek, about four miles northeast of Lawrence or northeast of the north ferry landing, in what is now Grant Township, Douglas County. He had said in the Tuscarora lake letter that he preferred the Indian girls to any others in Kansas if they were mixed with white blood, but Herd did not know of any effort he made to marry a Delaware girl.

At this ferry Hart became acquainted with Jake Herd; also with Frank Baldwin, son of John Baldwin, the Ferryman. The first ferry at Lawrence was established by John Baldwin. Also with the McGhees or McGees. These McGees came from Pennsylvania. There was "the old man" McGee and his two sons, Jacob and Thomas, called Jake and Tom. Then there was a cousin to these, an ornery devil, who was called in memory of a marital calamity which had befallen him, probably with justice, "Cucold" Tom McGee. The McGees were a hard lot, tough citizens, border ruffians, drunken, carousing, fighters, brawlers, reck-



William Clarke Quantrill came to Lawrence on the eve of the Civil War and joined a band of proslavery border ruffians. As a guerrilla leader in Missouri, he led 453 bushwhackers and their followers in the near-destruction of Lawrence on August 21, 1863.

less of human life. They had a claim on the Kaw River about two miles east of Lawrence, in the timber, surrounded by impenetrable brakes and thickets. There was with them a man named Esau Sager, as tough a character as Kansas afforded, a border ruffian. Living with the McGees was a cousin named Henry McLaughlin, a dead match for the McGees in all respects. The widow of Jake McGee lives now at Franklin, Douglas County. These people were kidnappers of Negroes who came to Kansas. These Negroes were taken to Missouri and sold back into slavery, even if they were free. They kept a sharp lookout for slaves who had escaped from Missouri masters and fled to Kansas in search of freedom there or in hope of finding passage to Canada by way of the underground railroad, the principal station of which was at Lawrence.

Frank Baldwin was also an associate of the McGees and Sager, but did not attain their enviable proficiency in cussedness.

The McGees and relatives were under the control of Jake Herd, possibly the most reckless and daring border ruffian that ever lived in Kansas. They made up Herd's posse when a Missourian appeared in pursuit of a runaway slave, and when a Negro was to be kidnapped to be carried to Missouri and sold. Jake Herd's headquarters were at Lecompton, where he was the right-arm of the rough element, the "terror-raisers" of the pro-slavery party in Kansas. He was known in every town and community along the border of Western Missouri as "sound on the goose," a holy terror, quick and deadly with the revolver, fearless and daring, and a man who would risk his life to capture a Negro whether free or a run-away slave. Jake Herd became to Charley Hart an ideal which he ever strove to attain and equal. They differed in that Herd was open, bold, loud of tongue, relying upon his courage and his force alone for success, while Hart was silent, cautious, and depended more upon cunning than force in reaching his ends.

These were the principal characters with whom Charley Hart associated. There were a score of lesser lights more or less prominent and always to be depended upon to rescue or kidnap Negroes and hustle them over the line into Missouri for sale or a reward.

Charley Hart took part in the expeditions and forays of the kidnappers as soon as he became well enough known to them to have their confidence, which was within a month after he took up his abode with John Sarcoxie. No one suspicioned or suspected that he had a



Before a bridge was built across the Kansas River at Lawrence, a rope ferry transported passengers and freight. The ferry landing on the north side of the river was the loafing place of border ruffians.

different name. Herd says his living among the Indians first caused the McGees to think there might be something in him that would make him one of them.

And while Charley Hart became as reckless as any of the gang of which he was a part, he ever tried to remain out of the public gaze. It is not at all certain he was not at the same time trying to act with the anti-slavery people. Herd thinks Hart was true to the slavery people. But Hart was smart and cunning and was probably playing with both parties. He had no moral perceptions and such a role was natural to him.

Herd says that one day a Negro man [Ike Gaines] came out of the woods on the old Indian trail leading through the Delaware Reserve to the ferry. He was a young man. He inquired for Jim Lane, saying he desired to go to Lane's house. Herd put him over the river. Charley Hart and Frank Baldwin were at the landing on the south side of the river. Herd told them the Negro wished to go to Lane's house. They

said they would take him there and the Negro went with them. They took him to McGee's house. On the way, thinking he was in the hands of friends, he told them he had escaped from his mistress, a widow lady named Gaines, who lived at Platte City, Mo., and that he had come through Leavenworth and the Delaware Reserve to Lawrence, believing that if he could get to Lane he would be safe.

That night Charley Hart, Jake McGee and Frank Baldwin took the Negro to Westport, stopping in the woods near the town. They arrived just after daylight. There McGee left the Negro in care of Hart and Baldwin and rode to Platte City to make arrangements with the widow Gaines for the return of the slave for a suitable reward. She agreed to give \$500 in new bills on some Missouri bank, all of the denomination of \$20. The widow asked the slave why he ran off and the Negro replied that the man at the livery stable had persuaded him to leave. When Hart and McGee returned they gave Herd \$100 of the money they had received for returning the Negro.

Hart then went down among the Indians about Paola. There he purchased a fine sorrel horse with white feet and called him White Stockings. He was gone two or three weeks before he returned to Lawrence with the horse. The horse was a racer and swift. He was determined to win some money with White Stockings. William Mulkey, one of the famous pioneers of Kansas City, was a breeder, trainer and runner of race-horses. He had at that time a horse that had a reputation for running and this horse was known throughout the country as "Mulkey's Colt." Charley Hart believed White Stockings could beat Mulkey's Colt. He and Frank Baldwin took White Stockings to Westport and there managed to arrange for a race. Fearing that Mulkey would not bet much on his colt after seeing White Stockings, Hart brought him in with a high, heavy saddle on him, and had him all muddy and rough and unkempt. Mulkey was deceived and bet \$150 on his colt. Baldwin rode White Stockings and the colt was badly beaten.

Hart and Baldwin then took the horse south along the state line between Missouri and Kansas. Herd does not know how far they went, but thinks they were among the Indians—perhaps the Cherokees. They did not bring White Stockings back with them and Herd does not know what became of the horse. They were gone a month or more, Herd thinks. This was early in the summer.

During the summer of 1860 Captain [John] Stewart received some escaped slaves for transportation over the underground railroad. Before they could be forwarded the owners appeared at Lawrence in pursuit of them. They knew to whom to apply for help to recover the Negroes. Jake Herd, Jake McGee, Tom McGee, Henry McLaughlin, Esau Sager, and one other, supposed to be Charley Hart (Herd would not say—and it might have been himself) went to Stewarts to get the slaves. Stewart had armed the Negroes and he and the Negroes successfully withstood the kidnappers, who got but one slave. But they wounded two others so badly that they left them supposing they would die or would be worthless if they recovered. (See Narrative 6, pp. 45–47; and Commentary, pp. 131–32.)

Stewart's claim was in the heavily wooded bottom of the Wakarusa, where the creek makes a great bend almost a horse-shoe bend. It is now owned by Douglas County and is the County Poor Farm. It is the northwest quarter of Section 20, Township 13, Range 20, and contains 160 acres. It is almost four miles from Lawrence.

Jake Herd, Tom McGee, "Cucold" Tom McGee, Jake McGee, Henry McLaughlin and Esau Sager, together with some parties from Weston [Missouri], captured Dr. [John] Doy. See Doy's book for particulars. Herd says Doy had eleven Negroes with him. He also says that the bullet from the gun Herd was pulling out of the wagon and discharged struck a button on his coat and was thereby turned.

See Dr. Doy's book for a full account of Allen Pinks, a free Negro from Pennsylvania and how he got to Lawrence. Allen Pinks came finally to turn against his own people and began to act as a decoy to run free and fugitive Negroes into the hands of Herd, the McGees and Charley Hart. The real abolitionists concluded that he should be killed. John Dean shot Pinks in the back of the head with a rifle, but the hardness of the Negro's head saved his life. The ball glanced on the skull and ran around just under the skin and lodged in his forehead. At the time Pinks was drinking from the bucket of the public well which was opposite the Eldridge House, or Free-State Hotel, as it was then called. Pinks took warning from the circumstance and left. Quantrill was playing both sides by that time, and pretending to the abolitionists that he was associated with Herd, the McGees and their gang of kidnappers for the purpose of getting evidence to convict them of their crimes. In other words, he was plying his old trade of treachery, pretending to be a spy and sort of detective. He was quite friendly with Dean about

the time Pinks was shot, and he, Quantrill, was accused of aiding in having Pinks shot. In fact it is believed that Quantrill betrayed Pinks to the abolitionists in order to deceive them and further secure their confidence. But the Pink's affair came near being Quantrill's undoing, for the McGees and Herd began to suspect him. He began to see that the role he was playing would lead to his death at the hands of Herd or the McGees. That is probably the immediate cause of his action at Morgan Walkers. S. S. Herd says that the shooting of Pinks was the last thing Quantrill did at Lawrence before the Walker raid.

John Dean was a pompous, windy, shallow man who really believed in abolition. He had a wagon shop in Lawrence, a sort of wagon-repair shop. He and Quantrill were quite intimate. They acted together. When Sheriff Sam Walker went to arrest Quantrill for horse-stealing he ran into Dean's shop. Walker broke down the door, but before he did so Quantrill had escaped from the back window and was gone. He did not appear publicly any more in Lawrence. He ran from Dean's shop to Captain Stewart's place on the Wakarusa.

When Dean shot Allen Pinks he ran also to Captain Stewart's, and Stewart swore that Dean was at his house at the time Pinks was shot, to get him out of trouble.

Dean went with Quantrill and others to Osawatomie before the Morgan Walker raid. When Dean got back from that raid to Walker's he was sore and scared to death. He had himself locked in jail on the charge of shooting Pinks, but the war coming on, he was released. Dean insisted on being locked up on this charge to prevent the Missourians from getting him for his participation in the Morgan Walker affair. This part of Dean's life was told me by H[enry] S. Clark[e]. (See Commentary, pp. 137-38.)

S. S. Herd was working for a man who had the contract for feeding the prisoners in the jail while Dean was there confined. He said Dean was scared almost to death at every noise he heard and would lie down in the darkest part of his cell and groan and pretend to be half-dead, hoping to deceive the Missourians, should it prove to be them breaking into the jail to get him, as he fully expected they would do. Dean was in earnest in his part in Kansas, but he was just a chump.

There was a kidnapper living in Lawrence named Bob Wilson. Wilson was operating with Dean, Stewart and others of the abolitionists, though he had the full confidence of Jake Herd and the McGees. He cared little how he secured the Negro, just so he got one and re-

turned him to slavery or sold him into bondage if he was free. When it was determined by Dean and others to put Pinks out of the way, Wilson and Quantrill conceived to kidnap him and kill him. He went to Pinks, who was then running a barber-shop in Lawrence, and engaged him to go to his residence to dress Mrs. Wilson's (his wife) hair, under the pretence that she had been sick and was unable to do it herself. Pinks agreed to go to the house and did so. Wilson then lived where the Santa Fe passenger depot now stands. That whole part of town was a thicket of hazel brush. The house where Wilson lived was a small one-story frame of two rooms. When Pinks went into the house, a hack or closed carriage drove up, two kidnappers alighted from it, and they went one to each of the two doors of the room where Pinks was at work on the lady's hair. Pinks knew in a minute what was up. He ran into the next room and escaped from the house by a small window and got into the hazel brush. He was searched for but not found. One of the kidnappers was Quantrill. The name of the other I could not learn, but from what was said I inferred it was either Dean or one of the Herds. The above was told me by H. S. Clark[e].

S. S. Herd told me that Allen Pinks became a decoy, and that he associated with Charley Hart and would lead escaped slaves and free Negroes into Hart's hands.

The attempt to kidnap Pinks was before the attempt to kill him by shooting.

Herd said Hart got in with Dean while he boarded at Stone's [Whitney or City] hotel, and that he made that hotel his home while in Lawrence.

Near Kenwaka [Kanwaka village] some one (one Heath) put in a foundation for a stone house and built up one story of the house. Winter coming on it was impossible to finish the house at the time, so joists were put in, and on these joists prairie hay was stacked to keep out the rain and snow and keep the building dry. Some underground railroad man hid a Negro in this foundation under the hay and boasted that Jake Herd could not find him or take him out. Herd took Quantrill (Hart) and some others and went to the house and got the Negro. In taking him out the hay was burned and the people attracted to the place. A sort of pitched battle took place between the friends of the Negro and Herd and his followers, but they got away with the Negro and took him to Missouri and sold him. (See Commentary, pp. 140-41.)



Samuel S. Riggs, county attorney of Douglas County, charged Quantrill with the crimes of burglary, larceny, arson, and kidnapping, but Quantrill escaped to Missouri while these charges were pending.

Judge Samuel S. Riggs of Lawrence was prosecuting attorney in 1859 and 1860 of Douglas County. He had warrants issued for Quantrill or Charley Hart, for horse stealing, kidnapping and for burning the barn of Judge Wakefield. The warrants were put into the hands of Sheriff Samuel Walker, who chased Hart into Dean's wagon shop, from which he escaped while Walker was beating down the door.

Judge Riggs also had a warrant issued for him for breaking into the powder storage house of Bullene [*sic* Ridenour & Baker], the wholesale grocer. [note: This powder house stood on the bank of the river near the south end of the present dam across the Kaw River.]

3. *The Rescue of Dr. John W. Doy*

by James B. Abbott

Dr. John W. Doy, who was born at Hull, England, in 1812, emigrated to Canada about 1850. After a few years he moved to Rochester, New York, where he lived until 1854. He then went to Kansas Territory and settled at Lawrence. As explained in the following article by James B. Abbott, Dr. Doy led a party of antislavery leaders who were captured with the free blacks they were escorting to a safe haven in Iowa. After his rescue from the jail at St. Joseph, Missouri, Dr. Doy wrote The Narrative of John Doy, of Lawrence, Kansas, "A Plain, Unvarnished Tale," which was published as a small book of 132 pages in New York City in 1860.

James B. Abbott (1818–1897) was one of the pioneer settlers of Kansas. He was born at Hampton, Connecticut, in 1818. After the death of his first wife, he married Elizabeth Wantrous of Hartford, Connecticut. He was a member of the third party of emigrants from New England, which reached Lawrence in the fall of 1854, and soon became recognized as a leader of the free-state cause. He took up a claim about half a mile south of the Blanton bridge on the Wakarusa River, and his house was a favorite meeting place and a station on the Underground Railroad. Noteworthy among Abbott's contributions were his trips to the East to procure arms, fighting with John Brown at the battle of Black Jack, leading the expedition that rescued Dr. John Doy, and being elected to the first Kansas state legislature in 1861. His wife, Elizabeth Wantrous Abbott, was described as a noble woman who was his companion in all the dangers, trials, and hardships of the great struggle for free Kansas. The following paper was read at the annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society on January 15, 1889.

James B. Abbott, "The Rescue of Dr. John W. Doy," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, 1886–1888, Vol. IV (Topeka, 1890), pp. 312–23.

In the long, bitter strife which had grown out of the settlement of Kansas, between the Free-State and Pro-Slavery elements, the slave was far from being the least interested party. He saw in the organization of a free State, so near, peopled by an aggressive and determined class of opposers of the peculiar institution, opportunities to escape from his bondage, and to place himself upon the line of possibilities for advancement and development, to which every man is of right entitled.

He learned from the harangues of the Pro-Slavery leaders, the size, location, and political character of every village and town in the Territory, as well as the political character of the active men who inhabited them; and thus he was early, but unintentionally, taught the places and men to shun, as well as the places and men to trust.

When the master began to realize the danger he was in by attempting to hold thinking property in such close proximity to a live free State, the effort to remove said property farther south was naturally suggested and acted upon. This action on the part of the owners prompted the slave to make an effort to secure his freedom before the difficulties were increased and the opportunities were gone, and so it is not at all strange that hardly a week passed that some way-worn bondman did not find his way to Lawrence, the best advertised anti-slavery town in the world, and where the slave was sure to receive sympathy and encouragement, and was sent on his way rejoicing either by himself or with others, as the circumstances seemed to suggest was most wise.

Frequent attempts were made, however, to kidnap these colored pilgrims and take them back to Missouri by slave-hunters from that State, assisted by some of the border-ruffians who still resided in the Territory, and free-born colored men were in no wise exempt from the efforts of these kidnapers.

In the winter of 1858 and 1859, Charles Fisher and William Riley (two free-born mulattoes) were kidnapped and carried off, but succeeded in making their escape, and came back to Lawrence.

It was said that there was more money to the kidnapper in the free man than in the slave, because he only got a reward of \$100 for the return of the slave, but for the free man he received one-half of what he could be sold for.

The condition of things made it very unsafe and disagreeable for the colored residents of Lawrence, and as there were a few colored

strangers in town, after consulting with some of the principal citizens it was decided to raise a sum of money to assist those who desired, to go to Iowa, and thus enable them to find their way into some safe locality where they could earn their living and be free from the danger and fear of being kidnapped.

Rev. Ephraim Nute and Charles Stearns were selected to make the necessary arrangements to start the colored emigrants on their way.

On the 18th of January, 1859, an arrangement was made with Dr. John Doy to take a party of colored persons as far as Holton. The party consisted of eight men, three women and two children, thirteen altogether, all of whom had free papers except Wilson Hays and Charles Smith, two colored men, who had been employed as cooks at the Eldridge House in the city of Lawrence, and were known to be free men. On the 25th of January, everything being in readiness, the party started, crossed the Kansas river at Lawrence, and traveled about twelve miles from Lawrence in the direction of Oskaloosa. (See Commentary, pp. 132-35.)

The colored men had been walking behind the wagons for an hour or more, and coming to a down-grade of considerable distance, they all got into two covered wagons which were already nearly full of camp equipage, and women and children. No precaution had been taken to put out advance or rear guards or scouts, and they had traveled but a short distance, when they were surprised and halted by a body consisting of about twenty mounted armed men, and being in no condition to make a defense, were compelled to make an unconditional surrender; and when asked by the Doctor what authority they had for arresting them, were told, by their leader, "Here is our authority," putting the muzzle of his revolver at the Doctor's head.

Among the men recognized by Dr. Doy was Jake Hurd [or Herd], a notorious kidnapper; Dr. Garvin, the Democratic postmaster at Lawrence; two brothers by the name of McGhee [or McGee], and a man by the name of Whitley, who afterwards was known as Gen. Whitley, and was a detective at the Treasury Department, Washington, where he gained some notoriety, if not honor.

After a long parley, the whole party, consisting of the colored passengers, Dr. Doy, his son Charles, and a man by the name of Clough, were persuaded by promises of reward, threats and force of arms, to move on toward Weston, Missouri, where they arrived the following

day, after enduring abuse and threats from as vulgar and foul-mouthed a band of ruffians as ever were congregated to do a mean and cruel act, for filthy lucre.

After the arrival at Weston, the Doctor and his son Charles were arraigned and examined before a justice of the peace, or rather went through the farce of an examination and were held and committed to the Platte county jail to await their trial on the charge of abducting slaves from Missouri, although they had never been in that State since they first passed into Kansas, which was in July, 1854.

Before the 20th of March, 1859, the day set for the trial, the Kansas Legislature had met and made an appropriation of \$1,000 to defray the expense of the trial, and ex-Governor Shannon and Attorney-General Davis, two distinguished Democratic lawyers of Kansas, were sent over to make the defense; but they found such a bitter prejudice against the prisoners that they decided to make an application for a change of venue, which the judge granted, and the Doctor and his son Charles were sent to St. Joseph for trial, heavily ironed. At the trial, which lasted three days, the jury did not agree, and were discharged on Sunday afternoon, and on Monday the prosecuting attorney entered a *nolle prosequi* in the case of Charles Doy, but the Doctor was bound over to take his trial at the adjourned term, June 20th, in the sum of \$5,000, and although Doy's friends offered to furnish security in the sum of \$20,000, in Kansas, yet no man dared to go on his bonds in Missouri—and so the Doctor was remanded to prison.

On the second day of the adjourned term of the Circuit Court of Buchanan county, it being the 21st day of June, the Doctor's case was called, and although the proof was positive that Doy had nothing to do with the abduction of a slave, yet he was found guilty by the jury, and sentenced to serve five years in the penitentiary at hard labor; but upon demand the judge suspended the execution of the sentence until the opinion of the Supreme Court could be obtained.

There were still twelve other indictments pending, one for each of the other colored persons kidnapped in his company—Doy having been tried only for the abduction of a slave claimed by the Mayor of Weston. So it will be readily seen that whatever the opinion of the Supreme Court might be, Doy would still be in jeopardy, and have no assurance that he would be set at liberty. This condition of affairs was fully appreciated by his friends in Kansas, and especially by Messrs. Nute and Stearns, who, without due regard for fitness, had employed

a man to perform a most dangerous and responsible duty who was almost totally disqualified by the want of due caution, while all conceded him courage and loyalty to the cause of freedom. The result was, that not only Dr. Doy was now suffering, but all those who had been placed under his charge had been captured and returned to slavery, their hopes crushed and their lives made more bitter and unbearable than if they had never made an attempt to obtain their liberty.

The question uppermost in the minds of the justice-loving people of Lawrence and vicinity was, what ought to be done in the case of Dr. Doy, all legal means having been tried and failed?

They believed with the fathers, that all men were created equal, and endowed with the right of liberty, which right could not be forfeited, except by the perpetration of a crime; that he who finds himself deprived of this right without just cause has not only the moral right, but it is his duty, not only to himself but to his race and all races, to make an effort to regain it, and to ask and demand of his friends that they shall help make his effort a success. Dr. Doy when asked for help had responded, and done the best he could. In so doing he had lost his own liberty, but not his right to liberty; and so the general verdict of the people was, Dr. Doy ought to be rescued and brought home to his family.

On the 20th of July, 1859, and but five days before the opinion of the Supreme Court would decide the case of Dr. Doy, Mr. Stearns and Mr. Nute called at an early hour in the morning at my place of business in the city of Lawrence, and requested me to call at Mr. Stearns's store as soon as I could, as they wished to discuss a matter of great importance, that required immediate attention.

As soon as I could leave, I called at Mr. Stearns's store, and found him and Nute present, and Mr. Stearns commenced by saying: "It is generally known that it was through our instrumentality that Dr. Doy was placed in charge of the colored people who were kidnapped. His friends and his attorneys believe if he is not rescued before, that next Monday will see Dr. Doy on his way to the penitentiary, there to remain at least five years, if he should live so long; and we feel especially called upon to make an earnest endeavor to secure his release before it is too late. We have carefully looked over the field, and have come to the conclusion to place the matter in your hands, and urge you to make up such an organization as you may deem suitable, to



"The Immortal Ten" who rescued Dr. John Doy (shown seated). James B. Abbott is on the far left, Joseph Gardner fourth from left, Silas Soule second from right, and John E. Stewart third from right.

effect the Doctor's rescue, take charge of the expedition, and be on your way as soon as possible."

I asked him if he had any plan to suggest by which he thought the object could be accomplished. His answer was, that the company should consist of about fifty Sharps-rifle men, and that a charge should be made at an early hour in the morning, break open the jail, and take Doy and hasten back to the river before the St. Joseph people had time to recover from their surprise. On further inquiry, I found that there was but about \$30 on hand with which to defray the expenses of the expedition—a sum too insignificant to consider, with which to defray the expenses of so large a party. Finally, after listening to the suggestions of the gentlemen for some time, this proposition was made to them:

You must say to all who speak to you on this subject, that you have given up all hopes of a rescue, and will rely wholly upon obtaining a pardon from the Governor. I will try to find nine good men, and that I know to be good, to join the party, and no man shall know the object of the organization except those that go and yourselves. We will take the \$30 you have on hand, and the balance I will furnish if any more is needed. We will go to St. Joseph

and carefully look the chances over, and if we find good grounds to believe that a rescue can be made without too great a loss, we will make the attempt, but if we believe the chances against us are too great, we will abandon the enterprise and come home. Whatever the result may be, I think now I can tell what the verdict of the people will be. If we come home without making an attempt, it will be said that we were cowards. If we attempt and are destroyed, it will be said that we were fools. If we attempt and succeed, it will be said, well done. My hopes are, that with a small party, we may be able, by taking a prisoner to the jail in the night-time, to get possession of the building without raising an alarm.

This proposition was accepted by Mr. Stearns and Mr. Nute, and it was understood that their lips were to be sealed on that subject until we returned.

St. Joseph was then a city of nearly 11,000 inhabitants, composed largely of the most radical fire-eating Pro-Slavery men; and a daily mail line was established between St. Joseph and Lawrence, and if it had been suspected in Lawrence that such an expedition was being fitted out, St. Joseph would have been duly notified; and nicely-laid traps would have been set for us, before we arrived, and instead of a rescue of John Doy, there would have been ten abolition hides nailed to the bulletin boards of St. Joseph. Hence the necessity for extreme caution, and particularly attention to detail.

By four o'clock of said day the party was organized; and it consisted of the following named persons: Silas S. Soule, J. A. Pike, S. H. Willes, Joseph Gardner, Thomas Simmons, Charles Doy, Jacob Sinex, J. E. Stewart, George Hay, and James B. Abbott as captain. There were two two-horse wagons, the teams driven by their owners, Sinex and Simmons, and three saddle horses. The arms consisted of three sporting-rifles, about fifteen revolvers, five or six knives with blades from six to eighteen inches long, and a slung-shot of lead cast in an egg-shell. No Sharps rifles were permitted, as a Sharps rifle was a badge of a Kansas abolitionist, and if seen would excite suspicion.

Mr. Stearns gave me a letter of introduction to Mr. D. W. Wilder, then a resident of Elwood, opposite St. Joseph, where our party was to meet, and not a member of the party had an acquaintance in Elwood or St. Joseph that they knew of.

About five o'clock that evening I bade my wife good-bye, received an assurance from her that the Doctor would come back with us, and young Soule and myself mounted our horses and started quietly on our journey. After we had been gone a few hours and as night came on, the rest of the party moved out without attracting any attention, and so the starting of the expedition had been a success.

On Friday morning we all arrived in Elwood in good health and heart, and in order to have some excuse for being often together, it was agreed that those who came in the wagons should hail from Pike's Peak, as that was the year of the great emigration to and from the New Eldorado of the Rockies. Of course the Pike's-Peak boys were disgusted with the result of their trip, and were anxious to sell their teams, wagons and outfits and return home; and some of us were anxious to buy them out, when we could buy cheap enough, and thus was found an excuse for being together whenever occasion required, without raising suspicion. After a somewhat late breakfast I took my letter of introduction to the residence of Mr. Wilder, and to my great regret found that he had gone East. But it occurred to me that there was a Free-State paper published in St. Joseph, and taking Mr. Willes along, we crossed the Missouri river and soon found ourselves in the office and presence of Dr. Edwin H. Grant, the editor of the *St. Joseph Democrat*. I introduced myself to the Doctor by saying that I was passing through his city, and learned that there was a Free-State paper being published in this place; that I had a curiosity to see a Free-State paper that could be published in that portion of Missouri, and I had made up my mind to subscribe for it. The Doctor at once took my name and when I gave him my address he remarked that there was a resident of Lawrence now confined in the St. Joseph jail. I inquired his name, and was told that it was Dr. John Doy. I informed the editor that I knew Dr. Doy quite well, and asked him the nature of the offense for which he was imprisoned. He then gave me a history of Dr. Doy's case, and declared in a most impassioned and impressive manner that Doy had been outraged, from the time of his arrest upon the charge of kidnapping, through the trial to the sentence, and that it was a wonder to the Free-State people in Missouri that the Kansas boys had not, before this, taken Doy out of jail and carried him home. He told us further that he was in the habit of visiting Doy in his cell as often as once a week, to take him papers from among his exchanges.



Silas Soule took an active part in the Underground Railroad in the Lawrence area. He also joined in the rescue of Dr. John Doy and the attempted rescue of John Brown.

When I became satisfied of Grant's reliability, I told him the object of our visit, and made known to him our plans. He at once offered to join our force with all his employees, assuring us that every man in his office would be as true as steel to the cause. We thanked him for his offer, but told him that while we should need information in the execution of our plans, which he could more safely and readily acquire than we, being strangers, yet we could not permit him to jeopardize his life or his property by taking a hand in the active work which might have to be done. If we succeeded, a red-hot day would follow, but we expected to be away. But the friends of Doy who remained and were suspected of taking a part in the rescue, were bound to suffer, and his safety depended upon his keeping off of the line of suspicion. Our plan was to take a pretended horse-thief to jail about eleven o'clock at night, and by that means get into, and possession of the jail.

But Dr. Grant was of the opinion that all criminals captured after night were placed in the city calaboose and remained there until they had a hearing, and this statement seemed to be confirmed by the opinions of his friends; and so for the time being we abandoned the original plan, and began preparations to break into the jail, and to that end we procured some large files, and ascertained where we could on short notice procure hammers, sledges and chisels. Through Dr. Grant we

made an arrangement with some of the Elwood boys, by which they were to procure boats, and have them at a convenient point on the St. Joseph side of the river, at twelve o'clock at night, of the following day, which would be Saturday. In the meantime the boys of our party were promenading through the streets and alleys of the city in order to become familiar with the cuts, fills and embankments, and dangerous places, so that if we found it necessary to make rapid retreat, we could do so without greatly endangering our lives, for at that time there was a large force of men engaged in grading the streets, and some of the cuts were very deep.

Up to Saturday morning the weather had been hot and dry, and the streets were very dusty, but now the rain began to fall, and it thundered and lightened by spells all day, and the rain was very heavy and continuous until nine o'clock at night, and the newly graded streets and sidewalks were so muddy that they were almost impassable.

At noon we were still expecting to have to force our way into the jail, and in order to ascertain the most vulnerable point of attack, young Soule was detailed to go into the jail and make as full investigation of the condition of the building as the opportunity would admit. Soule immediately repaired to the jail, informed the jailer that he had a verbal message from Mrs. Doy to her husband, Dr. John Doy, who he understood was a prisoner in the building. The jailer, Mr. Brown, immediately led the way to the door of the room where the Doctor was confined, and threw open the outside or heavy oaken door, leaving the iron-grated door between the Doctor and Soule. After the usual greetings, Soule informed the Doctor that he was in Lawrence a few days ago, and called on his wife, and told her that he expected to pass through St. Joseph on his way East, and if she had any message to send her husband he would probably have time to deliver it, and Mrs. Doy wished him to say to the Doctor that his friends had given up all hopes of obtaining his release through the courts, and that undoubtedly in a few days he would be sent to the penitentiary in accordance with the sentence of the court; but the efforts of his friends would not cease, and they hoped and prayed the time would soon come, when such an appeal would be made to the Governor of Missouri, that through him they would be able to obtain that justice which the courts had failed to grant him. She said also that her health was poor; she dared not attempt a journey to St. Joseph, and so she was compelled to forego her great desire to see him before he was taken away. But he

must keep a good heart, and remember that He who tempers the winds to the shorn lamb will not forget His own child, who suffers from a kindness done to the unfortunate.

After Soule had given his message, he succeeded in prolonging his time by giving bits of news, scandal, &c., until he had made a tolerable good survey of the premises, and succeeded in turning the attention of the jailer away from him long enough to pass to Doy, through the grates, a ball of twine and a paper, on which was written, "To-night, at twelve o'clock." He then bade the doctor good-bye, and thanking the jailer for his courtesy, hurried back to make his report, which was, that with the best implements that we could get, it would take at least two hours of unmolested hard work to get through the doors into the room where Doy was confined.

Of course this was very discouraging, but while we were discussing the matter, Dr. Grant came and told us that he had just learned that all criminals taken outside of the city limits in the night-time were taken to the jail. This settled the question, and we at once went back to my first plan. It was decided to change the time appointed, to eleven o'clock instead of twelve, so if possible to get through and get onto the street about eleven and one-half o'clock, at which time, under an ordinance of the city, the theaters closed on Saturday nights, we to join in with the theater-goers on their way home, and thus avoid attracting attention of the police. Changing the time of operations would prevent us getting the Elwood boats, for there was not time nor opportunity to get the Elwood boys word, and so Mr. Willes and myself hunted up two boats that were about a block apart, found some oars in another place, and as soon as it was deemed safe to do so, put them in our boats, and as soon as it was dark had the boys walk to the boats and back to our quarters a number of times so that they could find the boats without difficulty in the dark.

The jail was located near the center of a block a little northeast of the business part of the city, and nearly in the center of the city. The court house was to the best of my recollection almost 200 feet south and 100 feet west of the jail, in the same block. The streets on three sides of said block had been graded so as to leave a bank next to the street from four to fifteen feet. A night watch was stationed at the court house, whose duty it was to take care of the court house and jail. As soon as it was dark Soule was detailed to keep his eyes on said watch-

man till we came, but be careful that the watchman did not get his eye on him, and we were certain that the work would be well done.

At about a quarter to eleven we started for the jail. The rain had ceased, but the clouds were thick, and it was a little foggy, and the darkness could almost be felt. After we passed from the business streets, there were no street lamps. The rains had cooled off the atmosphere so that the windows in the dwellings were closed, and the lights were out, and the appearances indicated that the inhabitants in that portion of the city were in a profound slumber—for all of which we thanked God and took courage. But in order to keep together without talking, we were compelled to take hold of hands, because we could not distinguish anything by the eye.

