

A CRITICAL STUDY

OF

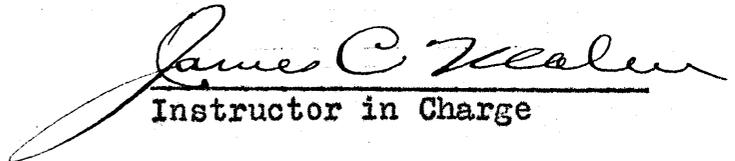
THE NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY

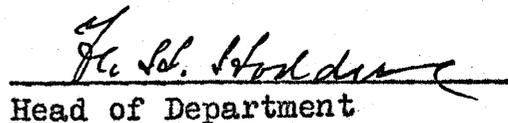
by

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THE NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY

-I-

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

There are few fields in American History that are more important, or less perfectly understood than the Kansas Conflict. Historians generally agree that it was not only the prelude to the Civil War in a chronological sense, but that it was very definitely a link in that chain of circumstances which produced that titanic struggle. When one attempts to investigate this Kansas Conflict, he is met on every hand thruout the literature of the subject, with the claims of, and the charges against, the New England Emigrant Aid Company. But what was this Emigrant Aid Company? If one turns to the reminiscences of its founder, he is told that the Emigrant Aid Company created free Kansas and produced the wave of anti-slavery sentiment thruout the North that launched the Republican Party and forced the issue into Civil War. "No man", he says, "unless he be ignorant of the facts in the Kansas struggle, or completely blinded by malice or envy, will every attempt to defraud the Emigrant Aid Company of the glory of having saved Kansas by defeating the slave power in a great and decisive contest".¹ Surely an organization which played so decisive a part in the nation's history should be universally and favorably known, but when one seeks to find a definite answer to the simple question,

What was the Emigrant Aid Company?, he is soon forced to the conclusion that nobody knows. Certainly the layman does not know. More than a dozen university students in Lawrence, Kansas, the principal seat of operations of the Aid Company, were asked what it was; the answer was unanimous: "We never heard of it!" A similar inquiry among faculty members of the University of Kansas usually evoked the response that it "had something to do with the settlement of Kansas". But the real difficulty appears when one turns to the usual sources of historical information. Nine standard high school textbooks on United States History² were examined: three did not mention the Emigrant Aid Company in any way; four barely mentioned it; two gave ten to fourteen-line sketches of its activities. Ten college textbooks³ were examined: one did not mention the Aid Company; six barely mentioned it (eight lines or less); three devoted short paragraphs. This explains the layman's ignorance, and indicates that the writers of textbooks either know little about the Emigrant Aid Company, or consider its importance inconsequential.

If one now turns to be the best secondary accounts available,- those embedded in the standard secondary histories of the United States covering the pre-Civil War period⁴ he is amazed at the confusion and contradiction. He can not even be sure of the name of the organization: two⁵ call it the New England Emigrant Aid Company; two,⁶ the New England Emigrant Aid Society; three⁷ simply the Emigrant Aid Company. He could glean but little of the history of its organization:

two writers⁸ note that the first charter was granted to the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company; two others⁹ note that it operated for a time without a charter, while one¹⁰ states that "Even before the [Kansas Nebraska] bill was passed, the corporation was in full working order". Four¹¹ note that the final organization was under a second charter, but only two¹² state that it reduced the capitalization. Channing states that this second charter was obtained from Connecticut; the others who mention it give the impression that it was granted by Massachusetts. All agree that the primary aim was to make Kansas a ^{free} state, but disagree as to whether or not there was also a pecuniary motive: Von Holst says the aim was to employ the capital as profitably as possible;¹³ Burgess speaks of the "idea of making it pay ultimately as a business venture";¹⁴ Schouler says "it adjusted itself to the usual basis of a benefaction without the hope of pecuniary return".¹⁵ One may easily glean that the organization "assisted" emigrants by organizing them into groups for travel, by securing reduced rates of transportation, and by sending out mills for their accomodation, but is left in doubt as to whether they were assisted otherwise: Smith¹⁶ gives the impression that the Aid Company made direct loans to settlers, while among the textbook writers, three¹⁷ indicate that emigrants were supplied with either equipment or funds. One of these¹⁸ states that the Aid Company enlisted settlers as for war; this is denied categorically by both Von Holst¹⁹ and Smith.²⁰

These examples are enough to show how inadequately the whole subject of the New England Emigrant Aid Company has been handled in our historical writing, and to indicate the nature of our problem. Even such a cursory scanning of standard histories has raised such questions as: Was it a company or a society? Did it organize under its original charter? Did it operate without a charter? Was its final charter from Massachusetts or Connecticut? Was it for profit or philanthropy? How did it assist emigration? When one delves into the extravagant claims made for the concern by its apologists, the charges made by its opponents, the contemporary notations of its activity, and the monographic accounts of various activities which its operations touched, one's mind is a maze of unanswered (and perhaps unanswerable) questions more intricate than these. The problem, then, of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, is to search out and tabulate as ^{far} many as possible of these hitherto unanswered questions, and to search among such reliable sources of information as may yet exist, for authoritative answers which may be collected and systematized into a definitive history of the concern and its operations.

The complete working out of this problem is far beyond the scope of the present study. A scientist, in attacking a new problem, divides his task into two parts, an analysis, and a synthesis. He first dissects the problem; resolves it into its component parts, and investigates each part; finally he combines these researches into a statement of his the-

sis. The present study, which is intentionally introductory, and unavoidably fragmentary, in a measure undertakes the analysis of the question, leaving the synthesis for a later and more ambitious effort. This later and more vital task will involve a careful study of the correspondence, minutes and account books of the New England Emigrant Aid Company on file in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka, a study which the time allotted for the present project would not permit. Since the purpose of this study is rather to raise questions than to answer them, little attempt is made to give complete findings. With a few exceptions, such findings as are given are purely tentative, and subject to revision upon further investigation.

WHAT IS THE STORY OF ITS ORGANIZATION?

The controversy over the history of the organization of the Emigrant Aid Company begins with the very inception of the idea. Thayer himself in all his writings, takes all credit for conceiving the project of organized emigration: "Suddenly it came upon me like a revelation," he says.¹ In the main, this view has been followed by the historians, who usually treat the whole enterprise as the projection of the personality of Eli Thayer. On the other hand, a number of writers,- among them, three of the authors of college textbooks already cited,²- assume (or at least appear to do so) that Thayer was inspired by the oft-quoted challenge of Seward in the United States Senate following the final passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act: "Come on then, gentlemen of the slave States: since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it in behalf of freedom". This point is easily cleared by a check of chronology. The first charter granted to Thayer and his associates for an Emigrant Aid Company was signed by the governor of Massachusetts April 26, 1854; Seward's speech was delivered May 25,- just a month later. Still one can scarcely give unquestioning credence to Thayer's "revelation" doctrine. That there had been promoted emigration before is certain, and that Thayer must have known of it seems fairly obvious.

Even Burgess, who is distinctly partisan to Thayer, notes the example of the founding of colonies by corporations in early Anglo-American history.³ An unsigned pamphlet published in 1845 entitled How to Conquer Texas Before Texas Conquers Us, still preserved among the papers of the Aid Company in the Kansas State Historical Society Archives, sets forth the same idea of promoted emigration. It is highly probable that this was known to Thayer. Then there is the question, not as yet carefully examined, as to whether or not Thayer was influenced by projects for promoted or assisted emigration to California around 1849 and 1850. This much seems reasonably certain: while Eli Thayer probably borrowed the idea of promoted emigration, the project for a corporation to aid emigration to Kansas was his own; at least no one has appeared to challenge his authorship.

It is already apparent from the citations in connection with the attempt to define the problem of the Emigrant Aid Company, that the historians are not at all clear as to the stages thru which the organization of the concern passed. If one turns to the writings of the Aid Company's chief apologists, Eli Thayer and Charles Robinson, and to the official history of the company issued by its directors in 1862, it becomes fairly clear that a charter was issued for a "Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company" in April of 1854, but was rejected by the incorporators. In July a charter was issued by Connecticut, but little more is heard of it. Later in July interested parties in and around Bos-

ton organized under trustees without a charter, and began the actual work of collecting funds and colonizing Kansas. Then in February of 1855 the organization took what is generally assumed to have been its final form under a charter granted to the "New England Emigrant Aid Company" with a capitalization of \$1,000,000, as against the \$5,000,000 at first authorized. This information is itself confusing, and gives rise to a number of questions which confront the investigator. Why was the first charter rejected? What, if anything, came of it? Was any organization effected under the Connecticut charter of 1854? If so, why was the "voluntary association" formed? Was this "voluntary association" under trustees in the nature of a society or a company? Was the charter of 1855 granted by Massachusetts or by Connecticut? In what important respects, if any, did it differ from former charters? Was it the final form of organization, or were there later modifications? Among the effects of the Emigrant Aid Company in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka, are authenticated copies of all the charters and articles of association of the concern.⁴ By piecing together various bits of information drawn from the accounts of participants, and by comparing these with the charters and other documents, it becomes possible to determine with a reasonable degree of finality, the answers to most of these controversial questions.

In March of 1854, as soon as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had passed the Senate, Eli Thayer, then a member of the

lower house of the legislature of Massachusetts, circulated a petition for the incorporation of an emigrant aid company. Twenty names, including his own, were secured as incorporators. April 26, 1854⁵, the governor of Massachusetts signed an act of incorporation of "The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company", with powers and privileges according to the statutes, "for the purpose of assisting emigrants to settle in the West". The company was permitted to issue capital stock to an amount not exceeding \$5,000,000, divided into shares of \$100 each, assessable at four dollars the first year, and ten dollars each year thereafter. The capital might be invested in real and personal estate, provided that not more than \$20,000 be invested in real estate in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.⁶ Preliminary steps were taken to perfect an organization under this charter. Meetings were held, a committee appointed to draft a plan of operations, and a campaign inaugurated to solicit stock-subscriptions. Some time in May (no exact date can be fixed) several of the incorporators changed their minds and refused to complete the organization of the corporation; Thayer says the decision struck him "like a thunderbolt".⁷ Testifying before the Howard Congressional Committee in June, 1856, Thayer stated that the objection raised by those who refused to go thru with the organization was that the charter required stock-subscriptions to be paid in ten annual installments, and that they were not willing to bind themselves so far in advance.⁸ Writing in 1887, he attributes the rejection of the charter

to a fear on the part of certain incorporators that they might be held personally liable for the debts of the corporation? That these considerations, rather than being contradictory, both carried weight, is indicated by the facts that the charter of 1855 omits the provision for the annual stock assessments, and that the circular copies of it printed for use in soliciting stock-subscriptions make copious references to "Section 44, Revised Statutes" in proof that stockholders are exempt from individual liability.¹⁰ As will appear later, a third factor that may have exerted an influence was the objection of certain prospective contributors to organization on the basis of a commercial company.

While no organization was ever effected under this original charter, it had, none the less, momentous consequences. Critics of the company siezed upon the \$5,000,000 capitalization as proof that a "vast moneyed corporation" was spending millions to influence the domestic insitutions of Kansas. A "Plan of Operations" drafted by a committee of which Thayer was chairman, with its glib talk of what could be done with the large stock-subscriptions expected, its project to send 20,000 emigrants to Kansas at once, and its proposal to create a free Kansas in three years and then liquidate the holdings, select other fields, and go on erecting free states,- it was this extravagant bit of bluster, circulated by enemies of the Aid Company, which brot down upon the head of that organization the blame for having caused the war in Kansas.

The Connecticut charter has always been something of an enigma. Why was it granted? Was any organization effected under it? If so, what was the relation of such organization to the New England Emigrant Aid Company? A perusal of the letters of Amos A. Lawrence¹¹ does much to clear up the mystery. As soon as the original Massachusetts charter was rejected, nine of the original incorporators secured from the legislature of Connecticut a charter for "The Emigrant Aid Company" . . . "for the purpose of assisting emigrants to settle in any of the western Territories or States". Again a capitalization of \$5,000,000 was authorized, but with no provision regarding division into shares, or conditions of assessments.¹² The official history of the company prepared by the Board of Directors explains this charter as an effort to remedy the defects in the former one.¹³ According to Thayer, around \$100,000 stock-subscriptions had been secured in New York before the original charter was rejected, and this would be lost unless another basis of organization could be devised at once; the New York men were not willing to organize upon the voluntary association basis then being proposed in Boston. "As the New York Legislature was not in session, a charter for this company was procured from the Legislature of Connecticut."¹⁵ It is clear from the letters of Amos A. Lawrence that Thayer hoped to effect a permanent organization of the enterprise under this charter, but in this he was disappointed. Lawrence, a wealthy Boston merchant, had been enlisted in the cause, and he along with oth-

ers refused to subscribe to stock under the Connecticut project.¹⁶ July 18, 1854, a corporation was organized under the Connecticut charter with Thayer as president, but in the words of the Directors' History, it "engaged in no extensive operations"¹⁷ An effort was made to induce Lawrence to serve as trustee and treasurer of this organization, but in letters dated July 27 and July 29, 1854, addressed to R. N. Havens, Vice President, he declined to serve in either capacity. This organization, which soon took the name of Emigrant Aid Company of New York and Connecticut, appears to have done little except exist and hold the New York stock subscriptions. Its chief significance lies in the confusion to which it gave rise regarding the source of the charter of 1855. William Herbert Curruth, who probably knew more about the emigrant aid movement than any other person who has lived in the twentieth century, asserted that the "New York and Connecticut" company was finally absorbed into the New England Emigrant Aid Company.¹⁸

It is difficult to say just why recourse was had to a non-corporate organization, or whose was the idea, but one is lead to suspect that Amos A. Lawrence holds the key to the explanation. Among his letters there appear drafts which he prepared for a constitution of an "Emigrant Aid Society" and for an indenture to be signed by its trustees.¹⁹ This society was to be a purely beneficent non-stock association, with membership open to all who would sign the constitution and pay annual dues. No organization appears to

have been perfected under this plan, but there is reason to assume that it served as a temporary basis of operations during the months of June and July, 1854. June 10, Lawrence wrote to P. T. Jackson agreeing to serve as "director" of an "Emigrant Aid Association" along with Mr. Thayer and one other director to be selected from New York. June 6 he wrote to Thayer, "The old articles of association having been given up, please to consider me out of office, and not a candidate under the organization as a stock company." July 15 he again wrote Thayer attempting to resign.²⁰ Since, as will appear in later sections, agents were sent to explore and make tentative arrangements in Kansas, and the first party of settlers were actually dispatched before a formal organization was effected, it seems probable that Lawrence's constitution may have been the basis of a tentative organization.

July 24, 1854, a "voluntary association" (Thayer's expression) was formed under "Articles of Association and Agreement",²¹ apparently drafted by Thayer, by which the subscribers associated themselves together into a non-corporate joint stock company to be known as "The Emigrant Aid Company". A paper capitalization of ~~\$200,000~~ was agreed upon, to be divided into 10,000 shares at a par value of \$20 a share. It was agreed that no assessment should be levied upon the stock until \$50,000 should have been subscribed, and the "Articles" specifically declared that the personal liability of each shareholder should be limited to his subscription (altho this clause was, of course, void as to outsiders at common law).

Management was vested in three trustees, Amos A. Lawrence, J. M. S. Williams, and Eli Thayer. This board at once designated Lawrence as Treasurer (he was already acting in that capacity) and Dr. Thomas H. Webb as Secretary. An office was opened in Boston, and the active work of dispatching parties of settlers to Kansas was begun. It was under this trusteeship that all operations were carried on until March 5, 1855. The trustees soon added the words "of New England" to the title to distinguish the Boston organization from that in New York, which at about the same time and for a similar purpose changed its official designation to "The Emigrant Aid Company of New York and Connecticut". In usage, "The Emigrant Aid Company of New England" soon became "The New England Emigrant Aid Company".

When the legislature of Massachusetts again met, application was made once more for incorporation. "AN ACT to Incorporate the New England Emigrant Aid Company" passed the House of Representatives February 16, 1856. It passed the state Senate the following day, and was signed by Governor Gardner February 21. Naming only the three trustees and Dr. Webb with "their associates, successor and assigns" as incorporators, a corporation is formed "for the purpose of directing emigration Westward, and aiding in providing accommodations for the emigrants after arriving at their places of destination, and for other purposes". Capitalization was limited to \$1,000,000 and real estate holdings in Massachusetts to \$20,000. Nothing was said as to division of the

capital into shares, or the basis of stock assessments.²² A newspaper clipping found attached to the official copy of the charter states that a meeting of the petitioners was held March 5, 1855, at which the charter was accepted and an organization perfected. John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I., was selected President, Eli Thayer, and J. M. S. Williams, Vice-Presidents, Amos A. Lawrence, Treasurer, and T. H. Webb, Secretary. Twenty stockholders were chosen as directors, and of these, five were designated as an executive committee. Later the number of directors was increased to thirty-five, and of the executive committee to eight.²³ Shares of stock were fixed at \$20 par, and were issued in exchange for the shares in the former joint stock company²⁴ (and, according to Curruth, for "New York and Connecticut" shares). This was the organization under which the Emigrant Aid Company operated thru 1855 and 1856,- as long as it continued to function in the colonization of Kansas. Late in 1856 or early in 1857 there was a change in personnel, the significance of which will be discussed elsewhere, but there was no fundamental change in the charter or in the basis of organization as long as Kansas remained the chief concern of the company.

That this principal charter was issued by Massachusetts is as certain as that the Aid Company existed, and yet there has crept into the literature of the subject the error that it was issued by Connecticut. This error, so far as the present study has revealed, was first made by Wilder

in his Annals of Kansas in 1875.²⁵ It was repeated by G. W. Brown in his False Claims in 1902,²⁶ and is made (probably without reference to these others) by Channing in 1925.²⁷

The only possible source of this error is the fact of the existence of a Connecticut charter and rather hazy references to all of the charters in some of the early writings, which has led to confusion.

More serious than the confusion with the "New York and Connecticut" company, was the confusion of the New England Emigrant Aid Company with other organizations, formed as subsidiaries or in imitation. To most people, in the days of the Kansas conflict, all such organizations were embraced in the single concept, "the Emigrant Aid Society", and the Boston office was looked upon as the headquarters of them all. This meant that upon the head of "Thayer and Company" (as westerners and southerners called the Boston organization), were heaped all the sins of every organization that expressed an interest in Kansas. Of course the Aid Company must stand sponsor for the indeterminate number of local "Kansas leagues" which were organized as direct subsidiaries of the company, but it is desirable to distinguish clearly the unaffiliated organizations.

Of these unaffiliated organizations, the first in the field was the "Union Emigration Society" or, as it was also called, the "Kansas Aid Society". It was formed in Washington, D. C., immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and was composed chiefly of members of Congress who had opposed the bill. It was primarily political in

character, as shown by a circular it issued, dated June 29, 1854, urging the election of members of Congress opposed to extension of slavery.²⁸ The correspondence of Amos A. Lawrence shows that this Washington society sought to affiliate with the Boston organization, but the latter flatly declined the proposal. The "Union" society seems to have been of short duration (two years after its founding, one of its chief members could remember little about it), but its political appeal helped to brand the Emigrant Aid Company as a political organization.