When we got near the jail we halted, and Soule came to us and reported that the watchman had just visited the jail, and returned to the south side of the court house, where he was now sitting under the porch. Soule was ordered to take Sinex with him, and take a position where they could see every movement of the watchman, and while they were to be very careful not to alarm him, yet they were to be more careful that he did not alarm anyone else. While all the members of the party understood the general plan that was to be executed, no one knew what part he was to take, until we arrived on the ground. To Mr. Willes was assigned the duty of leading spokesman. Mr. Simmons was to take the part of a horse-thief, with his hands apparently tied with a cord which was attached to a slung-shot. Mr. Gardner was detailed to sustain Mr. Willes, using his best judgment and discretion, and they were started without an instant's delay, to their work, with the positive assurance that they would be protected in the rear.

The three went promptly to the door of the jail and the ordinary raps were made on the door. In less than half a minute the window overhead was raised, and the questions were asked, "Who is there? What is wanted?" Mr. Willes replied, "We have a horse-thief we would like to put in jail for safe-keeping." The answer was, "Wait a minute, and I will be down." Then I was certain we should succeed. I knew if they got to work before they had time to get nervous, they would go through all right. When Mr. Brown, the jailer, came and opened the door, he bade them walk in, and inquired if they had the papers for making the arrest, and if either of them was an officer. The answer was, "No, we are only private citizens; but the facts in the case are these: this man was in the employ of one of our neighbors down in

the southeast portion of this county, and last night, while he and his employer were trying to make a settlement they disagreed as to the amount that was due, and came to hard words and this man left the house. In the morning one of our neighbors' horses was missing, as was also this man, and it was generally believed he was the thief, and a number of parties started out in different directions in search of the horse and thief. It so happened we struck his trail and followed till nearly night, when we overtook and found him and the horse under a shed about six or eight miles from the city." Mr. Brown seemed loth to receive him without the proper papers, saying if it should so appear that this man was not guilty, he and his bondsmen might be held for heavy damages. Both Mr. Willes and Mr. Gardner assured him there could not possibly be any mistake about his guilt. Mr. Brown turned to Simmons and said, "Are you willing to acknowledge that you stole the horse?" Simmons, in a rough and insolent manner replied, "Do you suppose that I am a d---d fool? No, sir! I won't do anything of the kind. I expect to have a trial." Simmons's manner seemed to "rile" Mr. Brown somewhat, and he replied, "I believe you are a thief, and I will take the chances and put you in." The prisoner was then taken to the door where Soule had met Dr. Doy. Mr. Brown got the keys and unlocked the oak and grated doors, and told Simmons to walk in, but Simmons, seeing the drawing of a human skeleton on the wall declared he would not go into such a place. Mr. Brown walked into the room evidently to give assurance to Mr. Simmons, when Mr. Gardner, not seeing Dr. Doy, and thinking that they might be going into a trap, said, "Brown, what has become of that old nigger-thief, Dow or Day, or some such name?" "Perhaps," said Brown, "you mean Dr. Doy; if so, he is here," and Doy immediately came to the door with his bundle. Then said Mr. Gardner, "This is but a ruse to take the Doctor home to his family." Mr. Brown made an effort to close the door and shut Doy in, but when he saw three powerful men with deadly weapons in their hands and determination on their faces, he saw that resistance was useless, and he permitted Doy to come out, and the remainder of the prisoners were coming too, had they not been forced back at the muzzle of a revolver—for Doy, at risk of his own life and of his friends', had been true to his failing (indiscretion), and told his fellow-prisoners that he was sure of being released that night, and they had their bundles ready to depart with him.

While this proceeding had been going on in the jail, the rest of our men had been on the alert, guarding against surprise from without. I had taken a position in the reception room as soon as Brown had opened the way to the prison, so that I could take cognizance of what was going on inside and out. There was a bed in the reception-room, occupied by a man named Slayback, a friend of the jailer, and who had been detained on account of the storm. When he heard me come in he became somewhat alarmed, but his fears were soon quieted when I told him I was one of the party who helped capture the horse-thief, and he said he thought we had done a good thing, to which I heartily assented. As soon as Brown came down with Dr. Doy and the other three men, Mr. Willes introduced him to me as their captain. I told him we had not time to stand on formalities, but that as soon as we had left the room he must put out the lights, lock his doors, and remain perfectly quiet until daylight, that I should leave a strong guard at the jail, and any attempt by him or any member of his family to leave the premises or to raise an alarm, would be done at the peril of their lives. Mr. Brown replied that this proceeding would place him in a very awkward and unpleasant position with his friends, and it would be difficult to satisfy them that he was not acting in collusion with Doy's rescuers. I replied, "In the morning you can publish a statement of this business as it appears to you, and fortunately you have a friend at hand who will corroborate your statement. When we get home we will publish a statement of the case just as it actually occurs, and we will exonerate you from intending to give us any assistance whatever;" and thanking him for his uniformly kind treatment of Dr. Doy, I took him by the hand, and again cautioning him to see that my injunctions were obeyed, I bade him good-night and we left the room, and the lights went out, showing that the first order had been obeyed. The guard that was left consisted of the jailer's fears.

A signal brought our party together, and we were on the way. The moon had risen, and although it was still cloudy, we could distinguish forms, and had no difficulty in seeing our way. We got into the business portion of the city, which was still lighted, just as the theater let out. We at once mixed up with the theater-goers, and worked our way toward our boats, and after we arrived within about 200 yards of the river, our party divided and part went to the lower boat, but Doy went with those who were to take the upper boat, and they were followed by two policemen with lanterns to the river, who held their

lights while one of the men bailed out the boat with his hat, and until the boats were pushed from the shore, into the strong current of the Missouri. We soon hauled our borrowed boats high and dry on the sandbar on the Kansas side, and (in our hearts) thanking the owners for their use, we hitched up our teams, and, with Dr. Stewart for our guide, at about twelve o'clock were on our winding way for Lawrence. Our guide stayed with us till about eight o'clock, and until he had procured for us of one of his friends a good breakfast and feed for our horses, which was fully appreciated. About ten o'clock in the morning we observed six horsemen coming about a mile in our rear, and when they got within a half-mile of us they continued about that far off. When we stopped for dinner at one o'clock they stopped also. Soon we observed a footman leaving said party, and when he arrived we interviewed him and satisfied ourselves that he was sent to ascertain if Doy was with us, as well as the strength of our party. As we were ready to start, the gentleman being on foot, we pressed him so hard to ride with us, that he could not refuse, and he continued with us till dark, when he was seated by the road-side, and one of our horsemen remained with him for a half-hour, and as he left, advised the gentleman not to follow our party. I suppose he acted upon the advice, as we never saw him afterwards.

About ten o'clock that night we found our way to a farm-house situated a little off from the road, near what was then known as Grasshopper Falls, owned and occupied by Rev. J. B. McAfee, now known as Hon. J. B. McAfee, present member of the Legislature from Shawnee county, at which place we were well fed and made very comfortable. Thinking that it was more than likely that the horseman who followed us would endeavor to get reinforced at Lecompton and try to recapture Dr. Doy, word was sent to Captain Jesse Newell, of Oskaloosa, to furnish an escort; and when we arrived at his place we found the Captain on hand with the following named officers of his rifle company, to wit: Jerome Hazen, First Lieutenant; J. L. Forbes, Second Lieutenant; John Newell, Gil. Towner, Robert Newell, James Monroe, Resolve Fuller, M. R. Dutton—privates, and eight or ten others. And without delay we passed on, most of the escort going to within a few miles of Lawrence, and the captain and a few of his men going the whole distance, where we arrived about six o'clock in the evening, and where we also found the streets lined with people, listening to the glowing accounts of the "Doy Rescue" published in the St. Joseph paper, which

had arrived about an hour before us, and which was the first intimation the public had that an attempt at rescue had been made.

And in closing this sketch it is but due for me to say, that all the members of this little band under my command and leadership, engaged in this dangerous enterprise, manifested a cool and daring courage, wise discretion, and determined zeal in the execution of every duty to which they were severally assigned; and it has ever been, and must ever be a consolation to each that in its execution no one, either friend or foe, was wronged or injured in person or property.

While it was my intention, in connection with this sketch, to have given a brief biography of the actors in said drama, the time to which I am limited compels me to only say, that all the members of said party, with the exception of Charles Doy, who died before the commencement of the war of the Rebellion, took an active and honorable part in the war, two having died in the service, four since the war, leaving but four now living.

4. *The U.G.R.R. in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas*

by Mrs. James B. Abbott

See Narrative 3 for an introduction to Major and Mrs. James B. Abbott.

We were living in our house on Coal Creek, in southern Douglas County. The house consisted of a basement and ground floor above. It was one of the underground railway stations. I had thin curtains at the basement windows, and outsiders could not distinguish anybody within when they were drawn, and any one desiring to enter the house through the basement was obliged to descend a few steps from the platform made by leveling the earth down at the back where it was thrown out in making the basement. We felt that the house had some peculiar advantages for a station. When slaves came, Mr. Abbott told me not to inquire from whence they came or whither they were going, for the less we knew about them, the easier it would be to answer the questions of the pursuers.

Some time in the fall of 1857 a stoutly built colored man of 23 or 24 came to the house. Amasa Soule's had been his last stopping place. Mr. Abbott was absent, so I kept him in the house. As I had a bad swelling under my arm, greatly hindering my housework, the boy helped me considerably, especially about cooking. I found he had cooked for the river steamboats, and was very skillful. He made delicious chicken broth with milk. It was my first knowledge that milk could be used as an ingredient in chicken soup. He was helping me in

Mrs. J. B. Abbott, "Some Underground Railway Stations," in *The Club Member*, Vol. 6, No. 7 (April 1908), pp. 30-32; Kansas State Historical Library, Topeka, Kansas.

dinner preparation when a loud knock was heard on the door. Two men were there on horseback. They wanted dinner. I told them I had nothing cooked up, and was not fit to do anything more than was absolutely necessary on account of my lame arm, and that my husband was away in Lawrence. I told them they could go to the next house and I could assure them that they could get their dinner there. They evidently didn't like it, and hung on. I finally closed the door and they went off.

The boy came up pretty soon exclaiming, "I am done now; they have a blood-hound." I told him to keep cool; that he should not be caught. The dog ran past the house and down into the timber. I went out and looked around. I could see two horses hitched up at the house above, and the men nowhere in sight. The axe was lying there and I told him to take it. He seemed uncertain of my meaning. I told him, "Now is your time. If that dog attacks you, knock him over with the axe. Don't make a mistake and allow him to get away. It is your only chance." He took the axe and started straight for the creek through the timber. I was all in a tremble. It was not but a little while when I heard the dog give a terrible yelp. I listened but heard no more.

I heard nothing further of the horsemen. They were apparently afraid, and left. The boy did not return until after dark. He said he was so trembly that he missed the dog the first stroke, but the second finished him. He went back to Father Soule's that night. The last that I heard from him he was up on the California road, bound for freedom.

John Brown, Jr., had an underground station at Palmyra, Santa Fe road, near Baldwin City. A man by the name of Jones, a settler living near, had two slave boys about eighteen years old. Brown told Jones that he would have to leave. Four or five of us went up on horseback to Jones's. Brown went to the door and called Jones out and told him that the people in the neighborhood believed he was a spy, and that they did not feel safe to have him live there and gave him until morning to pack up. He could take his teams, furniture, etc. The boys were told that if they preferred they could go with Jones, but if they stayed they would be protected. They went with Jones. I think this was some time in April, 1856.

Captain Brown, Jr., and his company were at Palmyra for a number of days and did some regulating during that time. On the 14th of May, 1856, he was arrested for bearing arms against the United States.

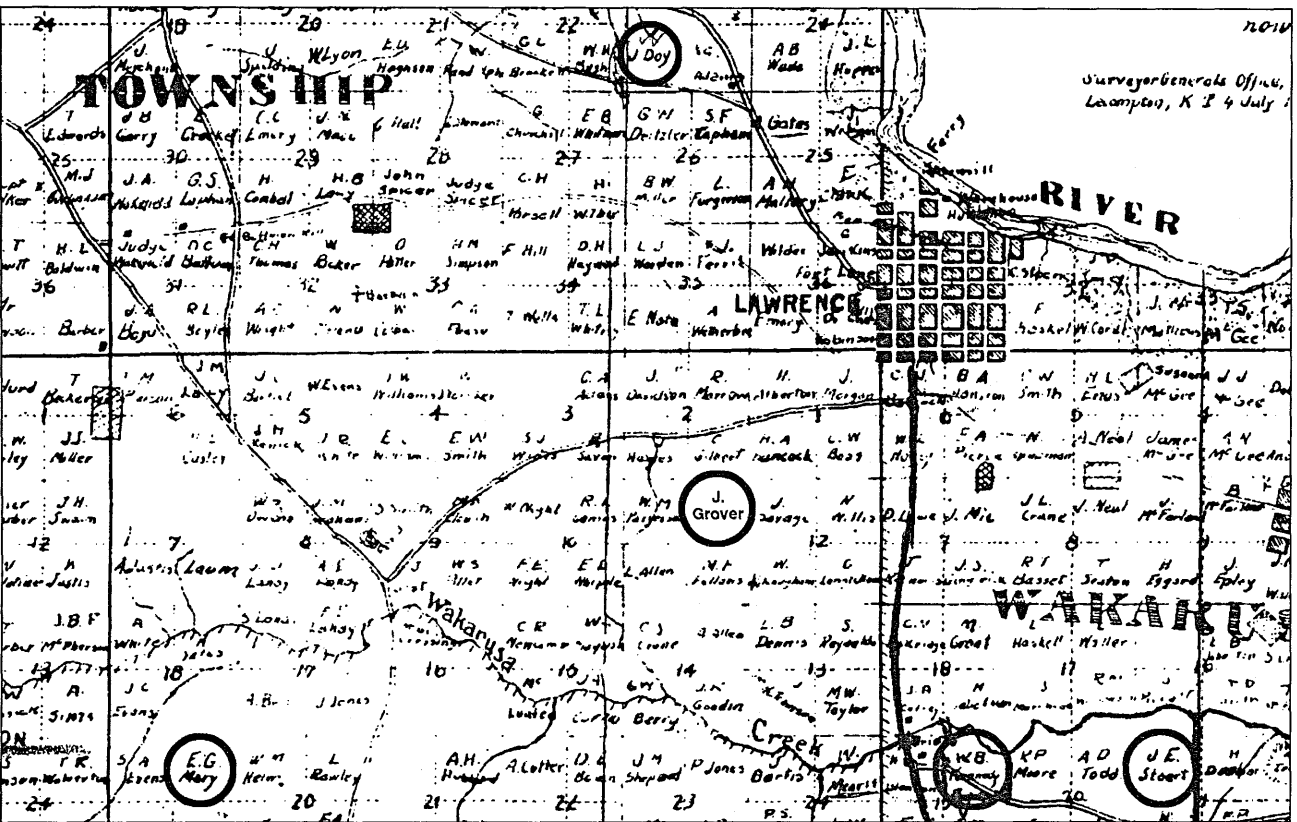
In 1858 James Fox, of Paris, on the Big Sugar [river], near what is now Mound City, had a grown slave to whom he offered his freedom and \$100 if he would dig a well and strike water on his farm. The black man dug a well and struck water at seventeen feet. His master took him to Judge Cato at Paris, and gave him papers manumiting him from responsibility for his actions, and gave him \$100, which he spent foolishly in Lawrence.

When we lived in Lawrence on Vermont Street, two boys about fourteen and eighteen years old came to us. They were real good looking mulattoes. We put them up in the front chamber. They stayed up there a couple of days. I took their meals to them. At the end of that time the youngest boy wanted to go out of doors. He did not like to have a white woman waiting on him. I told him I would rather wait on him a week than have him taken again, but he insisted, despite my protestations and the entreaties of the other boy, and would go down. They both came down and went out in the back yard. They lingered as though the sunshine and free air was so good, looked up at the sky and around in all directions. It seemed pitiful to see their desire for liberty.

As soon as the Major [James B. Abbott] came back I told him, and added, "They will be after them to-night."

He said, "Just as soon as it gets dusk I will start for the next stopping place." I think it was Joel Grover's [barn near Lawrence]. I got supper early. They muffled their heads, for a disguise. Mr. Abbott told them to stand up straight, and not to shrink when they passed any one. He talked to them about Lawrence folks, whenever he thought his words would be overheard. They got safely to their destination, and the Major returned.

The next morning one of the neighbor's girls ran in. It was Wilmarth's daughter, I think. She asked if we was sick. They had seen a lantern around our house the previous evening, and thought some one might have gone for the doctor. We were thankful that the boys had left the house before the spies thought they would venture forth, for evidently the lanterns meant we were watched. There were always persons hanging about Lawrence with an eye open to the interests of slave holders who paid well for the return of their human property.



Dated July 4, 1857, this is the earliest detailed map of Douglas County, Kansas Territory. It was drawn by J. Cooper Stuck, civil engineer. Among other features, it shows the towns and trails and gives the names of landowners in more than half of the county.

5. Recollections of the Underground Railroad

by Annie Soule Prentiss

Annie Soule Prentiss was the daughter of Amasa Soule, who was born at Woolwich, Maine, in 1804, and Sophia Lowe Soule. The family came to Kansas in 1854 and settled on a farm near Palmyra, south of Lawrence. Amasa Soule was an ardent abolitionist and admirer and relative of William Lloyd Garrison, for whom one of his sons was named. He and his sons—William Lloyd Garrison and Silas S.—were active in supporting the free-state cause.¹ On June 21, 1867, Annie Soule married Sylvester Bemis Prentiss, M.D., of Lawrence. He was born May 4, 1817, at Chester, Massachusetts. Prentiss was awarded a diploma in medicine at Norwich, New York, in 1844. His health failing, he moved with his family by a previous marriage to Jackson, Georgia, in 1846, where he soon secured a large practice. But his New England abolitionist beliefs clashed with the institution of slavery. With the opening of Kansas Territory, he came with his family to Lawrence in 1855 and settled on a quarter section of land near the town. Dr. Prentiss was an active free-state man. He was commissioned surgeon general of Kansas during the Territorial and Civil War years and was elected the first president of the Kansas Medical Society.²

Annie Soule Prentiss was interviewed in January 1929, by A. B. MacDonald, a journalist for the *Kansas City Star*. She recalled that before her marriage to Dr. Prentiss, "our house [on the Soule farm] was a station on the 'Underground Railway.' John Brown was often there.

A. B. MacDonald, interviewer and editor, "She Looks Back Seventy-Five Years to the Founding of Lawrence: The Life of Mrs. S. B. Prentiss . . .," *Kansas City Star*, January 13, 1929, Section C, p. 1.



Annie Soule Prentiss (second from right) was an ardent abolitionist and member of a family active in the Underground Railroad.

My brother Silas and Brown were close friends. Silas was out on many a foray with him. I recall well when Brown came to our cabin one night with thirteen slaves, men, women and children. He had run them away from Missouri. Brown left them with us. Father would always take in all the Negroes he could. Silas took the whole thirteen from our home eight miles to Mr. [Joel] Grover's stone barn two miles west of where the Haskell Indian school is now. The Negroes stayed there, hidden in the barn for several days, when a chance offered and they were taken still further toward freedom by another agent of the Underground. The old Grover barn is yet standing. I saw it recently. My brother Silas Soule was one of the so-called 'Immortal Ten' men who rescued Dr. John Doy from the prison in St. Joseph, Mo.

"Another exploit of Silas Soule was the attempted rescue of John Brown after Brown had failed at Harper's Ferry and was waiting to be hanged," said Mrs. Prentiss, O. E. Morse writes that Soule met with obstacles he could not overcome in his attempt to rescue John Brown from the prison in Charlestown, Virginia. The chief obstacle was that Brown refused to be rescued, saying "I am worth more to die than to live."³ (See Commentary, pp. 134–35.)

Sometime later Silas Soule went to Denver, Colorado "and was shot down in the street there while he was Provost Marshal of Colorado." (See also Commentary, p. 126.)

Endnotes

¹Russell K. Hickman, "A Little Satire on Emigrant Aid: Amasa Soule and the Descandum Kansas Improvement Company," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (November 1939), pp. 342–49. For the part played by Silas Soule in the rescue of Dr. John Doy, see "The Rescue of Dr. John Doy," by James B. Abbott, which is included in this reader.

²*The United States Biographical Dictionary. Kansas Volume* (Chicago, 1879). pp. 633–34.

³O. E. Morse, "An Attempted Rescue of John Brown from the Charlestown, Virginia Jail," *Kansas Historical Collections* (Topeka, Kans., 1904) Vol. VIII, pp. 213–26.

6. *The Fighting Preacher and the Runaway Slaves*

by Captain John E. Stewart

Captain John E. Stewart was a former Methodist minister who was commonly known in the border counties of Territorial Kansas as "the fighting preacher." As the leader of a group of Kansas Jayhawkers and a close associate of James Montgomery, he and his men spread terror among the proslavery settlers along the eastern border of Kansas in the late 1850s and drove them from the area. He lived with his family on a farm on the Wakarusa River to the south of Lawrence that contained a stockade and was a leading station on the Underground Railroad. He was a member of the group that rescued John Doy from the jail at St. Joseph, Missouri. During the Civil War he led a Union cavalry unit in military engagements in Missouri.

Thaddeus Hyatt was a wealthy New York merchant and abolitionist who supplied financial and moral support to free state leaders in Kansas.

Wakarusa [Douglas County, Kansas]
December 20, 1859

Thaddeus Hyatt Esq.

About two hours since I arrived at home after an absence of eight days, during which I have suffered more than I can describe to you.

John E. Stewart to Thaddeus Hyatt, December 20, 1859, *Stewart Papers, Hyatt Collection*, Manuscript Department, Kansas State Historical Library, Topeka, Kansas. Published by permission of Bob Knecht, assistant manuscripts curator, Manuscripts Department, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

My hands & cheek bones are destitute of skin, & what is worse I have only a few hours for rest to-day, as I must start on the road again at nightfall to seek a place of safety for two of my black brethren that I have brought thus far from the land of bondage. Since the rescue of [John] Doy, I have spent a great portion of my time in this way, & have brought away from Mo. [Missouri] fourteen, including one unbroken family, of which I feel rather proud, & very thankful that I have been able to do so much good for the oppressed. At some future time I will write you some extracts from my diary, which I think will interest you, for we have had many hairbreadth escapes, considerable fighting & some interesting conversations. (See Commentary, pp. 131–32.)

But my object in writing at this time is to obtain council [*sic.* counsel] & possible help, as I know you are well posted in these matters, & well acquainted with the most influential friends of Freedom.

We have two difficulties to contend with. First poverty; we have to find our own waggons & horses, pay our own traveling expenses &c. &c. & in many cases to find something for the slaves we rescue, who are nearly always destitute of everything. True we have friends here who lend a helping hand, but all we can get is but ill-sufficient to clothe & equip the fugitives. During my last trip, the only horse I had fit for such a trip, gave up the ghost, he was a good horse, & I have no doubt is gone to the land where all good horses go. But his loss will seriously hinder me in my future operations.

For I am in the habit of taking my team into Mo. [Missouri] under the pretense of buying something, say pigs, [illegible word], p[otatoes], &c., &c., get into conversation with some slaves, show them in the bottom of the wagon, give them some weapons to defend themselves with. And [illegible word] put it through for life, & sometimes our success depends upon the fleetness of our horses, sometimes on a steady hand, when the revolver cracks.

You know sir that my means are very limited, my family gets none of the luxuries, & but few of the comforts of this life, but they do not complain, & if you can get me a little of the needfull I promise you to spend it economically in bringing forward the irrepressible conflict.

Our second difficulty is, what to do with slaves when we get them; there is something wrong in Nebraska & Iowa. I am fearful that some have been captured there & sent back. Is there any organization that can be brought to bear so as to take charge of fugitives? Please write me all the information you can on this point as soon as possible. In the

mean time I will do all I can in this great cause, feeling satisfied that the day is not far distant when the final triumph of Freedom will be complete. I must conclude this with a remark my wife just now made, "What a wicked Institution Slavery is, says she, it makes us all wicked. I feel that I should like to burn every slaveholder up. I believe, husband, it would be right for you to shoot them."

Yours in the Irrepressible Conflict

John E. Stewart

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The following account of the methods used by Captain John E. Stewart to recruit slaves for the Underground Railroad is contained in an unidentified newspaper clipping filed in a folder labeled, "K. Lawrence History, Reminiscences," at the Lawrence Public Library, Lawrence, Kansas.

"You must have seen Captain's Stewart's cabin," said father. "He is called the "fighting Methodist," but has given up preaching to devote his time to helping runaway slaves in reaching Canada. Sometimes he disguises himself as a peddler, and in the night travels to Missouri in his lumber wagon. The next morning he conceals his horses and wagon in the woods and visits the slave quarters with his peddler's pack, but instead of selling goods, he soon begins talking of freedom and Canada. The next night he returns to his cabin with a number of contrabands in his wagon. They are quickly passed on to stations of the underground railroad in Lawrence, and further on till they reach Canada and freedom. Sometimes Captain Stewart conceals himself at the end of a field where a black man is plowing. While the man makes a pretense of clearing his plow, or adjusting the harness of his horses, Stewart plans with him to escape, and join him in the darkness of the following night.

"It is said that the planters of North Missouri have offered Quantrill a thousand dollars to capture Stewart, and bring him to them."

7. *Brief Report on a "Certain Railroad" in Lawrence, Kansas*

by Samuel F. Tappan

Samuel F. Tappan, who was a native of Massachusetts, was one of a party of thirty settlers who came to Kansas in 1854. Locating in Lawrence, he became the correspondent of the New York Tribune and the Boston Atlas, telling of the difficulties with the border ruffians. He was clerk of the Topeka Constitutional Convention and assistant clerk of the House of Representatives in 1856. In July of that year he went east and brought back by way of Iowa and Nebraska a quantity of arms and ammunition. He was secretary of the Leavenworth Constitutional Convention in 1858 and clerk of the Wyandotte Convention in 1859.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1823–1911), author and soldier, was born of Puritan stock in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Graduating from Harvard in 1841, he was a schoolmaster for two years, and a student of theology at the Harvard Divinity School. He had a stormy career as a Unitarian minister and was said to have been one of the angriest and most outspoken abolitionists in New England. He helped runaway slaves on the Underground Railroad. In the summer and fall of 1856 he visited Lawrence, Kansas. In the Civil War he was colonel of the First South Carolina Volunteers, one of the early regiments recruited from former slaves who served under white officers for the federal service. He described his experiences in Army Life in a Black

Ms. letter from Samuel F. Tappan to General Thomas W. Higginson in Worcester, Massachusetts, dated Lawrence, Kansas Territory, January 24, 1858, Tappan H-6d-1. Manuscript Microfilm No. 127, Kansas State Historical Library, Topeka, Kansas. Published by permission of Bob Knecht, assistant manuscripts curator, Manuscripts Department, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

Regiment. *After the Civil War he spent his life chiefly in literary work. He advocated equality of opportunity and equality of rights for the two sexes. (See Commentary, p. 158.)*

Lawrence, Kansas [Territory], Sunday, Jan. 24th 1858

Gen[eral] Thomas W. Higginson

My Dear Gen[eral],

I am happy to inform you that a certain Rail Road has been and is in full blast. Several persons have taken full advantage of it to visit their friends. Only one or two accidents have happened. Our funds in these hard times have nearly run out, and we need some help, for the present is attended with considerable expense. If you know of any one desirous of helping the cause, just mention our case to him, and ask him to communicate with Walter Oakley at Topeka, James Blood and myself at Lawrence, or Sam C. Smith at Quindaro.

Our friend A. A. Jamison is now in this city in attendance upon the Territorial Legislature, of which he is a member: he wishes to be remembered to you.

Did Parker Pillsbury ever publish his Lecture on the French Revolution. If so, I wish you would send me a copy.

Yours in haste,

Sam[uel] F. Tappan

8. *The Lawrence Depot of the Underground Railroad*

by John Bowles

Apart from his leadership in the Underground Railroad movement in Lawrence, Kansas, little is known about John Bowles. He is known to have served as an officer in a Kansas regiment in the Civil War, and he wrote and published a novel, The Stormy Petrel.

Franklin B. Sanborn, journalist and author, was born at Hampton, New Hampshire, on December 15, 1831. He graduated from Harvard in 1855 and the following year became secretary of the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee. Among other things, he helped John Brown raise money for his work in Kansas and was a lecturer at Cornell, Smith, and Wellesley Colleges and at the Concord School of Philosophy. He was author of biographies of Emerson, Thoreau, Alcott, Dr. S. G. Howe, Dr. Pliny Earle, and the Life and Letters of John Brown. Mr. Sanborn visited Kansas early in the twentieth century and his bust was displayed in the rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Lawrence, April 4th 1859

Mr. F. B. Sanbourne

At the suggestion of friend Judge [Martin F.] Conway I address you these few hastily written lines. I see I am expected to give you some information as to the present condition of the U.G.R.R. in Kansas or more particularly at the Lawrence depot. In order that you may

Letter from John Bowles to Franklin B. Sanborn, April 4, 1859, printed in Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1967 [1898]), pp. 347-50.

fully understand the present condition of affairs I shall ask your permission to relate a small bit of the early history of this, the only *paying* R.R. in Kansas.

Lawrence has been (from the first settlement of Kansas) known and cursed by all slave holders in and out of Mo. [Missouri] for being an abolition town. Missourians have a peculiar faculty for embracing every opportunity to denounce, curse and *blow* every thing they dislike. This peculiar faculty of theirs gave Lawrence great notoriety in Mo. especially among the negroes to whom the principal part of their denunciations were directed and on whom they were intended to have great effect. I have learned from negroes who were *emigrating* from Mo. that they never would have known anything about a land of freedom or that they had a friend in the world only from their master's continual abuse of the Lawrence abolit[ionist]s. Slaves are usually very cunning and believe about as much as they please of what the master is telling him (though of course he must affect to believe every word) knowing it is to the master's interest to keep him ignorant of every thing that would make him likely or even wish to be free.

One old fellow said "when he started to come to Lawrence he didn't know if all de peoples in disha town war debbils as ole massa had said or not, but dis he did know if he could get dar safe old massa was fraid to come arter him, and if dey all should prove to be bad as ole massa had said he could lib wid dem bout as well as at home." Some few of them were unavoidably taken back to Mo. after leaving here for Iowa. Many of them found an opportunity to make their escape and bring others with them and none ever failed to be a successful missionary in the cause, telling every one he had a chance to converse with of the land of freedom, and the friends he found in Lawrence. One man I know well who has been captured twice and was shot each time in resisting his captors (one of whom he killed) told me that he was confident he had assisted in the escape of no less than twenty five of his fellow beings, and that he had also given information or sown the seed that would make a hundred more free men. He is now with some others in or about Canada. The last and successful escape was made from western Texas where he was sent for safe keeping. You can see from the above why Lawrence has had more than would seem to be her share of this good work to do.

At first our means were limited and of course could not do much but then we were not so extensively known or patronized. As our

means increased we found a corresponding increase in opportunity for doing good to the white man as well as the black. Kansas has been preeminently a land of charity. The friends in the East have helped such objects liberally yet Kansas has had much to do for herself in that line. To give you an idea of what has been done by the people of this place in the U.G.R.R., I'll make a statement of the number of fugitives who have found assistance here. In the last four years I am personally known to [be cognizant of] the fact of nearly three hundred fugitives having passed through and received assistance from the abolitionists here at Lawrence. Thus you see we have been continually strained to meet the heavy demands that were almost daily made upon us to carry on this (not very) *gradual emancipation*.

I usually have assisted in collecting or begging money for the needy of either class. Many of the most zealous in the cause of humanity complained (as they had good cause to) that this heavy (and continually increasing) tax was interfering with their business to such a degree that they could not stand it longer and that other provisions must be made by which they would be relieved of a portion of a burden they had long bourn. This was about the state of affairs last Christmas when as you are aware the slaves have a few days holiday. Many of them chose this occasion to make a visit to Lawrence and during the week some twenty four came to our town, five or six of the number brought means to assist them on their journey. These were sent on, but the remainder must be kept until money could be raised to send them on. \$150 was the am[oun]t necessary to send them to a place of safety. Under the circumstances it necessarily took some time to raise that am't, and a great many persons had to be applied to. It was not enough that the sympathies and love for the cause of humanity was appealed to in order to raise money, many had to be argued with and shown that the cause was actually in a suffering condition and the fugitives were then in town and the number must also be known in order that the person might give liberally.

Lawrence like most all towns has her bad men, pimps and worst of all a few democrats, all of whom will do *anything* for money. Somewhere in the ranks of the intimate friends of the cause these traitors to God and humanity found a judas who for thirty pieces of silver did betray our cause. This was not suspected until after the capture of Dr Day [*sic. Doy*]. . . . Everything goes to prove that the capture of Day's

party was the work of a traitor who though suspected has not yet been fairly tried and *dealt* with as will be done as soon as Day is bailed out which will be done [in] a few days. (See Narrative 3, pp. 21–36.)