More active in Kansas affairs were the closely affiliated "American Settlement Company" and "New York Kansas League", whose chief sponsor was Thaddeus Hyatt.²⁹ These twin organizations, which seem to have been entirely distinct from the Emigrant Aid Company of New York and Connecticut, maintained an office in New York with a "Master of Emigration" in charge, issued a book of information about Kansas,³⁰ and actually sent out a colony. The League merely collected funds on a contribution basis to work for Kansas, but the Settlement Company issued stock at \$5 a share. Unlike the Emigrant Aid Company it required every settler to be a shareholder, the stock could be taken by persons not intending to migrate; each share entitled the holder to a lot in the company's settlement. Since the testimony before the Howard Committee shows beyond a doubt that people on the border confused the Settlement Company's colonists with Aid Company immigrants,³¹ it is not hard to understand how many of the misconceptions about the Aid Company's operations arose.

An example of still another type of concern was the "Vegetarian Company" which projected "Octagon City" in Kansas. If we may take the word of one of its victims,³² it was an ignominious swindle. On paper its plans were similar to those of the Aid company, but like the Settlement Company, it required that all colonists be stockholders. Its promoter, a man named Clubb, recruited a colony, brot them to Kansas, got all their money, and absconded. This will explain many of the charges of dishonesty and bad faith that were made against the Emigrant Aid Company.

The later activities of the company furnish a topic for later discussion, but no sketch of the organization of the company would be complete without noting the modification of the charter incident to these later activities. In 1867, when Edward Everett Hale was about the only person who retained an active interest in the Emigrant Aid Company, in an effort to rehabilitate the corporation for the purpose of promoting migration to Florida, he secured an act from the Massachusetts legislature, approved February 19, 1867, amending the charter of the company. This act authorized the issue of \$150,000 of 8% preferred stock in \$100 shares, "for the purpose of directing emigration southwestward and aiding in providing accomodations for the emigrants after arriving at their places of destination". By this act the charter should expire thrity years from the passage of the act.³³

All efforts to resuscitate the enterprise having failed, the Emigrant Aid Company after 1868 passed into a

state of suspended animation. In 1896, when the charter was about to expire, William Herbert Curruth, then of the University of Kansas, conceived the notion that if the University of Kansas could secure a valid assignment of the Aid Company's claim for the destruction of the Free State Hotel in 1856, it might possibly realize on the claim. Accordingly, Rev. Edward Everett Hale secured enough proxies to constitute a quorum of stock, and at a "stockholders' meeting", at which only Hale and one other person were present, voted an assignment of the claim to the University of Kansas. On the bare suspicion that there might be other matters which would require official action of the company, Hale asked for and secured a legislative act, approved February 18, 1897 (the day before the charter would expire by limitation), granting an additional ten-year extension of the charter.³⁴ The New England Emigrant Aid Company ceased to exist legally February 19, 1907.

WAS THE EMIGRANT AID COMPANY A PHILANTHROPIC
EFFORT OR A MONEY MAKING SCHEME?

Eli Thayer calls his book The Kansas Crusade and devotes it to an attempt to prove that the Emigrant Aid Company saved Kansas to freedom.¹ All of the apologists for the Aid Company, - most notable among them being Dr. Charles Robinson, in his Kansas Conflict,² - plead for the philanthropic character of the venture. In the main, the historians, who for the most part have based their writings upon the two books just noted, and upon Spring's Kansas,³ have followed this philanthropic interpretation. All of the standard secondary works mentioned in Section I of this paper treat the emigrant aid enterprise as a crusade in the cause of freedom, tho two of them, Burgess and Von Holst, mention the hope of pecuniary return as being incidental.

On the other hand, there have always been critics of the emigrant aid movement who have asserted that the whole motive was one of profit. William E. Connelley, Secretary of that Kansas State Historical Society, in all of his writings which touch the activities of the Aid Company at any point, maintains the view that it was fundamentally a money-making scheme. In an article on B. F. Sanborn,⁴ he says, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company . . . was designed primarily to make money, and only incidentally to aid in making Kans-

as a free state. . . . It was a commercial organization, and not a patriotic one". In his Kansas and Kansans, he asserts that Thayer "connected his speculative company with Kansas because Kansas was already in the limelight"⁵. In a doctoral dissertation presented at the University of Kansas in 1922, E. L. Craik makes the statement, substantiated by a newspaper clipping, "It is also true that the Emigrant Aid Company never claimed the character of a benevolent institution. It was organized primarily for dividends."⁶ Since the World War, when the most marked trend among historical writers and scholars seems to be iconoclasm, there is a growing tendency to accept this latter viewpoint, and to regard the Emigrant Aid Company as only one more hoax upon the credulity of the American public.

This, then, raises the whole question of the fundamental motive of the organization. Was it for profit or philanthropy? Where may one turn for an answer? The charters and official statements of the company are inconclusive. Statements of participants are under suspicion of having been made with a view of placing the writer in the most favorable light possible before the public. Private statements and correspondence of the participants will add something, but they turn out to be contradictory. So while these usual resources are not to be neglected, they can not be expected to yield a definite answer. Rather one must rely upon indirect evidence. While the present preliminary effort has only skimmed the surface in this direction, enough has been

done to at least suggest the mode of procedure if this question is ever to be answered finally.

First of all official documents, minutes and public utterances must be examined for what they are worth. An appeal to the charters yields exactly nothing. The announced purposes of "assisting emigrants" or "directing emigration westward" give no hint as to the motive. The very fact of the issue of stock might be taken as indicative of expected dividends, but numerous examples may be cited of organizations not formed for profit issuing stock to arouse interest and consolidate the membership. The elaborate "Plan" drafted by Thayer preparatory to organization under the original Massachusetts charter⁷ proposed that the capital "be so appropriated as to render most essential services to emigrants; to plant a free State in Kansas, to the lasting advantage of the country; and to return a handsome profit to the stockholders upon the investment". This would appear to indicate a duality of purpose, leaving one to guess which should be considered as primary. But in any case it is clear from evidence that will appear later, that this "Plan" represents only Thayer, and not the company; there is even reason to believe that it may have been a major reason for the rejection of the Massachusetts charter by other incorporators. A rather hasty perusal of the minute books of the company, containing minutes of meetings of stockholders, trustees, directors and executive committee, failed to throw any light on the fundamental motive of the organizations. This is one source that

needs to be investigated much more thoroly.

When one turns to indirect evidence to try to discover the fundamental character of the Emigrant Aid Company, the first question that presents itself is, Who were the Emigrant Aid Company. Much should be learned from a study of the personnel. To what extent was the organization a projection of Eli Thayer? What was the relation of Amos A. Lawrence to the enterprise? Who besides these two composed the working personnel? What type of people were they? What, as far as can be determined, were the views of the various active participants, and how did they agree? Was the idea of a "company" or a "society" paramount?

Recurring to the conventional historians, one finds that practically all agree with Rhodes that "Eli Thayer was the soul of the enterprise",⁸ tho Lawrence is frequently referred to as "chief patron" or "one of the chief supporters". It soon becomes apparent to even the most casual investigator, that while Thayer was undoubtedly the originator of the project, Amos A . Lawrence very soon came to have at least equal weight in the councils of the enterprise. As noted in Section II, it seems to have been Lawrence who was responsible for the organization under trustees. Besides serving as trustee for nearly a year, he served as treasurer of the concern thruout its period of activity in Kansas affairs. He was one of the heaviest subscribers to stock, and frequently paid overdrafts on the company; on several occasions the company was in debt to him for overdrafts paid as much as \$7,000. Under these circumstances, Lawrence's views

as to the aims and purposes of the Aid company should carry equal weight with Thayer's.

A study that will be necessary before the real history of the Emigrant Aid Company can be written is an analysis of the character, associations, and interests of all persons actively engaged in the enterprise. While such a study could not be undertaken in connection with the present effort, there are a few facts that stand out of themselves. B. F. Sanborn, best known as the apologist of John Brown, but himself a director of the Emigrant Aid Company, says, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company [was] organized in 1854 at the instance of Eli Thayer, Dr. Howe, Dr. Hale . . . , and other anti-slavery men, but . . . soon fell into the hands of men like Amos A. Lawrence, J. M. S. Williams, and Judge R. A. Chapman of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, who were not regarded by themselves or by the public as fanatical anti-slavery men". Lawrence, in his correspondence, speaks of these two groups as "radicals" and conservatives". Among the former group, of whom Edward Everett Hale, rather than Thayer, was the type, were a disproportionate number of clergymen, anti-slavery fanatics (such as Sanborn himself, C. J. Higginson, and George L. Stearns, all of whom were later implicated in John Brown's Harper's Ferry conspiracy), and young ambitious politicians of free soil proclivities. Among the latter group one finds such names as John Carter Brown, William B. Spooner, Moses H. Grinnell, and Horace Claflin, - well-to-do, philanthropic business men. In general, both groups are

of such character as one would expect to enlist in a cause, rather than plunge into a wild speculation. There still remains the possibility that these men were hoodwinked; future study may help to clear this point.

But after all, the two men around whom the whole scheme rotated were Thayer and Lawrence, and it is to their views and characteristics that we must look for the motive of the Emigrant Aid Company. It becomes at once apparent that they were as unlik^k in ideas, in temperament, and in almost every other respect as two men could be.

Connelley says that Thayer was "a visionary, given to fantastic money-making schemes"¹⁰ and it is difficult to read Thayer's own writings or an account of his life without agreeing.¹¹ Writing in 1889, Thayer said, "My original plan was . . . to form a business company, to be conducted upon business principles, able to make good dividends to its stockholders annually, and at its close, a full return of all the money invested. . . . The main objections of my associates to my original plan of a money-making company was a fear that the people might say that we were influenced by pecuniary considerations in our patriotic work for Kansas. Therefore they did not desire any return for any money invested. So we went on the charity plan, and were never one-half so efficient as we would have been by the other method, and were fully twice as long in determining the destiny of Kansas"¹² Certainly the original charter with its enormous capitalization and its \$100 shares, as well as Thayer's original grandiose "Plan" ;

seen in harmony with this idea. While the statement is nowhere made, the fact that men like A. A. Lawrence, J. M. S. Williams, and Charles Francis Adams (men of conservative tendencies but of pronounced convictions) were becoming interested in the plan to capture Kansas and were subscribing funds, may have been the deciding factor in the forfeiture of the first charter. It is clear from the foregoing statement, and other similar ones, that Thayer originally had in mind a money making scheme, but he tells us that due to the insistence of his associates, they went on the charity plan. But did Thayer really give up the idea of making money? June 26, 1856, after the company's Free State Hotel had been destroyed, Thayer testified before the Howard Committee, "In my opinion, the stock of the company will prove a profitable investment, if the company shall receive that protection from the law enjoyed by other business organizations, . . ." ¹³ It is obvious that, though Thayer talked of "the cause" and "saving Kansas for freedom", the idea of a monetary return was always in his mind.

Another motive that may have influenced Thayer, and probably did, was political ambition. His eulogist, Ward, ¹⁴ says he was always interested in politics, and sketches a political career that began with membership on the school board and ended in Congress. As Connelley puts it, Thayer was "a candidate until defeated for Congress on a ticket opposed to President Lincoln". ¹⁵ He was first elected to Congress in 1856, primarily, no doubt, on the strength of his efforts in behalf of Kansas. Here is a hint that this goal may have been all

the while in mind.

Lawrence stands out in sharp contrast. Whereas Thayer was of adventurous temperament and limited means, Lawrence was conservative and considered wealthy. Lawrence considered Thayer's scheme wildly fantastic, and preferred to carry on the whole venture as coöperative society with no investment features whatsoever.¹⁵ The joint stock company with \$20 shares seems to have been a compromise between the ideas of Thayer and Lawrence. If Thayer must have stock, then let the shares be so small that anyone who would be willing to contribute a few dollars to a cause might subscribe. It is clear from the letters written by Lawrence that he never expected the stock to earn a return. In a letter to a clergyman friend he says what he had said in effect in a dozen other letters: "I have taken considerable [stock] but only so much as I am willing to contribute to the cause".¹⁷ Lawrence was entirely out of harmony with Thayer's extravagant bluster and seems to have tried to restrain him. In a letter to John Carter Brown early in 1856 he laments the notoriety given him by the fact that his name was added to "a harum scarum paper of Thayer's, advertising for proposals to transport 20,000 emigrants to Kansas at once; and setting forth that this society proposes to go on making 'free states' till they have absorbed the whole national territory, etc." (the "Plan" referred to above).¹⁸ As early as October, 1854, while Thayer was on one of his lecture tours, Lawrence wrote to a friend in a town

where Thayer was to lecture, that Thayer had been expressing "views . . . very different from mine. . . . He says the stock will pay largely; which is possible but not probable. He proposes to make free states from Missouri to the Pacific, and south to the Gulf of Mexico immediately (five years), and then to operate in the slave states themselves, and free them before many years". He adds, "I requested him not to do so [express such views], but if he promulgated them at all, to say that they were his own". He concludes with this request to his friend: "Will you oblige me by writing me whether he still lectures thus? Also will you aks him in public, or request someone to ask him, whether the Constitution of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society sets forth such plans?"¹⁹ Thayer admits something of this divergence of views in his testimony before the Howard Committee noted above:²⁰ "I have frequently expressed my individual opinion in regard to the emigration to Kansas, and have differed with my associates upon some points. They are not responsible, nor is the company responsible for what I have said."

A perusal of contemporary correspondence puts beyond any question the fact that Lawrence was concerned mainly with making Kansas a free state, and looked upon the Emigrant Aid Company as one among several means to that end. He was constantly making contributions apart from the Aid Company, gave away much stock, paid overdrafts out of his own pocket, and even neglected his own business to give time to Kansas affairs. What other evidence proves amply to

have been his real view of the Aid Company, is summed up in a letter dated January 2, 1855, to Thomas H. Benton: "It [the Aid Company] is what those who favor it call a 'patriotic' movement, to bring into active and healthy life a new State, and to keep slavery out of it; to get good institutions ²¹ in, and to keep a bad institution out".

So far then as the interpretations of the Emigrant Aid Company rests with its two actual (if not nominal) managers, the result of our investigation is a contradiction. But after all, the company was more than these two men. What about the rank and file of the stockholders? Was the stock held in large blocks, as is common in commercial corporations, or was it widely distributed in small holdings? Upon what basis was the appeal for stock subscriptions made? What value was placed upon the stock by its holders? Did they look upon the venture as an altruistic "society" or a commercial "company"?

An examination of the stock registers and stock ledgers of the company reveals the fact that the greater part of the stock was in small holdings of one to five shares. There are a number of holdings as large as 25 shares (\$500 par), but only 35 holders with as many as 50 shares. Only nine persons held as many as 100 shares each, only four held 125 shares or better, and only one, Horace Claflin of Brooklyn, N. Y., held 150 (the largest holding). Considerably less than one half the shares were held in amounts of fifty or more. This wide distribution of the stock, and prevalence of small holdings would indicate, tho of course it does not prove, that the stock was not considered contemporaneously

as either an attractive speculation or a sound investment. In all human probability, the person who bought one to five shares (like the person who bought the small denomination Liberty Bonds during the World War), looked upon his purchase not as an investment but as a contribution, tho he may have hoped, or even confidently expected to receive back his principal and perhaps some additional return. It is not unlikely that some of the merchants who took relatively large holdings (\$1000 or more) after 1856 (when, as will appear later, the concern had largely ceased to function as a colonizing agency), placed the investment or speculative aspect first, but they were not numerous, and can scarcely be considered typical.

Appeals for stock subscriptions appear to have been made on both bases. It is evident from the letter of Lawrence quoted above ²³ that Thayer was urging in his lectures that the stock would be profitable. An adequate study of this point would involve a search of contemporary newspapers for accounts of the speeches of Thayer and other solicitors; so far this has not been possible. Thayer tells of appealing to the self-interest of New York merchants in still another way: ". . . that New York merchants were more interested pecuniarily in this result [making a free state of Kansas] than were any other people in the Union; that if they would compare their sales of goods to Kentucky with those to Ohio, they would need no further argument to show that their money interest was all on the side of making Kansas free". ²⁴

According to Connelley, Thayer used the appeal of making Kansas a free state "principally to induce people to subscribe for the stock and contribute money" to make possible the large dividends he had in mind. In the meantime, Lawrence was making his appeal solely upon the ground of a crusade. June 21, 1854, in a letter urging Moses H. Grinnell (who subsequently became one of the heaviest stockholders with 100 shares) to become a director, his appeal is for "this great movement". June 10, 1856, he wrote to a clergyman who had sent money for shares, "The value of the shares is prospective. Persons usually have subscribed only what they can afford to lose". A circular directed to the clergyman of New England, prepared by Edward Everett Hale, dated July 2, 1855, offering a "Life Membership" in the Aid Company (i.e., a share of stock) to any clergyman whose congregation would subscribe \$20, made appeal "For Freedom, for Religion, for Education, and for Temperance in Kansas".

Curruth says that the committee on organization appealed for subscriptions on altruistic basis, but alluded confidently to "an investment which promises large returns at no distant day". So far as the present study has determined, all official appeals for stock-subscriptions put the aim of making a free Kansas foremost, and mention the prospects of financial return only incidentally as a sort of added inducement. Several pamphlets found among the publications of the company and evidently issued to stimu-

late subscriptions to the stock, are of this character. One, apparently issued early in 1855, and containing a copy of the new charter, recites as "objects" of the company the various ways in which it proposes to be useful to settlers in Kansas, "and thus carry to the extreme borders of population the advantages of an advanced civilization hitherto unknown in the infant settlements of the West", and adds: ". . . so far as it is consistent with the objects above, the investments in land or other property are made with reference to yielding a profit to the stockholders". A small folder, dated March 1, 1855, signed by "E. B. Whitman, Financial Agent", states that the investments promised to be profitable, but appeals for stock subscriptions to save "this great cuase". Another folder, dated August 10, 1856, signed by Le Baron Russell and C. J. Higginson "For the Executive Committee", defends the methods of the Aid Company, alludes to the importance of furnishing employment to settlers, notes that the funds of the company are about exhausted, and closes: "We therefore ask you, as a friend to the peaceable and permanent settlement of Kansas by free men, that you will subscribe to the stock of the Company, such a sum as you may feel disposed to devote to the cause."

When stock subscriptions were opened under the trusteeship, Thayer began to solicit subscriptions, presumably stressing the investment aspect. Thru July and August of 1854, about \$20,000 was subscribed, but a \$50,000 subscription was necessary to levy an assessment. On September 2,

Lawrence wrote to J. M. S. Williams reporting a "complete stoppage", and suggesting that the three trustees each subscribe an additional \$10,000 so that an assessment could be made. ³¹ Noting that even tho the concern fail, it will have accomplished a "great and good work", he continues: "The failure of our stock subscription is not to be wondered at in this community, which has suffered so severely from land companies of various kinds". Dr. Robinson says, "As people would no longer take stock in the Aid Company ~~was~~ a business venture, the churches and people subscribed from considerations of patriotism and philanthropy". ³² While Dr. Robinson is not to be considered in all respects a reliable witness, this would appear to be an essentially correct statement of the situation.