We would like . . . that you plead our cause with those of our friends who are disposed to censure us and convince them we are still worthy and in great need of their respect and cooperation. I am sorry to say (but tis true) that many of the most zealous in the cause of humanity have become somewhat discouraged by the hard times and the lamentable capture of Day and party and cannot be induced to take hold of it and lend a willing hand. Never the less the work has went slowly but surely on, until very recently. Those who have persevered like many others, have found *their* bottom dollar also of the money so generously contributed by persons of your notable society. This is partially owing to heavy expenses of the trial of Dr Day and son which has been principally borne by the society here and has amounted to near \$300. Now seems to be our dark day and we are casting about to see what can be done. We have some eight or ten fugitives now on hand who cannot be sent off until we get an addition to our financial department. This statement of facts has been made with a full knowledge of the many calls that is made upon your generosity in that quarter. Nothing shall be urged as an alternative for we feel confident the case here presented will meet with merited assistance, sympathy or advice, as you may deem best.

One word of old [John] Brown and his movement in the emancipation cause, and I will have done. I understand from some parties who have been corresponding with some persons in Boston and other places in behalf of our cause that we could and would receive material aid, only they are holding themselves in readiness to assist Brown. Such men I honor and they show themselves worthy of the highest regard, yet I assure them they do not understand Brown's plans for carrying out his cause. I have known Brown nearly four years, he is a bold, cool, calculating and far seeing man who is as conscientious as he is smart. He "knows the right and dare maintain it." I have talked confidentially with him on the subject. I know he expressed himself in this way as to the effects that he intended to make the master pay the

way of the slave to the land of freedom. That is, he intended to take property enough with the slaves to pay all expenses. So you see there is not fear of a large demand from that quarter. By no means would I be understood as counseling [*sic.*] not to assist him. No indeed if I counceled at all it would be to this effect, render him all the assistance he ever asks, for he is worthy and his cause is a good one. *Others* would have been with him only if they had all they could do in another quarter. I feel myself highly honored to be placed where I can with propriety communicate with a society whom I have only known to admire. Hoping what I have written (disconnectedly and badly written as it is) may be acceptable and that I may hear from you soon. I am very respectfully Your obedient servant, (See Narrative 11, pp. 77–88, and Commentary, pp. 130–36.)

J. Bowles, Lawrence

F. B. Sanbourn, Concord

9. *The Last Battle of the Border War*

by Theodore Gardner

Joseph Gardner, the father of Theodore Gardner, was born in July 1820 in Union County, Indiana. He came to Kansas in May 1855 and staked a claim on Washington Creek, near Lone Star in Douglas County. He was a member of the party that rescued Dr. John Doy and was involved in the abortive plot to rescue John Brown from the hangman after Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. Joseph Gardner was an ardent abolitionist and kept an Underground Railroad station on his farm in the years prior to the Civil War.

My first appearance in Baldwin, [Kansas], was in the summer of 1861, and the occasion was to act as guide and companion to my sister, who was an applicant for the position of teacher of the district school in our neighborhood on Washington Creek. The position required that she obtain a certificate from the county superintendent of public instruction, who at that time happened to be Dr. Werter R. Davis. Hence our visit to his office in Baldwin.

She passed a successful examination and taught the first school on Washington Creek, in a log cabin on the claim of D. E. Bowen.

I am here to-day at the special invitation of my old friend and comrade, John Walton, seconded by Charley Tucker, with both of whom you are all well acquainted. At the suggestion of Comrade Walton I have prepared a short address, giving some account of the

Theodore Gardner, "The Last Battle of the Border War, A Tragic Incident in the Early History of Douglas County" (a talk given in Baldwin, Kansas, on October 12, 1920), *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society 1919-1922*, (Topeka, Kansas, 1923), Vol. XV, pp. 548-52.

early-day experiences of the Gardner tribe in Douglas county, which I hope may be of some interest.

In preparing this paper I have made no attempt to expiate upon the relative merits of John Brown, Jim Lane, Governor Robinson, Jimmie Cox or Warren G. Harding, but rather to relate in a simple manner some incidents which affected me personally as a "Hoosier boy" on a Kansas claim in the fifties.

My father, Joseph Gardner, was descended from the original Gardner stock, which history says landed upon the shores of Nantucket island in 1620. They were English Quaker stock, and my father, who held to that faith, adhered to the antislavery wing of the church, and after reaching his majority became a great admirer of William Lloyd Garrison, and a strong abolitionist.

We were very poor, having no home of our own, my father maintaining his family by teaching in winter and working as a farm laborer in summer. When the Kansas-Nebraska bill passed in 1854 father began to think of the possibility of securing a home in the new territory; and when, in the fall of 1854, he received a letter from a relative who had already come to Kansas, his mind was fully made up, and in May of 1855, he came to Lawrence.

He staked a claim which is now designated on the records of Douglas county in the southeast quarter of section 30, township 13, range 19, near Lone Star. He did the necessary preliminary work on the claim that summer, and after a three-months' sojourn returned to Indiana. In the spring of 1856 he was again on the claim for another three months stay, and in February of 1857 he packed his goods, chattels and family consisting of a wife and five children, into a covered wagon and drove to Cincinnati, where he shipped on board the splendid new side-wheel steamer *Silver Heels*, bound for Kansas.

On our arrival at Cincinnati father made a tour of the wharf, inspecting a number of boats before deciding which one to select. Among the rest was a small boat called the *Chicken Thief*, which was loading for Lawrence, Kansas. However, after making an inspection of this boat and crew he concluded that should opportunity offer they might not stop at the theft of chickens, so he passed it by. And I want to relate here that one morning four weeks after our arrival in Kansas, while sitting at breakfast in our clapboard shanty on the claim, we heard a steam whistle, which excited our curiosity very much, since

steam boilers were a scarce commodity in this section at that time. It proved to be the *Chicken Thief*, just arrived at Lawrence.

At St. Louis we changed boats, taking the large side-wheel steamer *Omaha* for Leavenworth. The *Omaha* had in its cabin a fine silver water set, a present from the city of Omaha as a prize for being the first boat up in the spring in 1856. This spring she was straining every nerve to gain this prize for 1857. Her supremacy was being hotly contested by a stern-wheeler called the *Star of the West*. It was a fight to the finish, first one and then the other being ahead, but when we arrived at Leavenworth the *Star of the West* was not in sight. How the contest ended I am unable to state.



We arrived at Leavenworth March 5, having been fourteen days en route from Cincinnati. On the 6th we drove to Lawrence in a spring wagon; and as we drove along I remember asking my father how far Lawrence was from the Kansas river. I shall never forget his answer, which, although over half a century intervenes, is as bright in my memory as though but yesterday. He hesitated a moment as though giving the question careful consideration, and then replied, "It's about 23 inches."

We crossed the river on the "Baldwin ferry," landing at the foot of New Hampshire street, and drove out to the house of J. S. Morgan, where we spent our first night in Douglas county. His claim joined the present University campus on the south. The following day Eli Huddleston came with "old Buck and Bright" and drove us out to Bloomington to the house of Augustus Wattles, on Rock Creek, where we were to stay until our goods came from Leavenworth.

Somewhere in history we have read of "Spartan courage," but from my personal experience I think the early settlers of Kansas could have given the Spartans some points in the courage game. A man who could take his family and march out into a wild region 200 miles from a railroad, his entire property being one yoke of oxen, a rickety old wagon and \$135 in money, squat down in a clapboard shanty on 160 acres of raw prairie and start in to keep the wolf from the door, in my judgment possessed as fine courage as ever emanated from the breast of a Spartan. Yet that is just what my father did.

During the years from 1857 to 1862 the gaunt old grey wolves were always stalking around the house, and at one period in the summer of 1860 succeeded in entering and taking full possession. The last morsel of food had disappeared and the last "two bits" had been spent; so the writer went to Clinton and borrowed a half bushel of corn from David G. Peabody, which he got ground at the Clinton mill. This tided us over until we could get assistance from relatives in Indiana.



I now come to an incident which I label, "The Last Battle of the Border War"; and while my friend Secretary [William E.] Connelley of the State Historical Society has not placed his O.K. on it, I believe it to have been the last real battle fought in connection with the troubles over the slavery question in Douglas county. (See Commentary, pp. 144-45.)

As before stated, my father was an ardent abolitionist, and for years our cabin was a station on the "underground railroad." In the summer of 1860, matters had settled down on the border until my father threw off all pretense at secrecy, and when a couple of stalwart blacks from Jackson county, Missouri, came along he hired them and put them to work quarrying rock with which to fence our claim. By our proslavery neighbors—and we had several—this was considered a crime, and word was passed along that the Gardners were harboring "niggers". It took but a short time for the word to reach Lecompton. Soon we heard rumors of a raid being organized to capture the Negroes, and incidentally to secure father's head, for which the sheriff of Buchanan county, Missouri, had offered a reward of \$500, "dead or alive," on account of his participation in the Doy rescue from the St. Joseph jail in 1859.

Our home was a one-and-a-half story hewed log house, in which we felt we could stand a pretty successful siege against the firearms of that day, and we depended upon our two faithful dogs to act as sentinels. At 1:30 o'clock a. m. on June 9, 1860, our dogs raised the alarm. Father, mother, two children in a trundle-bed and one colored man on a pallet occupied the first floor, while four children, including the writer, and one colored man were upstairs.

At the first cry of the dogs father arose and started to investigate, and after taking a couple of steps he saw the forms of two men pass a

window. Retracing his steps, he snatched his revolver from the holster which hung by the belt on his bedpost, and with two bounds was at the door just as the men grasped the handle on the outside.

He inquired, "Who is there?" The answer came in a gruff voice, "Open the door, sir."

His next query was, "What do you want?"

He opened the door, and standing in the doorstep were two men with cocked revolvers in their hands ready for action. In less than one second he planted the muzzle of his navy [revolver] against the breast of the nearest one and fired. Stepping back instantly, he closed the door. The remaining ruffian squatted and fired through the door and the ball, trending up at an angle of forty-five degrees, lodged in the wall of the house. Opening the door wide enough to permit his hand to pass, father fired again. A second shot from the assassin was answered by father, which ended the first round of the fight.

Meanwhile your narrator was up at an open window, like the late Mr. Micawber, waiting for something to turn up. I soon discovered a man moving very slowly and acting as though he was badly wounded. After firing at him two or three times I called to father to come upstairs and take a crack at him, which he did; but mother discovering a man at a window, called to him to come back. As he reentered the lower room the man at the window fired a load of buckshot at him, just missing him by a few inches. This charge of shot lodged in the staircase, except a stray shot which entered a large trunk beneath the staircase and punctured a pint flask containing the last drop of rattlesnake antidote on the premises.

The following morning I noticed father gathering up sundry bits of paper from the floor in front of the above-mentioned window, for what purpose I did not at that time know. Later on when he had pasted them on a piece of cardboard in their regular order he had the name in a bold hand of "Hard Petreca, Lecompton, Kansas." I never knew what disposition was made of this envelope, but I would give a good deal to have it.

In the fall of 1859 there came to our house a stalwart black, a passenger via the "underground railroad," by the name of Napoleon Simpson, who had escaped from Jackson county, Missouri, and was bound for northern Iowa. He was given the usual assistance, passed on to the next station and forgotten. In May of the following year he turned up again, this time bound Missouri-ward. In his escape he had

left behind the wife whom he loved, and had returned for the purpose of liberating her and taking her where they could live a life of freedom from the lash of the overseer. He was given in charge of John E. Stewart, at that time owner of the claim on which now is located our county poor farm, who took him in a covered wagon and drove to the old home place in the dead of night, filled with high hopes for the future. Judge of his disappointment at finding his wife sick in bed and unable to travel. Sadly retracing his steps, he came again to our house to wait a couple of weeks when he would make a second attempt.

This man was one of those above mentioned whom father had hired to quarry rock. We had furnished him with a Sharps rifle and instructed him in its management. On the night of the attack he was up and in the game with alacrity, firing at each fleeing figure he could see. Finally, failing to discover anyone from the window, he opened the door and stepped boldly out upon the front step. He evidently saw the figure of a man, for he fired his rifle and was in the act of reloading it when an assassin hiding behind the well curb, ten feet distant, fired at him with a double-barreled shotgun loaded with buck-shot. He must have been standing in a stooping position for the purpose of getting an object between his line of sight and the horizon, for the shot struck him in the collar bone and ranged down to the point of the hip, literally riddling his left side. Turning, he fell upon his pallet, exclaiming, "Oh! I'm shot." Fifteen minutes later, when he was struggling for breath, father went to him and asked if there was anything he could do for him. He said, "Fight! Fight hard!" These were the last words of as brave a man as ever died battling for freedom and loved ones. (See Commentary, pp. 144-45.)

Some of you will remember that the summer of 1860 was noted as a dry one, yet on the night of the 9th of June there was a sharp shower of a few minutes duration. That fact would be a source of great consolation to the believer in "special providence." The gentlemen—God save the mark—who had attacked our house, firing indiscriminately into it through every opening, knowing there were innocent women and children inside, finding they could not dislodge us by gun-fire, essayed the torch. Securing a bunch of hay from the stack yard, they placed it against the corner of the house and attempted to light it, but the shower had so dampened their matches that they failed to ignite. I leave you to place your own estimate upon the character of men capable of such acts.



This is the Joseph Gardner cabin where Napoleon Simpson, the fugitive slave, was shot and killed by proslavery men.

Thus ended what I believe to have been the last battle of the border war.



On June 14, 1860, *The Republican*, Lawrence, Kansas, carried an article, "Horrible Murder! Midnight Attack on the House of Jos. Gardner." The text of the article reads as follows:

"On last Friday night, about midnight, the house of Mr. Joseph Gardner—one of the most respected citizens of this county, living on Washington Creek—was attacked by a gang of armed assassins, who attempted to enter the house and murder its inmates. Mr. Gardner and his family bravely defended themselves, and a colored man work-

ing for Mr. Gardner, named Napoleon Simpson, going to the door during the attack, was fatally wounded, so that he died in less than an hour. Volley after volley was fired in at the windows, and it was only by a miracle that more of the inmates were not murdered.

"Mr. Gardner is a quiet man, very highly esteemed by the community at large, and knows of no cause or enmity against him, except that he is a radical anti-slavery man, and never betrays the fleeing fugitive. It is supposed that the attack must have been made by a gang of wretches who are prowling about the Territory, stealing horses, kidnapping colored people, and committing like crimes. Those who think that the battle with the slave is fought and won, on the soil of Kansas, will see that it is only just begun!" (The editor of this reader is indebted to Mrs. Martha Parker for supplying him with a copy of this article.)



The following "Letter from Mr. Gardner" was printed in the *Lawrence Republican*, June 14, 1860:

"MR. EDITOR: In compliance with your request, to submit for the readers of your paper a statement, in connection with the testimony elicited at the coroner's inquest, held at my house, upon the dead body of Napoleon Simpson, as to the probable cause of such an attack, I say that I know of no cause, only that I have established the reputation of hostility to slavery. What have I ever done to warrant such conduct? The first thing that ever brought my name into public notice was my connection, in July last, with the rescue of Dr. Doy from his unjust imprisonment in St. Joseph, Mo. The circumstances connected with this case are too well known in this community to require recapitulation in this connection. In addition to this, I have, in connection with many others of our citizens, taken sides in the great dispute that is convulsing this nation from one extreme to the other. On one side we see the weak, the poor, the ignorant, contending for their liberty against the strong, the rich and powerful.—There comes to my door one of the former, asking for food and shelter and protection. My nature tells me to give him aid and comfort. If a man is passing my house with a thousand dollars in his pocket, and I know that a short distance beyond, a company of highwaymen are in ambush, intending to rob him of his treasure, it is my duty to inform him of his danger, and render

him assistance. All good men would hold me responsible if I did not. If, in place of the supposed treasure, the traveler has himself, as it were, in his pocket, and I know the hunters to be upon his track, it is my duty to put him upon his guard, and, in the same proportion as "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is more than the thousand so much more is the duty binding upon me to render him the necessary assistance. This proposition is so plain in my mind, that I know not how to attempt a demonstration. In fact, it is an axiom. And it is for holding these sentiments, and daring to express them, that I am thus hunted down by midnight assassins. I know this to be the case from the fact that men in this vicinity, who are on friendly terms with me on other matters, are giving encouragement to this movement.

One man, whom I helped to place in official position in this county, under the impression that he had a soul, now says that he has about as much respect for those men who made the attack upon my house as he has for me. Others have said that they wished it had been me, instead of Simpson, who got shot. And this is very evident, for he had been sold but a short time ago for \$1,500, to a slave trader who had bought him for a southern market. This is the reason why he left the home of his childhood. He had made his escape to a land of safety, but returned to rescue his wife and children from the prison house of slavery, thus establishing his bravery as well as his affection for his family. While he was lying upon my floor, weltering in his blood, I asked what I could do for him. The only reply he made was, "Fight! fight hard!" Talk about the expressions of great generals on the field of battle. A braver man never bled or died, nor fought in a better cause than that same Napoleon Simpson.

It is said by some of my neighbors that I can no longer live in this county. They mistake their man, if they suppose they can frighten me by any such threats. Never, while I have an existence on this earth, will I ask any man where I shall live, or what I shall say or do. I have a family, who are dependent upon my exertions, to a considerable extent, for the means of subsistence. While I am unmolested, their comfort is my only study. If the cause in which I feel so deep an interest has friends enough in this vicinity to sustain ourselves, joining hands with me for mutual protection and self-defense, it is all well enough. When you hear of this point being taken or surrendered, count me and many valued friends among those who have gone from works to rewards."

If this attack had endangered no one but myself, I should feel vastly different. But when it comes to discharging shot promiscuously into a house occupied by innocent women and harmless children, it is too much for our nature to withstand.

I may not live to see an end of American slavery, but while I do live, no man shall exceed me in hostility to that institution, only as he has the ability to hate with a more deadly hatred than is in my power to do. But I have said enough, and yet less would not seem to meet the case.

I have the honor to be

Yours for Freedom,

JOSEPH GARDNER

10. Lizzie and the Underground Railroad

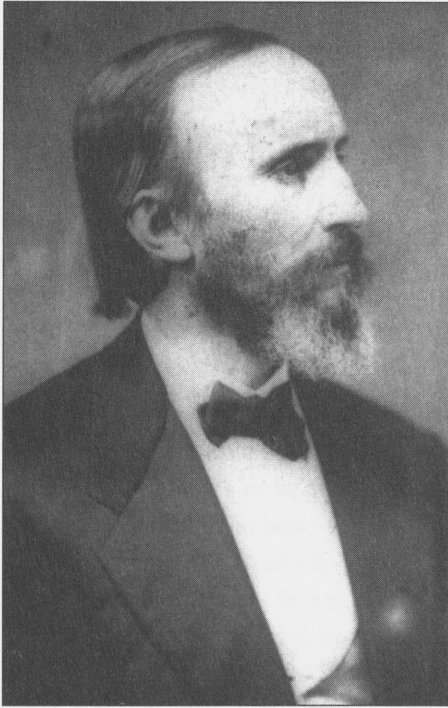
by Reverend Richard Cordley, D.D.

The Reverend Richard Cordley, D.D. (1829–1904), who was born in Nottingham, England, at the age of four came with his parents and siblings to the United States. The family settled in a wilderness area near Ann Arbor, Michigan, where his father and older brothers built a log cabin and cleared the land for farming. Richard attended local schools and later the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, where in 1854 he graduated with honors. Three years later he graduated from the Andover Theological Seminary in Andover, Massachusetts. In 1859 he married Mary Minta Cox, of Livingston County, Michigan, who, as the following narrative illustrates, proved a true helpmate. Their daughter, Maggie, who was married in 1881, died young, leaving two sons.

Doctor Cordley arrived in Lawrence during the struggle between the antislavery North and proslavery South for possession of Kansas Territory. He was one of the men marked for death by William Clarke Quantrill and his cohorts in their guerrilla raid on Lawrence on August 21, 1863. Cordley and his wife and daughter escaped; however, their house and all its contents were burned.

Cordley served as pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church in Lawrence for thirty-eight years, during which time he also wrote Kansas history. He was one of the founders of Washburn College of Topeka, was a devoted friend of the University of Kansas, and provided spiritual and intellectual leadership to his congregation, city, and state. In 1874 the University of Kansas conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Richard Cordley is the author of A History of Lawrence,

Richard Cordley, "Lizzie and the Underground Railroad," in *Pioneer Days in Kansas* (New York, The Pilgrim Press, 1903), pp. 122–36.



Reverend Richard Cordley, D.D., long-time Congregational minister of Lawrence, historian, and educator, was active, along with his wife, in the Underground Railroad.

Kansas from the First Settlement to the Close of the Rebellion (Lawrence, 1895); and Pioneer Days in Kansas (New York, 1903).

During the summer of 1859 we were living in a stone house just south of the city limits of Lawrence, before we had a home of our own. As the town then was, we were fully half a mile from any other house. There was in my church a family named Monteith. They were from McIndoe's Falls, Vermont, and the gentleman was a descendant of one of the Scotch families who early settled in northern New England. One of these Scotch colonies was near McIndoe's Falls. Mr. Monteith, by his sturdy independence and brusque and energetic ways would be known as a Scotchman anywhere, although American born. He was a man of education, large intelligence and considerable travel. He was quite prominent and influential in the councils of the Free State men. Like most of the early settlers he came to make Kansas a free state, and he proposed to stay and see it done. We soon became fast friends and our families were quite intimate. He lived on a farm,

or "claim," some two miles southwest of the Town, in the Wakarusa [river] bottom.

One day Monteith came to my house and said he wanted to talk over a little matter with me. "There is at my house a runaway slave, who has been here several months. She is a very likely young woman and has a great horror of being taken back to slavery. At the same time we do not like to send her to Canada until arrangements can be made for her. She would be entirely alone. So we have been keeping her here in Lawrence. She has been at my house for several weeks, and it is thought wisest to find another home for her. It is not best for her to be too long in one place. Would you take her into your house for a few weeks until other arrangements can be made?"

In my college days I had discussed the "Fugitive Slave Law" in Lyceum and elsewhere. I had denounced it as the outrage of outrages, as a natural outgrowth of the "sum of all villainies." I had burned with indignation when the law was passed in 1850. I had declared that if a poor wanderer ever came to my house, I should take him in and never ask whether he were a slave or not. It is easy to be brave a



Like her husband, Reverend Richard Cordley, Mary Minta Cox Cordley was born in Nottingham, England and emigrated to the United States. They were the parents of Maggie Cordley.

thousand miles away. But now I must face the question at short range. I had been quite familiar with the law, and its penalties came to mind very vividly just then. "For harboring a slave, six months imprisonment and \$1,000 fine." All this passed through my mind in rapid succession. It was the first time I had ever confronted the question except in theory. Theory and practice affect one very differently in a case like this. But I felt there was only one thing to do. So we told our friend to bring his charge to our house, and we would care for her as best we could.

The next day, therefore, "Lizzie" became an inmate of our house. She was about twenty-two years old, slightly built, and graceful in form and motion. She was quite dark, but the form of her features indicated some white blood. She was very quiet and modest and never obtruded herself upon any one. She had been thoroughly trained as a house servant, and we never have had more competent help than Lizzie proved to be. She insisted on doing the larger portion of the housework, and said the work of our little family was like play to her. She was a good cook and often surprised us by some dainty dish of her own. Our means did not allow a very elaborate table, but she knew how to make the most of everything. A simple but delicious cake which she made was known in our family and among our friends for years as "Lizzie cake." We did not wonder that her master set a high price on her, or that he was anxious to recover his "property." She did not complain of cruel treatment from her owners, but she had a great horror of going back. She would live anywhere or anyhow, and would work at anything, rather than go back to slavery. She fully understood the situation and the danger of being taken if her whereabouts became known. She kept herself out of sight as much as possible, and never showed herself out-of-doors or in the front part of the house when there was travel going by on the road. We became deeply interested in her and learned more and more to prize her. Our housework was never done more quietly or more efficiently. We came to look forward with dismay to the time when Lizzie must leave us.

In the autumn of the same year, 1859, the Monteiths moved into town, and it was thought best for Lizzie to return to them. We were reluctant to let her go, but we had no claim. Besides, she had been with us as long as it was wise for her to stay. We were in a lonely place, and it would not be difficult to kidnap her and take her off. By that time her being with us was very generally known. She went home

with the Monteiths, therefore, and remained with them until a change was made necessary by "circumstances over which they had no control."

About this time a young man called upon me and reported himself as a graduate of the last class in Andover Theological Seminary. He had come to Kansas in search of a field of labor. He was not particular as to the kind of a field. He only wanted a place where he could preach Christ and do good. His name was William Hayes Ward. His father was a Massachusetts pastor distinguished for his familiarity with the language of Scripture. It was said that in his father's house the Scriptures were read at morning worship in "seven different languages." They read in turn, and each member of the family read in a different tongue. However this may be, this son was one of the best scholars Andover ever sent out. For many years he has been the well-known editor of the *New York Independent*, and one of the best editors in the land. He had devoted himself to the foreign field, but his wife's health was so delicate that it was not deemed wise for them to go abroad. So he had come to find a home missionary field in Kansas. After some investigation and consultation he had selected Oskaloosa as his field. There was no church yet formed at that place, but a number of people were anxious to have one, and he had consented to help them in the enterprise. He remained there as long as the failing health of his wife would permit. He was a man of infinite energy. On one occasion, needing some delicacies for his sick wife, he walked to Lawrence, twenty-four miles, to procure them. He took dinner with us, and then announced his intention of returning home the same afternoon. About three o'clock he started back and reached home about midnight, having walked forty-eight miles since morning.

It was late in the autumn when he went to his field, and he and Mrs. Ward were making a final visit at our house before leaving town. We were enjoying very much a day or two with them. One very cold afternoon during this time, there came a sharp rap at the door. I opened it and two gentlemen stood there, wrapped in heavy fur overcoats. They were so bundled up that I did not recognize them, but I bade them enter. When they had come in and thrown back their wraps a little, we saw that one was our old friend Monteith and the other was Lizzie. We knew their coming in this way was not a joke, so we waited in silence for an explanation. Monteith then told us: "Lizzie's master has found out where she is. He is determined to take her back at any

cost. He proposes to make a test case of it and show that a slave can be taken out of Lawrence, and returned to slavery. A large sum of money is offered for her recovery, and the United States marshal is here with his posse to take her at all hazards. They found where Lizzie was this morning and have been shadowing my house all day. Not a movement could be made about our house without their knowledge. Lizzie could not get away without being seen. Their plan seems to be to watch the house all day and be sure she does not leave it, and then at night come and take her, and rush her away, before any alarm can be given. We determined to foil them. So Lizzie put on that overcoat of mine and drew the cap down over her head, and we walked out together as two gentlemen. We went to town, and then we turned south and came down here. When I go back they will think my companion stayed over in town. Now, we want Lizzie to stay here till night. About ten o'clock a team will come for her and take her into the country to a place of safety."

After answering a few questions, Monteith left us. We looked at each other in silence for a moment, and then came the thought, "What shall we do?" I had little hope that her new hiding-place would not be known. The United States marshal was a man of experience and of determined purpose. He knew what he had come for, and every motive prompted him to persevere. He had assistants with him who understood their business. It was not likely that they would be deceived by the ruse we were attempting to practice. As night came on we were confronted by the probability that Lizzie's pursuers would come before her rescuers arrived. If they did, then what should we do? What could we do? To give her up to them was not to be thought of, but how to prevent their taking her was a serious question. It would be folly to resist by force. There were no arms in the house, and if there had been we should not have used them. These were officers of the law and resistance would be madness. Could we in any way save Lizzie from them if they should come? Of course, they would search the house. The ladies, Mrs. Ward and Mrs. Cordley, hit upon a plan to which we all assented. As has been said, Mrs. Ward was an invalid very slight of figure and pale of feature. She was to retire immediately after tea. Her room was the front chamber. The bed consisted of a mattress with a light feather bed spread over it. Mrs. Ward was to play the sick lady. She was so pale and slight that this was not a difficult part for her. Mrs. Cordley was to play the part of nurse, and was

to be sitting by the bed. A stand at the bedside with bottles and spoons and glasses completed the picture of the sick-room. In case of alarm Lizzie was to crawl in between the mattress and the feather bed and remain quiet there till the danger was passed. Lizzie assented to the plan with great readiness. "I will make myself just as small as ever I can, and I will lie as still can be." Then she turned to Mrs. Ward and said: "You need not be afraid of lying right on me with all your might. You are such a little body you could not hurt any one." If the officers came they were to be told to look for themselves. The house would be thrown open to them. The illusion of the sick-room was so complete and natural that we felt a perfect assurance that they would not disturb a lady as sick as Mrs. Ward would be by that time.

The women remained up-stairs during the evening. Mrs. Ward retired according to program, and the bed was made ready for the "second act." Lizzie kept herself in the shade, so that her form might not be observed through the windows. Ward and I sat in the parlor, talking of everything on earth and elsewhere, but thinking of just one thing, and listening for the sound of wheels. The night was dark and cloudy and biting cold. We never realized before how long the evenings were at this season of the year. The question which puzzled us was: "Which will come first, friend or foe?" Every noise we heard we fancied was one or the other. About ten o'clock, the time set for the rescue, we heard a carriage coming up the road. It might be simply going by. As it came to the gate it turned in and drove up to the door and stopped. We waited in silence, expecting a knock at the door. We wondered which it was and how many there were. There was dead silence. No one seemed to be coming to the house. What were they doing? What were they going to do? Who were they? After a few moments of absolute silence, the carriage moved on, drove by the house, and turned around. It then passed out of the gate and down the road the way it came. It was a greater mystery than ever. What did they come for and why did they go away? After a while we came to the conclusion that it must have been a part of the marshal's posse and that they had come to take Lizzie. Seeing the house lighted up-stairs and down, they supposed we were prepared for them and did not dare come in. We felt sure they would come again soon with a larger force. Where were Monteith and his friends all this while? It was now nearly eleven o'clock and they were to come at ten. Had the officers intercepted them? We could only wait and see. The moments

dragged very slowly, as they always do when you want them to hurry. Eleven o'clock passed and then twelve, and still no relief and no sound. About half past twelve we again heard the sound of wheels coming up the road. It was not likely that any travelers would be going by at this time of night. Again the question came, which will it be, friend or foe? It was a wagon this time. This was favorable. The rescuers expected to come with a large immigrant wagon. Still, the pursuers might do the same. The wagon turned in at the gate as the carriage had done before. It came to the door and stopped. There was a moment of silence and painful suspense. Then there was a soft tap at the door. I opened it and a whisper came out of the darkness: "All ready." It was Monteith. The word was passed up-stairs, and in a very few minutes Lizzie came down warmly wrapped up for the cold night's journey. It was very dark and we could scarcely see the team and could not at all distinguish the faces of our friends. Monteith's voice was sufficient to assure us of their genuineness. We could see that they had a large covered wagon and that the ride would be made as comfortable as possible. Lizzie was only too glad to escape the terrible doom which had threatened her. There were no parting ceremonies and no long farewells. The wagon was in motion almost before we realized that it had come. All the while we were listening for the sound of wheels or hoofs. A few minutes' delay might defeat the whole plan. I presume it was not more than ten minutes from the time they stopped till they were all on their way and moving off into the night. We stood at the door and listened until the sound of the wheels died away in the distance, and then we went in with a wonderful sense of relief after the strain and excitement of the day and the night. Sometime in the "small hours" we retired to enjoy "the sleep of the just" for a little while. In the morning we were all glad to see that Mrs. Ward had so far recovered from her sudden illness as to be down to breakfast.

We never knew where Lizzie's rescuers went, and did not inquire. It is often just as well not to know too much. We did not know where they took her that night, only that she was safe. We were told afterwards that the wagon was followed by a number of armed horsemen for several miles; but they made no attack. They were wise enough to practice the "better part of valor." The wagon and its company were not molested and reached their destination in safety.

We learned still later that Lizzie, after being cared for in Kansas for a few months, was taken to Canada, where she found friends and

a comfortable home. Beyond that we never heard. The war soon after broke out and other stirring events occupied our attention.

This was the first and only time I ever came in personal contact with the Underground Railroad. It is the only time I ever had any personal knowledge of its operations. I have sometimes wondered how it was I did not oftener know something of movements of this kind, but I presume those engaged in them never cared to have any more persons in the secret than was necessary. So far as I know very few Kansas people ever enticed slaves away or incited them to escape. But when one did escape and came to their door, there were not many who would refuse him a meal or a helping hand. A slave escaping across the line was sure to find friends, and was sure not to be betrayed into the hands of his pursuers. It was said that the line of the Underground Railroad ran directly through Lawrence and Topeka, then through Nebraska and Iowa. This roundabout way was the shortest cut to the north pole. Every slave for a hundred miles knew the way, knew the stations and knew their friends. I have been told by those who ought to know, that not less than one hundred thousand dollars' worth of slaves passed through Lawrence on their way to liberty during the territorial period. Most of this travel passed over the line so quietly that very few people knew about it.

Addendum

In his *History of Lawrence* (pp. 164, 186–89), Richard Cordley wrote that Lizzie had been a slave in one of the border towns across the Missouri river. She belonged to a prominent citizen, a man of means and good political standing who stood high in proslavery circles. As a house servant, Lizzie had gained a good deal of knowledge from coming in contact with the family and friends of her master. She said her master's home was a common resort for the guerrilla bands in that region, for whom she frequently cooked and served large quantities of food. They met at night to talk over matters and make plans. She passed in and out of the meeting room with perfect freedom and overheard them talking of Lawrence and planning for its destruction. Lizzie warned Cordley and his wife "that the bushwhackers were surely coming, and the people were very foolish not to be prepared for them."

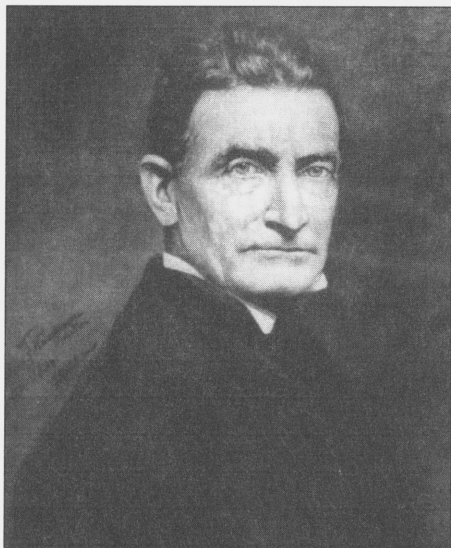
11. John Brown and the Rescue of Missouri Slaves

by Richard J. Hinton and George B. Gill

John Brown (1800–1859), the fanatical abolitionist and leader of the famous attack on Harper’s Ferry in 1859, was closely associated with the free-state struggle against proslavery forces in Kansas Territory before the Civil War. Following in his New England father’s footsteps, he swore eternal war on slavery at an early age. John Brown came to Kansas in 1854 and settled near Osawatomie. Father and sons were mustered into the Free-State Militia and took part in the battles of Black Jack and Osawatomie and the Pottawatomie Massacre. From October of 1856 to June 1858, John Brown waged his crusade against slavery chiefly in the East and Canada, making only infrequent visits to Kansas. On his return he took part in the border troubles near Fort Scott, and on December 20, 1858, he made his famous raid into Missouri and brought out eleven slaves. This was not his first Underground Railroad venture. Writing to Thomas Wentworth Higginson on February 12, 1858, Brown said, “Railroad business on a somewhat extended scale is the identical object for which I am trying to get means. I have been connected with that business, as commonly conducted, from my boyhood, and never let an opportunity slip.” Source: F. B. Sanborn, ed., The Life and Letters of John Brown (New York, 1885), pp. 10–15, 34–49, 436.

Richard Josiah Hinton (1830–1901), who was born in England and emigrated to America, was a correspondent in Kansas Territory for leading newspapers in the East. He was closely associated with John

Richard J. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men, With Some Account of the Roads They Traveled to Reach Harper’s Ferry* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1894), pp. 217–28.



John Brown was a free-state military leader in Kansas and a conductor on the Underground Railroad. He became a legendary figure before leaving Kansas for Harper's Ferry in 1859.

Brown in the crusade against slavery and was the author of John Brown and his Men.

George B. Gill was another close associate of John Brown. In May 1858 he accompanied Brown to Chatham, Ontario, Canada, the refuge of fugitive slaves, and was elected Secretary of the Treasury in Brown's "Provisional Constitution" for the Antislavery Government of the United States. Gill was Brown's principal leader in guiding and guarding the fugitives who were taken from Missouri through Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa until illness forced him to leave the party at West Liberty, Iowa. He wrote the most complete account of the journey.

For some days there was a lull, and then came a startling event, which I [Richard J. Hinton] shall leave one of the principal actors therein, George B. Gill, to describe. In letters to me, recently revised, he says:

"We occupied a log building on a claim owned by [James] Montgomery's mother-in-law on the Little Sugar creek, and but a short distance from his own dwelling. Our family consisted of Brown, [John Henry] Kagi, [C. P.] Tidd, and [Aaron D.] Stevens—Montgomery was with us occasionally at night. We threw up some earth as a barricade on the outside, and made a few concealed loopholes between the logs

in the house and called it a fort. On the 15th of November Montgomery, with his friends, our little company included, visited Paris, the county seat of Linn, in search of a supposed indictment said to have been found by the Grand Jury. Brown accompanied us to the outskirts of the town, saying that he would hold himself in readiness if needed. Later, Captain Brown, accompanied by myself, visited Osawatomie. We returned December 1st. During our absence a demonstration was made against our fort by Mound City parties. This demonstration emanated from a public meeting held for the avowed purpose of creating sentiment against Montgomery. On the 16th of December Montgomery invaded Fort Scott and released Ben Rice, in which melee a deputy United States marshal, J. Blake Little, was killed. Brown's party participated, but Brown himself remained at the Little Sugar creek rendezvous.

"Returning from Fort Scott, we stopped at a settlement on the Little Osage. With the exception of Jerry Anderson, I only remember the names of two of the residents of that locality. One was Captain Bain, the other was a brother of Jerry Anderson. On the Sunday following the expedition to Fort Scott, I was scouting down the line, I ran across a colored man, whose ostensible purpose was the selling of brooms. He soon solved the problem as to the propriety of making a confidant of me, and I found that his name was Jim Daniels; that his wife, self, and babies belonged to an estate, and were to be sold at an administrator's sale in the immediate future. His present business was not the selling of brooms particularly, but to find help to get himself, family, and a few friends in the vicinity away from these threatened conditions. Daniels was a fine-looking mulatto. I immediately hunted up Brown, and it was soon arranged to go the following night and give what assistance we could. I am sure that Brown, in his mind, was just then waiting for something to turn up; or, in his way of thinking, was expecting or hoping that God would provide him a basis of action. When this came, he hailed it as heaven-sent. (See Commentary, pp. 132-36.)

"Arrangements were made for Brown and his party to visit Hicklan's (the name of Daniel's owner) and others on the north side of the Little Osage [River], Missouri, while Stevens was to take a small party and bring in one or more applicants from the south side. Brown's party numbered about a dozen. Doctor, afterwards Colonel, [Charles R.] Jennison, "Pickles," a reckless young fellow of the section, and a

couple of Dr. Ayres's sons, being among the number. J. G. Anderson (killed at Harper's Ferry) was also with Brown. Stevens was accompanied by Tidd, [Albert] Hazlett, and others, to the number of eight. On the night of the 20th of December we wended our way slowly down into Missouri, first stopping at Hicklan's, with whom Daniels and family were staying. Hicklan, I think, had an interest in the estate, his wife being one of the heirs, but they were living on the farm at this time, simply as tenants. It required a nice discrimination to tell his individual property from that belonging to the estate. All of the personal property belonging to the estate that he could find, Brown intended to take as being owned by the slaves, having surely been bought with their labor. In his view, they were entitled to all the proceeds of their labor. He would have taken the real estate as well if he had the facilities for moving it across the country to Canada. He reasoned that they, the slaves, were the creators of the whole, and were entitled to it, not only as their own, but from necessity, for they must have a conveyance and also something to dispose of in order to raise funds to defray the expenses of the long overland trip. Captain Brown had no means of his own to do this for them.

"Daniels was intrusted with the arrangements on the outside, as he was apparently the soul of honor, and a good friend of Hicklan, who, I believe, was a very fair man and, perhaps a very good one. Daniels was very careful that nothing belonging to Hicklan should be taken or interfered with. It was also Brown's intention that nothing, if possible, should be touched that did not in his estimation belong to the slaves.

"I was intrusted with this matter in the house, and I then declared that Hicklan's effects should not be touched. I soon discovered that watches and other articles were being taken by unscrupulous members of our party. Brown caused an immediate disgorge. Hicklan himself was consulted as to what property belonged to him and what belonged to the estate; his word being invariably relied upon. If he had any property taken it was by some sneak thief in defiance of the most explicit orders and our utmost care. The party was hastily gathered and the selections were not perfect.

"From the Lawrence estate were taken Daniel's wife, with their two children and two other chattels; also a yoke of cattle, two horses, a large old Conestoga wagon, beds and bedding, with clothes and personal effects.

"From Hicklan's we went direct to LaRue's, whose house was surrounded. We found them in bed and asleep. The old man being awakened with the usual 'Hallo'; which, when replied to by 'What's wanted,' was answered by the old Captain stating the business thus tersely: 'We have come after your negroes and their property; will you surrender or fight?'"

"I think they had been rather looking for such a company and were prepared to receive us, as we found in a few minutes that there were several men inside with plenty of arms. The immediate reply was 'We'll fight.' 'All right,' said Captain Brown, 'we'll smoke you out, then.'

"This would have been attempted forthwith, as there was plenty of fire in the negro quarters, had they not very quickly reconsidered their decision and surrendered. From this place was taken five more negroes, some clothing, bedding, and other personal effects, another yoke of cattle, wagon and several horses. The horses taken from LaRue's were probably never seen by Brown. He heard of them afterwards, no doubt, but that would be about all. Jennison undoubtedly rode one of them away. Two or three of the white men were carried with us several miles into Kansas and then released, with the suggestion from Brown that 'You can follow us just as soon as you like.' One of them remarked in reply, 'I'll follow home; that is just about what I'll do.' It was a very cold night, but to our contrabands the conditions produced a genial warmth not indorsed by the thermometer. One of the women pitied 'poor marsa! he's in a bad fix; hogs not killed, corn not shucked, and niggers all gone.' One, who was driving the oxen, inquired the distance to Canada. He was told that it was only about fifteen hundred miles. 'Oh, golly; we 'uns never get dar before spring!' he exclaimed as he brought the whip down on the oxen, shouting 'Git up dar, buck; bung along!' Daniels himself was very thoughtful, realizing to the fullest extent the dangers of the situation. The others seemed to have implicit confidence in their protectors.

"On meeting the other party in the morning we learned that they had succeeded in getting the contraband 'Jane' that they had gone after, and that Stevens, much to Brown's sorrow, had killed Mr. Cruise, the so-called owner of Jane. The incident was told to me by several of the party immediately after. They gained access to Cruise's house by representing themselves to be pro-slavery friends. After gaining entrance Stevens informed them of their business, and demanded his



John Brown and his sons spent some time with Rev. Samuel Adair and his wife in their cabin at Osawatomie, Kansas Territory. Adair's wife Florilla was Brown's half-sister.

surrender, when he attempted to draw a revolver, which was conveniently near. One of his children had been playing with a ribbon or string and had created an obstruction, or an entanglement, which gave Stevens an advantage and he saved himself by killing Cruise at the first shot. I had no personal knowledge of Cruise, but he was represented as one of the most active enemies of the free-state cause, and as having accumulated much property through raids into Kansas. As reported, he was absolutely notorious. His wife was seemingly not much surprised, for she said that she had often told him that if he didn't behave himself he would get killed sooner or later. (See Commentary, pp. 124–25.)

“The negroes were taken first to Augustus Wattles’s, from there to [Richard] Mendenhall’s and [Samuel] Adair’s, close to Osawatomie, but were finally landed in some cabins, close to Garnett, under the care of Doctor (afterwards Major-General) James G. Blount [*sic*. Blunt]. We then returned to Captain Bain’s, and in anticipation of being hunted by the Missourians, Captain Brown commenced a system of earthworks in a naturally inaccessible position on the Little Osage, close to Bain’s house. The position, properly defended, would have been well-nigh impregnable, and could have been held by a handful against a small army, without artillery. Rumors of all kinds were thick and warlike, and, while waiting for the Missourians, a friendly mes-

senger from higher up the Osage reached our camp in the night with the information that the conservative free-state men, under a prominent local leader, were organizing to either kill Captain Brown or hand him over to the Missourians. The State authorities there had by this time offered a reward for him and his men.

"Brown, in the estimation of these free-state men, had exceeded his privileges by invading Missouri and interfering with the divine institution of slavery. Their code confined all their motions to the defensive. Missouri might invade Kansas, but Kansas must not invade Missouri; pro-slavery men might cross the line and steal from, harass, or murder free-state settlers, yet free-state men must not retaliate by crossing the line, and must be very careful not to insult the slave interest. Neither Missourians nor 'conservative' free-state men, however, came to trouble us. The company up the Osage discovered that another company had formed in the rear, which would have given them especial attention had they moved towards us. Besides, Montgomery was still a power behind the throne; apparently out of the arena, yet ready in case of need to give Brown his active support. Brown at this time wrote his famous parallels, and was exceedingly anxious to move north at the safest time for traveling with the colored people. It was found impossible to move them, in consideration of Daniel's wife, she having given birth to a boy, who was christened 'John Brown' Daniels. Dr. Blount, who had attended her, began to grow weary under the care, and sent a messenger to have them moved as soon as possible.

"It must have been on or about the 20th of January, 1859, that we left Garnett. Captain Brown and myself were alone with the colored folks."

[The following was written by Richard J. Hinton:] "Mr. Gill then mentions Ottawa Jones's, Brown's Indian friend, Major [James B.] Abbott's, and a Mr. [Joel] Grover's, near Lawrence, as some of their stopping-places. From Grover's point John Brown visited Lawrence, sold the oxen, which were probably butchered there, and hired a team or two to help the party through as far as Tabor [Iowa], one of the teams eventually going as far as Springdale, Iowa. At Lawrence the old man arranged his finances, mostly from the sale of the cattle however. It was at this time that Captain Brown had his last interview, and

most remarkable interview, with William A. Phillips. (See the appendix to Hinton's book, pp. 680–82.)

"The colored folks cooked," continues Mr. Gill, "a supply of provisions, mostly obtained through the generosity of the Grovers and Abbotts. I remained with the colored folks while Brown attended to his business in town. We left Grover's on the evening of the 28th of January, I still being guide and guard, riding a fine stallion, which Brown had given Hazlett a forty acre land warrant for. The land warrant Gerrit Smith had sent Brown, and the stallion Hazlett had picked up down in Missouri. Brown afterwards sold it at auction, in Cleveland, Ohio.

"About midnight, and somewhere opposite Lecompton, on our way to Topeka, I noticed men behind a fence. Of course I could not tell how many. Going to the wagon in which the old man rode, I acquainted him with the fact. He was dozing when I spoke, but my news woke him up. He told me to keep a good lookout. No one troubled us however, but I found out afterwards from some prisoners we took at Holton, that they had actually ambushed us, but could not conceive of ours being the outfit that they were looking for, until it was too late, no oxen, no guards, or if there were guards they were behind and of an unknown quantity, and it might be unsafe to stop us, or it might be a strategic movement of some kind to take them in. They waited to see and missed us.

"At Topeka, [Aaron D.] Stevens joined us, and I stopped to rest with John Ritchie. On the 29th the fugitives passed through and were stopped a little north of Holton, on what was then known as Spring Creek. A messenger was hurried back by Mr. Wasson, living there, to Topeka, and Col. Ritchie quickly raised a force, reaching Holton in the afternoon of the 31st. We found Brown and Stevens with the colored folks and teamsters in log houses with one prisoner. We immediately organized and advanced towards the ford or crossing which was in possession of the supposed posse who were drilling on its banks. The stream was very high and almost unfordable. We succeeded in crossing, however, and taking several prisoners without any one getting hurt. This was known as the Battle of the Spurs. The prisoners we kept a day or two and then allowed them to go home on foot. It was these prisoners that it was reported were made by Brown to kneel and pray. There was no truth in this whatsoever, as I guarded the prisoners myself. One of the prisoners, to show his bravado, commenced to

swear as only a first-class expert could do. The old man hearing him said, 'Tut, tut, you are not doing right, for if there is a God, it is wrong to speak His name in that way; if there is none it is certainly very foolish.'

"One of our boys also undertook to show his bravery by abusing the prisoners. The Captain read him a lecture on the cowardice of insulting a man unable to defend himself. Some of the Topeka party accompanied us to Tabor, Iowa. We understood at this time that troops were in our rear in Kansas, and that there probably would be squads of armed and organized parties to either kill, arrest, or otherwise retard our advance. We stopped over night at a Nebraska Indian settlement (the Otoes), and slept in their houses. In the morning the [Missouri] river had risen, and the ice floated free from each shore. We felled trees and bridged from the shore to the ice, drawing our wagons over by hand and leading the horses. Previous to passing through Nebraska City, I had, in consequence of the cold, walked behind the train. Being in quite a crippled condition, I got some distance behind; or it is possible that the drivers were hurrying up, as it was growing dark. At any rate, I found myself intercepted by three scouts. In my efforts to throw them off, I claimed to be traveling south, which I succeeded in doing, but it delayed my getting into the city until about ten o'clock. Our folks had then crossed on the ice and passed on. I stopped overnight with Kagi's brother-in-law, Mr. Mayhew, but had some difficulty in finding him, having had to inquire some. A letter from there, shortly afterwards stated that I had not been gone the next morning more than fifteen minutes, before the house was surrounded by about fifty men, being a marshal's posse in search of us.

"Arriving at Dr. Blanchard's, midway, perhaps, between Nebraska City, at which place Brown and party had stopped, I found that the posse had preceded me, and searched thoroughly, even moving book-cases and cupboards out from the wall, to see that there were no secret recesses to hold underground travelers. How I missed coming into contact with them, or how Brown's party missed them, can only be accounted for on the supposition that different roads were traveled. On the night of the fifth of February, 1859, we arrived at Tabor, where we stayed until the 11th. At this place, meetings were held, and resolutions passed, denouncing Brown, his party, and actions. Yet Tabor had been the starting-point for the free-state movements in western Iowa, and the people continued to aid us.

"Leaving that place on the 11th, we took up our line of march for Springdale, stopping at Toole's the night of the 12th, Lewis's Mills the 13th, Porter's tavern, Grove City, the 14th, Dalmanutha, the 15th, at Murray's, Aurora, on the 16th, Jordan's on the 17th, and, about noon on the 18th, passed through Des Moines City, stopping quite a while in the streets, Kagi hunting up Editor Teesdale, of the *Register*, an acquaintance of his; he also proved to be an old acquaintance of Brown. Mr. Teesdale paid our ferriage across the Des Moines River. On the night of the 18th we stopped at Hawley's, on the 19th at Dickerson's, and on the 20th reached Grinnell, at which place our welcome was enthusiastic, Mr. J. B. Grinnell, afterwards in Congress, personally superintending the reception. On the 25th we reached Springdale, going through Iowa City some time during the forenoon.

"No efforts having been made to conceal our movements after entering Iowa, rumors came of an intended attempt to capture Captain Brown and the negroes. A building was selected to keep the latter in. There was scarcely any necessity for guards, as the whole community was alert, and any attempt to invade Springdale would have most likely proven very disastrous to the intruders. West Liberty, a railroad town seven miles South of Springdale, was a very hotbed of Abolitionists, and in full sympathy with Brown's ideas."

[Richard J. Hinton wrote the following:] "Mr. Gill left the party at West Liberty on the 10th inst., as his health gave out and inflammatory rheumatism prevented further travel on his part. One of the Kansas escort accompanied the party to Crookes's in Iowa, and others left at Tabor.

"After leaving Iowa there was very little of special interest until arrival at Detroit and transfer to Canada. Of course, vigilant care had to be exercised. On the 12th day of March, 1859, he saw his band of freed people, augmented to twelve by the birth of a boy while camping near Dr. James G. Blunt's place on the Pottawatomie [river] in the January preceding, carried in safety from Detroit to Windsor. John Brown [Daniels], the baby born in freedom, and bearing the name of his emancipator, still lives in Windsor, having, it has been stated, never set foot in the United States. The Missouri freed people are nearly all living, doing well, and having large families about them. Of course, Captain Brown's successful raid met severe criticism on all sides, and to some extent, too, among a few of his Massachusetts friends. Nei-

ther Gerrit Smith nor George L. Stearns were counted among the critics. In Detroit, Captain Brown met Frederick Douglass, who happened to be engaged for a lyceum lecture there. A little meeting was held at the dwelling of a Mr. William Webb, and a report has been made of sharp disagreements between John Brown and the colored orator and editor. Mr. Douglass assures me nothing of the sort occurred.

“John Brown girded up his loins again, and with his purse a little replenished by Eastern friends, started once more on the culminating work of his life. With him at Detroit and *en route* to Cleveland, Ohio, were his son Owen, Kagi, Stevens, [William H.] Leeman, Tidd, Hazlett, Edwin Coppoc, J. G. Anderson, and Barclay Coppoc of those that finally went down into the valley of shadows. Stewart Taylor was waiting and working in Illinois, and [John E.] Cook was in Virginia, ready for work. The hour [to commence the attack on the Federal Arsenal at Harpers Ferry] was coming fast.” (See Commentary, pp. 132–36.)

The Prophetic Interview and the Last

[From the Appendix (pp. 680–82) of Hinton’s *John Brown and His Men* is copied the following interview, held at Lawrence, Kansas Territory, of John Brown by William Addison Phillips (1824–1893). Phillips was born at Paisley, Scotland, and emigrated to the United States about 1838, settling in Randolph County in southern Illinois. He became editor of a newspaper, studied law, and was admitted to the bar. In 1855 he went to Kansas Territory as a special correspondent of the *New York Tribune* and became conspicuous as a radical anti-slavery journalist and politician. He wrote the book *The Conquest of Kansas by Missouri and Her Allies* (1856). He was an officer in the Union Army and was elected to Congress from Kansas from 1872 to 1876.]

[Richard Hinton wrote the following:] “John Brown’s movements in 1859 are all well known, and the last interview to which Colonel Phillips refers must have been in the earlier part of January 1859, as John Brown was then in Lawrence for a day or two, preparing to bring about the successful removal of his eleven bond people he had brought out of Missouri on the preceding Christmas Eve. . . . The fact that Kagi called on Phillips, asking the latter to call on the Captain, also serves

to fix the date. He was found at the Whitney House. At the time a price was on John Brown's head. [Phillips says:]

"He sketched the history of American slavery from its beginnings in the colonies. I have endeavored to quote him but it is quite impossible to quote such a conversation accurately. I well remember all its vital essentials and its outlines. He had been more observant than he had credit for being. The whole powers of his mind (and they were great) had been given to one subject. He told me that a war was at that moment contemplated in the cabinet of President Buchanan; that for years the army had been carefully arranged, as far as it could be, on a basis of Southern power; that arms and the best of troops were being concentrated, so as to be under control of its interests if there was danger of having to surrender the Government; that the Secretary of the Navy was then sending our vessels away on long cruises, so that they would not be available, and that the treasury would be beggared before it got into Northern hands.

"All this has a strangely prophetic look to me now; then it simply appeared incredible, or the dream and vagary of a man who had allowed one idea to carry him away. I told him he surely was mistaken, and had confounded every-day occurrences with treacherous designs.

"No," he said, and I remember this part distinctly,—"no the war is not over. It is a treacherous lull before the storm. We are on the eve of one of the greatest wars in history, and I fear slavery will triumph, and there will be an end of all aspirations for human freedom. For my part I drew my sword in Kansas when they attacked us, and I will never sheathe it until this war is over. Our best people do not understand the danger. They are besotted. They have compromised so long that they think principles of right and wrong have no more any power on this earth."

"My impression then was that it was his purpose to carry on incursions on the borders of the free and slave States. . . ."

12. *Quantrill and the Morgan Walker Tragedy*

by Reverend John J. Lutz

The Reverend John J. Lutz was born in Southville, Wayne County, Ohio, in January 1855. His father and mother were both natives of Pennsylvania, and his great-grandfather, Andrew Lutz, served as a soldier in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment in the American War of Independence. After attending the public schools and the academy in his native town, Reverend Lutz attended the University of Wooster in Ohio and later Ohio Wesleyan University. He taught in the public schools of Ohio for ten years. He came to Kansas in 1885, where he taught until 1890. The following year he entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church and served in Kansas churches until 1894. He then moved to Minnesota to continue his ministry. In the same year he was married to Sheila V. Wheeler, to whom were born four children.

Of the first tragedy in which the notorious guerrilla, William Clarke Quantrill, was the leading actor—the Morgan Walker tragedy, enacted in the fall of 1860, in Jackson county, Missouri—a number of conflicting accounts have from time to time appeared. These accounts differ as to the number composing the raiding party led by Quantrill, the number and fate of the victims, the location of the scene of the tragedy, the date, and other details. From relatives of the young men living in the state of Iowa and from other sources, I have endeavored to obtain as nearly as possible the true facts connected with this incident.

Reverend John J. Lutz, "Quantrill and the Morgan Walker Tragedy," in *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1903–1904* (Topeka, Kans., 1904), Vol. VIII, 324–31.

The young men who were led to their death by the perfidy of Quantrill were Charles Ball, Chalkley T. Lipsey, and Edwin S. Morrison.

Albert Southwick was left a mile from the plantation, guarding the team which brought the liberating party from Kansas. A young man by the name of Ransom L. Harris was left at Pardee, Atchison county, Kansas, in charge of a deserted log cabin, 12 x 14, which was to be the first station of the underground railroad leading from Missouri to Canada.

All the young men were of Quaker parentage. Benjamin Ball, the father of Charles, was a Gurney Quaker, who emigrated from Salem, Ohio, to Springdale, Iowa, in the year 1850. Springdale was one of the principal stopping places of John Brown in his journeys to and from Kansas, and the place where he drilled his men for the raid on Harper's Ferry. In 1857 Benjamin Ball emigrated to Kansas, settling a short distance south of Pardee. Mr. Ball was followed in 1859 by his son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Albert Negus, who settled one mile south of Pardee. They were accompanied from Springdale by Edwin Morrison and Albert Southwick, both of whom were carpenters by trade. Morrison and Southwick were first cousins. While building a house for Mr. Negus they became acquainted with Charles Ball and Chalkley Lipsey—the latter reaching Kansas in 1859. Lipsey made his home with a brother-in-law and sister, Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Taylor, now of Indianola, Iowa. Harris reached the neighborhood in 1860. It was in the log cabin, in the summer of 1860, that plans were formed for making incursions into Missouri to liberate slaves. Members of the party made trips to Atchison, Paola and other places for the purpose of looking up favorable points for invasion. While the plans were maturing, Quantrill learned of their purpose and gained the confidence of Ball. (See Commentary, pp. 136–39.)

The movements of the party during the summer are somewhat shrouded in mystery. Just when they left the Pardee neighborhood is unknown. Mrs. Taylor, the sister of Lipsey, says Southwick and Lipsey left her place with their guns and provisions, but does not remember the date. As near as we can learn, they made the trip to Missouri in a two-horse wagon, armed with Sharps rifles, revolvers, and shotguns. After crossing the Kansas line, about twenty miles of the route lay through the slave territory of Missouri. Camping one night in the timber on the banks of Indian creek, near the ford, they pushed on the next day to the vicinity of Walker's place, hiding in the heavy timber

one mile west of the house. This does not accord with the narrative of Southwick, that he stopped with the team at the Kansas line. It is, however, given on the authority of Maj[or] John N. Edwards, the Southern writer, and who, we admit, is not always reliable authority—not when he says that six fell where they stood, riddled with buckshot, a seventh dragging himself away to die.

The Morgan Walker plantation was three miles northeast of Blue Springs and six miles southeast of Independence. Mr. Walker settled there in 1834, and died in 1867. His plantation consisted of 1900 acres, cultivated by the labor of twenty-six Negro slaves.

The exact date of the raid is not positively known. As near as we are able to determine, it was in December, 1860. Andrew J. Walker, son of Morgan Walker, says it was in the latter part of November, and that he was in the field husking corn the day Quantrill visited his father to notify him of the intended raid. Walker's pro-slavery neighbors were invited to bring their guns and assist in repelling the attack. They were John Tatum, Lee Coger, and D. C. Williams.

It was between eight and nine o'clock in the evening when Ball, Morrison and Lipsey, led by Quantrill advanced upon the house. It was arranged that as the party approached the door a lighted candle was to be placed in one of the windows. Quantrill, Ball, Morrison and Lipsey came upon the porch. Quantrill withdrew to a safe place when Walker and his party opened fire. Morrison fell dead near the door. Lipsey was severely wounded in the hip, but, assisted by Ball, was taken some distance in the timber that night, where he cared for his wounded comrade two or three days, extracting a number of shot and cooking some herbs as a poultice for Lipsey's wounds. While hiding in the timber they were discovered by a Negro servant of Walker while hunting hogs. He gave the alarm. Walker summoned his neighbors, who turned out with rifles and shotguns in considerable numbers. They were led to the place by the Negro. The final encounter is thus described by John Dean, of Lawrence.

"When they arrived at the place they spread out in a semicircle and advanced to rifle range, under Quantrill's caution to keep away from Ball's revolver. When Ball saw them, and then knew that the Negro had betrayed him, he stood over his wounded comrade and, shaking his revolver at Quantrill, dared him to come out in fair sight and range, and as he thus stood Walker with his rifle shot him square in the forehead. The instant Ball fell, Quantrill ran up to him and,

putting his revolver into the mouth of Lipsey, who lay helpless, fired and killed him." Andrew Walker denies the statement that Quantrill did any shooting. The bodies of the three victims are supposed to have fallen into the hands of Independence doctors, but the Negroes claimed they buried Ball and Lipsey where they fell.

In a communication from Mrs. Negus, after describing their settling near Pardee, she tells of a raid by the young men into Missouri, and the liberation of some negroes, who were taken to Iowa. Following is her narrative:

Narrative of Mrs. Negus

"After a short time they (the young men) left Pardee and went to Lawrence, in furtherance and perfection of these plans. As a result of these plans, they safely landed in Springdale, Cedar county, Iowa, in September, 1860, a family from the bonds of servitude, parents and children, seven in number, and five others—in all, twelve in number. We at the time knew comparatively nothing of the doings of Charles and his companions during this first raid, nor until several weeks after the attempted Walker raid. We had heard of the same, and that three men had been shot in the attempt to rescue Walker's slaves, some thirty in number. But several weeks had elapsed when rumor reported that the three men killed were Charles and his two companions, E. S. Morrison and Chalkley Lipsey. Hearing about this time that Albert Southwick was at a neighbor's near by, we called on him and told him of what we had heard, and asked him to tell us all he knew in regard to it. After some hesitation on his part and earnest pleading on ours, he finally yielded, and the following is his account of the dreadful tragedy, as nearly as I can remember:

Albert Southwick's Narrative

"After our return to Lawrence from Iowa, where we had safely conducted our twelve fugitive slaves and placed them in homes in Springdale and vicinity, we began to prepare for our second raid.

"Here in Lawrence we made the acquaintance of a man named Quantrill, a name that needs but to be heard to be hated by many. This man Quantrill is represented to have been a man of many physical attractions, and possessed of a pleasant and winning address. He came to Kansas in company with free-state men, and for a time seemed heartily in sympathy with them, but finally went over to the enemy, becoming in time the most cruel, bloodthirsty and despicable guerrilla of his day; a man so thoroughly hated by so many that it is not to be wondered at that he is reputed to have died a hundred violent deaths at different places, and yet we know not whether he is dead or living.

"This man Quantrill became one of their party, entered into their plans and confidence only, Judas-like, for a price, to betray them; his price for the betrayal of his comrades being a horse and gun.

"It was finally agreed upon that this raid should be made on Walker, a man owning about thirty slaves, he having the reputation of being a hard taskmaster and cruel. On the day appointed we started for the Walker plantation. When we reached the state line, in accordance with our previous plans, I was left behind there, it being considered a dangerous place, my duty being to see that all was clear and no danger lurking near at their expected approach, some time between midnight and morning. But they came not.

"I soon learned of the miscarriage of our enterprise and the death of my three friends. I remained in hiding until the frenzy of excitement had passed away, then, disguised myself as well as I could, called on Mr. Walker, determined to learn the fate of my companions.

"I represented to Mr. Walker that I was hunting some stray horses and colts, and, as it was about dinner-time, by his invitation, took dinner with him. After dinner, I called up the subject of the late attempted raid, it being still the common topic of the day in all that section round. With much evident pleasure, he gave me the following account of it:

"How first a strange young man, Quantrill, came to him in the afternoon before the evening of the occurrence and told him that on a certain time a band of men from Kansas would make a raid on him and run off with his slaves; that he had knowledge of their plans, and that for a price he would give him information which would enable him to frustrate them. This he affected to disbelieve, but finally agreed that, on proof of the truth of his representations, he, the stranger, should have a certain horse and gun as the price of his information.

"They then prepared themselves by gathering in several of his neighbors, and white men on his own place, armed them, and placed them in a room adjoining the one in which they were then sitting and a door between. As this man Quantrill knew the plans of his companions, they made theirs accordingly.

"The plan of the raiders was that when they had reached a given point they were to halt and remain in concealment until after nightfall, and that Quantrill, it being conceded that he, being the most agreeable and entertaining conversationalist among them, should go forward, visit the house, hold converse with Mr. Walker, and learn all he could that night.

"Quantrill, near nightfall, returned and reported that all was right, the coast clear, and no fear of a miscarriage.

"Then these four men—E. S. Morrison, Charles Ball, Chalkley Lipsey, and Quantrill—went to the house in the fore part of the evening, and, on knocking, were admitted to this room. It had been previously arranged that E. S. Morrison should be spokesman.

"Edwin then informed Mr. Walker of the nature of their call; that they believed slavery to be a great evil; that all men were entitled to certain privileges, among which were life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that they were there to liberate his slaves, peaceably and quietly, if possible, but they were to be liberated and taken to a place of safety; that if he offered no resistance, he would not be otherwise harmed and no other property would be disturbed; that they were actuated by no other motive than that of doing their duty as they were enabled to see it; that there was neither money nor glory in it for them, only risk and hazard of their lives, which they freely periled in the line of their duty, etc.