The value placed upon the stock by its holders, is difficult to estimate. Undoubtedly it varied with the individual and from time to time. Unfortunately, about the only statements we have on the subject come from A. A. Lawrence, and his views are already known. Certainly he, himself, did not value the stock highly; one of the heaviest purchasers, he gave away at least as much as he retained. ³³ In the letter to Benton referred to above ³⁴ Lawrence says that the subscriber may either give money outright, or take stock at half-price. "Many prefer to give the money; that is, they do not value the stock at half price. None has ever been sold, or would it sell, at over half". He adds his opinion that any stockholder would take three-fourths what he paid the minute he paid it. July 9, 1856, he wrote to John Carter

Brown, "As for the stock, its value will probably become steadily less"³⁵. The extreme difficulty in securing stock subscriptions, which looms thruout all the minutes and correspondence of the company, would indicate that the stock was not highly valued, and when taken at all, was purchased either as a contribution to a cause or as a speculation.

The question of whether "company" or the "society" idea predominated, tho elusive, is important as indicating whether the commercial or the philanthropic motive was uppermost. So far as the actual name of the organization is concerned, an examination of the charters and articles of association establishes beyond question that there was never a time in its history (except possibly a very few days in July of 1854) when its name was not Emigrant Aid COMPANY. And still a majority of writers, both contemporary and subsequent, and including a considerable number of reputable historians, always refer to it as the Emigrant Aid SOCIETY. Contemporaneously, outside of official circles, the term society is used almost exclusively. More often than not, all organizations that were in any way concerned with the settlement of Kansas were bunched in the popular mind under the general term Emigrant Aid Society. The consequences of this confusion will appear later. But more significant, is the fact that the terms society and company are used almost interchangeably by the active participants in the organization. In the Lawrence correspondence the term Emigrant Aid Company first appears in the letter of September 2, 1854, to Williams, noted above.³⁶ After that, he sometimes uses one term, sometimes the other. In his testimony before the Howard Committee in 1856,

Thayer uses the two terms indiscriminately. It is apparent then, that while the concern was organized as a company, it was often that of, even by its active managers, as a society.

However the stock may have been regarded by the various parties concerned, it is certain that the organization as such, tried to make it pay. Curruth says, ". . . it can easily be shown . . . that the management steadily hoped at least to pay back the original investment"³⁸. In several of his letters, Lawrence objects to the stock company type of organization because it "imposes on those who manage it the responsibility of making dividends or becoming odious"³⁹. In resigning the treasurership of the company in 1857, Lawrence said, "Whatever may be the result to the stockholders, the shares have never had more value than at the present time"⁴⁰.

Reverting then to the topic question, was the Emigrant Aid Company a philanthropic effort or a money-making scheme, no final conclusion seems possible on the basis of the present investigation. That both ideas were present is certain. That some of its active leaders placed one idea foremost and some the other, appears almost equally certain. The trend of the indirect evidence is to bear out the statement of Edward Everett Hale in regard to the stockholders, that "some did and some did not" expect returns,⁴¹ but it indicates that the greater number considered subsidiary, if they did not ignore, the investment feature of their subscription. Certainly, it can not be said categorically, at least on the basis of the present findings, that the Emigrant Aid Company was definitely either one or the other.

WHAT WAS THE CHARACTER OF THE EMIGRANT AID
COMPANY'S FINANCIAL OPERATIONS?

No complete understanding of the nature and character of the Emigrant Aid Company is possible without a measurably thoro investigation of its financial operations. Both in its own day and since, it has been charged with being a swindle or a speculation, or both. The amount of money it raised and spent has been variously stated all the way from \$125,000 to \$5,000,000. In a very real sense this topic is an integral part of the preceding one discussed in Section III. It is even more difficult to differentiate it from the later topic, operations in Kansas. Then the question presents difficulties all its own. The account books of the company, to which one naturally looks for information of this kind, turn out to be all but useless. These books in the Kansas State Historical Society archives appear to be, not the original set with all details of expenditure, but a second set made up in 1856, and containing only summary accounts. Accountants who have examined them declare them to be hopelessly out of balance. More serious still, innumerable items on both sides of the ledger are balanced by "Sundries", so that the meaning is seriously obscured. Again and again, expenditures are account for only as payments of drafts of

Pomeroy or other agents. Critics of the Aid Company have sometimes assumed that this obscurity is intentional, and was devised to hide either dubious transactions of the company itself, or exploitations of the company by its managers. This is possible, particularly after 1857, but is scarcely likely for the earlier period when Lawrence was the active manager. The stock accounts are more complete and intelligible, altho many of the earlier subscriptions and transfers do not appear. The nearest to a critical investigation of the company's financial operations yet attempted was made by William Herbert Curruth in 1897. His findings were delivered as an address to the Kansas State Historical Society, and later published in the Kansas Historical Collections under the title, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company as an Investment Society".¹

In an attempt to analyse the financial operation of the company, the questions that present themselves are: How was the organization financed? How much money did it handle. What were the nature and amount of its operating expenses? In what were the rest of its funds invested? What evidence is there of speculation?

As a stock company, the chief reliance would naturally be upon subscriptions to stock, but as Lawrence wrote to Benton and testified before the Howard Committee, some persons preferred to give the money outright without taking stock.² In the same letter to Benton (January 2, 1855), Lawrence stated that none of the stock had been sold at more

than half-price. This raises the questions: How much stock was sold? On what basis? How much was contributed? Were there any other sources of income?

Curruth totaled up the entries in the stock ledger and placed the amount of fully paid stock at \$136,300 (6815³ shares); the report of the Treasurer at the annual stockholders' meeting in May, 1861, gave the figure at \$130,340.⁴ It is possible that some stock may have been sold after May, 1861, but hardly likely. More probably the discrepancy is to be explained by poor book-keeping, or possibly by Professor Curruth's failure to deduct duplications due to transfers. In any case, the smaller figure is probably more nearly correct. Lawrence's statement about none of the stock selling at more than half-price evidently applies only to the period of the unincorporated stock-company; numerous allusions appear in the correspondence of the time, the minutes of the trustees, and in later writings, to the fact that under the trusteeship, only one-half was assessed on the shares. Under the corporation, however, the full par value of the stock was assessed, and the stock ledger⁵ shows the date when the payment on each share was completed. Of course there are a few notations of default, but virtually the full amount subscribed is shown as paid. Curruth places the gifts of which Lawrence speaks at an even \$9,000. The Treasurers Report for 1861, alluded to above, says \$8,435.16; this is the figure shown in the General Ledger for April 9, 1857, and it is unlikely that additional donations were made

after that date. On its face, moreover an exact figure sounds more plausible than a round number, so it is likely that here too, the treasurer's figure is more nearly accurate. The only other possible sources of revenue were loans and sales. Loans repaid from other revenues would not, of course, affect the total amount raised and expended. Since the company closed its affairs free of debt, this question of loans may be omitted altogether. It may be noted in passing, tho, that while the Articles of Association forbade the company to contract any debt, all of its early operations were carried on upon money advanced by the treasurer (Lawrence) out of his own funds. He continued to advance funds as drafts came in, reimbursing himself whenever revenue was received from other sources. Late in 1854 he recorded in his journal: "Kansas drafts came in; no money in the treasury and never have had, and no money of my own. So I transferred some manufacturing company's stock to be sold and pay them. If Kansas should not be a free State, I shall lay it to my heart and to my pocket too."⁶ Under the corporation there appears no charter or constitutional prohibition of indebtedness but it was plainly not the policy of the company to contract debts. A loan of \$10,000 was contracted in 1858 to meet operating expenses.⁷ The Treasurer's report of May, 1861, - the time at which it was decided to close out the Kansas holdings, - shows an indebtedness of \$14,000,⁸ partly unpaid salaries and expenses.

Prior to 1857 sales of property were small, the most important item being the American Hotel in Kansas City

sold to the Eldridge brothers. No figures are available on the income from sales during the first two years of operation, tho the more careful study of the account books that is contemplated may reveal them eventually. But from 1857 to the closing out of the Kansas holdings, the information is more accessible. Real estate transfers evidenced by duplicate copies of quit-claim deeds among the company's effects, total \$14,325. An undetermined amount had been received from rents and sale of mills, engines and other machinery. Including the \$16,150 at which all remaining holdings were sold in 1862, Curruth puts the total derived from sales and rents at \$26,918. If one leaves out of account (as Curruth evidently did) sales for which the company took in payment town shares, town lots and territorial scrip upon which nothing was ever realized, his figure is probably not far wrong.

According to Curruth's figures, then, the total amount of money that passed thru the hands of the company was \$172, 218. Making allowance for the discrepancies between his figures and those of the Directors' History, it appears that his estimate is a full \$6,000 too high; the actual figure was likely around \$165,000. Then what became of this money? Obviously, the first deduction must be for operating expenses. Here again a most careful check of the account books is badly needed, but could not be undertaken in connection with the present project.¹¹ The Directors' History says, reporting the annual meeting of May, 1856, "The charges of administration had not been larger

than was to be expected in the management of such varied interests". Amos A. Lawrence served without pay, as did John Carter Brown, J. M. S. Williams, Thayer, and the directors. Dr. Webb received a salary of \$1,500 a year as Secretary, and Anson J. Stone, \$800 a year as Assistant Treasurer. Each of the Kansas agents, of whom there were three until 1858, received a salary of \$1,000 annually, besides certain fees and commissions. For the year 1857-58 (The Aid Company computed its year between annual meetings, from May to May), the Directors' History reports a running expense of \$14,724.95,- a considerable portion of it taxes. Curruth figures the total expense of the Boston office at \$30,465 and estimates the fees and salaries of agents at \$27,000. He shows \$2,146 as freight on three mills, but since the company is known to have transported to Kansas several more mills as well as other machinery, the freight bill must have been far in excess of this amount. If we assume then roughly \$65,000 as operating expenses, there remains approximately \$100,000 to be accounted for.

This was the capital that was to go ahead of settlement, and by providing the convenience of civilized life, make Kansas attractive to settlers. In what was it invested? The Directors' History states that the company "established saw mills, grist mills, school houses and two hotels to attract settlers". Thruout the writings of all the apologists for the Aid Company, "mills", and particularly, "sawmills", loom large. The question of how many of these were established,

belongs to another section of this paper. Any accurate estimate of the investment the Aid Company mills represented is virtually impossible: in the first place, the number sent is doubtful; in the second place, the account books state the actual cost of only one or two, and since the value of pioneer mills is known to have varied from two or three hundred dollars to as much as five thousand, a basis of estimate is almost out of the question. The best evidence available puts the cost of the Free State Hotel at Lawrence at somewhere near \$20,000.¹⁷ There is some indication that the company owned a hotel in Osawatomie, or at least an interest in one. In 1856 they purchased an interest in Atchison,¹⁸ and an invoice of May, 1858, shows both a hotel and a mill located there.¹⁹ Then there was the Herald of Freedom in which the company had \$2,000 invested. Making liberal allowances for all of these items, there must be still a considerable amount unaccounted for, unless it is assumed to have been invested in land.

This then raises the question, Was the Emigrant Aid Company²⁰ speculating in land as charged? Both Craik²¹ and Connelley quote extensively from newspapers of 1854 and 1855 to show that among the people of the time the Aid Company was considered to be speculating in land. That the company had extensive land holdings in Kansas upon which it hoped to reap a large return from the rise in land values, is clear beyond question. In every town established by the Aid Company's parties, numbers of lots were assigned to the company, - as

in the case of Lawrence. Writing years afterward, Dr. Robinson laments that a compromise entered into between the Aid Company settlers and other claimants of the townsite gave the Emigrant Aid Company fewer lots in Lawrence than originally intended, and berates Pomeroy for the "surrender".²¹ Critics of the company construed this sort of thing as proof that the Aid Company was establishing towns and sending settlers, solely for the purpose of speculating in land. Thayer explained to the Howard Committee that these lots in the various settlements were given "to induce us to make improvements, and thus aid in the building up of the place. This was the case with the town association of Lawrence. The town association would have given similar advantages to any person or company of men who would have made improvements. Other offers were made to us to induce similar investments in other settlements, some of which we were not able to accept for lack of means."²³

That the Aid Company partook of the character of a land company is shown too by the assertion of Lawrence in 1864, that the failure of the stock subscription in Boston is not to be wondered at since the community has suffered so severely from land companies of various kinds,²⁴ and his statement in 1857 upon resigning the treasurership, that the corporation must thereafter be considered a land company and be managed as such, its real object having been achieved.²⁵

But that the Emigrant Aid Company ever spent its money for land for speculative purposes, - at least prior to 1857 when it ceased its settlement efforts, - is not so clear.

In the very infancy of the enterprise, in a memorandum addressed to the trustees protesting against a proposed speculative purchase in Kansas City (to be noted later), A. A. Lawrence proposed that the company's interest in land be small, and be shared with agents; he thinks that any land the company may hold should be offered to settlers at "prime cost", in addition to the 160 acres that each may preempt, as a means of stimulating activity in the territory, and helping to defray the cost of agencies. In his Kanzas and Nebraska, which went to press about the same time, E. E. Hale says, "It must be understood that this plan does not contemplate the purchase of land in large quantities. . . . The company only takes up such land as it needs for its establishments."²⁷ January 2, 1855, in the letter to Benton already cited several times, Lawrence denies that any money has been spent²⁸ for any of the objectionable purposes charged against the company. The Directors' History, published in 1862, says, "It had not been organized for the purposes of a land company. It had never purchased land with money; and the lands it held were such as it had received in payment for mills and engines and other improvements, which, with the advantages of its capital, it had introduced where they were needed, and for which the settlers had nothing but land for pay."²⁹ A more thoro search of the account books may show additional land purchases, but the only one that came to light in the course of this investigation, was a purchase by Pomeroy, early in 1857, of 100 lots in Atchison for \$500.³⁰

This evidence, is, of course, one-sided, and by no means conclusive. More significant, possibly, are the implications of what might be called a test case. Early in August of 1854, Robinson, who had been sent on a scouting trip, transmitted to the company an offer of twelve acres of land in Kansas City for \$3,000, and urged that it be accepted. In their later writings, both Robinson and Thayer, lamenting the fact that the land, then worth millions, had not been purchased, - assert that Thayer was favorable to the purchase, but that because others opposed it, it was not made.³¹ In a memorandum to the trustees, Lawrence objected " . . . because this purchase of land and building is for the purpose of speculating, to make a profit; and is not necessary to accomplish the object for which the society was formed. It is using the good name of the company to create a rise in value in the neighborhood of our purchases; and if the trustees themselves should be considerable holders of stock they would be liable to the imputation of using the credit of the company for their own interests. If successful, we should injure the reputation which we ought to obtain of being disinterested laborers in a good cause; if unsuccessful, we should be blamed by the other stockholders who will consider themselves deceived by our representations."³² The imputation is clear. Lawrence, probably backed by Williams, was opposed to speculative purchases, and since he held the "power of the purse", he was able to restrain the speculative ambitions of Thayer. It is only fair to note, however, that in his correspondence with Rob-

inson, and even in listing objections in the memorial just quoted, Lawrence places lack of funds alongside his opposition to speculation, as a reason why the purchase should not be made. Then too, since the concern at that time had no funds except what Lawrence himself was advancing, he may have been reluctant to put up more of his own money for so doubtful a venture. Nevertheless, the evidence is prima facie against speculative land purchases so long as Lawrence was piloting the enterprise.

Finally we come to the question of corruption or chicanery. It has been charged in many quarters that the company's agents were corrupt, and that much of the money sent to Kansas went into their pockets. It has been hinted from various sources that Thayer, at least, was "living off the movement". Connelly insinuates that the managers were "jobbing in its stocks", and that someone cleared \$80,000 (the figure he takes for the unaccounted loss sustained by the company).³³

The question of whether or not the company's agents were corrupt, while of the utmost importance, can not be answered even tentatively on the basis of the present study. The failure of the account books to indicate the purpose for which many of the drafts were drawn leaves the question open. The fact that Lawrence had complete confidence in the integrity of all the agents,³⁴ tho sometimes questioning their judgment, proves nothing. In their later public life, both Robinson and Pomeroy were subjected to serious charges and criticisms. Curruth figures that about \$100,000 passed thru

Pomeroy's hands; Robinson handled only \$17,000. Nevertheless Curruth explains Pomeroy's dissipation of the company's resources on the basis of lack of business acumen "without any sinister suggestions".³⁵

Thayer has been charged both with "living off the movement", and with falsely asserting that he was serving at his own expense. Of the first charge there is not the slightest evidence in the books of the company. Certainly he received no salary. Except \$500 for travel expenses thru 1854-55, his account in the ledger debits him with no sum for which there is not a corresponding credit, indicating that all money charged to him merely passed thru his hands for use of the company. Thayer continued to operate his school, Oread Institute, from which he had derived his livelihood since 1849, so there is no reason to believe he was dependent on the Aid Company. G. W. Brown in a later defense of the Aid Company and its personnel, says, "Eli Thayer . . . traveled more than 60,000 miles at his own expense, . . . sacrificed a fortune in the movement . . ." ³⁶

Thayer himself makes no such statement. In The Kansas Crusade he talks much of traveling about recruiting emigrants and soliciting funds, but says nothing about paying his own expenses. As to sacrificing a fortune in the movement, it is extremely doubtful if he had one to sacrifice. Amos A. Lawrence, early in 1854 in a letter to Moses H. Grinnell, estimates Thayer's property at "\$70,000 to \$80,000".³⁷ The only money Thayer mentions having spent is

\$4500 "of my own money" expended "for the purchase of rifles and cannon",³⁸ and no one who has read any of Thayer's writings can doubt that he would have mentioned other expenditures had there been any.

In a vitrolic pamphlet directed against the extravagant claims made by certain exponents of the Aid Company, W. E. Connelley asserts, "It was not supposed that a large sum unaccounted for (\$80,000, some say) would ever be inquired about, and it was believed that their jobbing in its stock would not be discovered."³⁹ Whatever suspicions one may hold regarding certain agents of the company, there is little indeed to indict the principals either of stock-jobbery or of using the company as a blind for private speculations. May 26, 1857, in presenting his resignation as treasurer, Lawrence said, "Notwithstanding the contrary has been stated, they [the Executive Committee] have undertaken no private business or speculation in connection with the property of the Territory. No one of them, so far as I am informed, has had any interest, directly or indirectly, in any property in Kansas, except what belongs to this Company; and there is no one of them who would not at any time, and who would not now, sacrifice his own share in this, and much more, to open the Territory to the labor and enterprise of our citizens, and to perpetuate there our free American institutions."⁴⁰ Before the Howard Committee a year earlier he had testified, "The stock of the company

has not been an object of speculation". The stock records of the company show no transfers that can not be adequately explained, and stock-jobbery is not undertaken with small holdings of one to two thousand dollars.

Did someone clear \$80,000 (or any other amount) off the Emigrant Aid Company? The "someone" most frequently in the mind of the critics is, of course, Thayer, altho Robnson and Pomeroy usually come in for a share of the suspicion. The amount spent by the Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas has been variously estimated. G. W. Martin, at one time Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, put the figure at \$445,000,- about three times the total sum handled by the company,- but it is apparent that he has included all sums spent by the various Kansas Committees and the releif funds of 1860. Thayer states the amount as \$140,000. This, in round numbers, represents the total of paid-up stock-subscriptions and contributions, so is approximately correct for net expenditure. Hale, in his Bismark Grove Speech, stated that the company "placed \$125,000 in this Territory". The "Kansas Expense" account in the general ledger of the company shows \$143,322.98, and an invoice in the journal shows the distribution of the expenditure among the various communities. Since this undoubtedly included the cost of agencies in Kansas and probably other items which earlier in this section were treated as "operating expenses", it may be considered as checking reasonably well with the \$100,000 estimate arrived at previously. On February 27, 1862, all holdings in Kansas represented by this investment, were sold

at auction for \$16,150,- just enough to pay outstanding obligations.⁴⁷ Here was a loss of approximately \$85,000.

What became of this amount? A part of it is easily accounted for. There was the Free State Hotel destroyed in 1856, which the company valued at \$25,000, but which Curruth estimated at \$20,000. Other items in Lawrence estimated at \$1,000 were destroyed at the same time. \$2,000 was lost on the Herald of Freedom. \$3,500 of Quindaro town scrip received of the sale of a mill, was written off to "Sundries". Crediting these items against his figures,⁴⁸ Curruth shows an unaccounted loss of about \$70,000. Using the estimates reached in this investigation, this loss shrinks to around \$60,000. But there are other known losses not here included. A mill belonging to the company was destroyed at Osawatomie.⁴⁹ The company is known to have accepted thousands of dollars in territorial scrip (the exact amount has not been determined) which became worthless. The account books are literally filled with costs of upkeep on holdings. Then there were taxes. As will be shown later, some money was probably spent in famine relief. Besides ~~these~~ there were three less tangible, but no less real, sources of loss: physical depreciation of machinery and such property; collapse of the "boom" of 1857, followed as it was by the financial panic and then by the war; the loose financial dealings of the company's agents. The first of these is cited in the Directors' History as one of the chief sources of loss,⁵⁰ and it may well account for \$20,000 or more. On the second, Curruth says: "The year 1857 was boom year in Kansas.

It . . . saw an astonishing influx of settlers and capital. But the bottom went out soon, Investments made that year could not find a purchaser at twenty percent. in 1858. Things did not get much better, until in 1860 they got much worse on account of the drought . Of course the beginning of the war did not raise Kansas values." ⁵¹ This applied especially to investments made in Atchison in 1857, which appear to have totaled over \$12,000. Finally, regarding the poor management in Kansas, Curruth says: "The company's financial agent was S. C. Pomeroy, afterward senator from Kansas. Mr. Pomeroy was not, however, a financier. . . . Mr. Pomeroy was reckless with drafts. The books do not show for what many of these drafts were drawn, but it is fair to presume that all bargains were construed liberally in behalf of the emigrant. 'We understood the Aid Company to be a benevolent institution', said an old-timer to me, 'and we regarded anything of the company's that came in our way as a gift'. Pomeroy always paid liberally. He was not the man to make sharp bargain for the company. Very likely the company would have dismissed him if he had done so. . . . A careful manager would made this result [shrinkage of assets from \$172,000 to \$16,000] very much more favorable, but it is very doubtful whether, under the best management, the stock could have been made to pay dividends." ⁵²

Without exact figures, no one can ever say positively that there was or was not an embezzlement of company funds, and with the account books of the company in the condition

they are, the likelihood of ever obtaining exact figures appears slight. Certainly the foregoing observations would indicate that the "large sum unaccounted for" was far less than \$80,000, if indeed it existed at all. If, in addition to the sources of loss heretofore noted, one takes into account the inevitable sacrifice always involved in a forced sale under adverse conditions, one must agree with Curruth that "it is not hard, even without any sinister suggestions, to see how the company's \$172,000 finally shrank to \$16,000."

WHAT DID THE EMIGRANT AID COMPANY CONTRIBUTE
TOWARD THE SETTLEMENT OF KANSAS?

The most natural question for a layman to ask when he begins to inquire about the Aid Company is, How did the Emigrant Aid Company aid emigrants? As noted in Section I of this paper,¹ a perusal of the usual secondary accounts, while pointing out certain directions in which assistance was extended, leaves the reader confused by insinuations and contradictions. The various histories of Kansas are more concrete, but written, as most of them are, in defense of a certain type of propoganda, they can not be accepted uncritically. Out of the confusion, certain other questions emerge, which in turn must be answered in order to formulate an answer to the original query. Did the Aid Company propose to create or to divert migration? Were its efforts directed toward sending emigrants from the East, or attracting immigrants to Kansas?² Was individual financial aid contemplated? Did the Aid Company plans contemplate permanent settlement, or mere temporary occupation of Kansas?

In a report from the Committee on Territories delivered in the United States Senate March 12, 1856, Stephen A. Douglas upbraids the Emigrant Aid Company for using "unusal and extraordinary means . . . to stimulate an unnatural and false system of emigration".³ In an "Address

to the People of the United States", dated June 17, 1856, the Executive Committee of the Emigrant Aid Company reply that the company was seeking only to direct a portion of the migration of the northern and eastern states to Kansas. Practically every contemporary and subsequent statement of everyone who had anything to do with the Emigrant Aid Company agrees that the program was, as the charter phrases it, "directing emigration westward". Thayer, in his preliminary "Plan of Operations" (or prospectus, as later writers have called it) predicates his whole program on the proposal to "direct" (i. e. divert) the normal westward migration to Kansas; in his speech in Congress on "The Suicide of Slavery", March 25, 1858, he concedes the normal tendency of migration to move westward along parallels of latitude, but argues that it can be, and has been, diverted southward thru the attraction of cheap lands and the facilities provided by the Emigrant Aid Company. Edward Everett Hale devotes three pages of his Kansas and Nebraska, written in 1854 expressly for the use of the Aid company, to arguing the need of an organization to "secure to Kansas a fair proportion of the western emigration". There is little if any reason to believe that the company expected to stimulate migration beyond its normal figure, even tho the recruiting campaigns of Thayer gave the appearance of such an objective.

Was the effort to be directed toward inducing eastern people to emigrate to Kansas, or toward making Kansas sufficiently attractive that settlers from the north would

go there? The whole program of operations makes it clear that both methods of operation were to be utilized to the full extent of the company's ability. In New England the effort should be ^{to} direct to Kansas as many as possible of the persons who proposed to migrate westward; at the same time an effort should be made to make Kansas as attractive as possible to prospective settlers, and to advertise its attractiveness thruout the North.

At the time of the company's greatest activity, the impression was current thruout the West and South that the company was, in one way or another, furnishing direct financial assistance to its emigrants. This idea was no doubt suggested by the name of the Company and gained currency thru the loose talk of some of the settlers from the East. It was given the appearance of verification by the confusing of the New England Emigrant Aid Company with other similar organizations. Whether the Aid Company did in any case afford direct financial assistance, must be left for discussion in another section of this report, but that such was no part of the original plan or regular practice is obvious from all publications of the company. As Gur-ruth expresses it, the purpose was "to aid emigration, not to aid emigrants"⁹. That the company did not, as a matter of practice, make loans to the individual to enable him to migrate is reasonably certain; whether or not it made loans to settlers to enable them to build mills, hotels and the like is not so clear, but this point too belongs to another section.

The question that loomed the largest in all contemporary literature of the subject, and was argued most hotly before the Howard Committee, was whether the Aid Company contemplated permanent settlement, or only temporary occupation of Kansas. In the heat of the Kansas conflict, when people of the border were blinded to all but the political aspects of the Aid Company, it was easy enough to believe that the company was concerned only with getting men to Kansas to vote. Today, knowing as we do that money-making was a very real, if not the predominant idea of the concern, the argument of the "Address to the People of the United States", cited above, appears conclusive on its face: "It must be apparent, therefore, that the whole plan of the company's operations is based on the idea of a permanent settlement in the Territory. Its investments are made in property which has a permanent local value, but which would be worthless unless surrounded by an active and energetic population. It could be no part of its plan, therefore, to send persons to Kansas for a temporary residence there."

Such being the aims of the company, how was it proposed to carry them out? A small folder, issued apparently in February or March of 1855 for the purpose of securing stock subscriptions, makes this statement: "Its objects are to impart information and afford facilities to emigrants designing to settle in Kansas; to protect them from fraud; to procure for them cheap fare and good accommodations on the route; to advise them through agents on their arrival out,

in regard to eligible sites for settlement; to secure for their accomodation, by purchase or otherwise, advantageous locations for landing places and for outfitting purposes; to erect hotels for the convenience of settlers and travelers; to erect, or aid individuals in erecting and conducting, sawmills, grist mills, machine shops, and similar establishments essential in the new settlements, and to aid in the erection of school houses and churches, and thus carry to the extreme borders of population the advantages of an advanced civilization hitherto unknown in the infant settlements of the West." ¹¹

An attempt to discover what was done toward carrying "to the extreme borders of population the advantages of an advanced civilization", constitutes the principal theme of Section VI of this study. What may be considered an official statement of the procedure for affording "facilities to emigrants", is contained in the testimony of Thayer before the Howard Committee (June 26, 1856). "We sent, first, men to explore the Territory of Kansas . . . to ascertain the character and resources of that Territory. This and other information we published and furnished gratuitously to all who applied for it. We then opened an office in Boston where application could be made by all those who wished to emigrate to Kansas. The secretary kept a book in which the names of these applicants were recorded. When a party of sufficient number was formed, the day was fixed for their departure, tickets were purchased by the company at a reduced price, of various lines of transportation, and

were furnished to the emigrants at cost. A conductor was furnished by the company for each party. His duty was to provide for their safe, expeditious and economical conveyance to Kansas. We established local agents in the Territory, whose duty it was to receive these colonists, and to inform them of the best locations open to settlement,"¹²

An examination of all the evidence confirms the essential accuracy of Thayer's statement. Even before any organization was effected, in June of 1854, the future trustees (apparently acting tentatively under Lawrence's "Emigrant Aid Society" constitution), sent Dr. Charles Robinson, who had married a relative of A. A. Lawrence, and C. H. Branscomb, on a scouting trip to Kansas. While there is some contradiction in statements of exactly what was done, it is clear that each made an exploring trip into the territory, inspecting locations and inquiring about land titles. At Kansas City arrangements were made with merchants to supply needs of immigrants, J. Riddlesbarger, a warehouseman, was designated as forwarding agent, and tentative arrangements were made to buy the Gillis House, then operated by Gaius Jenkins.¹³ July 17, the first or "Pioneer" party of twenty-nine left Boston, - one week before the formal organization of the company under trustees. The party was conducted to Buffalo by Thayer, and for the rest of its journey by Branscomb.¹⁴ On August 29, the second party was dispatched with much ceremonial, singing Whittier's "Song of the Kansas Emigrant" composed for the occasion.¹⁵ Robinson, who accompanied

this party as conductor, had instructions, drawn by A. A. Lawrence, as follows: (1) to arrange with railways and steamboat companies for reduced fares; (2) to try to secure the co-operation of the railway companies to stop the frauds practiced on emigrants by "'runners' and others who receive pay for making sale of tickets, or who sell fraudulent tickets"; (3) to select men for local forwarding agents in large towns; (4) to inquire at Buffalo and elsewhere as to cost of steam engines of various powers, and the cost of their transportation to Kansas; (5) to get the refusal of property necessary for the accomodation of emigrants. In the meantime, S. C. Pomeroy had been dispatched as financial agent August 17 24.

Sometime about the last of July or the first of August, 1854, an office was opened in Boston, with Dr. Webb as full time secretary, to give information to all prospective emigrants, and organize parties to go to Kansas. A pamphlet on "Organization, Objects and Plan of Operations", containing a description of Kansas, was ready about the same time. Before the end of the year it had run thru three editions. At that time it was succeeded by "Information for Kansas Emigrants", by Dr. Webb; This ran thru fourteen editions before it was discontinued in 1857. Late in August of 1854, Edward Everett Hale's Kanzas and Nebraska, written to extol the merits both of Kansas and of the Aid Company (and so attract both settlers and subscribers to stock), was ready for the printer, and soon copies were being distributed from

the office of the Aid Company. The following year, "A Tract for the Times" was brot out; it reprinted Stringfellow's "Negro Slavery no Evil" along with an article against the introduction of slavery into Kansas by one D. R. Goodloe of North Carolina.²³ In 1856, Mrs. Robinson's Kansas appeared,²⁴ written expressly as Aid Company propaganda. Altho Whittier had already written "The Song of the Kansas Emigrant", Dr. Webb, in Febraury, 1855, offered a prize of \$50 for a poem on Kansas; a month later the prize was awarded to Miss Lucy Larcom for "The Call to Kansas", selected out of 89 entries.

Since May, 1857, with some interruptions, Thayer had been going about New England and New York State making speeches.²⁶ Horace Greeley was enlisted in the project and launched an editorial campaign in behalf of the Aid Company under the caption "A Plan of Freedom".²⁷ William Cullen Bryant of the New York Evening Post backed the project editorially, as did Thurlow Weed of the Albany Evening Journal. The Christian Register published a series of articles by Edward Everett Hale. In various cities Thayer and Hale launched "Kansas Leagues" whose constitutions provided that they should cooperate with the Emigrant Aid Company.²⁸ Letters of settlers were published, and returned colonists were taken about by Thayer to tell their stories. Elaborate ovations were arranged for departing colonists, and these were heralded broadcast. Whether this campaign of publicity did more harm or good is the theme of another portion of this paper; the facts are nowhere

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disputed and are easily verified.

From time to time thru the fall of 1854 and the spring and early summer of 1855, parties of colonists were dispatched. It appears from the testimony before the Howard Committee that the company secured reductions in transportation rates ranging from 10% to 25%, and probably averaging around 15%.³⁰ This saving was passed on to the colonist. Anson J. Stone, assistant treasurer of the company, testified that the transportation companies, made them the same reduction "as they did to all other companies, picnic parties, conventions, etc."³¹ A conductor was sent with each party, to whom the railways and steamboat lines always gave a free pass.³² Besides the names of Robinson and Branscomb, there appear in the contemporary testimony and correspondence the names of James Blood, John T. Farewell, a Dr. Hunting, a Mr. Taft, and a Mr. Lincoln (the given names of the last three are nowhere mentioned). At Kansas City, Pomeroy acted as receiving agent. J. Riddlesbarger, the Aid Company's forwarding agent at that point, testified before the Howard Committee how "generally speaking, when the boats arrived, General Pomeroy would go down to the boats and meet the emigrants", look after their baggage, and escort them to the American hotel, - the former Gillis House, which the Aid Company had purchased from Gaius Jenkins.³³ Personal narratives of settlers, scattered thru the Howard Report and the Kansas Historical Collections, make it clear that Pomeroy, sometimes assisted by "Colonel" Blood, directed the newcomers to places of settlement, and suggested the sites for towns.

Such were the methods by which the Emigrant Aid Company undertook to aid emigration. But how successful were they? One of the questions most frequently asked about the company is, how many people did it send to Kansas? Before any answer is attempted, it is necessary to recall to mind that the Aid Company had a double program: to send emigrants from the East, and to influence settlers to go from the entire North. This means that the question divides itself into two: how many migrated directly under the company's auspices? How many moved independently, but under the influence of the company's activities?

On the basis of Thayer's assertion that the secretary kept a book in which the names of colonists were recorded,³⁴ the determination of the actual number dispatched should be easy, but no such book has come to light. Perhaps it was not preserved; certainly it can not be found among the company's effects in the Kansas State Historical Society's archives. A crudely penciled note book, apparently kept by A. J. Stone, might reward the diligent searcher, but the scope of the present study would not permit an attempt to unravel it. This throws the investigation back onto estimates. These vary from 585, the number accepted by W. E. Miller in his doctoral dissertation,³⁵ to "over five thousand", claimed by Thayer's eulogist, Ward.³⁶ Thayer himself puts the number at 3000.³⁷ Hale in his circular of 1855 directed to New England Clergymen, asserts that at that time, between 2000 and 3000 persons had been "directly transported . . . to Kansas"

by the Emigrant Aid Company. More than thirty years later, in the preface he wrote for Thayer's Kansas Crusade Hale said that the Aid Company had sent between 4000 and 5000 all told.³⁹ ~~Whether so intended or not~~, the figures used by Ward, Thayer and Hale are obviously exaggerations. The Directors' History states that five parties, totaling "a-⁴⁰bout 750" were sent in 1854; for 1855, four parties are enumerated for March and April, with a statement that from April to July "more than 50" were sent, - a total of "more than"⁴¹ 655. Thayer later admitted in controversy that the books at the end of the year showed only about 500;⁴² This may or may not be significant. A check of the lists of the first three parties of 1855⁴³ shows only minor deviations from the numbers given in the Directors' History. A. J. Stone in his testimony June 27, 1856 estimated that 1300⁴⁴ had been sent. William Lawrence, writing in 1888 with his father's "journal" before him, says "about 1300".⁴⁵ In all probability, 1300 would be the nearest round number for the membership of the Aid Company parties, with the likelihood that the actual figure would be higher rather than lower.

But there is another element in the situation that is generally overlooked. While the company sent out no conducted parties after July, 1855, there is abundant evidence that it continued to try to stimulate migration, and that it still offered tickets at reduced rates to individuals and small groups. Webb's "Information" continued to be issued and distributed thru 1857. Old settlers stories occasion-

ally mention coming on Aid Company tickets after the date of the last party, and Sanborn even asserted that two of the later territorial governors, Walker and Stanton, came on tickets issued by the Aid Company. ⁴⁶ The number who came thus under the company's auspices, but not in its organized parties, can never be determined until or unless the missing emigrant book comes to light, but some allowance, - perhaps two hundred, - should be made for them.

The number influenced is an even less tangible thing. In the nature of things, anything like a numerical check on such a thing as influence is out of the question. About all that can be attempted is to point out the directions in which such influence was exerted. Most obvious, of course, was the publicity campaign. Even so conservative an investigator as W. E. Miller, while arguing that the bulk of the migration from the northern states into Kansas was spontaneous, admits that the Aid Company propaganda was effective. "However", he says, "the New England Emigrant Aid Company having been capitalized at \$5,000,000, besides many other similar companies with a combined capitalization of many millions more, the impression went abroad that a great deal of money was about to be expended in the development of the state, by founding towns, setting up mills, building school houses and churches, etc. Many settlers were thus influenced to go to Kansas, though they did so of their own volition and without the assistance of the Emigrant Company." ⁴⁷ This suggests a second type of influence, - imitation. To continue the quotation from Miller, "Imita-

tions of the New England plan sprang up thruout the North. Many colonists went to Kansas in organizations such as that founded by Mr. Thayer and his associates, tho sustaining no organic connection with it".⁴⁸ However many may have been sent by the American Settlement Company, the Octagon Company, and the various local Kansas leagues and committees, there appears to be no gainsaying the fact that these were operating in conscious imitation of the Boston organization. Then there were independent groups like the Charles B. Lines colony from New Haven,- the "Beecher's Bibles" colony,- and a group claimed to have numbered 300 from Pennsylvania, in the organization of which Aid Company propagandists had a direct hand. A third type of influence took the form of accessions to the Aid company parties en route. That such accession occurred is established beyond question by individual cases on record (for example, D. R. Anthony, and Dr. John Doy, both of whom loomed large in the history of the territory, joined the pioneer party at Rochester). Thayer claims, without much substantiating evidence, that the colonies were "often . . . more than doubled, sometimes quadrupled" on their way to Kansas.⁴⁹ Such accessions may possibly have accounted for a very few hundred.