"Here Mr. Walker paused to punctuate what he had said by pointing to a coat hanging on the wall, saying: 'There hangs the coat that young man wore that made that notable speech,' and I readily identified it as the coat of E. S. Morrison. He then resumed by saying that the three men then started out, but Quantrill retired in another direction; that he then threw open the door between the two rooms, and the concealed men fired on the three departing ones. E. S. Morrison was shot down with his hand on the door, and died on the spot. The other two escaped outside; but in the yard they heard one call to Charley for help—that he was shot. They supposed that Charley returned

and carried his wounded comrade on his back to a thicket of brush and weeds about eighty rods distant. This was only surmise, as none of them ventured out that night; but the next morning they tracked them by the blood to the thicket surrounding it, and called on them to surrender. Charlie arose from his place of concealment, and answered them by saying he was there to protect a wounded companion, and that as for him he never surrendered. Then and there he was shot down, and they were both literally shot to pieces."

Biographical Sketches

Albert Southwick entered the army and served in Colonel Montgomery's Tenth Kansas regiment with Harris, who informed me that Southwick's mind, after the tragedy, seemed to be in a dazed condition, and that no one was able fully to extract from him the exact details. Southwick was born in 1837. After the war he remained in Kansas, was a coal-dealer in Salina, and died in Kansas City some ten years ago.

Charles Ball was born in Salem, Ohio, in the year 1837. He was first cousin of Edwin and Barclay Coppoc, who were with John Brown at Harper's Ferry. Edwin was captured and hung. Barclay was one of the four who escaped. Col. Richard J. Hinton, in "John Brown and His Men," makes the statement that Barclay Coppoc was one of the party who made the raid on the Walker place, which is an error. He was in Kansas a short time in 1856, but was in no way connected with the Morgan Walker raid.

Chalkley T. Lipsey was born in Mount Pleasant, Ohio, in 1838. Mount Pleasant was for a time the home of Benjamin Lunday, the original abolitionist. Like Quantrill, he taught school in Kansas. Lipsey went to Pike's Peak when the gold fever broke out there, only to be disappointed—walking back the entire distance to Kansas with a single companion, suffering incredible hardships on their long journey.

Edwin S. Morrison was born in 1839. Three of his brothers served in the Civil War. A few years ago his father was still living at Casey, Guthrie county, Iowa, in his eighty-eighth year.

Ransom L. Harris was born in Vermont in 1842. He served in the Tenth Kansas [Regiment] and as first lieutenant in the First Kansas

Colored Regiment. In 1897 he was still practicing medicine and examining surgeon for pensions at Audubon, Iowa.

Andrew Walker followed Quantrill and the black flag, and after the war moved to Texas.

13. *The Contrabands in Lawrence, Kansas*

by Reverend Richard Cordley, D.D.

For the biographical information on Reverend Cordley, see Narrative 10, pp. 67–68.

Lawrence was settled as a Free State town and soon became recognized as the headquarters of the Free State movement. As a result it was the center of proslavery hate, and at the same time the center of hope to the slaves across the border. The colored people of Missouri looked to it as a sort of "city of refuge," and when any of them made a "dash for freedom," they usually made Lawrence their first point. It was on the direct line to the north pole, even if it did lie to the west of it. When the [Civil] war broke out in 1861, the slaves on the border took advantage of it to make sure of their freedom, whatever might be the result of the conflict. They did not wait for any proclamation nor did they ask whether their liberation was a war measure or a civil process. The simple question was whether they could reach the Kansas line without being overtaken. They took Paul's advice, "If thou mayst be free, choose it rather." They "chose it rather." Those within reach of the border lost no time in crossing it. A large number found their way to Lawrence. They did not know much of geography, but they had three points fixed in their minds—Lawrence, Canada and the north pole. As Lawrence was the nearest of the three, they came there first. They were not so fortunate as the Israelites when they fled from Egypt, and were not able to "borrow" of their masters to any large extent. They were most of them very destitute, and had little

Richard Cordley, "The Contrabands," in *Pioneer Days in Kansas* (New York, The Pilgrim Press, 1903), pp. 137–51.

idea what they should do beyond escaping from bondage. They came by scores and hundreds, and for a time it seemed as if they would overwhelm us with their numbers and their needs. But they were strong and industrious, and by a little effort work was found for them, and very few, if any of them, became objects of charity. They were willing to work and they were able to live on little, and the whole community of freed slaves was soon able to take care of itself.

But it was soon evident that they needed help in other directions than that of securing a livelihood. They were mostly ignorant, only now and then one being able to read. In slavery no one was permitted to learn, it being a crime to teach a slave to read. We could not think of having this multitude with us, and not do something to teach and elevate them. They were very anxious to learn. They had got the impression that there was a connection between liberty and learning. Our public schools would soon provide for the children. But the grown people had no time to attend the public schools, and there was no provision for them in these schools if they had been able to attend them. Mr. S. N. Simpson, who started the first Sunday-school in Lawrence in 1855, and was an enthusiast on Sunday-schools, conceived the idea of applying the Sunday-school methods to this problem. He proposed a night school where these people could have free instruction. There was no money to pay teachers, and he proposed that citizens volunteer to teach each evening for a couple of hours. He secured a room and organized a corps of volunteer teachers, mostly ladies, and commenced the school. About a hundred men and women, eager to learn, came to it. They were divided into classes of six or eight, and a teacher placed over each class. The form was that of a Sunday-school, but the alphabet and the primer were the principal things taught. The school was a great blessing in every way. The teachers were naturally from among the best people of the town. They were men and women of culture and character and consecration. It brought them in contact with the newcomers, and the interest did not cease with the closing of the session. Many of the colored people got a start in the school which enabled them to learn to read. It gave the teachers also a grand opportunity to furnish their scholars with some intelligent notions of the new life of freedom which they had entered. Besides teaching the lessons, lectures were given on their new duties and their new relations to society.

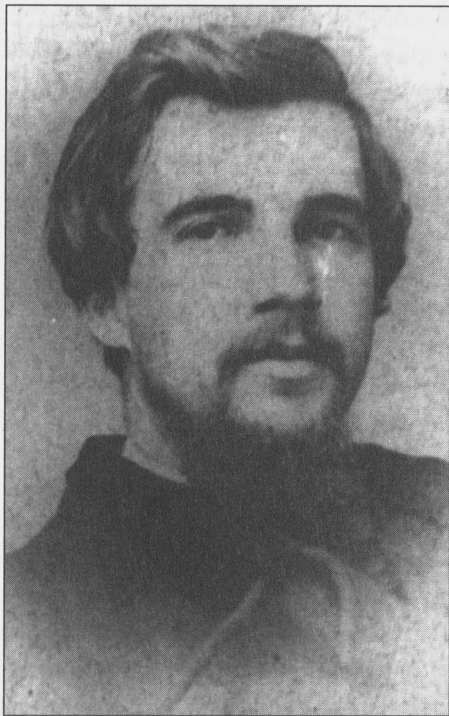
The general conduct of the school, as well as the method of teaching, was on the model of the Sunday-school. There was a short devotional service at the opening, and some general exercises at the close. They sang a good deal, and answered certain Bible questions in concert. They sang the old Sunday-school songs, and did so with great zest and unction. A favorite song with them was that quaint old hymn:

Where, oh, where, is the good old Moses,
Who led Israel out of Egypt?

The editor of the *Lawrence State Journal* visited the school one evening, and published an account of it which was very accurate and appreciative. This was in January, 1862. The article says:

Contrabands are becoming one of the institutions of Lawrence. As they break their fetters they very naturally strike out for the center of abolition. For some months they have been thickening on our streets, filling and even crowding our few vacant houses and rooms. The question, What shall we do with them? so perplexing in theoretical discussions, has become with us a practical one and must be met at once. General [James H.] Lane's "Ocean" is not at hand to be let in between the races, and the "mingling" is inevitable. While many were speculating as to what course to pursue, and insisting that "something must be done," several benevolent ladies and gentlemen suggested and carried out the idea of a night school, which should educate these refugees from slavery, and fit them for the freedom they have acquired.

The school was started on the same principle as our Sabbath-schools—one or more taking the general oversight and preserving order, and then having the scholars divided into classes large enough to occupy the time of one teacher during the evening. At first the school was held in a small room with only four scholars; but it rapidly increased until the room was full, and then it was moved into the courthouse. Our citizens have been very liberal in fitting up the court-house in proper shape, and volunteer teachers have been sufficient to supply the demand. The school is held every night in the week except Saturday. Last Friday evening we visited the school, and it is not often we have seen a more interesting sight. There were present that evening eighty-three scholars



Josiah C. Trask was the editor of the Lawrence State Journal. He was shot and killed by Quantrill's bushwhackers on August 21, 1863.

and twenty-seven teachers. The court-house was crowded, but we have seldom seen a more orderly school of any kind. Most of these people came among us entirely ignorant even of their letters. They had to begin, like little children, with the alphabet. But the earnestness with which they learn is exceedingly interesting. They seem to be straining forward with all their might, as if they could not learn fast enough. One young man who had been to the school only five nights, and began with the alphabet, now spells in words of two syllables. Another, in the same time, had progressed so that he could read, quite rapidly, the simple lessons given in the spelling-book. The scholars were of all ages. Here is a class of little girls, eager and restless; there is a class of grown men, solemn and earnest. A class of maidens in their teens contrasts with another of elderly women. But all alike showed the same intentness of application. We were especially pleased with the courteous frankness with which they all answered any questions in reference to their progress. Some who began when the school opened, can now read with some fluency, and were ready to commence with figures.

The school commences at seven o'clock. After the lessons are finished a short time is spent in singing. Their wild, untutored voices produced a strange but pleasing impression. One of their songs, altered from a familiar Sunday-school hymn, seemed peculiarly fitted for the occasion, and they sang it as though they meant it:

Where, oh, where is the Captain Moses,
Who led Israel out of Egypt?
Safe now in the promised land.

It is worth an evening to see such a sight. Eighty-three scholars just out of bondage, giving themselves intently to study, after working hard all day to earn their bread; and twenty-seven teachers, some of them our most cultivated and refined ladies and gentlemen, laboring night after night, voluntarily and without compensation, is a sight not often seen.

This long extract, written at the time, will give a more vivid view than any later recollection could give. The editor of the *State Journal* was Josiah Trask, son of Dr. Trask, of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, the well-known anti-tobacco apostle. He took a great interest in the school and in the colored people. A little over a year later he became one of the victims of the Quantrill raid. This editorial was written early in January, 1862. The school had then been in operation several weeks.

Work in religious lines was commenced about the same time. A Sunday-school was carried on among these people every Sunday; and Sunday services were conducted for them whenever it was possible. The evening services soon outgrew the room in which they were held, and they were moved over into the Congregational church. Evening after evening that house was filled with an earnest congregation. They seemed to be all of one mind, and no sectarian name was mentioned. They had been members of different churches, but all seemed to go together. We began to think that the sectarian divisions which so hinder Christian work among white people did not exist among these colored brethren. We afterward learned our mistake, and found to our sorrow that the millennium was not as near as it seemed. Before the year had passed several of their own ministers appeared, and they divided into various ecclesiastical camps. Most of their preachers were very ignorant, some of them not able to read. But the less they knew

the more confident they were, and the more bigoted. We felt that our work was not done, so we kept on with our Sunday-school and Sunday evening services. Quite a number of earnest souls clave to us, and after a time desired to be formed into a church. The following account of the forming of the church is found in the *Congregational Record*, April, 1862:

"On Sabbath evening, March 16, a church was organized among the 'Contrabands' at Lawrence. Only one of those composing the church brought a letter from the church from which he came. His letter was for himself and wife. We asked him where his wife was. He said they had sold his wife and children down south before he got away, but he got a letter for both, hoping he might find her sometime. All the rest united on profession, although they had been members of churches before. They came away in too much of a hurry to get letters. Their experiences were distinct and very satisfactory. They seemed to understand very clearly the grounds of their hope. One of them said he always thought that if he ever experienced religion he should keep it to himself; he would not go around telling about it. But when he was converted he went right in among the white folks praising God; he could not keep it to himself. They said he was drunk; but he thanked God for such drunkenness as that. His story reminded us of what was said of the apostles on the day of Pentecost: 'These men are full of new wine.'

"This is the only church in Kansas that has a commercial value. The men are fine looking fellows, and in good time would bring fifteen hundred dollars apiece; for piety has a value in the slave market as well as muscle. This Second Congregational Church of Lawrence has a market value, therefore, of some twenty thousand dollars."

Only one of the sixteen members could read. This was Troy Strode, who was chosen deacon. He was consumptive in his youth and not able to work much. To relieve his loneliness his master allowed him to learn to read, and he made the best of the privilege. He was of great service to the little church, being a good reader, and a good singer, and a man of superior ability. Though his skin was dark he had as finely chiseled features as one often sees. His mind was as fine as his features and in the prayer-meeting often he spoke with a poetic touch that was thrilling. He was the main reliance of the church for many years. He was a hard working man, having entirely recovered from

the debility of his youth. He was a blacksmith and a good workman, and secured him a home and a good property.

Another marked character was Anthony Oldham. He was the one who brought the letter for himself and wife. His wife and family he never found. One daughter came with him and she kept house for him. He could not read, but was well versed in Scripture and had a large stock of hard sense. He had been a sort of a preacher among his people and was ready to conduct services for the new church when no other arrangement could be made. Everybody believed in him, and they all listened to him with respect. He was one of the sturdy kind whose convictions were as firm as a rock. He might have been of Puritan stock, judging from his character. It was a great loss to the church when he fell a victim to the Quantrill raid.

One of the newspapers of the time gave an account of the dedication of the house of worship erected for these people:

The "Freedmen's Church" of Lawrence was dedicated Sabbath evening, September 28th, 1862. The house was filled with an attentive congregation of "freedmen"—all lately from bondage, and all neatly dressed as a result of their short experience of free labor. Rev. J. W. Fox, of Ridgeway, preached from the text, "They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat." The most eloquent passage of the sermon was where the preacher drew a parallel between the old Dutch ship coming up the James River, two hundred and forty years ago, freighted with twenty slaves, and the moving of the vast armies of the time up that same river, washing out in blood the crime then inaugurated. That old Dutch ship brought in the first instalment of the accumulating curse that has at last brought our nation to the verge of ruin.

At the conclusion Mr. Fox presented the church with a pulpit Bible which had been sent by a lady in Worcester, Massachusetts, for the "first Freedmen's Church."

The word "contrabands," as used in these extracts, may need a word of explanation, as it has entirely passed out of use in that sense. As soon as the war commenced, slaves began to escape into the free states and into the Union camps. On what ground to hold them was the perplexing question. There had been no declaration of freedom, and the slave laws were still in force. Yet no one could think of send-

ing these slaves back to their masters. General Butler, in whose camp a large number were found, said they were "contraband of war" and set them to work on the Union fortifications. The term at least furnished a convenient name for a class of people whose exact status was not easy to define. For many months they went by the name of "contrabands." After the proclamation of freedom they were very properly called "freedmen."

What occurred at Lawrence was only a specimen of what was happening all along the border. In all the border communities and in all the Union camps the freed slaves made their appearance. The question of their education and of their Christian training became at once a grave one, and has been a serious one every since. All denominations have entered into the work heartily and it has become recognized as a distinct department of missionary operations. The question can hardly be made too prominent—what we do for these people, we do for ourselves. They are a part of the nation, and no wish or will of ours can separate them from us, or separate their destiny from ours. We may restrict immigration as we will, but these people are already here. It is of no use to shut the door. They are already in. Dr. Talmage begins one of his lectures with something like this: "The evolutionist has disposed of the question as to where we came from. The restorationist has disposed of the question as to where we are going. It only remains for us to consider *that we are here.*" The negroes are not coming. They are here. They will stay here. They are American born. They have been here for more than two hundred and fifty years. They are not going back to Africa. They are not going to South America. They are not going to other parts of our own land. They are going to stay where they are. They are not able to emigrate if they would. We are not able to send them away if we wished. Even if we would and they would, the thing is not possible. It is not possible for more than four millions of people to be transported from the land in which they were born, to some land across the seas, or some continent far away. They are to remain, and they are to increase. They are with us and with us to stay. They are to be our neighbors, whatever we may think about it, whatever we may do about it. It is not for us to say whether they shall be our neighbors or not. That has been settled by the providence that has placed them among us. It is only for us to say what sort of neighbors they shall be, and whether we will fulfil our neighborly obligations.

14. *The Contrabands in Lawrence and Douglas County*

by Richard B. Sheridan

Previous narratives indicate that the contrabands came to Lawrence and Douglas County in large numbers during the Civil War years. The Kansas census of 1865 shows that there were 2,078 African Americans out of a total of 15,814 inhabitants in Douglas County, or 13.2 per cent of the total population. Lawrence was the home of 933 blacks in 1865, while another 1,145 resided in other parts of Douglas County. All but a tiny fraction of these people had been chattel slaves in Missouri and to a lesser extent Arkansas. Most of them came either singly or in small parties and crossed along the land border or the approximately seventy-five mile stretch of the Missouri River that separates Missouri from northeastern Kansas. Writing in February 1862, the editor of the *Freedom Champion* newspaper in Atchison, Kansas, adopted an attitude of mock sympathy for Missouri slaveowners whose property walked away, saying

The beloved darkies, the cherished possession of the secesh, are constantly arriving in Kansas from Missouri—they come singly, by pairs, and by dozens. . . . We acknowledge that it must be very trying to the feelings of our Missouri brethren to have those which they have brought up from infancy, or in whom they expended large sums of money, to thus forsake them at the first opportunity, and frequently not only take themselves away, but also a valuable

The first part of this narrative is extracted from my article in *Kansas History*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring 1989), pp. 28–47: “From Slavery in Missouri to Freedom in Kansas: The Influx of Black Fugitives and Contrabands into Kansas, 1854–1865.”

horse or mule. We repeat that all this must be very trying, but all the consolation we can give them is that "such are the fortunes of war," and we trust that hereafter they will learn wisdom and not invest large sums of money in property of this description, for every day's experience only tends to convince us that it is a very uncertain species of riches, and although not taking "wings," nevertheless takes "legs" and is lost forever.¹

Considerable numbers of contrabands came to Lawrence and Douglas County under escort from the border counties of Missouri where military units from Kansas were active. As Brigadier General James H. Lane's Kansas brigade marched through Missouri, the slaves along the way were attracted to his campsites. Fearing attacks by proslavery Missourians, Lane sent for the Reverend Hugh Dunn Fisher who was one of his chaplains. He asked Fisher, "Chaplain, what can we do to relieve the army of these contrabands, without exposing them to their enemies?" Whereupon Fisher replied that "all the men were in the army, and the women and children in Kansas needed help to save the crop and provide fuel for winter, and I advised to send the negroes to Kansas to help the women and children." Lane's laconic reply was "I'll do it."²

Fourteen soldiers from the brigade and thirty contrabands were armed and detailed as an escort to save the 218 fugitives from falling into the hands of the guerrillas. It was a nondescript emigration. The caravan traveled day and night, eating only cold food until they came upon a small herd of cattle, of which three were killed and hastily broiled and eaten. When they reached the Kansas border, Fisher halted the caravan and drew the refugees up in a line. He raised himself to his full height on his war horse, "commanded silence, and there under the open heavens, on the sacred soil of freedom, in the name of the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, and by the authority of General James H. Lane, I proclaimed that they were 'forever free'." Immediately the blacks "jumped, cried, sang and laughed for joy." Rev. Fisher claimed that they were the first slaves formally set free. He said it occurred in September 1861, long before Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was issued.³

After he returned to Washington, Lane told the Senate of the success of his policies and actions in Missouri and Arkansas. In a speech on May 15, 1862, he claimed that 4,000 fugitive slaves from Missouri

and Arkansas were then being fed in Kansas, and two months later he said the number had increased to 6,400. In a speech to the New York Emancipation League in June of the same year, he noted that he and his Jayhawkers had "aided 2,500 slaves to emigrate" during the year, and a month later he told the Senate that at one time he had 1,200 blacks in his brigade.⁴

The occupations of 624 African Americans out of the total of 2,078 in Douglas County are recorded in the 1865 census, of which 349 lived in Lawrence and North Lawrence and 275 in rural parts of the county. Soldiering was the leading occupation of the blacks in Lawrence and North Lawrence, where 95 were so designated. There were 85 day laborers. Of the 92 female workers, 49 were domestics, 27 were employed at washing and ironing or as washerwomen, 7 worked as housekeepers, 6 as servants, and 3 as cooks. In all, some 270 blacks, or four-fifths of the town's total, were unskilled laborers. The other one-fifth consisted of skilled and semiskilled workers. There were 23 teamsters, 8 blacksmiths, 6 porters, 4 barbers, 3 hostlers, 3 woodcutters, 2 stonemasons, 2 draymen, 2 rock quarriers, and one each of distiller, saloonkeeper, miner, harnessmaker, brick moulder, coachman, carpenter, shoemaker, printer, and preacher.⁵

"Contrabands in large numbers are fleeing from Missouri into Kansas and especially into Lawrence; 131 came into Lawrence in ten days, yesterday 27 had arrived by 2 :P.M.," wrote John B. Wood of Lawrence to George L. Stearns in Boston on November 19, 1861. He went on to write that "thus far they have been taken care of, as the farmers needed help." He warned, however, that the hundreds, if not thousands, who were employed in harvesting the crops would soon be unemployed, and they would gather in Lawrence for the inhabitants to feed and clothe with the assistance of the "friends of humanity at the East."⁶

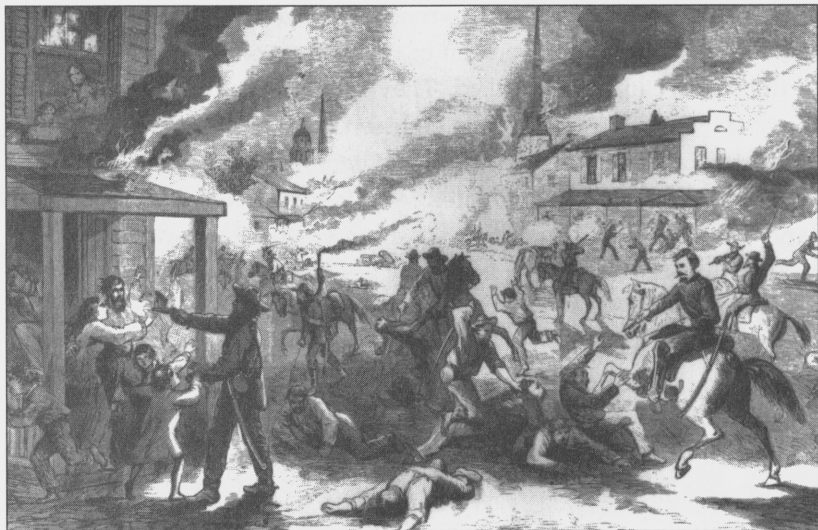
The census of 1865 shows that 44 per cent of all black workers were rural residents in Douglas County. There were 145 who were designated as farmers, 59 as laborers or day laborers, and 31 as farm laborers. Although these occupations are not defined clearly, it seems reasonable to assume that almost all of the blacks so designated performed agricultural wage labor. Thirteen other farmers and one other farm laborer were residents of Lawrence and North Lawrence. The remaining rural males consisted of 10 teamsters, 6 soldiers, 4 brickmakers, and one each of porter, blacksmith, and schoolteacher.

The rural females consisted of 9 domestics, 5 servants, 1 washerwoman, and 1 employed at washing and ironing.⁷

Recalling her girlhood experiences with the contrabands of Lawrence, Agnes Emery wrote that at the beginning and through the years of the Civil War "a veritable army of slaves drifted into Lawrence as if by instinct, to a sort of haven." She told of the contrabands who worked for the Emery family on their Oread hilltop farm adjacent to Lawrence as follows:

"Old Mary" could get up a breakfast that we did not know was possible. She could cook in such a manner as to make food of many plants that we did not know existed. "George" who lived in our barn was trustworthy and devoted to our interests. We always felt perfectly safe to know that he was near enough to protect us if the need arose. . . . Emily Taylor came two days each week, for years and years, to do our laundry. She also helped in sickness and in deaths. I well remember the day she came to tell us of the death of President Lincoln. Everyone in our family was depressed by the news.⁸

While much is known about the impact of Quantrill's raid of August 21, 1863, on the white people of Lawrence, very little has been discovered about the response of the not inconsiderable African American component of the town's population. The latter, who made up about one-fifth of the town's residents, came chiefly from the state of Missouri and especially from the border counties to the east of the Kansas line. The blacks seized the opportunity to escape from their masters during the border warfare in the territorial period of Kansas history and later during the Civil War conflict which pitted Confederate military units and proslavery guerrillas known as Bushwhackers against Union forces and antislavery guerrillas called Jayhawkers. Among the numerous Kansas communities that aided fugitive slaves from Missouri, none were more prominent than the townspeople of Lawrence, the free-state fortress that was first settled by emigrants from the New England states.



Quantrill's raid on Lawrence as imagined by an Eastern artist. The illustration appeared in Harper's Weekly, September 5, 1863.

The African Americans of Lawrence were, in general, more alert to the danger of a guerrilla raid than the white inhabitants and knew what they could expect from Quantrill's men.

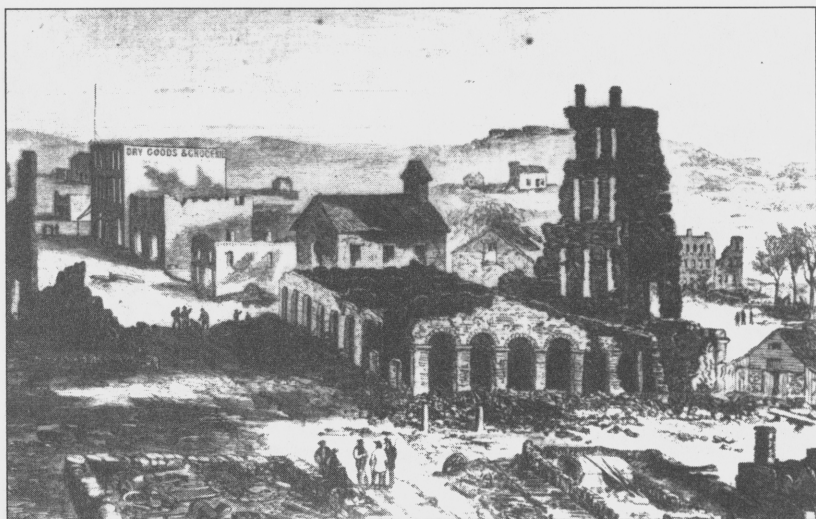
They were also more successful than the whites in escaping from the guerrillas. Caroline Ridenour, wife of grocery and hardware merchant Peter Ridenour, said her "first fright was in seeing dozens of partially clothed Negroes, whom I first thought were Indians, running for dear life. We quickly understood the situation, and immediately called our Negro boy servant and told him to follow the procession as the life of a Negro was not worth much that day." The Reverend Richard Cordley said that although the colored people were pursued with special malignity, "they knew the character of their old masters so well that they all ran who could, at the first alarm. Few, comparatively were killed, therefore." Most of the killed were the old and decrepid men who could not run. Among those killed were "Old Uncle Frank," a ninety-year-old handyman; "Uncle Henry," another decrepid old Negro; and Benjamin Stonestreet, a Baptist preacher among the colored people.

Quantrill and his men entered Lawrence from the southeast, passing near the villages of Eudora and Franklin. After killing Reverend Samuel S. Snyder, Church of the Brethren clergyman and Union army

chaplain on the outskirts of Lawrence, they came upon two camps of Union army recruits. Seventeen of the twenty-one unarmed recruits in the white camp were killed. They ranged in age from sixteen to thirty-six; the median age was eighteen. Moving on a few hundred yards, the raiders overran the colored camp. However, most of these young men, who were estimated to number twenty, managed to escape. Andrew Williams, a former slave in Missouri and an African American resident of Lawrence, wrote that he met up with about half of these colored recruits in a willow thicket along the Kansas River east of Lawrence, where they found a refuge from the guerrillas. One of the white officers in the camp of black recruits ran away at full speed when the attack was made. Pursued by the guerrillas, he dashed into the house of a colored family. They slipped a dress and a Shaker bonnet on him, and he passed out the back door and walked deliberately away.

Riding on to the Eldridge House hotel, the Bushwhackers reined in their horses and waited apprehensively for signs of resistance. They were so relieved when a white flag of surrender was displayed that Quantrill agreed that before burning the hotel he would spare the guests and have them escorted to a nearby hotel, where they would be safe. In the meantime, at the first sound of danger, fifteen of the colored hotel servants took alarm and fled to the brushy ravine of what is today Watson Park and over the bank of the Kansas River.

The single most tragic event of the Lawrence Massacre was the death by suffocation and burning of an unnamed African American baby. As told by Robert G. Elliott, a leading citizen of Lawrence who viewed the massacre from the Eldridge House, "A negro babe had suffocated. It had been committed to the care of one of the ladies by its mother when she made her escape, and was left sleeping in an upper room, forgotten in the excitement of the hour, until the flames rising through the roof recalled the charge to the lady too late." The child's parents were Mr. and Mrs. Peter Jones. When interviewed by a *Journal-World* reporter on October 13, 1929, Mr. Jones recalled that his wife was sick at the time of the raid and unable to escape with the baby. She entrusted it to a white woman, and while the latter was holding it in her arms, one of the raiders yelled out to her, "What are you doing with that damned nigger brat in your arms?" Whereupon the lady was forced to lay the baby on the floor, and after the building was set on fire, the guerrillas "refused to permit anyone to rescue the child."



This illustration in Harper's Weekly, September 19, 1863, shows the ruins of the Eldridge House and the business district in Lawrence.

Only one of Quantrill's guerrillas was killed by citizens of Lawrence and their Indian allies on the Delaware Reservation north of the Kansas river. This compares with upwards of one hundred and fifty citizens and recruits who were killed during the four-hour slaughter. An out-of-town reporter, on entering the devastated town the morning following the Massacre, said the first sight attracting his attention "was a Negro rushing through the streets on horseback, dragging the naked body of a dead rebel, with a rope around his neck hitched to his saddle." The rebel body was that of Larkin M. Skaggs, former Baptist preacher and leading guerrilla fighter. He had delayed leaving Lawrence with the main body of Quantrill's guerrillas and had been ambushed and killed with bows and arrows and muskets and balls. On September 10, 1913, the *Journal-World* reported that the human bones that old-timers of Lawrence believed were those of Larkin Skaggs were exhumed by workmen who were digging a ditch in Watson Park.

Union military leaders linked the Lawrence Massacre to the slavery issue in Missouri and Kansas. Major General John M. Schofield, commander of the Department of Missouri, wrote to his superior in Washington on December 10, 1863, that before the raid on Lawrence he realized that more vigorous measures were necessary to rid the



The Citizens Memorial Monument to the victims of Quantrill's raid was erected on May 30, 1895.

border counties of guerrillas. He had directed Brigadier General Thomas Ewing, Jr., commander of the District of the Border, which was headquartered in Kansas City, "to remove the families of all guerrillas and all those who were known to aid them, and also the slaves of all disloyal persons living in those counties, it having been shown satisfactorily that a main object of the guerrilla bands was to protect their disloyal friends in the possession of their slaves, and that they were encouraged and supported for this purpose." Schofield noted that after the massacre at Lawrence, "General Ewing deemed the measure not adequate, and ordered a total depopulation of the district which was then the chief haunt of the Guerrillas." The role played by slavery and antislavery in the Civil War and the Lawrence Massacre was underscored in regional newspapers. On August 22, 1863, the editor of

the *Leavenworth Daily Conservative* asserted: "Remember that Slavery made the raid on Lawrence, killed its citizens and laid its buildings in ashes—and swear that the war shall not end until the last vestige of the hell-born institution is driven from the continent."⁹

Endnotes

¹Kansas 1865 MS. Census, Vol. 3, Douglas County; *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, Kansas, February 8, 1862.

²H. D. Fisher, *The Gun and the Gospel: Early Kansas and Chaplain Fisher* (Chicago: Kenwood Press, 1896), pp. 42–43, 155–56; Wendell Holmes Stephenson, *The Political Career of General James H. Lane* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1930), p. 126.

³Fisher, *The Gun and the Gospel*, pp. 155–57.

⁴*Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong. 2d Sess, pt. 3, May 15, 1862, p. 2149; *ibid.*, pt. 4, July 10, 1862, p. 3235; *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. I (Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1881) 3:742–43; for Lane's New York speech, see *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, June 12, 1862; Stephenson, *Political Career of General James H. Lane*, pp. 126–27.

⁵Kansas 1865 MS. Census, Vol. 3, Douglas County.

⁶John B. Wood to George L. Stearns, November 19, 1861. *Papers of George Luther Stearns and Mary Elizabeth Stearns*, Manuscript Department, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

⁷Kansas 1865 MS. Census, Vol. 3, Douglas County; Richard B. Sheridan, "From Slavery in Missouri to Freedom in Kansas: The Influx of Black Fugitives and Contrabands into Kansas, 1854–1865," *Kansas History*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring 1989), pp. 28–47.

⁸Agnes Emery, *Reminiscences of Early Lawrence* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1954), pp. 20–21.

⁹Richard B. Sheridan, editor and compiler, *Quantrill and the Lawrence Massacre* (unpublished manuscript, Lawrence, Kansas, June 1995), pp. 158–59, 178, 184, 205–6, 227–28, 253–55, 267–69, 306, 329–30, 376.