Despite all these influences at work, there are those who insist that the activities of the Emigrant Aid Company frightened away more people than they attracted to Kansas. In a paper read before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1916, W. O. Lynch of Indiana argues the

failure of the whole emigrant aid movement. "On the whole, it is perfectly clear", he writes, "that organized efforts to stimulate a great rush of people to Kansas almost completely failed, both in the north and in the south. These efforts have long been decidedly overemphasized. They stirred up a greater amount of antagonism and strife than would have been produced otherwise. The intensity of the fight for Kansas drew strong spirits to the territory, On the other hand, the turmoil kept out of the territory numerous settlers who wanted homes instead of trouble. The appeals of the press and of speakers in all the states, both north and south, were accompanied by so much that portrayed uncertainty, the unrest and the disorder in Kansas, that, of the people who read or heard the appeals, more were influenced against than in favor of seeking homes there."⁵⁰ He then proceeds to show from census figures, that Kansas did not receive a fair share of the westward migration in the fifties, and that there were even more New Englanders who migrated to Missouri during that decade, than who went to Kansas. He quotes contemporary newspaper items to show that warnings were sounded, even in New England, against migration to Kansas. His figures are somewhat misleading, because he has compared the migration into Kansas during six years (really only five and a half) with that into other western states during ten; but even making due allowance for this, he presents definite proof, if any be needed, that there was a re-

tardation of the normal stream of migration into Kansas. While it is desirable to have scientific confirmation of this fact, the fact itself has always been conceded even by the spokesmen for the company's most extravagant claims. Thayer cites examples that came to his attention.⁵¹ Robinson, in 1855, lamented that immigration "is almost entirely checked".⁵² G. W. Brown makes note that "The timorous, frightened by the bluster, passed on and located in western Iowa."⁵³ Lynch's assertion that "of the people who read or heard the appeals, more were influenced against than in favor of seeking homes" in Kansas, can not be so easily accepted as a truism. From the nature of the statement itself, it can be nothing more than his own impression or opinion. That the turmoil in Kansas should frighten people away was inevitable; that it did so is obvious. That some people who might have migrated to Kansas became aware of the turmoil thru or in connection with the propaganda of the Emigrant Aid Company and similar agencies, and so were deterred from coming, is highly probable, but to assume that they would not, in most cases, have learned of the turmoil in some other way is gratuitous. An assumption that the propaganda in itself deterred any considerable number of persons, assumes a degree of insight on the part of prospective settlers which the ordinary man seldom possesses, and hence is scarcely tenable. Even Lynch does not undertake to prove that the emigrant aid movement was itself a primary cause of the retardation. Such an assumption would of necessity

be predicated on the hypothesis that the emigrant aid movement was the sole (or at least the chief) cause of the anarchy in Kansas. Such a charge has been made repeatedly, both in the days of the Kansas conflict and since, but it certainly can not be regarded as proved.

In any attempt to evaluate the services of the Emigrant Aid Company in the peopling of Kansas, it is only fair to deduct from the number of settlers who migrated under their auspices or influence the number who returned. A certain amount of such returning was inevitable, and always occurred in the settlement of new countries: some would come only to prospect, not expecting to remain; others, expecting from Thayer's glowing accounts to find a much more advanced community with up to date accommodations, and plenty of work at high wages, would be sadly disillusioned by the crude frontier settlements; in the case of Kansas, still others would be frightened away by the "border war". That such returns did occur is amply attested, and is admitted by all defenders of the Aid Company. The Kansas Free State, quoted extensively by Connelley, Cordley, Lynch and others, ⁵⁴ made a great deal of these "desertions" in its efforts to show that the emigrant aid movement was a hindrance to the free-state cause. At least twenty persons, including Dr. Robinson and several other avowed partisans of the Aid Company, testified before the Howard Committee that some New England immigrants had returned. Even the company's "Address to the People of the United States", referred to previously, conceded: "A

few who went out without a sufficient acquaintance with the difficulties and hardships incident to pioneer life, became discouraged and wished to return,"⁵⁵

Any attempt to estimate the number of Aid Company people who returned is, of course, just as futile as the attempt to discover how many migrated under their auspices or influence, but it is possible that persistent efforts might yield some rough approximation. In their efforts to prove that the Aid Company was sending persons to Kansas merely to vote, pro-slavery witnesses testified in the Howard investigation that approximately as many returned as came out, and steamboat clerks asserted that their business going down the Missouri River in the spring of 1855 was better than that upstream.⁵⁶ Of course not all the "Eastern emigrants" whom the westerners saw returning had come out under the auspices, or even under the influence of the Emigrant Aid Company; probably a very small part of them had. But it is reasonable to suppose that a proportionate number of Aid Company settlers became disgusted and returned along with others; in fact, it is safe to assume that a larger proportion of them would return, since they were less adapted to pioneer conditions than were the settlers who came from the old Northwest. Writing a number of years after the Kansas conflict, R. G. Elliott, one of the editors of the Kansas Free State, reports: "The five companies of crusaders, numbering some 750 in the aggregate, enlisted with strenuous effort, dwindled to 187 voters accredited by the census of

the following February to the whole of New England. And of the 'brave twenty-nine' . . . the names of only sixteen are found on the poll book for the November election⁵⁷". One would hesitate to accept these figures as final without a recheck. Moreover, neither the census nor the poll-book can be regarded as infallible; the census was taken under extremely adverse conditions, and many settlers, more interested in their farms than in the fate of slavery, failed to vote. Still we have the word of Dr. John Doy, one of the original "pioneer party", that of the twenty-nine, nine returned east before the end of the year; three in 1855; two died in Kansas (prior to 1860); twelve were still there (1860); "The rest turned out spies, spongers or worse"⁵⁸". Such slender evidence would certainly not justify an estimate, but one might hazard a guess that from one third to one half the New Englanders returned.

More significant than the actual number of persons who migrated to Kansas under the auspices or the influence of the Emigrant Aid Company, is the proportion of the entire migration that can be attributed to them. That the great body of the population at the close of the territorial period was derived from the pioneer stock of the old Northwest, has been proved so conclusively and so repeatedly that it is almost unnecessary to even mention it here. Almost every old settler mentions the fact in his reminiscences. Even the Aid Company spokesmen concede it. Miller proves conclusively from the Federal census of 1860⁵⁹, as does Lynch⁶⁰, that the states of the Ohio Valley (including Missouri and

and Iowa, themselves largely frontier communities) contributed 46,873,- nearly one half the total population of Kansas,- as against 4208 from all New England, and 12,794 from New York and Pennsylvania, to which the Aid Company's influence was largely limited. Since the census records only place of nativity, and not last previous residence, it is very likely in view of the general westward trend of population in the fifties, that many of those credited to the states east of the Alleghanies migrated to Kansas from points farther west. Amos A. Lawrence himself recognized this state of affairs. February 12, 1856, he wrote to Robinson: "But we are not much; we are too far off; we can pay some money, and we can hurrah; but we can not send you men:- men of the right stamp. The Western States will furnish them if you have them at all".⁶¹ Probably most of those who migrated directly from New England were influenced more or less by the propaganda efforts either of the Aid Company, or of the Kansas Committees which took up its work after 1856. A considerable but indeterminate number are known to have been directed to Kansas from New York and Pennsylvania by organizations either affiliated with the Emigrant Aid Company, or organized in imitation of it. Undoubtedly, more from these states were influenced by the propaganda campaign waged in the interest of the Aid Company by Greeley and others. Any attempt to estimate the numbers so influenced can be nothing more than a rash guess, but the proportion of the whole northern migration into Kansas during the territorial period that could be credited even to

the indirect influence of the Aid Company, can scarcely have exceeded 10%. It has been assumed by some that a considerable portion of the migration into Kansas from the South can be attributed to the influence of the Aid Company. That the movement in the South to assist migration to Kansas was inspired by the Boston organization, can not be questioned. But if the emigrant aid movement was a failure in the North, it was much more so in the South. A few southerners may have moved to Kansas on their own initiative for the primary purpose of counteracting the efforts of New England, but the number was negligible.

But after all, while it is entirely legitimate to inquire into the contribution of the Aid Company to the total population of the territory, this is not in all respects a fair valuation of the services of the concern as a colonizing agent. The great claim made for the Aid Company by its friends is that it pioneered the settlement of Kansas by partizans of the free-state cause; that it placed in Kansas a compact nucleus around which the later immigrants could rally. As noted previously, it virtually ceased operations as a colonizing agency after 1856. So if one is to attempt to place a value upon its services, the comparison must be based upon the two years of its real activity. B. F. Sanborn was of the opinion that even for these "critical years", 10% of the free-state migration is a liberal estimate to credit to the Aid Company. Curruth is in doubt whether the Aid Company's settlers were ever a majority of the total population of the territory, and

is sure they were not after 1856.⁶³ Craik, taking his figures from the New York Herald sometime during 1856 (he does not cite the date) finds that at that time there were in Kansas 520 settlers from New England, 390 from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and 440 from the states of the Northwest.⁶⁴ While these figures could not be accepted without some verification, they would indicate that the emigrant aid movement in the North might easily have influenced as many as one half the free-state strength in the territory at the time of the greatest crisis.

There is little that can be said by way of summary. In the present condition of the various sources of information, every attempt to discover with any degree of definiteness or finality what the Emigrant Aid Company contributed toward the settlement of Kansas, must inevitably prove to be a blind alley task. The number who migrated under the direct auspices of the company was small, - probably not exceeding 1500. The number who, in one way or another and to a greater or less degree, were influenced by the emigrant aid movement in their decision to come to Kansas, probably ran into thousands, but when matched against the total population at the time that statehood was achieved, the most liberal estimate is not impressive. From a numerical viewpoint, one can scarcely escape Lynch's conclusion that "On the whole, it is perfectly clear that organized efforts to stimulate a great rush of people to Kansas almost completely failed".⁶⁵

WHAT DID THE EMIGRANT AID COMPANY DO
TO DEVELOPE KANSAS?

In all that has been written or said by friends of the Emigrant Aid Company in regard to its operations, the idea of supplying capital for the developement of the infant community of Kansas stands out in bold relief. Speaking at the Old Settlers Reunion at Bismark Grove (Lawrence, Kansas) in 1879, Edward Everett Hale said, after noting the importance attached by such economists as Mill and Spencer to capital in the developement of new communities, "But I tell you, my friends, that capital is very shy about sending steam engines and saw-mills and grist mills and printing presses into regions which are the scenes of warfare, and where people who carry them are unpopular. It was the business of our company to step in and do what timid capital was afraid to do. So soon as a settlement was made in Lawrence, it was our business to put a saw-mill here, and I dare say that many a man who had never heard of the Emigrant Aid Company when he left Ohio [referring to a previous remark by Sam Wood] was glad to have his logs sawed by the Emigrant Aid Company's saws. We used to head our appeals for money in New England with the words 'Saw-Mills and Liberty'. Saw-mills meant towns, and towns

meant rifle companies." Consequently it becomes necessary in any study of the operations of the Emigrant Aid Company, to inquire just what the company did in Kansas to foster the development of the territory. This question overlaps in a measure the topic of financial operations discussed in Section IV, and many phases of it have been touched upon, but this overlapping is unavoidable and should not prove confusing. The problem of Section IV was, what became of the Aid Company's funds; the problem here is, what did the company do for Kansas.

The plan for making their capital accessible to settlers was outlined in the statement of objects quoted at the opening of Section V.² It is repeated in almost the same words in the "Address to the People of the United States": "It is well known that one of the chief difficulties which the settlers in a new country have to contend with is the want of capital for the support of those undertakings to which the means of individuals are inadequate. It has been one of the first objects of the company to supply this want by the erection of hotels, mills and machinery; by favoring the establishment of schools and churches; and by doing all in its power to surround the settlers, even on their first arrival, with the comforts of civilized and cultivated life."³

What arrangements did the company make to carry out such a project? It has already been noted that on his first scouting trip to the territory, Robinson made preliminary arrangements at Kansas City for supplying the needs of

colonists, even to a tentative agreement for the purchase of a hotel. It will be recalled, too, that Robinson's instructions when he started west with the Lawrence colony in August, 1854, included directions to select forwarding agents along the route, to inquire the cost of steam engines and of their transportation, and to get the refusal of any property he might consider useful for the accomodation of colonists. At about the same time, Pomeroy was dispatched as financial agent with instructions to purchase for the company six saw-mills and if necessary a grist mill, to be established at such points in the territory as he might think proper, and to purchase and hold for the company such real estate as he and the other agents might find necessary. The arrangement was that all purchases of real estate for any purpose should have the approval of Pomeroy, and at least one other agent, which usually meant Robinson. Forwarding agencies were established at St. Louis, Kansas City, and perhaps other places. A more careful check of the account books of the company may reveal the names and locations of other forwarding agencies, but the testimony before the Howard Committee makes it clear that at Kansas City, A. J. Riddlesbarger, and at St. Louis, first B. Slater and later the firm of F. A. Hunt and Co. (which Slater had joined), all commission merchants, served the Aid Company in that capacity. Riddlesbarger's duties consisted largely of receiving goods, and holding or forwarding them according to Pomeroy's directions. Slater testified that his only functions in

connection with the Aid Company were to secure passage by boat for "emigrants" at ten dollars each (St. Louis to Kansas City) and to forward by river freight all baggage and other goods sent out by the company. These forwarding agents received no stated salaries, but only the usual commissions charged for such services. Speaking of the year 1855, the Directors' History says: "Our pacific investments of capital went on steadily through the summer and autumn. We built in Lawrence the Free State Hotel, and established the towns of Topeka, Osawatomie, Manhattan, Hampden and Wabonse. So fast as subscriptions to the stock were obtained, they were invested in engines and mills".

Just how these investments were to be administered is not altogether clear. Pomeroy was the financial agent, or Kansas treasurer, and had general supervision of all company property in Kansas, but as noted above, he was required to have the concurrence of at least one other agent in making extensive purchases. Just what duties devolved upon the other resident agents does not appear. Robinson was the company's resident agent in Lawrence until sometime in 1856; C. H. Branscomb continued to represent the company in Kansas until 1858, when he was succeeded by Martin F. Conway. All of these seem to have been authorized to accept gifts of real estate on behalf of the company, and to speak for the organization in all matters involving the company's lots and shares in the various towns.

Besides these questions regarding the administrative machinery, there are questions concerning the actual use

to be made of the company's capital. For example, did the program contemplate loans of actual funds to settlers for development purposes? The expression used in the statement of purposes previously quoted, - "to erect, or aid individuals in erecting and conducting" sawmills, etc. would indicate that such loans were intended. A somewhat hasty examination of the account books of the company showed but one entry that was clearly a loan of this class, - that to G. W. Brown for the Herald of Freedom, - but there are other entries which may represent loans. It is hoped that a more exhaustive study of these accounts may throw more light on this topic. Again, when the company had made investments in mills, hotels, and other forms of fixed capital, how were these to be utilized? Were they to be sold at the first opportunity (the purpose having been accomplished by the fact of their establishment), were they to be leased to private operators, or were they to be operated by the company thru its agents? There are instances on record of each of these courses being followed, but nowhere is an authoritative statement made as to which represents the policy of the company. The extensive remarks in the minutes of various meetings and in the correspondence of the managers about the desirability of "releasing funds" would indicate that there was no wish to keep their limited means tied up in non-liquid investments. This view also harmonizes with the known hope of profiting by the rise in land values. This increment would be brot about by the mere

fact of the existence of improvements and consequent concentration of population, and be stimulated most effectively by withdrawing capital as quickly as possible from one venture, and launching another elsewhere. Add to this the fact that the company appears never to have rejected an opportunity to dispose of mills, etc., and the indication is strong that the general policy was to sell at the first favorable opportunity; pending a chance for a sale, to rent if feasible; and to operate its properties thru agents, only as a last resort.

Such being, as nearly as it can be reconstructed on the basis of the present study, the project for the placing of capital and otherwise stimulating the development of Kansas, one is next prompted to ask, what was accomplished? Specifically, one will desire to know: What towns were founded? What was done to develop each of them? How many mills were sent out, what was their character, and where were they located. What hotels were established, how were they operated, and what was their value to the settlers? What was the relation of the Emigrant Aid Company to the Herald of Freedom? What was done toward promoting the education, religion, health and general welfare of the settlers?

The historians have differed greatly on the question of what towns in Kansas are to be credited to the Emigrant Aid Company. The Directors' History, as noted above, claims credit for the founding, besides Lawrence, of Topeka, Osawatomie, Manhattan, Hapmden, and Wabaunsee. Other towns

that appear in the early writings, to which claim is sometimes laid on behalf of the Emigrant Aid Company are Quindaro, Claflin, Bachelder (Milford), and Burlington.

Not even the Aid Company's most ardent opponents deny that it was responsible for the launching of Lawrence. There are a number of controversial points in connection with the founding, but they would be extraneous to this study. For example, at least four claimants appear for the honor of having selected the site, - Thayer, Robinson, Branscomb, and Blood, - but since all were functionaries of the Aid Company, it really makes no difference for present purposes. The first group to occupy the site was the "pioneer party", about August 1, 1854; they were joined a month later by the second Aid Company party, piloted by Robinson. It was this second party that organized the Lawrence Association, and launched the town project. The first easterners to arrive, found a number of claims staked out partly overlapping the townsite, and out of this grew a land dispute with its usual charges and countercharges of claim-jumping. The name, Lawrence, was selected in honor of Amos A. Lawrence, who had advanced all funds in the Aid Company treasury down to that time. Dr. Robinson wrote on one occasion to A. A. Lawrence that he believed himself to have been the first to suggest the name. Lawrence protested against the naming, fearing that it might cast suspicions upon his motives, or provoke dissatisfaction among others, but the name was retained.

The case of Manhattan is almost as clear-cut and

in some respects similar. A party of colonists was organized by the Aid Company in Boston in the spring of 1855, under the leadership of "Professor" Isaac T. Goodnow. Goodnow proceeded to Kansas a week ahead of his party, and in conjunction with Pomeroy, selected the site at the mouth of the Blue River. The colony soon arrived piloted by a Mr. Lincoln, and, as in the case of Lawrence, dispossessing prior claimants without too much regard for "squatter rights", formed a town association, and launched the "Town of Boston". A month later, the steamer Hartford bearing a group of colonists from Cincinnati, calling themselves the Cincinnati and Kansas Land Company", ran aground just below the mouth of the Blue. This Cincinnati party had been financed by persons in New York City (probably the New York Kansas League), and were pledged to call their settlement "Manhattan". To induce them to cast in their lot with the new Aid Company settlement, the Boston Town Association agreed to change the name of their settlement to Manhattan. On the way back down stream the Hartford was burned by Indians; the Emigrant Aid Company bought the boiler and used it to run the saw-mill at Lawrence.

Topeka was founded by a group organized in Lawrence, headed by Cyrus K. Holliday, in conjunction with the agents of the Aid Company, and most of its early settlers were directed there by Pomeroy.

In the case of Wabaunsee, the Aid Company has two distinct claims. Thayer bases his contentions on the fact

that he assisted in the organization of the "Beecher's Bibles" party in New Haven, which under C. B. Lines, settled at Wabaunsee.¹³ Years later at the Bismark Grove reunion, Lines gave Thayer credit for helping to organize the party, and notes the importance that the town of Lawrence played in their finding a location.¹⁴ But another claimant for the honor of having founded Wabaunsee appears in the person of J. M. Bisbey, and his claims are supported by the stories of numerous old settlers. Bisbey tells how, coming from New York (state), he joined the fourth Aid Company party at Buffalo in October, 1854, and upon reaching Kansas, was delegated with several others to locate a place of settlement for the party. Piloted by James Blood they located the site of Wabaunsee, and named it at the suggestion of Dr. Lykins. Only a few of the original party followed them and settled on the site, but by the time the New Haven colony joined them the following spring, the place already had twenty-five or thirty inhabitants.¹⁵ So while there may be some question as to whether either of these constitutes founding of the settlement by the Aid Company, there is some ground for listing Wabaunsee (or Wabonsé) as an Aid Company town.

The situation in regard to Osawatomie is much more hazy. In all his correspondence with A. A. Lawrence, Pomeroy claimed to have located the site of Osawatomie, and the minutes of the Directors refer to the settlement as having been made under the auspices of the Aid Company.¹⁶ An article by

James Hanway in the Kansas Magazine in June of 1873, gives the Aid Company credit for having located the site and for building a saw and grist mill there in the spring of 1856.¹⁷ On the other hand, Eli Moore, Jr., who always acted with the pro-slavery party in territorial days, and in his later writings plays the roll of general iconoclast, wrote an article on the naming of Osawatomie¹⁸ in which he claims to have been present when Orville C. Brown, the original "Osawatomie Brown", bargained with Baptiste Peoria, Indian owner of the land, for the townsite. He asserts that his father, Eli Moore, Sr., suggested the name, and that the original town association was formed by a group of traders (pro-slavery in sympathy) from Westport, Missouri. Partial verification comes from one William H. Coffin, who claims to have been on the ground prospecting for a Quaker settlement. He writes, "On the second day a gentleman from Rochester, New York, Orville C. Brown by name, arrived on the same lands, heading a colony of twenty-six men, who had a saw-mill back at Westport Landing, and all the necessaries to build a town and form a flourishing settlement, being intelligent Eastern people."¹⁹ Much seems to hinge on the question whether or not the Rochester party were acting under the auspices of either the Aid Company directly, or any of its subsidiaries. It is likely that further research may clear this up. In any event, it is clear from the minute books and account books of the company that the Osawatomie town association gave to the Emigrant Aid Company a number of lots and town shares

(just as had happened in the case of Lawrence), and that the company subsequently built a mill there. Thruout the territorial period Osawatomie was looked upon as an Aid Company town.

It appears from a "handbook", published commercially in 1857 (not in any way connected with the Aid Company) that Quindaro had been recently founded by Robinson, Pomeroy, and others, and that the Aid Company's largest sawmill had just been sent there. ²⁰ During 1857 the towns of Claflin ²¹ (which never materialized) and Bachelder (now Milford) were projected and named for members of the shoe and leather industry in Boston who had recently subscribed for stock in the company. Mills were located in both places. ²² About the same time the company became interested in Burlington where they were given town shares and located a mill, but it seems to have been founded independently. In none of these cases did the Aid Company actually dispatch parties of settlers to make settlements as in the earlier towns. Certainly the Aid Company can not be credited with the founding of these towns in the same sense in which it may be regarded as the founder of Lawrence and Manhattan, nor were these places of any particular importance in territorial history. The town of Hampden disappeared too soon to be of any importance.

If it be granted that the Emigrant Aid Company was in a large measure responsible for the foundation of the foremost anti-slavery towns, one may well wonder what difference it made. Two types of importance are attached to these towns

by the friends of the emigrant aid movement: they were centers of dispersion for other free-state settlers, and they were centers of defense. Both of these were emphasized in the Bismark Grove speeches in 1879. In regard to the first, C. B. Lines of the "Beecher's Bibles" colony remarked, "The next day we reached the young city of Lawrence, the Mecca to which every Free State pilgrim sooner or later turned his feet"²³. The second point was discussed at length by Edward Everett Hale. Earlier, S. N. Wood, who boasted that he had never heard of the Emigrant Aid Company when he left Ohio, in discussing the efforts of the pro-slavery party to dislodge the free-state men under threats of tar and feathers, had said: "I had loaned all my arms to the Yankees on the hill, and on the second night, I told my wife I would go down and camp with the Yankees, thinking if they were frightened or driven off we should all have to go, but the first attempt would be made on the Yankees if at all."²⁴ With these remarks in mind, Hale, after conceding that the Aid Company colonists constituted scarcely a tenth part of the first year's migration to Kansas, continued: "But what was important, they were in compact settlement. They were in Towns. . . . I need not remind you of what Mr. Wood said so well yesterday. Why did not the ruffians wipe out his little cottage, and leave him and his [family] dead in the doorway? Because they must first handle Lawrence. What struck the real terror into the marauding companies, still the found marauding bad business? It is, as he told you, 'the Stubbs' [the Lawrence military company] that are worth

more than twenty resolutions, and the 'Stubbs' always from themselves in the intimacies and confines of men together."

Next to towns, the question that looms largest in any effort to evaluate the services of the Aid Company in the development of Kansas, is that of mills. On the importance of mills in a pioneer community, Prof. H. A. Richardson of the University of Kansas, in a recent publication, says: "One of the first thoughts of the settlers in the new community was for a means to provide themselves with bread. Mills meant bread, and hence were among the first necessities to be provided. . . . The importance of the early gristmills to these pioneer communities can hardly be overestimated, for upon them, in no small measure, depended the success of the early pioneers in establishing homes in the new country. . . . These early mills constructed to meet the needs of pioneer settlers, were ordinarily combination affairs, a sawmill being operated in connection with the grist mill. Next to breadstuffs, the most urgent need of the pioneer was for materials with which to build his home." ²⁶

This being true, it would normally follow that wherever a mill might be established, a community would tend to gather. In driving home this point, Thayer tells a yarn to the effect that Senator Atchison, standing on the wharf in Kansas City one day in 1855 and seeing a steam engine on the deck of a river-boat, remarked, "There is a Yankee city going to Kansas, and by --- in six months it will cast one hundred ²⁷ abolitionist votes". Whether or not this remark was ever

made, it illustrates the idea which prompted the Aid Company to concentrate its efforts on mills.

That the company did largely concentrate its efforts on sending mills to Kansas is quite evident, despite certain deprecatory remarks of the company's critics. Five Commission merchants of St. Louis and Kansas City, some favorable to the Aid Company and some not, testified before the Howard Committee that steam engines and mill machinery with the Aid Company's baggage mark were coming thru by river freight all during the shipping season of 1855 and the spring of 1856 (down to the time the testimony was given).²⁸ Wilder has as an entry for August 15, 1855, "The Emigrant Aid Company have four steam mills at Kansas City, - one for Manhattan, one for Osawatomie, and one for Hampden on the Neosho".²⁹ The annual report of the Directors, May 26, 1857, reported that three mills, thrown into the river at Kansas City, had been rescued and disposed of at Quindaro (paid for in city shares), Wabaunsee and Atchison, and that two new mills had been purchased to be shipped in April (to be located at Claflin and Burlington).³⁰ A similar report a year later indicated that mills had been located at Lawrence, Atchison, Claflin, Bachelder, Manhattan, Burlington, Topeka, Osawatomie, and Wabaunsee.³¹ Ample evidence may be gleaned from old settlers' reminiscences in the Kansas Historical Collections that mills were actually located at Wabaunsee and Bachelder (the Quindaro mill). Besides those previously mentioned, Webb's "Information" for 1856 mentions mills at Tecumseh, Prairie City and

Council City (the colony of the American Settlement Com-
pany)³¹. Richardson, in the paper previously mentioned
proves that the Atchison mill was built by the Aid Company
in 1858 at a cost of \$5,000.³³

Thayer testified in June 1856, "We also erected,
and prepared to erect, mills in the Territory at different
places, some eight or ten of them."³⁴ The directors report
of 1857 state that ten sawmills, besides several grist mills
and other machinery had been sent to the territory,³⁵ At
least two (probably three) mills were sent after this re-
port. These numbers look small in themselves, but compare
favorably with the total number in the territory. After a
careful search of the records, Richardson is able to dis-
cover only twenty-four mills of all kinds besides those of
the Aid Company established in Kansas prior to 1860. Of
these, five belonged to the federal government, and two to
Indian missions. Of the seventeen remaining, several were
small affairs that were operated only for a short time.³⁶
Hence the statement made by William Phillips, special cor-
respondent of the New York Tribune, in 1856 that "near one-
half" of the sawmills in the territory were brot there by
the Aid Company, may not be far wrong.³⁷ Which were sawmills
and which grist mills is not always clear, nor is the ques-
tion of which were operated by steam and which by water power.
In several instances it is definitely known that the Aid Com-
pany's mills were combinations, tho the greater number were
probably sawmills only. No specific information has come to

light in regard to the "other machinery" referred to in the Directors' History.

What the Emigrant Aid Company did toward providing hotel accommodations in Kansas is well known and easily verified, so far as its broad outlines are concerned, the matters of detail are obscure. It is clear, for example, that on his first trip on behalf of the Aid Company in 1854, Robinson made preliminary arrangements to purchase the Gillis House in Kansas City from Gaius Jenkins. According to the Directors' History, "It was thought desirable thus to obtain a foothold for the gathering and equipment of parties before they entered the Territory". This house, rechristened the American Hotel (A. A. Lawrence wanted to call it the Bunker Hill Hotel, or some other "good old New England name"), was operated by lessees of the company until the spring of 1855, when it was sold to S. W. Eldridge "to release funds". Both before and after this sale, according to the testimony before the Howard Committee, free-state immigrants to Kansas, whether they were under the auspices of the Aid Company or not, usually stopped there, except such as went on to Westport where better accommodations were to be had, and the place served as a sort of general headquarters for free-state people when in Kansas City. The motive of the purchase (whether speculative, or as an aid to immigrants), the price paid, the price received, whether sold for money, scrip or other property, and the exact date of each transaction, do not appear.

At Lawrence, temporary huts were provided by the agents of the Aid Company to serve as boarding houses until

a hotel could be built.³⁹ Work upon the Free State Hotel was begun in the early summer of 1855, but such were the delays in construction (apparently occasioned for the most part by lack of funds) that it was just ready for opening when it was destroyed May 21, 1856. The building had been leased to S. W. Eldridge, who had furnished it and accumulated a supply of provisions preparatory to opening. According to the testimony appended to the memorial presented to Congress by the company in an effort to recover the value of the building, the sole purpose of the company in erecting this hotel was to provide accommodations for new settlers and their families while prospecting for farm lands.⁴⁰ Friends of the Aid Company always insisted that the Free State Hotel was the finest hostelry west of St. Louis. Preparations were at once begun for rebuilding. The rubbish was cleared, and a new basement built. But the work was slow, money was scarce, the crusading spirit had spent itself, and there was little prospect of returns to attract those whose primary interest in the Aid Company was pecuniary. November 11, 1857, the hotel basement was sold to S. W. Eldridge for \$5,000.⁴¹ The cost of the original hotel has been variously estimated from \$20,000 to \$25,000. The company never gave up the effort to recover its value from the United States Government. Numerous items appear in the account books of the company for labor, supplies and other charges on the new basement; if it were considered of sufficient importance, the amount expended in this attempt to rebuild could probably be fig-

ured with a considerable degree of accuracy by searching out and totaling these entries. There are some slight indications that the Aid Company owned a hotel in Osawatomie, but the evidence is intangible. Pomeroy in his letters to Lawrence uses certain phrases which suggest the idea. This is a topic for further investigation.

Other than the Herald of Freedom, no claim is made that the Aid Company established any newspaper in Kansas. Certainly it had no connection with the Kansas Free State or the Kansas Tribune, the other two Lawrence papers, both of which criticised the Aid Company severly, - one in season and out of season, and the other occasionally. The question of the relation of the Aid Company to the Herald of Freedom is raised by the fact that for many years, G. W. Brown, its proprietor, denied vehemently that he was a pensioner of the company.⁴² The paper itself, while always upholding the Aid Company, never announced itself as the official organ of the Boston organization. There is ample circumstantial evidence that this paper was looked upon both by friends and foes as the official mouthpiece of the Aid Company, but that is passed over in favor of something more tangible. Brown himself in his later writings admitted that he "could not have reached Kansas, or sustained himself there, but for the kindness and encouragement of that company".⁴³ Thayer wrote, "The Emigrant Aid Company advanced two thousand dollars to Dr. Brown in establishing this journal, which sum he repaid".⁴⁴ The account books of the company show this loan as having been made in cash, and repaid in territorial scrip, which

became almost at once worthless (if, indeed, it was not already worthless when Brown paid it). The inside story, based upon gleanings from the letters of Amos A. Lawrence, would appear to run something as follows. When the proposition to finance Brown in Kansas was broached, Lawrence opposed it. Thereupon Thayer and Hale carried the matter to the Worcester Kansas League, a subsidiary of the Aid Company, and persuaded that organization to turn over to Brown all the money it had collected on behalf of the Aid Company, some \$800. Certain individuals were induced to pay over to Brown amounts totaling around \$600 more. Lawrence was greatly put out, and wrote several letters in which he made remarks about the Worcester group that were anything but complimentary. But what was done could not be undone without an open break among the trustees, so Lawrence consented reluctantly to the assumption of the whole transaction by the Aid Company in order to clear the records of the Worcester League. Enough additional funds were now advanced to Brown out of the company treasury to make an even \$2,000, which amount was charged against Brown as a loan. Officially, the company assumed no proprietorship over the Herald of Freedom, and all copies supplied to the Aid Company for its propaganda work were paid for at regular subscription rates. Nevertheless, Lawrence wrote Pomeroy to the effect that Brown's press now belonged to the company, and was a part of Pomeroy's responsibility.

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The question as to what, if anything, the Emigrant Aid Company did to promote what might be called wel-

fare activities in Kansas, is the most elusive of all. In all of their early projects of activities, great stress is laid upon their intention of promoting schools and churches. Generalized statements appear in abundance among the writings of Aid Company spokesmen to the effect that this was done, but specific cases are hard to find. The "handbook", mentioned previously ignores all activities of the Aid Company except the founding of Lawrence, and the encouraging of churches and schools, ⁴⁶ so the impression was evidently current at the time that something was being done along this line. The Directors' History lists school houses along with mills and hotels, as objects for which the company's funds were expended, and states specifically that the agents were instructed to see that a school house was built in each settlement and to encourage the establishment of places of worship. ⁴⁷ Hale's circular to the New England clergymen, issued in 1855, contained the statement that "every missionary sent there by the different boards has received their [the company's] active assistance. . . . Every Sabbath school in the Territory has been formed with the assistance of the Company or its officers. Every church organized has been organized with their co-operation. Schools will be in operation at Lawrence, at Topeka, at Osawatomie and at Hampden before the end of July. These, which are the only schools in the Territory of which we have any account, are due to the exertions of the New England Emigrant Aid Company and its officers". ⁴⁸

Apparently this pronouncement is rescued from falsity by the phrase "and its officers". There is little to show that the Aid Company as an organization did very much along such lines that is worthy of note, altho tis officers, particularly Lawrence did a great deal, and did it thru company channels and company agents. Writing to Pomeroy about the religious and educational needs of the town of Lawrence, Amos A. Lawrence said, "In this the company can do but little, but individuals can lend their aid in advance"⁴⁸. This raises the question, significant in other connections as well, to what extent should the Aid Company receive the credit (or blame, as the case may be) for acts done by its officers thru company agencies, but not treated officially as company actions? Of course this is a matter of opinion, and any decision must be arbitrary. Still, the least one can do is to be consistent; if the organization is given credit for the good, it must bear the stigma of the bad. It would seem only reasonable in any case that acts of the company's foremost managers, related in their nature to the objects of the organization, performed thru company channels or agencies with the full concurrence of the other managers (even tho such concurrence be not expressed by a formal vote) should be looked upon as company acts.

Only two bits of evidence have come to light to show any aid furnished directly to schools by the Aid Company as an organization. First, the first school ever organized in Kansas apart from Indian missions, appears to have

been opened in January, 1855, in Dr. Robinson's back office in the Emigrant Aid Company's building in Lawrence. It was a subscription school with twenty pupils, and had a three and one-half month term. ⁵⁰ During the following summer, similar subscription schools were organized in most of the other settlements, but what, if any, aid or encouragement they received from the Aid Company's agents is not apparent. ⁵¹ The second bit of evidence is an entry in an invoice in the minute books, showing that in 1858 the company owned a school house in Topeka valued at \$2,000. That the agents of the company gave active co-operation, if not financial help, in the establishment of churches, is indicated by the circumstances of the founding of the Plymouth Congregational Church of Lawrence, claimed to be the first white congregation organized in Kansas. Rev. S. Y. Lum, sent by the Home Mission Board of the Congregationalist churches, accompanied the second Aid Company party to Lawrence, arriving September 1, 1854. His letters tell of the active co-operation of Dr. Robinson in his efforts to organize the religious life of the young community. The church was organized October 15, 1854, in the "Pioneer Boarding House", a "haytent" built by the agents of the company to serve temporarily as a hotel. S. C. Pomeroy served as secretary of the meeting, and wrote out the articles of the association. ⁵² Among the quitclaims is a deed to lot 173, Kentucky Street, Lawrence, to the Pastor and Vestry of Trinity Church, ^(Episcopal) consideration \$1.00,- evidently a gift.

More tangible than this hazy "encouragement" were the very real and active efforts of Amos A. Lawrence to safeguard the welfare of the colonists. September 11, 1854, he wrote Pomeroy to make arrangements to take care of Dr. Robinson's medical practice in his absence, to check up on the supply of common medicines in the settlement, and to report any serious illness among the settlers. In another letter dated September 29, also to Pomeroy, he wrote: "That school house should be a good one. Do not spare expense to make it comfortable; all you spend over what you would have spent, I will pay. . . . In a few days I will send you some money to spend for me. We shall endeavor to get the religious and other societies to make appropriations." In a third letter four days later he tells Pomeroy to build the proposed combination school-house and church on a liberal scale and in a good location. "A building such as you suggest will be good evidence that we are in earnest, and will inspire confidence in the settlers, as well as draw in others." He goes on to say that he is willing to advance \$1,000, and expects to be repaid a part of it "from some source or other".⁵³ A month later Lawrence took up with Robinson the proposal to establish an academy for boys, offering to donate \$100 a month toward it. Before the end of the year he had put \$10,000 into the hands of Robinson and Pomeroy as trustees to endow a "Memorial College" on Mount Oread; this sum, in 1863, became the nucleus of the endowment of the University of Kansas.⁵⁴ March 20, 1856, Lawrence wrote to John Brown:

"I have just sent to Kansas near fourteen thousand dollars to establish a fund to be used, first, to secure the best system of common schools for Kansas that exists in this country; second to establish Sunday schools. The property is held by two trustees in Kansas, and can not return to me." ⁵⁵ It would appear to be a reasonable assumption that Lawrence's interest in the welfare of Kansas settlers, was prompted in part at least, by his connection with the Emigrant Aid Company.