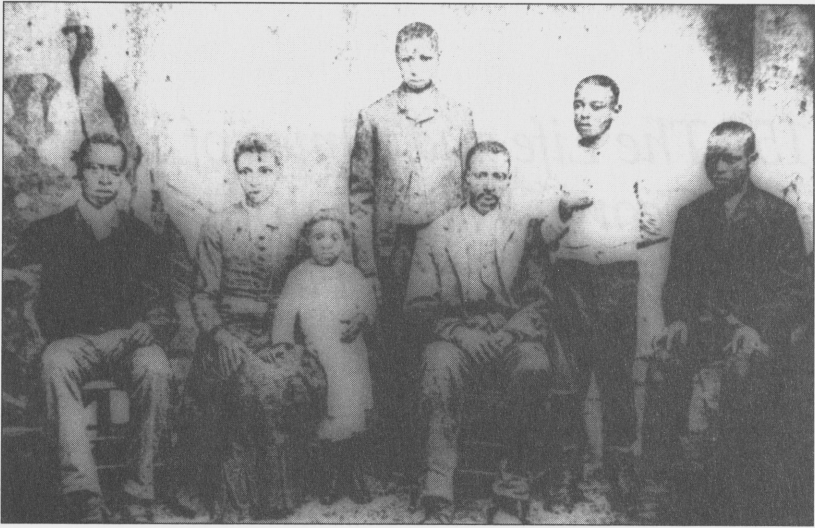
15. *The Life and Times of George Washington: Slave, Soldier, Farmer*

by James S. Johnson III

James S. "Jimmy" Johnson III was born in Topeka, Kansas, and raised in Kansas City, Missouri. He graduated from Central High School in Kansas City in 1965. His university degrees are as follows: University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1969, B.A., archaeology and anthropology; University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1973, M.A., cultural anthropology. He is a Vietnam era veteran. He is currently completing a Ph.D. degree in archaeology. He is an adjunct instructor of anthropology, archaeology, and sociology at several community colleges in the Kansas City area. He is a member of several professional associations and has participated in numerous seminars on the experience of people of African descent in America.

On September 30, 1993, an important event in my life took place. I traveled to Platte City, Missouri, to meet a relative of my great-grandfather's slave owner. His name is Gordon Miller, a retired insurance executive. The first meeting was arranged by local historian and genealogist Shirley Kimsey. It was an emotional experience for the three of us and a tremendous amount of recollection took place. After hours of conversation, we became very good friends.

James S. Johnson III, "The Life and Times of George Washington (1840-1931)." A shorter version of this narrative was published in the *Platte County Missouri Historical & Genealogical Society Bulletin*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (July, August, September 1994). The editor of this reader is indebted to James S. "Jimmy" Johnson for granting permission to publish this account of the life and times of George Washington.



George Washington, the Civil War veteran of First Kansas Colored Regiment, is shown in the photo with his family. They lived in the Bloomington community in western Douglas County.

The next week, Gordon Miller and his brother Jack took me to the archaeological site where my great-grandfather, George Washington, was a slave in the 1840s, '50s, and the early part of the 1860s. The property was owned during the aforementioned period by Jesse Miller and his wife, Margaret Jones Waller Miller. The site, now in ruins, was predominately a hemp farm and is now located on land owned by the city of Kansas City, Missouri (within view of K.C. International Airport.) On that day we first toured the "old" Miller family cemetery plot, took pictures, cut weeds, said a prayer, and reflected on historic events that took place during an era long before any of us were born. At this "rural" family cemetery are the remains of Jesse Miller, his wife Margaret Jones Waller Miller, other members of the Miller clan, as well as other individuals, presumably slaves of African descent. For the three of us, this was an emotional tour of the cemetery and culminated in a vow to preserve the memories of those buried for humanistic posterity.

Gordon and Jack, after our Miller/Jones family cemetery tour, escorted me through a soybean field and through a fairly dense vegetated forest. We arrived at the site of the original Jesse/Margaret Miller farm/plantation (Gordon always criticized me when I called the site a

“plantation”). On that autumn afternoon, the three of us had another emotional “reunion” while we toured the archaeological ruins, which consist of the “big house,” out-buildings, and the remnant foundations of the “slave quarters.” I have returned to the site several times alone and plan to ask permission and authorization of K. C. City/ Airport authorities to conduct historical and archaeological research with several of my trusted students. (I teach on the college level, Anthropology/ Archaeology and Sociology.)

In addition, on October 9, 1993, I met Colonel Richard Hopkins, Retired, who is a descendant of my great-grandfather’s slave owners’ wife’s husband (Jones). Colonel Hopkins, as it turned out, has done a lot of work with respect to his own genealogy and we are filling in many gaps in our respective research interests. Putting the pieces together of several family legacies, both black and white, can become an historical and genealogical complexity, but given diligence, and utilizing sound research principles, they eventually fit to tell one story!

My great-grandfather, George Washington, born in “Old” Virginia in 1840, was given as a wedding gift by his slave-master, Daniel Jones, Sr., to his daughter, Margaret A. Jones, who along with her husband, Lewis M. Waller, migrated by wagon and steamboat to Platte County, Missouri, to farm hemp, corn and other cash crops. Margaret Jones Waller’s first husband, Lewis M. Waller, died shortly after arriving in Platte County, Missouri, and in 1848 she married Jesse Miller. Jesse Miller inherited Margaret’s property, which included my great-grandfather George Washington and other slaves. George Washington, as was the custom of the era for slaves, never was permitted to learn to read or write but was undoubtedly influenced by rumors that President Lincoln was about to “free the slaves” and that escape to Kansas Territory (“Free Soil”) meant early emancipation.

Kansas, especially the river towns of Lawrence and Quindaro, had an unusually large number of white people with progressive racial views. The Territory had been settled in the 1850s. The defining group, however, were men and women coming from New England with a single moral purpose: “Make Sure Kansas Entered the Union Free of Slavery!” Pro- and anti-slavery advocates had been fighting in Kansas and Missouri since 1854. The controversial abolitionist John Brown had murdered in Kansas before returning east to raid the Harper’s Ferry Armory in an effort to arm Virginia slaves. He was to become to abolitionists the martyred symbol of the North’s cause.

Thus under this back-drop, in the Winter/Spring of 1862 George Washington escaped by way of Parkville, Missouri, across the Missouri River, and into the river-front abolitionist township of Quindaro, Kansas. There he found temporary sanctuary from slave bounty-hunters. Eventually he made his way to Leavenworth, Kansas, where the controversial Kansas senator, James H. Lane, was recruiting troops among free blacks, especially from the swelling numbers of fugitive slaves in Kansas, men who had fled their masters in Missouri and Arkansas. Raising black troops was against the law, and the public and Army were on the whole strongly against it, but Lane did not agree or care. It is ironic that as Senator Lane was starting to form the First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry Regiment in Leavenworth on the basis of what he interpreted as a verbal approval from President Lincoln, the latter was telling a visiting delegation that "to arm the Negroes would turn 50,000 bayonets from the Border States (including Missouri) against us that were for us."

In August 1862 George Washington enlisted in the First Kansas Colored Volunteer Regiment under the command of Colonel James M. Williams. Only months and sometimes days before, they had been fugitive slaves and considered property like farm animals. Now they were in uniform, under military discipline, marching in step, and impressing everyone with their "fine appearance" and their superb precision on the drill field. Their officers were white, as was usually the case in all-black units throughout the Civil War, but their noncommissioned officers were black (some 180,000 soldiers of African descent served in Union armies during the war and were certainly responsible for its outcome).

George Washington and the First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry Regiment were attached to the District of the Frontier, commanded by Major General James G. Blunt and assigned as part of the general redeployment of troops out west in conjunction with General Ulysses S. Grant's command at the siege of the strategically important town of Vicksburg, Mississippi. The general mission of the First Kansas Colored was to protect and reinforce the regular supply wagon trains that rolled by on their way south.

In early October 1862, a detachment of 225 men from the First Kansas Colored moved one hundred miles southeast of Leavenworth, Kansas, to near Butler, Missouri. On October 28, 1862, a group of about 500 Confederate soldiers surprised and attacked them. After a sharp

skirmish, the First Kansas drove off the enemy. Ten First Kansans died in the fighting, with twelve wounded. *This was the first time in the war that black troops had been in combat!* George Washington was part of that detachment.

Another engagement involving the First Kansas Colored occurred near Cabin Creek, Arkansas, during the same time that a thousand miles to the east, 160,000 men fought each other at Gettysburg. On July 2, 1863, Colonel Williams and the First Kansas Colored were given the assignment of protecting a train of wagons with rations and supplies that were ordered to a beleaguered federal outpost named Fort Gibson in the Indian Territory. Unknown to George Washington and his fellow black comrades and white officers, the banks of an obscure creek would make history that few would notice and virtually all would forget. After this two-hour engagement, which included three ground assaults, the wagon train was saved, the road to Fort Gibson was opened, morale within the regiment rose, and relations among black and white troops improved. Although these black soldiers were not paid at the same rate as white troops, they finally got paid after nearly nine months.

The First Kansas Colored's regimental historian noted the broader significance of the Cabin Creek battle: "This engagement was the first during the War in which white and colored troops were joined in action, and to the honor and credit of the officers and men . . . be it said they allowed no prejudice on account of color to interfere in the discharge of their duty in the face of an enemy alike to both races." The question of whether blacks would run from a fight was also resolved: The men of the First Kansas Colored "evinced a coolness and true soldierly spirit which inspired the officers in command with that confidence which subsequent battle scenes satisfactorily provided was not unfounded."

In another engagement two weeks later, the major Battle of Honey Springs, Arkansas, Colonel Williams was seriously wounded at the instant he ordered his troops to fire into the enemy line only forty paces away. General Blunt visited him in the field hospital after the battle: The first thing the colonel said was, "General, how did my regiment fight?" The general replied, "Like veterans, most gallantly." And the colonel added, "I am ready to die, then." Colonel Williams eventually recovered from his wounds. Blunt later remarked: "I never saw such fighting as was done by that Negro regiment. . . . they make bet-

ter soldiers in every respect than any troops I have ever had under my command."

President Lincoln's attitude had also changed as a result of the actions of black troops in 1863. Later in August 1863, after the First Kansas Colored had stood at Cabin Creek and Honey Springs, and after other black units had seen action along the Mississippi River, and the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Colored Regiment had fought its famous battle at Fort Wagner, South Carolina (Hollywood's production of the movie *Glory*), Lincoln heard a group of visitors and reporters complaining about the arming of blacks: "You say you will not fight to free Negroes. Some of them seem to be to be willing enough to fight for you." He went on to say, "You are dissatisfied with me about the Negro [but] some of the commanders of our armies in the field who have given us our most important successes, believe . . . the use of coloured troops constitutes the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion. . . . when the war is won, there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation; while I fear, there will be some white ones, unable to forget that, with malignant heart, and deceitful speech, they have strove to hinder it."

George Washington and the First Kansas Colored continued the war fighting and dying across much of present-day Arkansas and Oklahoma. Fighting alongside white units became routine. They saw more regular combat than any other black regiment in the Civil War. Nine months after Cabin Creek, the First Kansas Colored was virtually decimated at the battle of Poison Springs, Arkansas, while escorting another supply wagon train; almost half of its men were killed by its revenge-minded Confederate adversaries. At Poison Springs, the First Kansas was attacked by a superior force and was cut to pieces. Those black soldiers who were able to escape were obliged to watch triumphant Confederates taunt the wounded black men lying on the ground before bayoneting or shooting them. The survivors vowed never again to take prisoners. For the rest of the war, the battle cry for black soldiers in the West became "Remember Poison Springs!"

The First Kansas Colored Volunteer soldiers were formally mustered out of service at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in October 1865. Like other men of the Regiment, George Washington harbored no rancor toward whites, and like other men in the Regiment, he focused on

making a life as a free man. The Regimental historian closed his narrative by saying that "citizenship in a free country amply rewards the war-worn soldier."

George Washington, with modest money saved from his military service (forty acres and a mule), purchased farm property in the racially integrated Bloomington/Clinton area of Douglas County, Kansas. In 1868, he married Arminda Simpson, the daughter of a neighbor. They had seven children, two of whom died in infancy. Although never able to read or write, George Washington was not reluctant to speak publicly. He proudly spoke of his exploits as an escaped slave from Platte County, Missouri, and his adventures as a soldier in the "Black Phalanx." George Washington died in 1931. He was buried in the Washington/Johnson/Simpson/Mitchell/Hulse family plot in the Clinton, Kansas Cemetery. (See Commentary, p. 147.)

I am grateful to my late grandmother, Ms. Mary Washington/Johnson; my father, Dr. James S. Johnson; Mr. Elroy Washington, and other family members for providing the oral tradition that has inspired my research. I also wish to dedicate continued research on this important historical period to the work that Mr. Gordon Miller and I planned to do before his untimely death.

Editor's Commentary

I

The abolitionist struggle against slavery was a revolutionary movement in American history. By calling for the immediate, uncompensated, and universal emancipation of the slaves, the abolitionists were, in effect, demanding, as Herbert Aptheker explains, "the confiscation of billions of dollars worth of private property, the ownership of which constituted the power of, and defined the nature of the slaveowning class, which predominated in the South and nationally, in the latter case until the mid-1850s." Short of civil war, which was the eventual outcome of the struggle over slavery, the abolitionists sought to convince slaveowners of their moral duty to free their chattels and to encourage the slaves to struggle against the system by such means as conspiracies and insurrections, individual struggles, and systematic flight. Aptheker makes it clear, however, that the black people of the United States were themselves the "first and most lasting abolitionists" whose resistance to chattel slavery preceded black-white efforts to achieve freedom and equality.¹

Perhaps the most important black-white effort to undermine slavery short of civil war was the Underground Railroad, which was a philanthropic sectional movement to aid slaves who wished to escape to freedom in Canada. The Underground Railroad in Kansas followed no specific routes of travel. Since most free-state supporters felt they were honor-bound to assist the fugitives in their flight, the route followed depended on the exigencies of time and place. According to historian Perl W. Morgan,

Slaves in western Missouri, living north of the Missouri river generally escaped to Iowa; those south of the river to points in Kansas. The two great termini of the "underground" in Kansas were Lawrence for the Northern division and Mound City for the Southern division. The "general traffic manager" of the Lawrence sta-

tion was the Rev. John E. Stewart, the "general manager" Dr. John Doy, who had attained considerable celebrity. . . . The prominent officials of the Southern division were: Colonel James Montgomery, well known for his liberating excursions, Colonel C. R. Jennison, the "Red Leg" chieftain, and Captain John Brown of Harper's Ferry renown.

This commentary will note later that although the above men were leaders in the Underground Railroad, their titles were conferred on them by historians of a later generation who exaggerated the extent to which a formal organization existed.²

One of the stations near the Missouri River was a log cabin, twelve by fourteen feet in dimensions, situated near Pardee, a village in Atchison County. Pardee had been settled by Quakers from Springdale, Iowa, and Salem, Ohio, who had strong antislavery sentiments. The goal of the young Quakers who lived in the cabin was to make raids into Missouri to liberate slaves and assist them on the long journey to Canada. (See Narrative 12, pp. 89-96.)

A log cabin on Colonel Montgomery's farm near Mound City, Linn County, Kansas Territory, was the so-called southern division headquarters of the Underground. Border troubles broke out afresh in this area in the summer and fall of 1860, when "bad characters" from Missouri were said to be harassing free-state men across the line in Kansas. In his *History of Kansas*, John N. Holloway wrote that these ruffians kidnapped free blacks who had found homes in Kansas Territory, hurrying them south to sell as slaves at good prices. Furthermore, these ruffians

would induce slaves in Missouri to run off from their masters, by presenting to them flattering prospects of freedom. When the master would offer a reward for the apprehension and restoration of the absconded Negro, these pretended liberators, knowing the whereabouts of the slave, would seize him and thrust him back into bondage. . . . This was a heavy business, and carried on with great profit all summer.

Free-state men were determined to take a stand against these "man-stealers." They not only protected runaway slaves by guarding and conveying them to safety, but they also apprehended Russell Hinds,

the leading man-stealer and hanged him, leaving his body swinging from a tree limb as a warning to other ruffians.³

As the northern terminus of the Underground Railroad in Kansas Territory, Lawrence attracted fugitive slaves in growing numbers in the years preceding the Civil War. As the conductor and leading agent of the so-called northern division, the Reverend John E. Stewart built a log fort on his farm in the heavily wooded area along the Wakarusa River near Lawrence. Here he harbored fugitives who arrived on their own volition, and also the slaves he brought from Missouri after persuading them to come to Kansas. John Dean, another abolitionist, was known as an active agent of the Underground in Lawrence, as were Dr. John Doy, John Bowles, and others.

Abolitionists justified the capture and harboring of slaves not only on religious and moral grounds, but also on a quasi-legal contractual relationship between masters and slaves. Robert G. Elliott, pioneer Lawrence journalist and politician, wrote that "Under the code of the liberators it was considered that the slave held a chattel mortgage for his accumulated earnings, with the privilege of instantaneous foreclosure whenever he might choose to quit his master's service."⁴

Slaveholders in Missouri became alarmed by the frequency of escapes and raids from across the border. Some of them sold their slaves "down river" lest they lose the value of their human chattels, while others were impelled "to associate and guarantee a reward of \$200 for the return of each fugitive." Responding to the offer of reward was an "irresponsible class who were ready to earn this blood money, though treated by the [Kansas] community as outlawry and made punishable by an act of the [free-state] Legislature." Leecompton, the Territorial capital, furnished a number of "hangers-on of the Federal offices" who engaged in the business of capturing and returning fugitives. "Even the neighborhood of Lawrence furnished a full quota of the disreputable band—reckless night riders with the methods of highwaymen," wrote Elliott.⁵ (See Narrative 2, pp. 11–20.)

II

The slave trade in the Missouri counties to the north of Kansas City was observed by Dr. John Doy, first from his cell in the Platte County Jail from 28th January to 24th March, 1859, and afterward from the jail at St. Joseph. These jails were, in effect, markets for the purchase and sale of slaves, as well as institutions for the administration of justice to both whites and blacks. Doy observed during his imprisonment in the Platte County Jail that

numbers of slaves were lodged in the jail by different traders, who were making up gangs to take and send to the South. Every slave, when brought in, was ordered to strip naked, and was minutely examined for marks, which, with the condition of teeth and other details, were carefully noted by the trader in his memorandum-book. Many facts connected with these examinations, were too disgusting to mention.

Doy was told by some of the slaves brought in from neighboring plantations in Platte County that, compared with slavery outside the county, "both men and women were worked harder in the hemp fields, were whipped oftener and for less cause; that less regard was paid to the separation of families, and that they had the fear of being sold South more constantly put before their eyes than in any other State. And this was told me by old slaves who had been in more states than one."⁶ (See Narrative 3, pp. 23-25.)

After the slaves learned of their fate, they begged the traders to allow them to see their wives and children before leaving. The traders, according to Doy, invariably promised to gratify them but delayed fulfilling their promises until it was too late. "They were generally driven off in the night," he said, "and no opportunity was allowed them to bid farewell to those whom they held dear, and whom they might never hope to see again on earth." Doy invoked God to protect him "from ever again witnessing such a scene of suffering and anguish as always attends the departure of a slave coffle for the South."

From his vantage point Doy observed the composition of the slave coffles. The male slaves were handcuffed together in pairs and driven into the street, where they were formed in marching order behind wagons containing women and children. Some of the women were

tied with ropes when they were unruly. Conducted by six or eight white drivers who were mounted on mules, the coffle "started on their journey for the Southern market, in which they were to be sold to the highest bidder."⁷

At St. Joseph, Doy's cell was near the lock-up for criminals and for slaves who were usually put there for safekeeping when sold to the traders and waiting for an opportunity to be sent South. He told of "Wright, the trader," who was always ready for a bargain and would generally buy anyone who was sent to be sold for a trifling fault. Compared with Platte City, where as many as five coffles were sent off in a week, the slave trade at St. Joseph was by no means as brisk. From St. Joseph they were generally shipped by twos and threes to the agents at St. Louis.⁸

Another commentator who witnessed a large movement of slaves from western Missouri to St. Louis and the South was John G. Haskell of Lawrence, Kansas. He was chief quartermaster of the Army of the Frontier during the Civil War and later a leading architect. Haskell wrote that in December 1858, he boarded a boat at Leavenworth for Jefferson City. He "soon discovered that the boat was taking on a cargo of slaves *en route* to St. Louis and the lower Mississippi. By the time the boat reached Jefferson City there were 350 slaves on board."⁹

III

Narrative 3, "The Rescue of Dr. John Doy," by James B. Abbott, leaves unanswered the fate of the eight colored men, three women and two children who, along with Doy and the other escorts, were kidnapped soon after leaving Lawrence, Kansas. Doy's *The Narrative of John Doy, of Lawrence, Kansas* supplies some information in this regard. On the second day of his imprisonment, three of these colored men were brought in handcuffed by Jake Herd and George Robbins. "As soon as the men were safe in jail," according to Doy, Jake Herd told them "they had better choose masters as the others had done, and not get into any more trouble." When they answered that they never were slaves and their friends would come and prove that they were freemen, Jake Herd answered, "Men! Men!, you're nothing but d---d niggers." After Herd and the other kidnapper left, Doy was in-

formed that the other colored men had been "taken away forcibly or prevailed on to choose masters, which they would not do, and that their own wives had been carried to Kansas City and other places, probably to be sold down south."¹⁰

James B. Abbott, and perhaps other members of the Doy rescue party, were convinced that Dr. Doy, by his failure to recruit sufficient men to guard the fugitives and put out advance and rear guards, was "totally disqualified" to lead the expedition to a place of safety and freedom.¹¹

Doy responded to these charges of lack of caution or negligence. In his *Narrative* of 1860, he admitted that he should naturally have been accused of rashness in undertaking such an expedition under the circumstances without a sufficient escort.

The facts of the case are these [he wrote]: When I agreed to take charge of the colored people, it was understood between the old hero John Brown and me, that my wagons were to accompany his, he being about to start for Canada with twelve fugitives from Missouri, and we were to have a guard of ten men, which was considered sufficient to secure the safety of both parties.

Circumstances prevented the carrying out of this arrangement, and old John [Brown] went in another direction, taking with him the whole of the escort notwithstanding my earnest remonstrances. I labored with him a whole evening, and told him that one or both of us would regret it if he left us defenseless, but I could not prevail.¹²

John Brown argued that because his party consisted of slaves who had been taken out of Missouri in open defiance, they needed protection much more than Doy's free coloreds, "some of whom were free-born, while the others, having free papers, had lived some months, some years in the Territory and were not supposed to be sought for." Doy said he had no recourse but to back out of the agreement, or to take the risk of traveling twenty miles to Oskaloosa, where he could find a guard. He claimed to have taken every precaution "to prevent any ill-disposed person from obtaining a knowledge of our movement, and giving notice to the professional kidnappers and hunters of fugitive slaves. He judged that from the circumstances of their capture, there was treachery somewhere. Doy learned after the capture of his

party that John Brown frequently expressed "his regret that he had not yielded to my argument."¹³ (See Narrative 11, pp. 82-84.)

Two other accounts of the Doy rescue party were written by Theodore Gardner, son of Joseph Gardner, who was a member of the party. One is a paper presented at the Forty-Ninth Annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society on October 21, 1924; the other is an abbreviated version of the same paper in the *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1926-1928* (Topeka, Kansas, 1928), Vol. XVII, pp. 851-55. The following summary is based on the previous document.

Theodore Gardner stated the name of a young man who "played the Judas role" and received the traditional "thirty pieces of silver," for informing on the Doy party to the gang of border ruffians that captured the party north of Perry, Kansas. He was later banished from Lawrence. After their capture, the thirteen colored people "were bound hand and foot, piled into the wagon at the muzzle of loaded guns, and the caravan headed for the ferry." They were ferried across the Missouri River to Weston. Word of their capture had been sent ahead, and on landing at the wharf they were met by a mob of citizens shouting, "Hang the nigger thief." Guns were fired, bells were rung, and to use Doy's words, "it seemed as though all the evil spirits had been let loose at once."¹⁴

Although the young man who drove the wagon was released, Doy and his son were handcuffed and taken to the court room at Weston, where papers were made out committing them to the Platte County jail to await trial on the charge of abducting slaves. From Weston the Doy's were transferred to the jail at Platte City under a heavy guard of mounted citizens, "where they were confined in a cell made of boiler iron, eight feet square by seven feet high, with no ventilation except a small grating in the door. In this iron box they were confined for two months without sanitary convenience or exercise, and subjected to such abuse as no man would render to a dumb animal."

On the 24th of March, having been granted a change of venue, the Doy's were chained together, placed in a carriage, and, escorted by a band of heavily armed and mounted men, they were conveyed to the jail at St. Joseph. After being confined in "comparatively comfortable Quarters," Doy and his son were taken to the courthouse and arraigned on "the charge of stealing niggers." More specifically, they were

charged with enticing away a colored man called "Dick," who was claimed by Mayor Wood of St. Joseph.

The State of Missouri was represented by able counsel at the trial of Dr. Doy, according to Theodore Gardner. He quoted extracts from Colonel John Doniphan's appeal to the jury, reminding them that the trial was a contest between black Republicanism of Kansas and conservatism of Missouri, and that the eminent counsel for the defense had "come down to the contemptible work of cheating Missouri out of the fair vindication of her laws." After noting that allusion had been made to the sufferings of the Doy family, he asked the jury to consider the sufferings of Missouri families "if we allow our Negroes to be stolen with impunity? Our fair-skinned daughters will be reduced to performing the contemptible drudgery of the kitchen!" he exclaimed.

After the jury in the first trial failed to agree unanimously, they were discharged and a new trial set for June 20 following, this time for Dr. Doy individually because the court dismissed the charge against his son Charles, who was released. Dr. Doy failed to secure bail and was kept in jail until the convening of the June term of court. The second time around, he was arraigned, tried, convicted, and on June 23 sentenced to serve five years at the state prison at Jefferson City. Doy's lawyers appealed the verdict to the Missouri Supreme Court in Jefferson City.

"Thirty days later, while looking out of his grated window, he saw a man walking by in whom he recognized a friend, and then another, and still another." His rescuers had arrived from Lawrence "and the glimmering of a great light was coming."¹⁵

IV

Abolitionists were divided regarding the extent to which they were willing or able to help slaves escape from servitude. For the most part, these benefactors adhered to the Biblical injunction "to feed the hungry and clothe the naked" when fugitives came to their door in the dead of night seeking relief from their miseries. On the other hand, most abolitionists who participated in the Underground Railroad were, as Wilbur Siebert observes, "opposed either to enticing or to abducting slaves from the South." He writes that the largest number of ab-

duction cases occurred through the activities of fugitive slaves in the Northern states and Canada who returned to the South to free their fellow blacks.¹⁶

Three narratives in this study are concerned with enticing or abducting slaves from Missouri—No. 6, "The Fighting Preacher and the Runaway Slaves," by Captain John E. Stewart; No. 11, "John Brown and the Rescue of Missouri Slaves," by Richard Hinton and George B. Gill; and No. 12, "Quantrill and the Morgan Walker Tragedy," by Reverend John J. Lutz.

Captain John E. Stewart was a former Methodist minister and a close associate of James Montgomery in driving proslavery settlers from the southeast border counties of Kansas Territory. He was a member of the Doy rescue party, captain of a regimental company in the Civil War, and prior to the war he lived with his family on a farm claim on the Wakarusa River four miles south of Lawrence, which was a leading station on the Underground Railroad. Stewart was an Englishman by birth and former Methodist minister in Salem, New Hampshire. A radical abolitionist, he was very active in enticing slaves to leave their masters in Missouri and be taken over the Underground Railroad. (See Narrative 6, pp. 45–47.)

Further information about the skirmish between Stewart's slaves and a combined force of slave catchers and kidnappers in the summer of 1860 has been discovered by the editor. It is part of a letter from Silas Soule, a close friend of Stewart, dated Coal Creek [southeast of Lawrence], May 9, 1860, addressed to Messrs. Thayer, Eldridge, Hinton, etc. Soule wrote that on the previous day he visited Stewart's fort and learned that Stewart was all right;

he brought up three head the other night, making sixty-eight since he commenced. He met with a mishap yesterday. I went to Lawrence with him in the morning, and we had not been there more than an hour before a runner came in with word that his place had been attacked and one man taken and one wounded. We started off as quick as possible, but could only raise four horsemen, and by the time we got our arms they were off a good way. We followed them about six miles, but found that they all had good horses and were so far ahead that we could not overtake them. When last seen they were going it, with the [black] boy on behind one of them. He was calling for assistance and one of them

beating him with a club to keep him quiet. He was a free boy that had been here for two years. They were plowing in the field and had revolvers, but there were five of the kidnappers. There were fifteen or twenty shots fired, and one only was wounded that we know of. He was shot in the hip; the ball went out and didn't damage him much. Things look kind of blue and some one will be shot before long. It is supposed a that H. [William C. Quantrill, alias "Charley Hart"] was one of them.¹⁷ (See Narrative 2, pp. 11–20.)

V

John Brown's rescue of the Missouri slaves was one of the boldest adventures in the history of the Underground Railroad. He and his handful of men invaded Missouri and succeeded in taking eleven slaves on a journey of 2,500 miles to Canada, in the dead of winter, in a highly publicized and dangerous exploit. In a special way, it was a prelude to Brown's long-cherished plan on behalf of the slaves of Virginia and other parts of the South at Harper's Ferry.¹⁸

From the several biographies of John Brown it is possible to fill in some gaps in the Hinton-Gill version of the journey, especially from the border of Missouri to Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas. (See Narrative 11, pp. 77–88.)

James Redpath, author of a legend-building biography of John Brown wrote that

When the news of the invasion of Missouri spread, a wild panic went with it, which, in a few days, resulted in clearing Bates and Vernon Counties of their slaves. Large numbers were sold south; many ran into the [Kansas] Territory and escaped, the others were removed farther inland. The Governor offered a reward of three thousand dollars for the arrest of John Brown, to which President [James Buchanan] added a further reward of two hundred and fifty dollars.¹⁹

According to the Hinton-Gill narrative, the rescued slaves were taken first to Augustus Wattles's, from there to Richard Mendenhall's and the Reverend [Samuel] Adair's, near Osawatomie, and then to

near Garnett, in Anderson County. Oswald Garrison Villard, another biographer of John Brown, writes that the liberated slaves were placed in an old abandoned cabin near Garnett on the day after Christmas 1858. Although they were not beyond the danger of capture, there were kind neighbors to bring them food, give them encouragement, and stand guard over them. The slaves were armed and told not to surrender. They quickly made the cabin habitable, building a chimney of prairie sod. The naturally gay spirits of the race bubbled over so that frequently they had to be cautioned to be quiet. It was here that the wife of Jim Daniels, assisted by Dr. James G. Blunt, gave birth to a boy who was named John Brown Daniels.²⁰

Villard's account of the stopover at Lawrence follows that of Hinton-Gill, but with some embellishments. The party reached Major Abbott's on January 24 after suffering from bitter cold and limited supplies.

Through mud, and then over frozen ground, without a dollar of money in their pockets, their shoes all but falling apart, Gill and Brown resolutely drove the slow-going ox-team, with its load of women and children. These two staunch men demonstrated here, if ever, their willingness to suffer for others. Gill's feet were frozen when they reached Major Abbott's . . . and Brown's fingers, nose and ears were frozen.

While he was staying with Major Abbott or Joel Grover, Brown received a visit from Dr. John Doy. At first they agreed to join forces, but owing to altered circumstances, it was decided that they should move separately. Villard said that the disaster that befell Doy and his party "aroused indignation throughout the North." Leaving Lawrence on the evening of January 25 for Topeka, the wagons "were creaking with the weight of provisions contributed by Major Abbott and Mr. Grover."²¹

It may be questioned whether Villard is correct to give the arrival of Brown's party near Lawrence as January 4 and its departure the evening of the following day. The Hinton-Gill narrative says that the party left Grover's for Topeka on the evening of January 28 (Narrative 11, p. 83). Considering the amount of business and labor undertaken during the stopover near Lawrence, it seems reasonable to believe that four days rather than two were taken up with the various activities. The longer stopover would have made it feasible to not only move the

slaves from Abbott's to Grover's, but also from Abbott's to Soule's before they were taken to Grover's barn.²²

For more than a decade prior to the rescue of the Missouri slaves, John Brown was engaged in drawing up a plan to liberate the slaves in the South. He planned to seize and establish a stronghold in the mountains of Virginia and foment race war to free the slaves. He was supplied with arms by the Massachusetts-Kansas Committee and other organizations and individuals. On the night of October 16, 1859, Brown and his eighteen associates, of whom five were African Americans, attacked and captured the United States Armory and Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. He sent a patrol into the countryside to recruit slaves to augment his force. The following day Virginia militia units and United States Marines commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee recaptured the Armory and Arsenal, wounding Brown and killing eight of his men. John Brown was tried and convicted of treason, murder, and fomenting insurrection. He was sentenced to be hanged.²³

Though in some ways similar to the rescue of Dr. John Doy, the attempt to rescue John Brown from the gallows differed in most respects. The plan to rescue Brown was initiated in October 1859, when Richard J. Hinton came to Kansas. He visited James Hanway at Lane, in Miami County, and induced Hanway to go with him to Linn County. Arriving at Moneka, they met with Captain James Montgomery and Augustus Wattles at the Moneka hotel and planned the rescue of Brown. With the assistance of Major James B. Abbott and others, the Montgomery party of six men traveled by rail from St. Joseph, Missouri, to the East, where they were joined at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, by the Lawrence party consisting of Joshua A. Pike, Silas S. Soule, S. H. Willes, and Joseph Gardner, all of whom had been members of the Doy rescue party. From Harrisburg they moved to Hagerstown, Maryland, which was across the Potomac River from Charlestown, Virginia, where John Brown was imprisoned.²⁴

Silas S. Soule played a prominent part in the attempted rescue. He went to the Charlestown jail and secured an audience with John Brown. But the surveillance of Brown by the jailers was too strict to permit unfolding or perfecting any plan of rescue. Soule and his colleagues were shocked to discover that John Brown refused to be rescued. Brown said that he had received many kindnesses and was granted privileges from the jailer and his wife. He had pledged not to take advantage of them to escape; "he was in honor bound both to his

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ANTI-SLAVERY MASS MEETING!

Agreeably to a call, signed by about 50 persons, and published in the Lawrence Republican, a Mass Meeting of the friends of Freedom will be held at Miller's Hall, at 2 o'clock P. M., on Friday, Dec. 26, the day on which

CAPT. JOHN BROWN IS TO BE EXECUTED,
To testify against the iniquitous **SLAVE POWER** that rules this Nation, and take steps to

Organize the Anti-Slavery Sentiment

of the community. Arrangements have been made with prominent speakers to be present and address the meeting.
PER ORDER OF COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.
Lawrence, Nov. 26, 1859.

This broadside was distributed in Lawrence on November 26, 1859, after John Brown was taken prisoner at Harper's Ferry and it was announced by the U.S. government that he would be hanged.

keeper and his friends outside to prevent further bloodshed." Brown also emphasized that "he was strongly impressed with the conviction that death on the gallows was a fulfillment of his mission, the rounding out of his effort; the act that would make effective all his work for the freedom of the slaves." In his simple and terse way, he said: "I am worth more to die than to live." Mr. O. E. Morse, author of the article recounting the adventures of the rescue party, praised these men from Kansas for their devotion to the cause of freedom, and to their patriotic service in the Union Army and good citizenship afterward.²⁵ (See Narrative 5, pp. 41-43.)

On December 2, 1859, John Brown was hanged at Charlestown, Virginia. According to James E. McPherson, "Extraordinary events took place in many northern communities on the day of Brown's execution. Church bells tolled; minute guns fired solemn salutes, ministers preached sermons of commemoration; thousands bowed in silent reverence for the martyr to liberty." At the hour Brown was hanged, a crowd of Lawrence, Kansas, citizens adopted resolutions that praised

Brown's intentions at Harper's Ferry and asserted that he had given his life for the liberty of man.²⁶

VI

Narrative 12, "Quantrill and the Morgan Walker Tragedy," by Reverend John J. Lutz, touches on the essential facts of this historic event. These include the role of William Clarke Quantrill as the leading actor, his perfidy in leading three young men to their death in the raid into Missouri to liberate the slaves, data on the victims' families, community and religious backgrounds, the carrying out of the plan of attack, and the repercussions of the failed raid. (See Narrative 12, pp. 89-96.)

The raiding party consisted of Charles Ball, Edwin Morrison, and Chalkley Lipsey, all of whom lost their lives in the attempt. Albert Southwick and Ransom L. Harris were indirectly concerned with the affair. In an earlier article on the Walker raid, Reverend Lutz writes:

The Iowa boys were sons of Quaker parents and all, with the exception of Lipsey, lived at Springdale, Cedar county. They were all members of the Blue Lodge, a secret, oath-bound organization that had as its principal object, the liberation of negro slaves. The young men were brought up in a community whose atmosphere was that of freedom—a community that hated the slave system and befriended the bondmen. Springdale in the eastern part of the State, and Tabor, in the southwestern corner, were the two leading abolition centers, stations on the Underground Railway and the favorite stopping places of John Brown and other friends of freedom in their journeys to and from Kansas Territory, which was then the storm center of slavery agitation.

John Brown first came to Springdale in September 1855, on his way to join his five sons in Kansas and to assist the struggle for freedom in that territory. He stopped over in that Quaker settlement on several other occasions before his last visit with the twelve slaves he had rescued from Missouri.²⁷

Apart from the narratives of Mrs. Negus and Albert Southwick, little is said in the articles by Reverend Lutz about the relationship

between Quantrill and the "Iowa boys" and their plans for the Walker raid. William E. Connelley, on the other hand, devotes considerable attention to the relationship and to the planning process. The first plan called for an expedition in horse-drawn wagons to the Cherokee Indian Nation to the south of Kansas Territory to liberate the relatives of three African American slaves who had escaped from the Cherokees at an earlier time and were living at Springdale, Iowa. The plans for the journey were made at Lawrence by Quantrill and the Iowa boys or Pardee Quakers. It called for an intermediate stop at Osawatomie, Kansas Territory. "Those who arrived at Osawatomie from Lawrence were Quantrill, [John] Dean, Morrison, Ball, Southwick, Lipsey, John S. Jones who went under the name of 'Mr. Baker,' and the three Cherokee negroes."²⁸

At Osawatomie the planned expedition to the Cherokee Nation was abandoned due to insufficient support from local abolitionists. The Lawrence party then turned to the feasibility of a raid on the Walker farm. In debating the pros and cons of the venture they encountered opposition from Captain Ely Snyder, leader of the local Jayhawkers. He had been on raids into Missouri with Quantrill and was vehement in condemning him as a traitor. John Dean, the Lawrence abolitionist, was reluctant to believe Snyder, but several members of the Lawrence party were soon convinced and refused to have anything further to do with Quantrill. But Quantrill finally prevailed over Snyder in convincing the Pardee Quakers that the raid was feasible.

Morrison, Ball, and Lipsey left Osawatomie with Quantrill. Pretending to be on their way to work on the construction of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, they walked, armed with revolvers and knives, and carrying blankets and cooking utensils for camping in the woods. When they came within a mile of the Walker farm they made a hasty camp, and "proceeded to look the ground over, and arrange the plan of attack, which was decided upon and to be made just at dusk of evening." Dean and Southwick arrived at the campsite in a horse-drawn wagon somewhat later; however, Dean denied having been there and taking part in the raid.²⁹

Connelley believed that Quantrill and his men, or some of them, made camp several days prior to the day they moved near the Walker house. "They must have talked with the slaves and have received satisfactory responses before venturing upon the final stage of the raid," he wrote. The exact date of the attack is not known; however, it was

most likely in December 1860, perhaps late in the month. The Pardee Quakers agreed that Quantrill should lead the party to the Walker house. They were unaware that Quantrill had betrayed their mission to Walker and his son, and that Walker had recruited three of his proslavery neighbors to assist in ambushing the Quaker boys. The elder Walker had agreed that Quantrill and his men should come into the house to talk to Walker about taking away his slaves and other property, and that Quantrill should remain in the house when the others departed.

They arrived at the Walker house about seven o'clock, long after darkness had set in. Morrison was left a guard on the porch. Quantrill, Lipsey, and Ball went into the house. Ball was spokesman. He told Walker that they had come to take his slaves to Kansas, that they would also take his horses and mules, and demanded what money there was in the house. Walker asked Ball about the slaves and was informed that they had been consulted. Walker bargained with him, saying that if any slaves objected to leaving, he could not see any good reason why they should be compelled to leave him. "Walker also stated that if his slaves were taken he should be allowed to retain his money and livestock."³⁰

While Quantrill remained with Walker and his family, Ball and Lipsey opened the door and stepped out upon the porch. They were immediately fired on by Walker's neighbors. "Morrison fell dead. Lipsey fell from the porch with a charge of balls in his thigh. Ball, unscathed, leaped from the porch and fired his pistol at random. A second volley was fired into the darkness in the hope of finding those on the outskirts. "One of Dean's feet received a charge of buckshot. Both he and Southwick, who was unharmed, "hobbled to the wagon, clambered in, and waiting for no one, fled at a lumbering gallop in the direction of the sheltering walls of Lawrence, oh so far away!"³¹

Late in the day after he was killed, Morrison's body was laid in a crude coffin constructed hastily by one of Walker's slaves and buried near the road, apparently without any name plate. Two or three days later a slave from a near-by farm came upon Ball and Lipsey while he was hunting stray hogs in a wooded area. The slave reported the discovery to his master, who quickly informed the Walkers. Together with Quantrill and perhaps several neighbors, the Walkers armed themselves and were led by the slave to the Jayhawkers' camp. They found that Ball had been treating Lipsey's wounds with applications of heated

leaves, herbs, and water. According to Andrew J. Walker, "the Walkers and Quantrill went to the camp to kill Ball and Lipsey and that a volley fired by them killed both men and that Quantrill did not fire and did not kill either of the men." Connelley said that another version is that the Walkers shot and killed Ball, and Quantrill killed Lipsey. Ball and Lipsey were buried at the campsite without coffins. Their bodies were later exhumed by physicians or doctors and carried away for dissection.³²

Having associated with the Kansas Jayhawkers who participated in the raid, it was assumed by proslavery Missourians that Quantrill was also one of them. When he went to Independence with Andrew Walker, he was surrounded by a hostile crowd that believed that all Jayhawkers should be killed. The day following this demonstration, "Morgan Walker gave Quantrill a horse, bridle and saddle, and fifty dollars in cash, with the understanding that Quantrill was to leave his house for the time being." During the winter of 1860-'61, Quantrill lived with farmers in the neighborhood of the Morgan Walker farm. After his alleged motives for betraying his associates became public knowledge and he had joined the anti-horse thief gang under Andrew Walker, Quantrill "became a hero to the slave-holding citizens of Jackson County and was widely received."³³

VII

This section of the commentary is devoted to historical accounts and short notices of the Underground Railroad that have been discovered by the editor since the compilation of this reader.

Narrative 3, "The Rescue of Dr. John Doy," says that the Reverend Ephraim Nute and Charles Stearns were selected to make the necessary arrangements to start the colored residents of Lawrence on their way to a safe haven in Iowa. The following letter by Henry S. Clarke tells of the Underground station in Stearns' house in Lawrence. Henry S. Clarke was a Lawrence businessman, councilman, sheriff, and regent of the University of Kansas.

"I will give you my means of knowing some of the things being done by the Abolitionists of Kansas in the way of freeing negroes before the war. We had here what was known as an 'underground rail-

road.' The station at Lawrence was at the home of Charles Stearns, a Garrisonian Abolitionist. January first, 1860, I married a young woman who had been making her home at Stearns for a year or more just previous to our marriage. While I was not an active participant in everything that went on about the 'depot,' I several times sat up there all night with my best girl and Sharp's rifle while an escaped slave snored lustily in the adjoining room."³⁴ (See Narrative 3, pp. 21-23.)

Lawrence newspapers in the years from 1857 to 1861 carried many news items regarding the kidnaping of slaves, of which a number involved the border ruffian gang headed by Jake Herd. The following two newspaper items, both dated March 22, 1860, shed light on the operations of the Herd gang in Douglas County. (See Narrative 2, pp. 11-20.)

KIDNAPPING AND ARSON

"We regret to be called upon to record one of the most disgraceful cases of kidnaping that has ever occurred in Kansas. On Thursday last, the notorious Jake Herd, accompanied by another man, unknown, proceeded to the house of Mr. Heath, a brother of the member of the House of Representatives from this county, near Judge Wakefield's, in this county, and captured a colored man who was residing there. The poor fellow resisted, and discharged a gun at his captors, but was finally taken. [See Narrative 2, pp. 19-20.] The miscreants fired the house and fled. The neighbors were soon aroused, extinguished the fire, and followed the party to Lecompton. A warrant was issued by a justice of the peace in this city and placed in the hands of Sheriff [Samuel] Walker, who proceeded that night to Lecompton and instituted a search for the guilty parties, but without success. Whether they were concealed in Lecompton, or had crossed the [Kansas] river and fled to Missouri, is not known. But they escaped, and more than all with their prey, the poor colored man, who probably before this time is on his way to lifelong bondage in the far South. We have no comment to make on these facts. They are a burning and disgraceful comment in themselves." [This slave, who was named "Neeley," is the subject of a short sketch by Margaret Wulfkuhle in her chapter on Kanwaka township in Parker and Laird, *Soil of Our Souls*, p. 81.]

MORE EXCITEMENT AT KANWACA [SIC] KANWAKA

"We understand that an old log barn belonging to old man Herd, the father of Jake Herd, was burned down in the night of the same day that Jake kidnapped the negro and set fire to the house of Heath. The old man the next day threatened, it is said, that he would have revenge on every family living between his house and Lawrence. The result was that the citizens of the neighborhood assembled yesterday by the number of 50 at Judge Wakefield's, and as our informant left last evening, were about to pay the old man a visit in a body. The home of the old man is Jake's headquarters, and is said to be a complete rendezvous of thieves and bad characters generally. What was done by the crowd we have not learned."³⁵

Case studies of farm families that harbored slaves in western Douglas County are recorded in Martha Parker's and Betty Laird's book, *Soil of Our Souls: Histories of the Clinton Lake Area Communities* (Overbrook, Kans., 1980). These case studies have supplied interesting and useful information for this study, for which the editor is most grateful.

Ezekiel Colman was an outspoken abolitionist from Boston, Massachusetts, who settled with his family on a farm near the village of Kanwaka, about six miles west of Lawrence. "One of the Underground stations for aiding runaway slaves was located at 'Colman's Retreat,'" writes Margaret Wulfkuhle in *Soil of Our Souls*. There was a secret door in the kitchen of the Colman house that opened into a large space under the house where slaves could be concealed until they were taken to the next station. A fugitive named Neeley was brought to Kansas by John Brown and was left with the Colmans on one of Brown's visits to their home. When the neighbors who held proslavery sentiments saw Neeley working in the fields with other men, they chased him into the basement of a stone barn, where he was captured. They started to march him to Missouri to collect a \$500 reward, but Neeley eluded them and was back at Colman's in a few days. By coincidence Neeley met Lieutenant Charles Colman while both were serving in the Union Army in Arkansas during the Civil War. Margaret Wulfkuhle writes that "Kanwaka residents were predominately antislavery in sentiment; those who favored slavery were encouraged (sometimes not very gen-



Ezekiel Colman came with his family from Boston to Lawrence in 1854. He later purchased a farm west of Lawrence and built a house that was a station on the Underground Railroad.

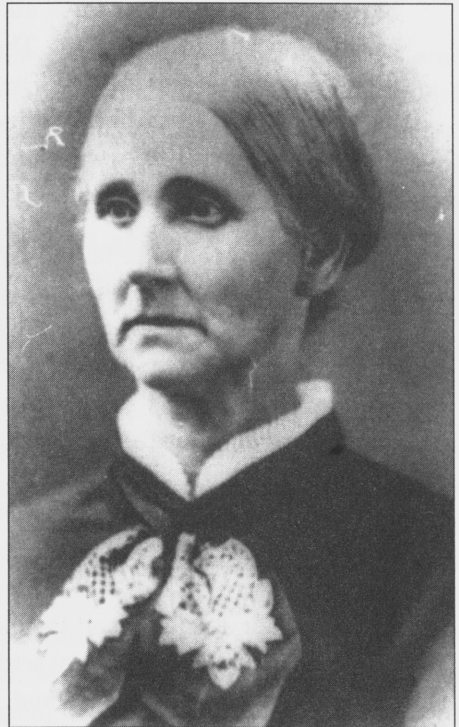
tly) to sell their claims and return to Missouri. Henry Baldwin, Ezekiel Colman and Charles Ingersoll served on the executive committee at the Antislavery Convention at the [Douglas County] courthouse in 1859."³⁶

To the north of Kanwaka is the township and town of Lecompton, which was the proslavery capital of Kansas Territory from 1855 to 1861. As might be expected, Lecompton had a large concentration of African Americans. Ann Clarke was a slave who was owned jointly by Colonel H. T. Titus and George W. Clarke, two federal government officials who lived near Lecompton. She was a domestic slave who was described by John Armstrong, a pioneer leader of Topeka, Kansas, as "about forty or 45 years old, weighed about 175 pounds, medium color." She escaped from her masters, was recaptured and returned, but escaped again before her captors could collect a reward from Ann's owners.

On her second flight, Ann met up with "Dr. Barker, the father of Senator Barker of Douglas county." She asked him to take her to his home and help her to escape. "He kept her at his house a day or two," wrote Armstrong, "hitched up his team, and put in several comforts, covered her over and took her down towards Lawrence. . . ." From

there a friend of Dr. Barker brought her to the boarding house of a Mrs. Scales at Topeka. Armstrong, who was one of the boarders, took charge of Ann. "We kept her there for about six weeks at our house, while I made arrangements to take her to Iowa. We started in the very last days of February, 1857, and I was gone three weeks. We went to Civil Bend, Iowa, to Dr. [Ira D.] Blanchard. From there we sent her on to Chicago. I had several letters from her afterwards. She lived there several years."³⁷

Besides his experiences with Ann Clarke, John Armstrong had a close relationship with a slave family that lived near his claim on Washington Creek, ten miles southeast of Lawrence. There were three or four members of the white family named Bowen, which had come from Kentucky with an African American family of slaves, consisting of father and mother and eight children; the oldest boy was almost twenty years of age. Bowen's slaves built his family's log house and did general farm work. They also built a log cabin for themselves about ten rods from their master's house. It was called a double-log house,



Mary Jane Wendell Colman was born and raised in Massachusetts. She married Ezekiel Colman in 1838 and came to rural Douglas County with her family in 1854. It was said of her that "she aided in every way possible the negroes who came to Kansas as a place of refuge."

with two rooms and an open space between. Armstrong and his sister Sarah became friendly with Bowen's slaves. Sarah taught the children their letters. "They came to our house on Sunday for that purpose. Their master did not know this. There were other slaves in the neighborhood, a few grown ones, but this was the largest family."

But tragic consequences for the children followed from the enmity that developed between Armstrong and Bowen. The latter operated a grocery store and saloon. The saloon was worse than a nuisance, for Bowen's proslavery friends would get drunk and threaten Armstrong, who told the "Lawrence boys" about it. Captain [Reuben A.] Randlett and a party of free-state men came from Lawrence to Armstrong's cabin on Washington Creek.

They then went over and cleaned out Bowen's whiskey, and gave him orders to leave. I only lived a quarter of a mile from his house. The oldest colored boy of Bowen's came down to my house that night with the rest of the children, and cried "Master Armstrong." I asked what was the matter. He said, "Some men have come to Master Bowen's, and I am afraid they are going to kill us." [Armstrong said he] let them all in, the whole colored family. I asked who was in the crowd. They did not know whether they were freestate or pro-slavery. They wanted me to run them off. I had talked to them before this about leaving their master. Randlett's men gave Bowen's family three days in which to leave. They took the slaves to Westport [Missouri] with them.³⁸

We have seen that the killing by proslavery men of Napoleon Simpson, the fugitive who was harbored by the Joseph Gardner family, was one of the most tragic events of the Underground Railroad experience. John Armstrong wrote that about sixty men and their families lived in the proslavery settlement at the head of Washington Creek, which was near the Gardner's farm home.³⁹ (See Narrative 9, pp. 57-66.)

One of the doctors who testified at the coroner's inquest after the killing of Napoleon Simpson was the Honorable Eliab G. Macy, M.D., who was also a farmer. He was born in Preble County, Ohio, and educated at a Quaker academy and the medical college in Cincinnati. He and his wife, Rachel Cooper Macy, settled in Clinton township in 1854. Dr. Macy was a Quaker and he and his wife were reputed to have

operated a station on the Underground. Part of his testimony at the inquest is quoted as follows:

"Dr. E. G. Macy, after being duly sworn, testified as follows: On the morning of the 9th of June, 1860, I and Dr. Thompson went to the house of Joseph Gardner. As we went into the house we saw the dead body of Napoleon Simpson, lying on the floor, on his left side and abdomen, face down, his shirt and sheet upon which he lay all covered with blood. After several of our neighbors had gathered, I and some of them washed and dressed him. By moving the clothing that was under and upon him, we saw several pools of clotted or coagulated blood upon the floor. In turning him over, we saw a wound upon his body, consisting of two holes, each three-quarters of an inch in diameter, one inch apart, entering the body at the left superior portion of the thorax or chest—one hole or orifice below the clavicle or collar bone, the other orifice or hole immediately upon the bone, showing very evidently that the wounds were made by buckshot, discharged from a gun. . . . His left shoulder was literally shot to atoms. Dr. Thompson picked up from the floor two or three small pieces of bone that had fallen out of the wounds. These wounds were the cause of his death."⁴⁰

Henry Hiatt was born into a Quaker family in Warrant County, Ohio, and grew up in Dublin, Indiana. He is described by Martha Parker as an "outspoken dreamer" who was an ardent supporter of abolition, temperance, and public education. He was disowned by the Quakers for his advocacy of free thought. He came to Kansas with his wife, Frances Elizabeth Smith Hiatt, and their five children in April 1856, and settled first at Bloomington and later at Twin Mound in the western part of Douglas County. In his later years, Hiatt wrote and published a booklet *My Belief and Reasons Therefore* in which he recorded that

having inherited a deep sympathy for those in bonds as being bound with them, I could do no other than give a portion of my life work and means to assist the slaves of the South in obtaining their freedom. The remembrance of no part of said work gives me more pleasure than that of making two trips to Topeka in a close covered spring wagon in which was secreted each trip two colored men—slaves on their way to Canada. Starting at sunset, leaving them at Col[onel] [John] Ritchie's at midnight, and returning

home by sunrise in the morning, Ritchie handing them to the next station and so on.

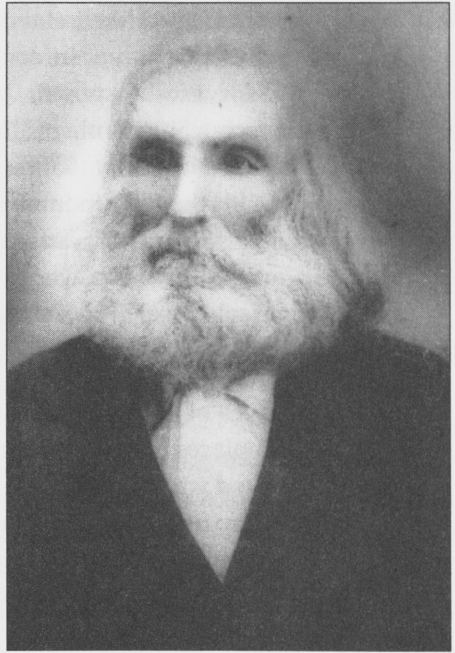
In a paper by an anonymous author in the Hiatt family folder at the Watkins Community Museum at Lawrence, it is recorded that escaped slaves were brought to Henry Hiatt by Captain William B. Kennedy, who lived five miles south of Lawrence, and taken on to John Ritchie's. "Occasionally, when the chance of being searched by Pro-Slavery parties seemed possible or likely, he took these slaves to Edwin Smith, a mile or more to the West, until it seemed safe to take them on to Topeka."⁴¹

VIII

In this final section of the reader the editor intends to analyze and interpret the data presented in the narratives and commentary. Answers will be sought for the following questions: 1. What motivated the slaves to run away from their masters and mistresses? 2. What is known of the fugitives' sex, age, occupations, masters and mistresses? 3. What routes or trails did they take? What conveyances were used? 4. What risks and hazards were faced by fugitive slaves and their protectors? 5. How was the Underground Railroad organized and financed? 6. How many fugitive slaves came to Lawrence and rural Douglas County from 1854 to 1861?

1. What motivated the slaves to run away from their masters and mistresses?

For the antebellum South as a whole, the great majority of slaves ran away to avoid something rather than to achieve anything. Chastisement for infraction of rules, cruel treatment, severe and unjustified punishment by a master or overseer, abuse, and overwork were all circumstances that slaves desired to avoid. Many slaves escaped because they feared being sold away from a good master and away from family and friends. Some fugitives made their escape to rejoin family and friends who had previously escaped. Those who escaped were generally the most intelligent, daring, and courageous of the



Henry Hiatt, an ardent abolitionist, kept a station on the Underground Railroad in rural Douglas County.

slaves. They often did so by their own cunning and self-reliance. They stole passes, used disguises, and absconded on their masters' horses and in boats as well as on foot.⁴²

By contrast with the Deep South, with its plantation system of large acreages, numerous slaves, and specific staple crops, the lifestyle of typical Missourians was centered on farms with a small labor force and acreage and diversified crops and livestock. John G. Haskell was a resident of Lawrence, Kansas, who traveled widely in Missouri. He observed that there was little distinction between the workman and supervisor on a typical Missouri farm, except for their race and that one owned the other. He found few rural white families that owned more than one family of blacks. "The social habits were those of the farm and not the plantation. The white owner, with his sons, labored in the same field with the Negro, both old and young. The mistress guided the industries of the house in both colors. Slavery had been woven into the warp and woof of the social web," he believed.⁴³

Henry Clay Bruce, a slave from central Missouri who escaped to Leavenworth, Kansas, wrote that there were masters of different dispositions and temperaments.

Many owners treated their slaves so humanely that they never ran away, although they were sometimes punished; others really felt grieved for it to be known, that one of their slaves had been compelled to run away; others allowed the overseer to treat their slaves with such brutality that they were forced to run away, and when they did, the condition of their remaining slaves was bettered, because the master's attention would be called to the fact, and he would limit the power of the overseer to punish at will; others never whipped grown slaves and would not allow any one else to do so.⁴⁴

That the slaves of Western Missouri were harshly treated at different times and places is without question. Dr. John Doy was told by the slaves he talked with in the Platte County Jail that the slaves who worked in the hemp fields of that county were overworked and harshly punished. Moreover, families were frequently separated when they were sold to local traders, who resold them to buyers in the Deep South. Hemp farms employed a substantial number of blacks, partly because of their profitability, and partly because free labor avoided the strenuous and disagreeable labor required to prepare a crop of hemp for market. In her study of slavery in Missouri, Ann Chiarelli contends that while the relatively humane treatment of slaves was the rule, "the image of the brutal slaveholder could be found in reality. Running away from the plantation or farm, failing to complete assigned jobs or stealing from owners brought on the most severe punishment." She concludes that slaves had much to fear from the whip and being sold down South and separated from their families. This reader tells the stories of Napoleon Simpson and Jim Daniels, who escaped or were rescued by abolitionists after learning they had been or were soon to be sold by their masters.⁴⁵

Besides the urge to escape from a life of fear and drudgery, slaves were motivated to abscond by what they learned about the promises of freedom in Kansas Territory. News of the "promised land" came from three main sources. Slaves who escaped before they were to be sold separately from their families were motivated to return to bring out their kinfolk, as Napoleon Simpson attempted unsuccessfully. Knowledge of these daring escapades influenced other slaves to take flight. A second source of information came from radical abolitionists, such as Reverend John E. Stewart, who disguised himself as a peddler

or produce buyer to get direct access to the slave quarters to persuade the bondmen to abscond. The third source was the proslavery leaders themselves, who, in fulminating against the "nigger stealers" in Lawrence, taught the slaves "the size, location, and political character of every village and town in the Territory, as well as the active men who inhabited them." Thus the slaves were taught, unintentionally, "the places and men to shun, as well as the places and men to trust."

2. *What is known about the fugitives' sex, age, occupations, and masters and mistresses?*

The above narratives and commentary supply information on five slaves who came to Lawrence and Douglas County from Missouri, and several others of unknown origin.

Ike Gaines, who was the property of widow Gaines of Platte City, Missouri, said that the men at the livery stable in that town persuaded him to abscond. That he was a valuable slave is attested by the fact that his mistress paid a ransom of \$500 to the kidnappers of Lawrence who returned him. (See Narrative 2, pp. 15–16.)

Mrs. James B. Abbott told of a stoutly built colored man of twenty-three or twenty-four years of age who came to the Abbott farm south of Lawrence. Finding that he had been employed as a cook on river steamboats and was very skillful, Mrs. Abbott said he helped her considerably with the cooking at a time when she had a bad swelling under her arm. After the Abbots moved into the town of Lawrence, they harbored two boys whose origins are not stated. They were about fourteen and eighteen years old, and were described as "real good looking mulattoes." (See Narrative 4, pp. 37–39.)

Napoleon Simpson was shot and killed by proslavery men who attacked him and the Joseph Gardner family who harbored him. He came from Jackson County, Missouri. A short time before he escaped, Simpson had been sold for \$1,500 by his master to a slave trader, who had bought him for a Southern market. (See Narrative 9, pp. 64–66.)

The fugitive slave called "Lizzie," whom Reverend Richard Cordley and his wife Mary harbored for a time, was described as "about twenty-two years old, slightly built and graceful in form and motion," with features that indicated some white blood. She was an excellent cook and housekeeper, and had a pleasant and agreeable

temperament. She did not complain of cruel treatment from her owner but would go to any lengths to avoid being returned to slavery. Her owner valued her highly, offering a large sum of money for her recovery. (See Narrative 10, pp. 70, 72.)

Jim Daniels was the slave whom John Brown and his men encountered near the border of Linn County, Kansas, and Bates County, Missouri. After abandoning his disguise as a seller of brooms, Jim told a member of Brown's party that he and his wife and children belonged to an estate and were to be sold at an administrator's sale in the near future. His appeal led Brown and his men to rescue eleven slaves—together with wagons, oxen, and other equipment—and, with the addition of a baby born on the journey, take them to freedom in Canada. (See Narrative 11, pp. 79–81.)

Little is known about the fugitive named Neeley, who was brought to Kansas by John Brown and left with the Ezekiel Colman family. He was kidnapped by a party of proslavery men but escaped while being taken to Missouri so his captors could collect a \$500 reward. (See p. 141 above.)

Ann Clarke was a fugitive on the Underground Railroad whose origin is unknown. She was a skilled domestic worker and described as about forty or forty-five years old; she weighed about 175 pounds and was of medium color. (See p. 142 above.)

Though few in number, these cases of runaway slaves in Lawrence and Douglas County seem to conform to generalization applied more widely to fugitives who were involved in the Underground Railroad. The above fugitives were predominately male, young, skilled, and highly valued by their owners. With the exception of the Jim Daniels party and Ann Clarke, they probably came to Lawrence and Douglas County individually. Four of them are known to have performed labor for their benefactors in exchange for food, shelter, and protection from slave catchers and law officers.

3. What routes or trails did they take? What conveyances, if any, were used?

Compared with the Northeastern and Ohio Valley states, with their high population densities and complex networks of Underground Railroad trails and stations, Kansas Territory was a land of sparse

population and few well-established stations and connecting trails. Together with these factors, our knowledge of routes and trails is limited because of the secrecy that was strictly enforced by persons engaged in Underground activities. Slaves who, prior to 1857, crossed the Missouri border into Kansas Territory traveled on routes that bypassed Atchison, Leavenworth, Franklin, Lecompton, and other proslavery settlements. After 1856 there was relatively heavy traffic on the Lane Trail from Topeka, Holton, Nebraska City and Tabor, Iowa, and then on to Canada.

Theodore W. Morse said that the line of the Underground crossed the Missouri border into Kansas Territory at whatever point was most quickly reached by the escaping slaves, usually somewhere south of Kansas City. Fugitives traveled by night from one hiding place to the next, stopping at stations located in antislavery neighborhoods which were as free as possible from proslavery partisans and especially bounty hunters who preyed on fugitives. An anonymous author wrote that the Underground followed no definitely detailed route in Kansas. He said that because the antislavery people were bound by honor to shelter and assist runaway slaves, those highways were selected that best suited the exigency of the time and place. The Lawrence division of the railroad crossed the Kansas River at Lawrence. This route continued north via Oskaloosa to Holton, Kansas. The Mound City route went north through Topeka to Holton.⁴⁶

The best publicized route was the one taken by John Brown and the twelve slaves who were transported from Missouri via Kansas Territory, Nebraska, Iowa, and other states to Canada in the winter of 1858–59. Narrative 11 indicates that the stopping places prior to reaching the Abbotts' farm near Lawrence included Wattles's, Mendenhall's, Adair's, a cabin near Garnett, and Ottawa Jones's. In an article about the Battle of the Spurs, L. L. Kiene describes the conveyance of the fugitives from Joel Grover's barn near Lawrence to the farm of Daniel Sheridan near Topeka as follows:

The vehicle was what was known as a prairie-schooner, the type used by freighters, and which, while it served to conceal the contents, at the same time attracted little attention. The wagon was drawn by four horses, which had been substituted for oxen at Maj. J. B. Abbott's farm, five miles south of Lawrence, where a stop of

several days was made for the purpose of selling the cattle and securing provisions for the long journey.