The Aid Company can lay some claim too, to having planted the seeds out of which have grown the Kansas State Agricultural College. No sooner had Manhattan begun to take form as a town than "Professor" Isaac T. Goodnow, organizer of the Aid Company party that had planted the settlement, began to project a college. There were two Manhattan town associations, one composed of the New England colony, the other of the Cincinnati group. The former, -Aid Company settlers, dominated by leaders selected by the company, - at once donated fifty town shares (100 lots) to the project; the latter predicated its gift upon the college first obtaining property to the value of \$100,000. During 1857 and 1858 Goodnow raised a sufficient sum of money in the East (it would be interesting to discover just what proportion of it was contributed by shareholders of the Aid Company) to launch the project, and in 1860 "Bluemont Central College" opened its doors with Rev. Jos-

eph Dennison, one of the original Aid Company settlers, as its first president. October 1, 1859, the Company sold to the Bluemont Central College Association nineteen lots in Manhattan for \$785.⁵⁶ It would be desirable to determine whether this was a straight commercial transaction or a disguised gift.

Just what else either the company or its officers did to further the welfare of the settlers is not altogether clear. Lawrence's correspondence shows that he, as treasurer, purchased fifty tents, and at least tried to get one hundred more from the Massachusetts state arsenal (it is not clear whether he got these or not),⁵⁷ for the use of the settlers until houses could be built. The concern which Lawrence showed for the health of the colonists has already been noted, and would indicate that Robinson and other physicians among the company's immigrants were expected to render professional services. Here and there mention is made of the sending of books, durnch supplies, and the like. Typical of such allusions, is a paragraph of Hale's speech at Bismark Grove. "It was our happy fortune", he said on that occasion, "to send to Kansas in her infancy the bells which should proclaim liberty to the land, the clocks which should tell the time from the towers of her churches, the books which children should study in her schools, the Bibles which men should read from her pulpits, and the precious chalice with which, at the Lord's table, men and women should unite in the cup of fellowship and communion. Selfish capital,

eager for rewards, ought to have supplied these things, according to the theorists. But selfish capital did no such thing." ⁵⁸ Isely found a letter from Dr. Webb in the Manuscript Letter Books stating that the company had sent, besides mills and machinery, "also Bibles, and a great variety of religious, literary and scientific books," ⁵⁹ It is difficult to see how such assertions can be either proved or disproved. The account books of the company offer little help, and a separate check of the local records of each community is well nigh out of the question. Perhaps a more thoro search of old settlers' reminiscences may help to clarify the point.

Thus it appears that, while a definite answer in quantitative terms to the question of what the Aid Company did to develop Kansas is difficult, the company exerted a worth-while influence. The planting of the towns which served during the critical period as centers of free-state settlement and activities were due to its exertions; the case is clear for Lawrence, Topeka and Manhattan, and only slightly less so for Osawatomie and Wabaunsee. That the sending of mills, both saw and grist, constituted a real contribution to the life of the young community can scarcely be questioned, tho the number sent was undoubtedly disappointing. The hotel at Kansas City rendered good service to the settlers, and the failure of the one at Lawrence to render even greater service can scarcely be construed as the fault of the company. The establishment of the Herald of Freedom may have done more harm than good,

but the fault lay in the selection of a manager rather than in the project itself; and with all its faults the Herald did notable service in the propoganda campaigns in the East. Finally, the company's personnel (particularly A. A. Lawrence, the real "soul of the enterprise"), and to some degree even the corporation as such, rendered valuable assistance in the launching of institutions for the community's welfare.

WAS THE EMIGRANT AID COMPANY RESPONSIBLE FOR
THE TROUBLES IN KANSAS?

It is to be taken for granted that anyone sufficiently interested in the Kansas conflict to be concerned about any part the Emigrant Aid Company may have taken in it, is already familiar with at least the broad outline of that story, and the present discussion is constructed on that assumption. That the New England Emigrant Aid Company was the chief factor in precipitating that conflict with all of its momentous consequences has been so extensively and so consistently asserted by both friends and opponents of the company, that the question must challenge the attention of any person who attempts to analyse the company's place in history. As an abstraction, the question is obviously beyond a categorical answer. Great historical crises are virtually always the results of complex causes which at best can be only partly analysed. It will only be possible to study the various activities of the company relative to the conflict, and weigh the probabilities as to whether each or any of them ^{any} have been a contributory cause.

In two messages to Congress, a special message on Kansas, January 24, 1856, and his fourth annual message, December 2, 1856, Franklin Pierce, President of the United States, attributed the troubles in Kansas to "propagandist colonization".¹ March 12, 1856, Stephen A. Douglas presented to the

Senate a report from the Committee on Territories in which he branded the emigrant aid societies as combinations entered into in defiance of the constitution and laws to control the political destinies of a territory. Quoting extensively from the (unused) charter of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company and Thayer's "Organization, Objects and Plan of Operations", he expounded the injustice of "a powerful corporation, with a capital of five millions of dollars invested in houses and lands, in merchandise and mills, in cannon and rifles, in powder and lead," which "enters a distant and sparcely settled Territory with the fixed purpose of wielding all its power to control the domestic institutions and political destinies of the Territory".² In a speech accompanying the report, he was even more to the point. "From these facts", he asserted, "it is apparent that the whole responsibility of all the disturbances in Kansas rests upon the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company and its affiliated societies."³ When, at the opening of the first session of the thirty-fourth Congress, there appeared ~~to~~ two rival claimants for the seat of territorial delegate from Kansas, the House of Representatives commissioned a select committee, consisting of William A. Howard, John Sherman and Mordecai Oliver (of Missouri), to investigate the troubles in Kansas. This special committee, usually referred to as the "Howard Committee", proceeded to the territory and took testimony during the months of April, May and a part of June, 1856. No less than twenty-six frontiersmen testified before this committee that in their opin-

ion there would have been no more excitement in Kansas than is usual in the settling of new territories, but for the activity of the emigrant aid societies.⁴ At the time, the New England Emigrant Aid Company bitterly resented the accusation, and issued the "Address to the People of the United States" previously referred to, to refute point by point the charges made by Douglas in his Senate report.⁵ In their later writings, spokesmen for the Aid Company have used as an argument for the importance of the company the fact that the pro-slavery party made the company's activities a pretext for their own misdoings.⁶

The denunciations of the Aid Company were apt to be in vague or general terms, and were often self-contradictory. But out of the tangled mass it is possible to separate specific charges, any one of which, if proved conclusively, would fasten upon the Aid Company some share of responsibility for the Kansas conflict. Some of these are: that the company hired easterners to come to Kansas to vote; that, by its bluster, it inspired the intervention of the Missourians; that it inspired and directed the Free-State movement, which involved resistance to the territorial laws; that it armed the Free-State Party, and built the Free-State Hotel as a fort.

It was the common report in pro-slavery circles during the first months of the settlement of Kansas that the Emigrant Aid Company was filling Kansas with "armies of hirelings". Some believed that the company was directly hiring persons to go to Kansas to merely vote. Others believed that the company was paying the passage or promising work at high wages to all who would migrate; these usually expressed their

idea by saying that the Aid Company was shipping paupers to Kansas. Still others were of the opinion that the company was offering its reduced fares and other real or alleged advantages, only to such as would definitely pledge themselves to remain with the company's colonies and to vote the Free-State ticket. All officers of the company vehemently denied all such allegations. The testimony of Thayer is typical: "The company in no instance paid the passage of any emigrant. It made no conditions about the political opinions of the emigrants; no questions were asked of them, and persons of every State and of every political opinion would have enjoyed, and did enjoy, the same facilities. It was not doubted that the great body of emigrants were in favor of making Kansas a free State. The company furnished these emigrants with no articles of personal property. . . . There is and has been no obligation imposed upon emigrants, or pledges asked or required of them for the facilities they received from the company. The moment they arrive at the place named in their ticket all connection between them and the society ceases."⁷ Testimony to the same effect was given by A. A. Lawrence and A. J. Stone.⁸ A letter dated August 14, 1854, written by Dr. Webb to a prospective emigrant, in reply to a letter of inquiry, and introduced in evidence by a settler who was unfavorable to the Aid Company, states: "No pledges are required from those who go; but as our principles are known, we trust those who differ from us will be honest enough to take some other route."⁹ Testimony of the company's forwarding agents at St. Louis,

and of two settlers who had come under the company's aus-
pices substantiates the assertions of the officers.¹⁰

The opposition testimony is decidedly weak, and much of it is of the hearsay type. A man from Camden Point, Missouri, tells of meeting a party of Englishmen who said they had been hired in St. Louis to come to Kansas and vote the free-soil ticket, but there is nothing to connect them with the Aid Company.¹¹ A Lawrence man stated that some of his neighbors had told him they were promised two lots each to remain till after the election and vote; even if this is true there is nothing to implicate the Aid Company.¹² Two men from Douglas claimed that a John Simmons had told them that the Emigrant Aid Society had furnished him money to come to Kansas;¹³ since "the Emigrant Aid Society" meant to the average frontiersman, any or all of the numerous organizations thruout the North that were endeavoring to stimulate migration to Kansas, it is far from proved that Simmons was financed by the New England Emigrant Aid Company. There is much loose testimony to the effect that eastern immigrants had said they were pledged to vote for a free state, and that promises made to them by the company had not been kept, but on cross examination this usually dwindles down to the fact that the Aid Company was in favor of a free state (which of course everyone knew) and that many eastern people were disappointed in conditions as they found them, and wanted to return.¹⁴ Two commission merchants in Kansas City with whom the company had dealings testify that on occasion Pomeroy paid bills for the immigrants. One of them,

W. H. Chick, merely said, "The agents of the Emigrant Aid Company paid a part of the bills for storing, etc., and I understood from some of the emigrants that their passage had been engaged from St. Louis".¹⁵ J. Riddlesbarger went further: "I understood", he testified, "that if they [the immigrants] could not pay their fare, General Pomeroy would pay it for them. In this I may be mistaken. General Pomeroy did assume to pay the freight and passage bills of some of them".¹⁶ While this is by far the most damaging testimony offered, it may mean any one of several things. Pomeroy may have merely paid items that were included in the immigrant's ticket. His payments may have been, as suggested by Curruth, in the nature of refunds for items for which the immigrant had been inadvertently double-charged. Again, since the managers in Boston do not appear to have always known the purposes for which his drafts were drawn, he may, to save friction and quiet discontent, have actually paid in some instances items which the immigrant had understood to have been included in his ticket. The last possibility, that he paid such items with the knowledge and by the authority of the Boston office, seems the least likely of all; it is certain that the company did not make it a practice to pay the personal expenses of its colonists, and there is no reason to believe that exception would have been made of a favored few. On the whole then, it would appear to be reasonably certain that the charge of "hiring voters" or "shipping paupers to Kansas" is not substantiated. While the company made no secret of the fact that their facilities were primarily for the convenience of free-state settlers,

no pledge appears to have been exacted. It was clearly no part of the company's program to pay any portion of the colonist's fare or personal expense, and if any of the company's money was expended for such purposes there can be little question that it was done by agents in Kansas in violation of their instructions. The fact still remains, of course, that the people of the border, especially those of pro-slavery sentiments, believed that the Aid Company was financing the immigrants, and acted upon that belief. There is no question that as the Herald of Freedom reported, "Southern Aid Societies and later northern organizations hired or paid the way of emigrants",¹⁷ and with the average westerner bunching them all as "the Emigrant Aid Society", the Boston organization received the blame.

The contention that the Emigrant Aid Company played a large part in provoking the intervention of Missourians in Kansas, is conceded in one way or another by nearly all partizans on both sides. Critics of the company use it as proof that the company caused all the troubles; friends of the organization take it as a point of departure from which to argue that the company saved Kansas to freedom. But the problem is not that simple. There is ample room to suspect that each side is exaggerating to serve its own purposes. In any attempt to study the question disinterestedly, several points are found to be involved. What was the attitude of the people of western Missouri toward Kansas Territory? What in general was the reaction to the emigrant aid movement among these people? Were the propagandist societies

in Missouri formed in consequence of the emigrant aid movement? Did the Aid Company immigrants set the example of non-resident voting? Were the rumors on the border responsible for the non-resident voting of the Missourians? If so, can the responsibility for these rumors be placed upon the Aid Company or any of its personnel?

Traditionally, of course, the attitude of western Missouri (as of the whole south) was that the Kansas-Nebraska bill was a sort of bargain by which the North was to have Nebraska, and the South Kansas. On that basis, the effort of the North thru the emigrant aid movement to secure Kansas, constituted a great intersectional threat, which they should be justified in resisting by any means. This attitude is well set forth by Miss Klem in a paper read before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1918: "The danger of Kansas becoming a free state thru the control of the territorial government by anti-slavery men was perceived as soon as the organized eastern emigration began, and a thrill of indignation ran thru Missouri and the entire south. It was believed that the emigrant aid society was a corporation of unlimited means formed for the purpose of taking Kansas by force. Its settlers were considered 'bands of Hessian mercenaries', an 'army of hirelings', 'military colonies of restless and desperate fanatics'. The Missourians felt the attempt to settle Kansas with northern emigrants was a direct effort to take from them what was rightfully theirs, and they at once determined to defeat this aggression by controlling the territorial government in the interests of slavery".

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This was the view accepted by the politicians. Senator Atchison and B. F. Stringfellow expounded the doctrine from the stump in western Missouri and Senator Douglas in the halls of Congress.¹⁹ Another view, expressed by Craik and others is that slavery was on the decline in Missouri, and the effort to secure Kansas was really an effort to save the institution there.²⁰ Still another view, also expressed by Craik, and for which there is much supporting evidence, is that the whole excitement was manufactured by Atchison and a few other politicians in the interest of their own political fortunes. Entirely in harmony with this interpretation, is the most plausible view of all, that expressed consistently thru the columns of the Kansas Free State, that the only real interest of the people of western Missouri was land. They rushed across the border and staked out claims to the best land. Then along came the immigrants from the East preaching fanatical doctrines and jumping their claims, and making jingoistic boasts about what they proposed to do.

Long before the first Aid Company settlers arrived on the Border, wild stories about its proposed plans began to circulate in western Missouri. As the credulous frontiersmen understood the situation, the \$5,000,000 was actually in hand; the 20,000 projected colonists were actually on the way; the whole project appeared like a gigantic conspiracy of abolitionists to deprive the frontiersman of his birthright, -adjacent unoccupied land. While it is probably true, as Craik insists,²¹ that the Missouri

frontiersman cared next to nothing for slavery, and considerably less for national politics, this threatened invasion of 20,000 or more fanatics, who proposed to drive away his "niggers" and elbow him out of land that was his by the law of contiguity (only the politicians were concerned with the law of parallels²²), put him into a mental state where he was ready to listen to the propoganda of Atchison and Stringfellow and to do almost anything in what ~~they~~ considered self-defense. The Kansas historian, Andreas, is of the opinion that the rush of Missourians across the border to stake out claims was a move to secure the land before the expected 20,000 should arrive.²³

When the free-state settlers began to arrive in force, they found themselves opposed by organizations of Missourians, some open, in the form of squatters' associations, and some secret, under such names as "Friends' Society", "Blue Lodges", "Sons of the South", and the like.²⁴ It was always the contention of the pro-slavery party, and later, of critics of the Aid Company, that these were formed "to counteract the movements of the Aid societies". Every westerner questioned on the point so testified before the Howard Committee, and insisted that no such organizations were formed until they had heard the reports of the Aid Company's projects.²⁵ This, all spokesmen of the company denied. The "Address to the People of the United States" asserted that "we have abundant evidence that, before the organization of this company, associations were formed and

in active operation in Missouri, to 'interfere with the internal affairs of the Territory' The whole charge, therefore, against this company, that it has been the occasion of the difficulties in Kansas, on the ground of its assumed priority of action, is totally destitute of foundation.²⁶

Charles Robinson testified: "Before I left Massachusetts, in June, 1854, and months before the Emigrant Aid Society of which I am agent was organized, I saw published accounts of meetings held in western Missouri for the avowed purpose of settling the Territory with pro-slavery men and keeping free State men out."²⁷

Technically and literally both of these statements are probably true, - but there is a joker in the deck. There were, as will appear presently, organizations in western Missouri before the non-corporate joint stock Emigrant Aid Company was organized, July 26, 1854, and possibly before Robinson's and Branscomb left Boston in June. There is not a shread of evidence, however, that any such organization (unless we include the slave-patrols) existed before reports of the original Massachusetts charter and of Thayer's "Plan of Operations" had had ample time to reach the border.

The first organization that can be considered as opposed to free-state settlers was a "squatters' association" organized at Salt Creek Valley, near Leavenworth, June 10, 1854. Along with the usual provisions (common to squatters' associations thruout the West) for the registration and protection of squatters' claims, a very signifi-

cant resolution was adopted "That we will afford protection²⁸ to no abolitionist as a settler of Kansas Territory".

June 24 a similar meeting at "Whitehead" included a resolution "That we recognize the institution of slavery as already existing in the Territory, and recommend to slaveholders to introduce their property as early as practicable"²⁹.

July 29 the Platte County^{Self} Defensive Association was formed in Missouri, at the instigation of Atchison and the two Strinfellows, directed specifically against the activities of the "emigrant aid societies"³⁰. Information regarding the secret societies is of course less accessible and less dependable, but the testimony of those who admitted membership was unanimous that they were formed about October, 1854, after Aid Company parties had begun to arrive.³¹

It is reasonably certain, then, that these pro-slavery organizations which usually come in for a share of the blame for the Kansas conflict, appeared after reports of the Aid Company's activities had been circulated, and in some cases, after parties of settlers had begun to arrive. Of course one must not fall into the fallacy of assuming that mere priority in time establishes a causal relationship, but it at least checks with the contention of the Missourians that they were inspired by the New England emigrant aid movement. It was to be expected that squatters' associations would appear, - they always did in frontier communities before the enactment of the Homestead Law, -³² but the pronouncements regarding "abolitionists" were

decidedly unusual. It is hard to believe that the political organizations, like the "Self-Defensives", and the secret societies would have sprung up but for the belief that unusaly forces were at work to stimulate eastern immigration.

The charge that the Aid Company settlers set the precedent of non-resident voting virtually falls of its own weight when it is recalled that this charge is first made in connection with the election of March 30, 1855, whereas it is know positively that men who had not yet moved from Missouri to Kansas voted in the election of November 29, 1854. Nevertheless, the charge that newly arrived Aid Company immigrants voted in the election of March 30, 1855, was made to do service as a justification for the Missouri invasion at the same time. The Howard Report bristles with charges made by pro-slavery partizans that the Aid Company was rushing men to Kansas to vote and that vast numbers of the company's proteges voted and at once returned east. Without attempting to present the tangled mass of charges, denials and counter-charges, the fact seems to be this: The only aid Company party that arrived in Kansas in the Spring of 1855 prior to the March election, was one conducted by Dr. Robinson which arrived in Lawrence the day before the election. The roster of the party as furnished by Dr. Webb contained the names of 126 adult males. A check of the poll books showed that 37 of these voted.³³ This number is, of course, inconsequential as compared with the number of Missourians who voted. Furthermore, apolo-

gists of the free-state party have argued that altho these immigrants were newly arrived, they were bona fide settlers, while the Missourians came only to vote and return. Be this as it may, the fact remained that persons under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Company had arrived in Kansas just in time for the election and had voted. Within the following day or two, easterners, believed by the frontiersmen to have been Aid Company immigrants, were seen leaving the territory. Here was all the justification that the Missourians asked or required for their voting in Kansas.