After breakfast at the Sheridans, the fugitives were distributed among the trusted antislavery homes in Topeka and vicinity, and Sheridan, [John] Ritchie, and [George B.] Gill went into the town to solicit shoes and clothing for the fugitives. At dusk the horses were hitched to the wagon and the fugitives were gathered up, wearing the clothing and shoes secured from the antislavery people.⁴⁷

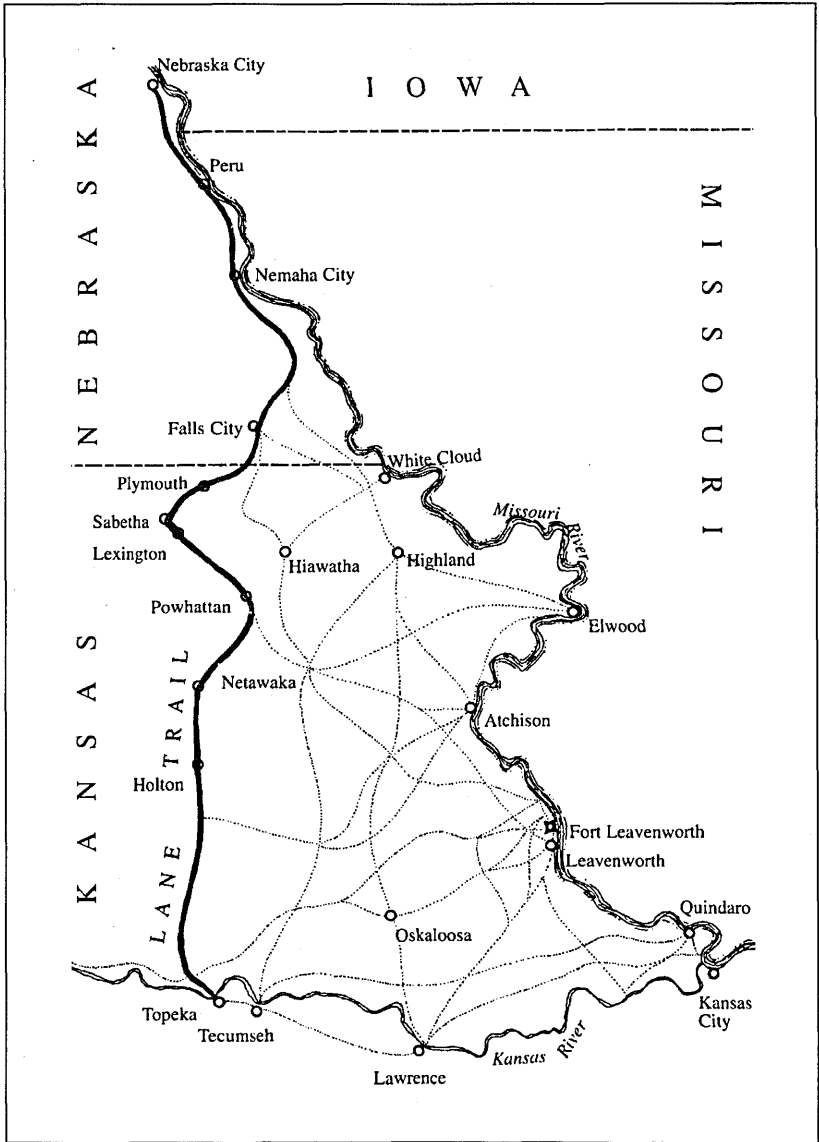
At the time of the sacking of Lawrence on May 21, 1856, James H. Lane was on a speaking tour of the Old Northwest to encourage immigration and to raise money and arms for the beleaguered free-state forces in the Territory. At about the same time, proslavery forces in Missouri, in collaboration with steamboat owners, closed the Missouri River route to Kansas Territory. In this difficult situation, Lane proceeded to open a new overland route through the free state of Iowa to bypass the blockade on the Missouri River. Although the first large party of emigrants did not enter Kansas via the Lane Trail until August of 1856, the threat of the alternative route probably contributed to the early lifting of the blockade.⁴⁸

"In the winter of 1857 the Lane Trail became the Underground Railroad out of Kansas toward Canada," writes William E. Connelley. The Trail was adapted for the purpose by John Brown and his coworkers at Topeka—John Armstrong, Col. John Ritchie, Jacob Willits, and Daniel Sheridan. Across the Missouri River from Nebraska City was Civil Bend, Iowa, the home of Dr. Ira D. Blanchard, who helped John Brown and his Topeka friends arrange the details of that station.⁴⁹

John Armstrong was a conductor of slaves on the Lane Trail. He wrote in his "Reminiscences" that he transported Ann Clarke and several other female slaves to Iowa. In the case of Clarke, he wrote:

In preparation for our journey to Iowa, I got a closed carriage of Rev. Burgess. . . . The span of mules I got from another place. I had to raise money to pay the expenses: From Gov[ernor] Robinson \$10.00, Maj[or] Abbott \$5.00, Col[onel] Ritchie \$5.00. The rest were dollar subscriptions, from various parties, \$70.00 in all.

Armstrong noted several stopping places. One was five miles north of Holton, where John Brown and his slaves were caught at the Battle



The Lane Trail played a prominent part in Kansas history. Initially it enabled free-state immigrants to bypass hostile antislavery forces in Missouri. Later, it facilitated the movement of fugitive slaves north from Lawrence and Topeka to Nebraska and Iowa with greater security and access to support services.

of the Spurs. After taking Ann Clarke, Armstrong "sent several women up. Some came from Missouri, some from Kansas."⁵⁰

4. What risks and hazards were faced by fugitive slaves and their protectors?

In Missouri and other Southern states African American slaves were expensive, costing a thousand to two thousand dollars for a strong male slave. When a slave escaped, his owner tried desperately to get him back. The law was on the side of the slaveowner, for as early as 1793 Congress passed a Fugitive Slave Law, whereby owners were authorized to capture runaways anywhere they might be found in the United States. The law said that anyone who assisted a fugitive would be severely punished. Southern newspapers frequently ran advertisements showing a woodcut of a slave with his worldly possession in a bandana slung over his shoulder at the end of a stick. If advertising failed, the next step was to hunt with dogs. The next step was to hire professional slave catchers, who were crafty, ruthless men. Often, however, they were outwitted by fugitives and by agents of the Underground Railroad.⁵¹

Fugitives and their protectors faced wide-ranging risks and hazards and devised ingenious strategies and tactics to avoid capture, punishment, and even death in encounters with slave hunters, kidnapers, and law officers. From first flight the fugitive had to fight the pangs of hunger and the hardships of inclement weather, and seek to avoid capture by armed and mounted overseers, masters, civilian patrols, and law officers and their dogs. After crossing the Missouri-Kansas border, the fugitive, or group of fugitives, were likely to be aided in their flight to freedom by agents of the Underground Railroad.

In his article on the Underground Railroad in Kansas, Theodore W. Morse explains why descriptions of the routes taken by fugitives were vague:

A "train," as a party of slave refugees was called, might learn that the intended next stop was being watched by a Federal posse, while the "station" keeper was hiding in the timber along some nearby creek. Warnings, and other communications, by "grape-

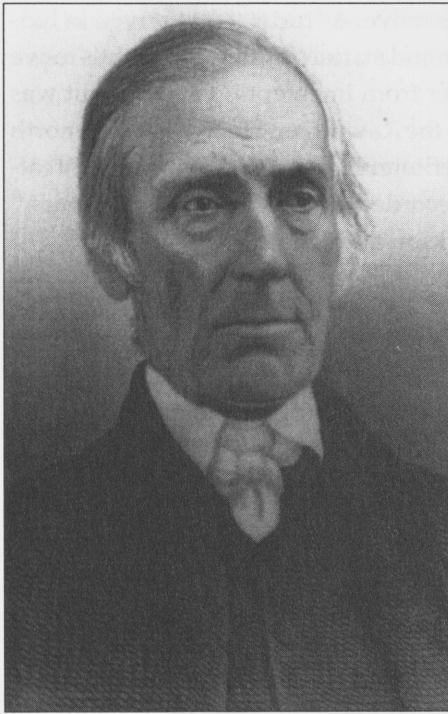
vine" preceded every night's move. A "train" often stayed in hiding for days until a safe route and station for the next night's move could be determined. Danger from interception and pursuit was less after the "train" crossed the Kaw River. Hence the route north from the river was more definite. However, pursuit and threatened attacks, like the one recorded as the "Battle of the Spurs," did occur as far north as Jackson and Jefferson counties.⁵²

Given proper guidance by his conductor, the fugitive was likely to be brought to a station in rural Douglas County. A newspaper article by an anonymous author said that, "After they had reached some station on the 'railroad' it was customary to place them out among reliable farmers to await the collection of a sufficient number to justify the hazards of a trip. The size of the parties to be transported naturally depended on circumstances. Meanwhile, the slaves by their labor were self-supporting." However, it was dangerous to place the fugitives with a single reliable farmer or even a number of them, if they were scattered over the countryside where the greater majority of the inhabitants were proslavery militants.⁵³

One relatively unsafe rural neighborhood was on Washington Creek near the village of Lone Star southwest of Lawrence. Although Joseph Gardner was an ardent abolitionist, his neighbors were predominately proslavery men. Gardner's son later wrote (see Narrative 9) that, "In the summer of 1860 Joseph Gardner threw off all pretense of secrecy." The two slaves that were harbored by the family were hired to build a stone fence around the farm. About a year later when one of these slaves returned, shots were fired at the Gardner cabin after midnight, and in the skirmish the fugitive named Napoleon Simpson was shot and killed.

Similarly, secrecy was relaxed on the Ezekiel Colman farm in Kanwaka township. A slave named Neeley, who was harbored by the Colmans, was seen working in the fields. He was captured by bounty hunters who took him to Missouri to be sold. Fortunately, for Neeley, he escaped before his captors accomplished their mission.

Although border warfare over political issues quieted down in Lawrence and Douglas County after 1856, conflicts over fugitives on the Underground Railroad continued. Armed conflict between Underground forces, on the one hand, and slave owners, slave catchers, and kidnappers, on the other, erupted at Stewart's fort, Gardner's log



Levi Coffin was a Quaker and the reputed "president" of the Underground Railroad. As a merchant, he operated Underground stations at Newport and Cincinnati, Ohio.

cabin, and at several locations in Kanwaka township where individuals resorted to arson as well as to firearms. In Lawrence guns were fired in conflicts involving Allen Pinks, John Dean, and William Quantrill. These were not only struggles between white antagonists. Indeed, slaves were trained to use firearms and take part in skirmishes that determined their fate. As Napoleon Simpson said to members of the Gardner family as he lay dying from bullet wounds, "Fight! Fight hard!"

5. How was the Underground Railroad organized and financed?

The Underground Railroad was not a formal organization. As Wilbur H. Siebert points out, there were no officers of different ranks, no regular membership, and no treasury from which to meet expenses. Such titles as station keepers, agents, and conductors were figurative terms, borrowed from the convenient vocabulary of steam railways.⁵⁴

Considering the limited information about the organization and finances of the Lawrence and Douglas County Underground Railroad, some background information from older stations on the railroad may shed light on this question.

Levi Coffin, the reputed "President of the Underground Railroad," came from a Quaker community in New Garden, North Carolina. While still a young man, he and his cousin, Vestal Coffin, organized a station on the Underground.

After moving to Newport, Indiana, and later to Cincinnati, he established stations in these towns. Because of the unpopularity of abolitionists and the danger of retaliation from slave-catchers, Coffin confined his Underground affairs to a few persons who were brave and conscientious workers.

Coffin wrote in his "Reminiscences" that the fugitives came to his stations hungry, exhausted, and destitute of clothing, and were often barefoot. Upon arrival, often at midnight, a meal was hurriedly prepared for them. They were then secreted among friendly colored people or hidden in the upper room of Coffin's house. It required a considerable outlay of time and money to relieve their suffering. Coffin wrote that "clothing must be collected and kept on hand, if possible, and money must be raised to buy shoes and purchase goods to make garments for women and children." A sewing society was organized by the Women's Antislavery Society to supply clothes and other necessities. There were outlays for the rental of horse-drawn carriages to carry the fugitives to other stations. Much of the money to defray these and other expenses came from Coffin's own pocket. He also raised money from his business acquaintances, whom he called "stock-holders" in the Underground Railroad. He told one man who was reluctant to contribute that "instead of the Underground Railroad being an institution organized for the purpose of making money, it was attended with great expense, and explained the principles by which the managers were actuated, and the motives which prompted us to spend our time and money in aiding the poor fugitives."⁵⁵

Undoubtedly the most pervasive contrast between Lawrence and Cincinnati, apart from the difference in size, was in the political and socio-economic spheres. Whereas Lawrence was a new town on the frontier of settlement whose citizens led the struggle to make Kansas Territory a free state, Cincinnati was a prosperous and peace-loving city on the Ohio River, with a busy port and important industries,

especially after the first steamboat had sailed on western waters in 1811. In September 1856, Thomas Wentworth Higginson (see Narrative 7) went to Kansas Territory as the agent of the National Kansas Committee headquartered in Chicago. In Lawrence he found that though the attacks by proslavery military forces from Missouri had practically ceased, "their effects remained in the form of general poverty and in privations as to food, especially as regarded breadstuffs." In the rural regions of the Territory, Higginson was informed of "a perpetual guerrilla warfare going on in a vague and desultory way."⁵⁶

The lengthy letter from John Bowles to Franklin B. Sanborn at Boston (Narrative 8) tells the story of growth amidst adversity in the Lawrence station of the Underground Railroad. The station started with limited means and opportunities. As the means increased, there was "a corresponding increase in the opportunity for doing good to the white man as well as the black." Bowles acknowledged that Kansas had been preeminently a land of charity, but he said that at the same time the agents and station keepers were "continually strained to meet the heavy demands that were almost daily made upon us to carry on this (not very) *gradual* emancipation." The difficulties encountered at the station included hard times and the drying up of local contributions, the extraordinary expenses incurred by the citizens to help with the defense fund for Dr. John Doy's trial at St. Joseph, Missouri, the large influx of fugitives at the Christmas season, and the inadequate funds and other problems involved in sending them on the Lane Trail to Canada. Bowles, however, took pride in revealing that nearly 300 fugitives had passed through and received assistance from the Lawrence station, which he supervised during the previous four years.

6. *How many fugitive slaves came to Lawrence and Douglas County from 1854 to 1861?*

Since only two agents or station masters on the Underground Railroad disclosed the number of fugitive slaves who were aided and passed through the Lawrence and other Douglas County stations, it is difficult to estimate the total number of African American sojourners in the years from 1854 to 1861. John Bowles (Narrative 8, p. 53) stated that in a four-year period he "was personally known to the fact of

nearly three hundred fugitives having passed through and received assistance from the abolitionists here in Lawrence." Moreover, in a letter of May 9, 1860 (see pp. 131–32 above), Silas Soule wrote that he learned that John E. Stewart had "brought up three head [of fugitives] the other night, making sixty eight since he commenced." Unknown numbers of fugitives came to other stations and homes that harbored slaves. In Lawrence these included Charles Stearns, Samuel F. Tappan, Reverend Ephraim Nute, Reverend Richard Cordley, James B. Abbott, Dr. John Doy, John Dean, and a Mr. Monteith; in rural Douglas County there were Robert Miller, Joel Grover, James B. Abbott, John Brown, Jr., Amasa Soule, William B. Kennedy, Asa Dutton, Joseph Gardner, Dr. Eliab Macy, Henry Hiatt, Edwin Smith, Ezekiel Colman, David Peabody, and others.

Increased numbers of fugitives came to or were brought to Lawrence and rural Douglas County from 1854 to 1861, especially after 1856. The creation of new antislavery settlements and the quieting of political discord and military confrontations encouraged the slaves of western Missouri to abscond from their masters. As more and more of them took flight, their masters became apprehensive and sought to prevent the erosion of their labor force. In his doctoral dissertation of 1914, "Slavery in Missouri, 1804–1865," Harrison Anthony Trexler wrote that

After the struggle [over Kansas Territory] had resulted in a victory for the antislavery forces [by 1857], the golden age of slave absconding opened. Escapes apparently increased each year till the Civil War caused a general exodus of slave property from the State. The enterprising abolition fraternity of Kansas—Brown, Lane, Doy, and the rest—seemingly made it their religious duty to reduce the sins of the Missouri slaveholder by relieving him of all the slave property possible.⁵⁷

As a result of the flight of slaves to Kansas Territory, many slaveowners in Missouri moved their blacks to safer regions or sold them.

It seems possible to build on the numbers recorded by Bowles and those for Stewart, which were recorded by Soule, to arrive at an estimated total for Lawrence and rural Douglas County. First, adjustments are needed for the numbers reported by Bowles and Soule. Since both of these numbers—nearly three hundred, and sixty-eight—were

recorded approximately one year before the outbreak of the Civil War, we need to add an estimated year's influx of fugitive slaves, or one-fourth of these totals—seventy and seventeen—to arrive at a total of 367. But taking into account the arrival in Kansas Territory of increased numbers of fugitives during “the golden age of absconding,” as reported by Dr. Trexler, we can conservatively increase the number 367 to 400 or possibly 500.

To these subtotals must be added the slaves who were harbored at other stations and stopping places in Douglas County. If, in the five-year period, 1856–1860, a total of twenty-five slaves each were harbored at twenty stations or stopping places, the total is 500. It is assumed here that no allowance is made for double-counting, that is, the transfer from one place to another within Douglas County. Altogether, it is estimated that between 900 and 1,000 fugitive slaves and free African Americans passed through and were aided by Underground Railroad personnel in Lawrence and rural Douglas County in the five years from 1856 to 1860.

IX

To historian Albert Bushnell Hart, “the Underground Railroad was not a route, but a network; not an organization, but a conspiracy of thousands of people banded together for the deliberate purpose of depriving their southern neighbors of their property and of defying the fugitive-slave laws of the United States.” Furthermore, the people who directed the organization were chiefly orderly citizens, members of churches and philanthropical societies. They were committed to aiding oppressed slaves and frustrating cruel masters. Hart says that “the Underground Railroad furnished the pleasure of a hunt in which the trembling prey was saved from his brutal pursuers; the excitement of a fight . . . ; and the joy of a martyr's crown.”⁵⁸

The Underground Railroad was a unique conspiracy of both blacks and whites to help escaped slaves from the South reach places of safety in the North or in Canada. Owing to the dangers and penalties they faced, fugitive slaves and white conductors and station agents carried on their operations in secret. They conducted operations under cover of darkness, used railroad terms in communications, disguised their

sex by donning the garments of the opposite sex, acted as peddlers of notions, and fugitive slaves paid or persuaded literate blacks or whites to write false passes for them. White conductors sometimes installed false bottoms in the wagons that transported the fugitives, and station-keepers had secret rooms in their houses and barns.

Perhaps the most thoughtful account of the security problem is that contained in Narrative 10 by Reverend Richard Cordley. When he was asked to harbor the female fugitive "Lizzie," he thought of the dire consequence if he and his wife fell into the clutches of the law. He consented, however, and Lizzie became a cherished member of the Cordleys' household. Later, after Lizzie had been transported safely to Canada, Cordley revealed his relationship with the Underground Railroad in Lawrence. He said it was the first and only time he ever came in personal contact or had any personal knowledge of the operations of the Underground Railroad. He presumed that knowledge of the secret operations was confined to those who were directly involved, and that they were few in number. (See Narrative 10, p. 75.)

The people who directed the Underground Railroad in Lawrence and rural Douglas County were imbued with a religious and philanthropic concern for the freedom and welfare of chattel slaves. Those in Lawrence were pastors of churches, professionals, merchants and tradesmen; the majority were natives of the New England and Mid-Atlantic states. Several residents of the town are known to have had farms as well as urban businesses or professions. In the sphere of religion, there were Congregationalists, Methodists, Quakers, Unitarians, Episcopalians, Baptists, Catholics, and members of the Church of the Brethren. Members of the Society of Friends or Quakers were more prominent in rural than in urban Douglas County. More than other churches, according to Theodore W. Morse, the Quakers in Kansas gave a full measure of moral support to their members who were opposed to the institution of slavery and active in the Underground Railroad. He said that, to a degree which few people realized, "the original population of Kansas was made up of these plain speaking and direct acting people, who could not be impressed by the evidence of wealth or official prestige but were a power in making the state substantial as well as progressive."⁵⁹

By contrast with the fugitive slaves who were sojourners in Lawrence and rural Douglas County during the Territorial period, there were large numbers of contrabands who came during the Civil

War and put down roots and became a settled and growing community that made important contributions to the economic, social, and cultural life of free-state Kansas. Many of the men volunteered for service in the First and Second Kansas Colored Infantry Regiments. Others supplied much-needed labor as skilled and unskilled workers. Black women in Lawrence and rural Douglas County found work as domestics, washerwomen, seamstresses, servants, and cooks. African Americans came in such numbers that the Kansas census of 1865 showed that there were 2,078 who were residents of Douglas County. Of these, Lawrence had 933, or one black for every five whites, and rural Douglas County had 1,145.⁶⁰

Most contrabands who settled in rural Douglas County made their living initially by working as hired hands on white-owned farms. After the Civil War, however, a growing number were able to apply their meager savings and borrow on mortgage security to enable them to purchase small farms. One community that the blacks came to dominate was Bloomington, in Clinton Township. More than seventy contrabands had settled in Bloomington valley on the Wakarusa River by 1865, and by 1870 this community, according to Betty Laird, "probably had come to be regarded as largely a black farming neighborhood, with two churches (Baptist and Methodist) and a school forming the nucleus of a lively social community." One of the African American leaders of the community was George Washington (see Narrative 15), who organized and supervised the celebration of Emancipation Day every August 1, with an all-day picnic, speeches, and a ball game. On these occasions George Washington spoke proudly of having fought in the Civil War.⁶¹

Among the thousands of slaves who escaped from Missouri and came to Lawrence during the Civil War was William Harper. He was born in 1839 in Virginia. His parents had been slaves but were freed and he was to be freed at the age of twenty-one. Before he reached that age, however, he was sold into slavery and taken to Jackson County, Missouri. At the start of the Civil War he escaped and made his way to Lawrence and was employed at the Eldridge Hotel. Rising early on the morning of August 21, 1863, he learned that Quantrill was in town. Together with his wife, Mrs. Harriet Harper, and a white woman, he ran to the northwest, hiding in ravines and spreading the word that Quantrill and his bushwhackers were killing citizens and burning buildings. After the raiders left town, the Harpers returned

to find their home totally destroyed. Mrs. Harper said her husband fled to the western part of town before the raiders and warned Senator James H. Lane about Quantrill. They hid together in a cornfield, she said. William Harper, one of the pioneers of Lawrence, died at 93 on May 2, 1932.⁶²

The African Americans of Lawrence were more alert to the danger of a guerrilla raid than the white inhabitants and knew what they could expect from Quantrill's men. They were more aware than the whites that Quantrill's spies had been in Lawrence. Many of the white families employed live-in black housekeepers and handymen, whose duties required early rising to prepare breakfast, feed and harness horses, milk the cows, and do other chores. When shortly after five a.m., on August 21, 1863, they heard and saw the small army of 450 superbly mounted and heavily armed men entering the town, they knew it was under Quantrill's command. Many of the white residents of Lawrence owed their lives to their black servants who awakened them and told them how to escape Quantrill's bushwhackers.⁶³

Endnotes

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³John N. Holloway, *History of Kansas: From the First Exploration of the Mississippi Valley to Its Admission to the Union* (Lafayette, Indiana, 1868), pp. 570–75.

⁴Robert G. Elliott, "The Quantrill Raid as Seen from the Eldridge House," *Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Vol. II, 1920 (Topeka, Kans., 1920), pp. 180–81.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁶Dr. John Doy, *The Narrative of John Doy, of Lawrence, Kansas, "A Plain Unvarnished Tale"* (New York, Thomas Holman, 1860), pp. 59–62.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 63–65.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁹John G. Haskell, "The Passing of Slavery in Western Missouri," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1901–1902* (Topeka, Kans., 1902), Vol. VII, p. 38.

¹⁰Doy, *Narrative of John Doy*, p. 50.

¹¹James B. Abbott, "The Rescue of Dr. John W. Doy," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1886–1888*, Vol. IV (Topeka, Kans., 1890). See Narrative 3, pp. 21–36.

¹²Doy, *Narrative of John Doy*, p. 123.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 123–25.

¹⁴Theodore Gardner, "An Episode in Early Kansas History: The Doy Rescue," *24th Biennial Report of the Board of Directors of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1923 and 1924* (Topeka, Kans., 1924), pp. 68–70.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 70–74.

¹⁶Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Macmillan, 1898), pp. 150–51.

¹⁷Letter from Silas S. Soule to Messrs. Thayer, Eldridge, Hinton, etc. dated Coal Creek (south part of Douglas County), May 9, 1860, in O. E. Morse, "An Attempted Rescue of John Brown from Charlestown, Virginia, Jail," in *Kansas Historical Collections, 1903–1904* (Topeka, Kans.), Vol. VIII, pp. 216–17; William E. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (New York, 1956; first pub. 1909), pp. 117–20.

¹⁸Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, pp. 162–66.

¹⁹James Redpath, *The Public Life of Capt. John Brown, with an Autobiography of His Childhood and Youth* (Boston, 1860), pp. 218–28.

²⁰Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown, 1800–1859: A Biography Fifty Years After* (Boston, 1910), pp. 367–78.

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 378–81.

²²See Narrative 5, by Annie Soule Prentiss.

²³James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 202–05.

²⁴Morse, "An Attempted Rescue of John Brown from Charlestown, Virginia, Jail," pp. 213–26.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 216–19.

²⁶McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, pp. 206–13; Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), pp. 353–58.

²⁷Reverend John J. Lutz, "Quantrell, The Guerrilla Chief. Quantrell and His Base Betrayal of the Iowa Slave Liberators," *The Midland Monthly*, Vol. 7 (January–June 1897), pp. 509–20.

²⁸Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, pp. 145–47.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 152–53.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 156–57.

³¹Ibid., p. 158.

³²Ibid., pp. 174–77.

³³Ibid., pp. 178–79; Richard S. Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861–1865* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1958), pp. 56–57.

³⁴Letter from Henry S. Clarke to W. W. Scott at Canal Dover, Ohio, dated Lawrence, Kansas, April 7, 1898, Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

³⁵Newspaper articles entitled “Kidnapping and Arson,” and “More Excitement at Kanwaca,” *The Lawrence Republican*, March 22, 1860.

³⁶Margaret Wulfkuhle, “Kanwaka,” in Martha Parker and Betty Laird, *Soil of Our Souls: Histories of the Clinton Lake Area Communities*. Fourth Edition Rev. (Overbrook, Kans.: Parker and Laird Enterprises, 1980), pp. 81–82.

³⁷John Armstrong, “Reminiscences of Slave Days in Kansas,” Type-script Manuscript, Manuscript Dept., Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kans., pp. 1–4.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 3–5.

³⁹Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁰“Horrible Murder! Midnight Attack on the House of Jos. Gardner.” *The Lawrence Republican*, June 14, 1860. I am indebted to Martha Parker for giving me a copy of this newspaper article and the coroner’s inquest.

⁴¹Henry Hiatt, *My Belief and Reasons Therefore* (no place, no date). This is a printed booklet deposited in the Watkins Community Museum of History, Lawrence, Kansas. Martha Parker has written a biography of Henry Hiatt in Parker and Laird, *Soil of Our Souls*, pp. 26–27, 120–28.

⁴²John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*. Rev. and Enlarged Ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 192–210.

⁴³Haskell, “The Passing of Slavery in Western Missouri,” pp. 31–36.

⁴⁴*The New Man: Twenty-Nine Years a Slave. Twenty-Nine Years a Free Man. Recollections of H. C. Bruce* (New York: The Negro Universities Press, 1969), pp. 33–35.

⁴⁵Anne Chiarelli, "A Look at Slavery in Missouri," *The Journal. Jackson County Historical Society*, Kansas City, Mo., Vol. 28, No. 1 (Winter 1986), pp. 12–22.

⁴⁶Theodore W. Morse, "The 'Underground Railroad' in Kansas," *The American Guide* (Topeka, Kans., no date); (Anonymous), "The Underground Railroad in Kansas," *The Kansas City Star*, July 21, 1905, in *Kansas Scrapbooks*, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kans., Vol. 6, pp. 18–22.

⁴⁷L. L. Kiene, "The Battle of the Spurs and John Brown's Exit from Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1903–1904* (Topeka, Kans., 1904), Vol. VIII, pp. 443–49.

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⁴⁹William E. Connelley, "The Lane Trail," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1913–1914* (Topeka, Kans., 1915), Vol. XIII, pp. 268–79.

⁵⁰John Armstrong, "Reminiscences of Slave Days in Kansas," pp. 3–5.

⁵¹Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, pp. 20–27, 47–52.

⁵²Morse, "The 'Underground Railroad' in Kansas."

⁵³(Anonymous), "The Underground Railroad in Kansas," *Kansas City Star*, July 21, 1905.

⁵⁴Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 67.

⁵⁵Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*, 3rd ed. New York, 1968 [1898], pp. 108, 113–14, 297–318, 320–32.

⁵⁶T. W. Higginson, *Cheerful Yesterdays. The Writings of Thomas Wentworth Higginson* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890), Vol. I, pp. 199–209.

⁵⁷Harrison Anthony Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri, 1804–1865," Ph.D. diss., in *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*. Series XXXII, No. 2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1914), pp. 173–87, 202–07.

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⁶¹Betty Laird, "Bloomington-Clinton," in Parker and Laird, *Soil of Our Soils*, pp. 41, 44, 52.

⁶²"Aged Man is Dead, William Harper, Who Died Last Night, Was One of Pioneers of Lawrence. Was 93 Years of Age." *Lawrence Journal-World*, May 3, 1932, in *Quantrill Raid Clippings*, Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence,

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Underground Railroad Internet Resources

<http://history.cc.ukans.edu/heritage/kshs/kshs1.html>

Kansas State Historical Society. An award-winning site. Links to education and KSHS publications and Kansas historical sites. Also included is a teachers' page.

<http://wsrv.clas.virginia.edu/~tsawyer/HNS/Kansas/kansas.html>

University of Virginia site on "Kansas: Crucible of American Experience." Links to several sites including "John Brown and the Pottawatomie Creek Killings," "General Jim Lane," and "William Quantrill and the Lawrence Massacre."

<http://raven.cc.ukans.edu/carrie/kancoll/galbks.html>

Kansas Collection, University of Kansas. "Bleeding Kansas" site. A list of writings by Kansans of the mid-nineteenth century and short descriptions of those works. Links to full texts.

<http://www.nps.gov/undergroundrr/contents.htm>

National Park Service Underground Railroad site. In 1990, Congress authorized the National Park Service to conduct a study of the Underground Railroad, its routes, and operations in order to preserve and interpret this aspect of United States history. This site provides a general overview of the Underground Railroad, with a brief discussion of slavery and abolitionism, escape routes used by slaves, and efforts to commemorate and interpret the Underground Railroad.

<http://www.holton.k12.ks.us/city/spurs.htm>

The Battle of the Spurs and the Underground Railroad in Jackson County.

<http://www.ugrr.org/web.html>

Links to pages on Harriet Tubman and other individuals involved in the Underground Railroad, including John Brown, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Frederick Douglas, Sojourner Truth, Lucretia Mott, and Nat Turner. These links include writings by and about the individuals.

<http://education.ucdavis.edu/NEW/STC/lesson/socstud/railroad/Contents.htm>

Resources on the Underground Railroad for social studies teachers prepared at the University of California—Davis. Includes information on the Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850, the abolitionist movement, personal narratives, literary excerpts, and maps of escape routes.

<http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vshadow2/UGRR/underground.html>

The Underground Railroad in Franklin County, Virginia. An excellent site. Links for the following categories: The Impending Crisis, The Communities, and The Sources. The link to John Brown contains personal accounts, complete with period photos, of events in the pre-Civil War period. Replicates extensively newspaper coverage of John Brown at Harper's Ferry.

<http://www.encarta.msn.com/schoolhouse/civilwar/slavery2.asp>

The Encarta Schoolhouse page on Slavery and Sectionalism with links to the UGRR and key figures of the period. Included is a link to a map of the Underground Railroad routes.

<http://www.ugrr.org/learn/heroines.htm>

Short descriptions of individual women's involvement in Underground Railroad movement.

<http://sunsite.utk.edu/Civil-War/>

Award-winning Civil War site. Comprehensive resources on various aspects of the Civil War.

<http://www.afroam.org/index.html>

An excellent site for African American history. The link "Black Resistance in the United States" has useful information on the subjects "Africa to America," "There were No Docile Slaves," "Women Resisted," and a chronology of slave revolts.

<http://vi.uh.edu/pages/mintz/gilder.htm>

Links to extensive bibliographies on slavery and excerpts from slave narratives.

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Freedom's Crucible:

The Underground Railroad

in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader

Richard B. Sheridan, Editor and Compiler

The Underground Railroad was a system of receiving, concealing, and forwarding fugitive slaves on their flight from bondage in the American South to freedom in the North and Canada. Its chain of stations were kept by conductors and station-keepers who helped it work. Likewise, the fugitives cooperated by displaying the cunning and stamina necessary to reach the stations where they were assisted in their flight to freedom. The loosely knit network of stations extended from the seaboard states north of the Mason-Dixon line to the states of the Old Northwest, and from 1854 to 1861 to Kansas Territory. As the narratives in this reader demonstrate, the blacks and whites who were active in the Underground Railroad faced unique difficulties. These included the dramatic struggle between the antislavery North and the proslavery South for possession of Kansas Territory and the armed confrontations and lawlessness that characterized the struggle.

—from the preface by **Richard B. Sheridan**

In this book Richard B. Sheridan effectively demonstrates through a combination of rich primary and secondary sources the practical reaction to the fugitive slave law, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Dred Scott decision, and other events in a small community and county in early Kansas. This reader tells a compelling national story as seen through the eyes of individuals making history on a local level.

—**Paul K. Stuewe**, Lawrence High School history teacher

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