But this does not explain why the Missourians voted. The testimony is all but unanimous on the part of pro-slavery people that the Missourians crossed over and voted "to counteract the votes of those they had understood the Emigrant Aid Society had sent out here this season"²⁴. With almost equal unanimity, the free-state people testified that the Missourians had given this excuse on election day (March 30, 1855). A mere handful attributed the "invasion" to the doctrine preached by Atchison and Stringfellow that the Organic Act made physical presence the only qualification for voting in Kansas. Some Missourians combined the two ideas by merely saying that they had as much right to vote as the easterners. This view was expressed in a letter written to William E. Connelley in 1910 by a prominent citizen of Lexington, Missouri. "We knew that Eli Thayer and Horace Greeley had organized the New England Emigrant Aid Society to send free-soil voters to Kansas to make it a free state,

and that they were passing up the Missouri River on steamboats continually and well armed. Our opinion was that if the north had the right to hire men to go to Kansas to vote to make it a free state, the Missourians had the right to go there without being hired to make it a slave state." ³⁵

The evidence shows beyond question that the border was flooded with wild rumors about the Aid Company, all thru the fall of 1854 and spring of 1855. The aim of the company (or society, as it was always called) was supposed to be first to "abolitionize" Kansas, then to strike at slavery in Missouri, and finally to strike at the institution nationally by hemming the South in with a "cordon of free states". It was reported that the "Aid Society" was shipping paupers to Kansas to vote, - 20,000 of them. It was charged that Governor Reeder had delayed the spring election to give time to the aid company to send its cohorts, and had made known the date of the election to company officials weeks before he had proclaimed it in the territory. The Aid Company immigrants were assumed to be all fanatical abolitionists coming only to strike at slavery, and not as real settlers at all. Some westerners even got the notion that the plan was for these self-same settlers, once Kansas should be safely "abolitionized", to pack up bag and baggage and move elsewhere to "abolitionize" some other territory. As the time for the spring election approached, stories began to fly about that the Missouri River was crowded with boatloads of eastern immigrants rushing

to the election. Each tiny settlement along the Kansas bank of the river was reported to be the destination of at least a boatload.

As R. G. Elliott, editor of the Kansas Free State, pointed out, it required little credulity on the part of the inhabitants of the border to justify their alarms for the safety of their insitutions. As one pro-slavery settler testified, having read a blatent article by Greeley, "I recollect distinctly that I was excited, as were my neighbors, by the obvious efforts of the North to abolitionize Kansas. I was an old settler in the Territory, and a slaveholder in a small way, and I saw no reason why I and my neighbors should be expatriated, while the fanatics of the North were to occupy my place. The excitement was general on both sides of the river." The extent to which these rumors were believed by such men as Senator Atchison, Congressman Oliver and "General" Stringfellow is open to serious question, but really makes little difference. It was to their interest to keep the pot of discontent boiling on the border, and the rumors served their purpose admirably. So while it would be difficult to show that fear of the Aid Company and its imitators inspired these agitators to stir up the trouble, there can be little doubt that it was their most effective recruiting agent.

If then, a considerable portion of the excitement on the border, which in turn inspired the non-resident voting, can be traced to reports about the doings of the Aid

Company and similar organizations, what was the source of these rumors? Were they, as often alleged by apologists of the Aid Company, libels on the company, or can they be traced to sources for which the company, its officers or its agents were directly responsible? In part this question has been anticipated. The question of hiring voters was discussed in another connection in the first part of this section. The rumor about 20,000 settlers at once, and the cordon of free states, are easily traced, as previously noted, to Thayer's "harum scarum paper" (expression of A. A. Lawrence) on the Plan of Operations,³⁸ No way suggests itself to check the assertion that Governor Reeder gave advance information on the date of election to Aid Company officials, but the story is denied so consistently by all parties concerned, that in the absence of any substantiating evidence, the charge must be tentatively dismissed. It is more probable that Reeder may have indicated the approximate time of the election to persons in his home community in Pennsylvania, from which emigrants appear to have^{been} financially assisted. The source of the rumor about rushing men to Kansas for the election appears rather complex. The testimony of both sides is unanime that immigration was especially heavy between the census and the March election in the spring of 1855, and heaviest during March. This seems to be true of the migration both from the North and from the slave states, and is not surprising since agricultural settlers would naturally come in time for the spring planting.

Evidence is abundant that Greeley's New York Tribune and other northern and eastern papers were "overadvertising" the northern emigration, and giving an impression that it was much greater in volume than it actually was, besides making boasts about carrying the spring election in Kansas if it were not held until river navigation should open the way for new settlers. More specifically, it was asserted that G. W. Brown of the Herald of Freedom had boasted verbally that 600 to 800 immigrants were coming in time for the election, and that half of them were for Lawrence. This could not be checked, but the known radicalism of the Herald lends probability to the charge. Then there was apparently much loose talk among eastern settlers on their way up the Missouri River, about the free-state party having sufficient resources in men and money to dominate Kansas. Walter, of the New York Kansas League, considered it necessary in his handbook to warn prospective emigrants: "In traveling thru slave States, the emigrant should avoid all unnecessary allusion to slavery". Such loose talk was easily distorted by the pro-slavery steamboat officers into wild tales of vast numbers on the way. Another factor in the situation that deserves more consideration than can be given it here is the activity of various local Kansas Leagues and Aid Societies thruout the North that were in no way affiliated with the New England Emigrant Aid Company. It is highly probable that some of their parties may have been hurried to Kansas in time for the election, and given financial assistance, even to the extent of compensating them for their votes. Some small part of the excitement on the border may have been due

exaggerated sense of humor of S. N. Wood, who is reputed to have boasted in a saloon in Kansas City that he was Eli Thayer, and dared the "border ruffians" to try to hang him. He told a yarn on several different occasions to the effect that, for no earthly reason other than as a practical joke, he posted a sign on a tree along the Kansas City-Lawrence road that Eli Thayer claimed all the land in a radius of twenty miles for the use of 40,000 New England emigrants.⁴³ As Wood told the story, the Missourians were thrown into a panic, and this was the occasion of the offer of \$200 for Thayer "dead or alive". The facts so far as the Aid Company itself was concerned seem fairly clear. Only three parties of settlers left Boston under the company's auspices, ^{in the Spring of 1855} prior to the March election. Only one of the parties reached Kansas before the election; another might have, but for the delay (probably intentional on the part of the captain) of the steamboat on which they were travelling from St. Louis to Kansas. The company officials all asserted that the time of departure of these parties had no relation whatever to the time of election, and there is no evidence to the contrary. That once on the road, the settlers expressed a desire to reach Kansas in time for election, is to be taken for granted, and this is all that the evidence shows.

This then would seem to be the upshot of the whole discussion. The very fact of the existence of the Inigrant Aid Company and its imitators tended to arouse the apprehensions of the men of the border who had expected to move in and occupy Kansas as quietly as they had the Platte Purchase.

Thayer's grandiose project (which his associates refused to support) gave rise to fantastic rumors which ambitious politicians could utilize to throw the border into a panic. The arrival of party after party of conducted immigrants (even tho the aggregate number was small) seemed to the excited frontiersmen to verify his worst fears. This flame was fanned by the foolhardy bluster of Greeley and G. W. Brown, and the loose talk among some of the settlers. The major fault lies with Thayer who not only wrote the "Plan of Operations", but enlisted Greeley, and involved the company with Brown. Nevertheless, the company must bear the stigma of Thayer's folly, just as it reaps the glory of Lawrence's benevolences. Whether or not the Kansas conflict was in itself necessary is another question to be discussed elsewhere.

Whether or not the Emigrant Aid Company can be regarded as responsible for the launching of the free-state movement in Kansas is a question that deserves a far more extensive and careful study than the scope of the present project would permit. It is a question which must be answered rather fully and definitely before it will be possible to assess with anything approaching finality the degree of responsibility which the Aid Company must bear for the troubles in Kansas. Such a study when it shall be made will involve a thoroughgoing analysis of the free-state movement itself, and an effort to trace to its source each component element or policy. There will be, for example, the formation of a free-state party, the question of participation in territorial

elections, the question of the policy of resistance to the territorial laws, the project for a spontaneous movement for statehood, and many other questions. These will carry the investigator into the records of all of the early conventions, all of the early correspondence that can be unearthed, and the careers, characters and connections of all of the men prominent in free-state circles.

It is certain that at the time of the Kansas conflict, virtually all opponents of the free-state cause attributed to organization and direction of the anti-slavery forces to the Emigrant Aid Company. And well they might. All surface indications, at least, pointed that way. The foremost leader of the free-state movement up to the time that it split into factions was Charles Robinson, agent of the Emigrant Aid Company and connected by marriage with the Lawrence family. The movement originated and centered in the Aid Company's town of Lawrence. J. N. O. P. Wood, active at first in the free-state party and later on the pro-slavery side, asserted that the Free State Party was a direct outgrowth of the Lawrence Association, composed at first entirely of Aid Company immigrants.⁴⁴ He attributes also to the Lawrence Association the beginning of the policy of resistance to the territorial laws. When, following the election of the "Bogus Legislature", March 30, 1855, the free-state group determined to organize a semi-secret militia or military society, it was to the officers of the Emigrant Aid Company that they appealed for arms.

A perusal of the Lawrence correspondence makes it clear that Amos A. Lawrence at least, and probably other Aid

Company officials were actively concerned with the politics and policies of the free-state settlers. As early as October 12, 1854, Lawrence wrote to Robinson inclosing \$150 "to assist in organizing the plan of bringing out the whole force of the free voters in Kansas"⁴⁵. Thruout his letters, some to Robinson, some to Pomeroy, and some to individual settlers, while condoning pacific resistance to the territorial laws, he warns the settlers against anything that could be construed as resistance to federal authority. In 1884, A. A. Lawrence said before the Massachusetts Historical Society that the Emigrant Aid Company had given character and direction to the whole northern movement (in which he appeared to include the free-state political movement), "This society", he continued, "was to be loyal to the Government under all circumstances. . . . This policy of the New England Society, carried out by Robinson, and those in Kansas who acted with him, was finally successful and triumphant."⁴⁶ These circumstances suggest that Robinson, in his political activities, may have been largely guided by Aid Company officials and hence, that the free-state movement may have been, in part at least, due to the Aid Company.

The question of the arming of the free-state settlers has been so adequately handled by both Curruth⁴⁷ and Isely⁴⁸ that it seems hardly necessary to go over the ground again. The investigation of the topic in connection with the present study was merely a doing over of what they had already done, and served merely to justify their conclusions. The peculiar

thing is that the conclusion which they reached after a careful study of all available sources, coincides exactly with the statements made by William Lawrence in 1888, and by Thayer in 1887.

Briefly, the "rifle question", as it is sometimes called, may be stated as follows. Shortly after the election of March 20, 1855, the newly formed free-state militia came into possession of one hundred Sharps rifles, - the newest and most deadly weapon then in existence. Before the "Wakarusa War" (around December 1, 1855) another hundred were in their possession.⁴⁹ Whether or not the Sharps rifles saved the free-state cause is extraneous to the present discussion. Governor Wilson Shannon stated that "the introduction of these warlike implements was received by the other party in the light of a declaration of war", and made them a pretext for countenancing the "sheriff's posse" of two thousand Missourians which was then (December 7, 1855).⁵⁰ It was generally assumed on the border that these arms were supplied by the Emigrant Aid Company, and Douglas in his Senate report the following March accused the company of investing its funds in "cannon~~and~~ rifles, in powder and lead".⁵¹ These allegations the officers and spokesmen of the company strenuously denied in their testimony before the Howard Committee. The "Address to the People of the United States" said emphatically: "The assertion is utterly untrue. The company has never invested a dollar in cannon or rifles, in powder or lead, or in any of the implements of war."⁵²

As reconstructed from the Robinson literature, the story runs something like this. April 2, 1855, Robinson wrote to Thayer describing the election, telling of the formation of militia companies, and asking for arms. April 9 he sent a similar letter to Edward Everett Hale, and a few days later sent George W. Deitzler to Boston to interview the Aid Company officials. Arriving in Boston, Deitzler presented his case to Thayer, who in turn took it up with the executive committee of the Emigrant Aid Company. Within an hour, Lawrence gave Deitzler an order for one hundred rifles. July 26, Robinson sent J. B. Abbott to plead for more rifles. Abbott seems to have gone thru about the same procedure, and was given an order for one hundred more rifles. This apparent discrepancy is explained by the propensity of Amos A. Lawrence for doing things "unofficially". The executive committee agreed that it would not do for the Aid Company as such to supply the arms, but that there was no reason why the members of the committee should not raise money and supply them. Dr. Samuel Cabot was made "treasurer of the rifle fund". No company money raised by the sale of stock was appropriated to the fund so far as can be told, tho it is possible that some of the donations already in their hands may have been so applied. So it is technically true that the Aid Company did not supply the rifles, but as Sanborn pointed out before the Massachusetts Historical Society, "Most of the subscribers were either officers or members of the Emigrant

Aid Company, and the whole business was transacted at the office of the company in Winter Street⁵³". Moreover, as Isely pointed out, "It was the company's agent, Robinson, who applied to its chief director for arms; it was the company's executive committee that voted to send the first hundred rifles to the territory; . . . it was through the company's agents that these and other arms were purchased, and on them the bills were drawn; and finally, the arms were consigned to the company's agents in Kansas and distributed under their supervision"⁵⁴". Isely compiled a tabulation of the various consignments of arms sent to the free-state people in Kansas. While there are some gaps and some doubtful items, it is probably as accurate as can ever be determined. This shows that 588 Sharps Rifles and over half the total quantity of arms and ammunition sent to the free-state party (in terms of value) were sent by the Aid Company and its officers.

There is some question as to whether any Aid Company money was surreptitiously diverted into the rifle fund. Some persons are under the impression that the rifle expenditures were included in the "Kansas Expense" account, and the frequent appearance of "Sundries" might well cover such items. Most persons, however, will feel as did Professor Curruth when he wrote that since the officers of the company had declared repeatedly, under oath and otherwise, that the company never spent or appropriated a dollar for arms, "The testimony must stand", - at least in regard to funds raised by stock subscriptions which could not be appropriated "unofficially".

Iseley is strongly of the opinion that general contributions were turned into the rifle fund, and evidence in the Lawrence correspondence appears to substantiate this view. February 4, 1856, Lawrence wrote to Samuel Hoar thanking him for a gift of \$50 and saying, "There are two objects now requiring money, viz. relief of those who spent their means during the last invasion of the Territory; and furnishing the means of defense against future attacks. After advising with our secretary, Dr. Webb, I will decide to which your money shall be appropriated". February 21, he wrote Hoar that he had turned the \$50 over to Dr. Cabot for the rifle fund.⁵⁵ It was always Lawrence's view that whatever the personnel of the company might do in their private or "unofficial" capacity, even tho done thru company channels, should not be considered an act of the company, but if technicalities be brushed aside, there is no escape from the conclusion that the New England Emigrant Aid Company was responsible for the arming of the free-state settlers..

On the question of whether or not the Free State Hotel at Lawrence was built as a fort, it is scarcely possible even to guess intelligently. It is obvious from various statements in the Howard testimony that the pro-slavery people quite generally believed that the building was so constructed. For example G. P. Lowrey, going thru the "lines" as a free-state envoy to Governor Shannon during the "Wakarusa War", talked with one of the Missouri "captains" who said "that he had heard we had a red flag here, and had built a hotel with port-holes, and western people did not like

that".⁵⁶ While some significance may attach to the fact that nowhere in the Howard testimony does a free-state witness deny the charge, it is equally or even more significant that the only person who testified to first hand knowledge of the military character of the building was Patrick Laughlin, whose reputation for veracity was not high. Pat Laughlin had come from Ireland only a few years before, and had twice changed sides in the Kansas conflict. It was he who assumed to "expose" the free-state military organization, but according to the testimony of five other witnesses, he read into it features of which its members had never heard. He admitted in the course of his own testimony that it was the custom among partisans on both sides to exaggerate outrageously.⁵⁷ Laughlin testified: "I saw a large house building; it had port-holes in the top of it. I was told by G. W. Brown, Lowrey, Hutchinson and Emery that the building was for the purposes of fortification. Brown told me it was built by the Emigrant Aid Society. They expected they would be attacked in their town, as they were freemen and would exercise the rights of freemen in liberty of speech and liberty of the press, and that many of their speeches and publications were in violation of the laws of the Territory, and they thereby expected to come in collision with the authorities of the Territory."⁵⁸ It was August 27, 1855, that Laughlin made this visit to Lawrence. Since no mention appears under an earlier date of the hotel being constructed with a view to defense, it is not improbable that Laughlin was the channel thru which the report was carried to the Missourians. Dis-

crediting the idea that he gained his information from personal observation, ⁵⁹ he appears to have gained ~~his information~~ it from G. W. Brown. Further evidence that Brown may have been the source of the rumor is presented by Prof. J. C. Mailin of the University of Kansas in an article on the pro-slavery background of the Kansas struggle. ⁵⁰ He quotes a paragraph from the Squatter Sovereign of May 27, 1856 (one week after the destruction of the hotel) printed as a quotation from the Herald of Freedom of April 12 of the same year. This paragraph states definitely that the hotel was intended to be a citadel for the town, and that it had thirty or forty portholes in the parapet, camouflaged with stones which could be easily knocked out. Professor Malin has verified the quotation from the files of the Herald of Freedom. If Laughlin was telling the truth and he probably was, so far as Brown was concerned, it may mean that the hotel was really intended for defensive purposes. Again it may mean only that Brown, who always wrote with more concern for the effect his editorial would produce than for the truth of his alleged facts, desired to impress and reassure his free-state compatriots. Phillips, in his Conquest of Kansas quotes from the Lecompton Union of May 21, 1856, an account of the sack of Lawrence containing this paragraph. "We forgot to mention in our account that the long conjecture of the Free State Hotel being a fortress was found to be true. From the surface of the roof the wall extended to the height of three and one half feet, with four port holes on each side, - making sixteen in all, - large enough to admit the mouth of an

eighteen pound gun. The mouths of the holes were concealed from view by a thin coat of lime that could be easily knocked out when desired. The above statement can be established by several hundred witnesses." ⁶¹ On the other hand, William Hutchinson made affidavit that the hotel "was not intended as a fortification, nor built like a fort any more than an ordinary house. It had no port holes nor rifle embrasures." ⁶²

There is little circumstantial evidence of any value. All accounts agree that the cannon balls, when the drunken gunners were finally able to hit the building at all, buried themselves harmlessly in the masonry, and that two kegs of power exploded in the building did little more; it finally had to be destroyed by fire. At first glance these facts would appear to substantiate the fort theory, but any well built stone building would have withstood the same tests. There are plenty of examples extant of cannon balls of the civil war period embedding themselves harmlessly in the masonry of buildings that are known positively to have been built with no thought of defense. On the other hand, the hostility of the pro-slavery people to the American Hotel in Kansas City, amply attested in the Howard testimony, ⁶³ forces the conviction that the desire of the "Law and Order" party to destroy the Lawrence Hotel was ^{not} due altogether to the belief that it was a fort. Finally, if it be decided that the hotel was built with a military aim, there is still the interesting but unanswerable question, who was responsible for the fact? Was it the company officials in Boston, or was it Pomeroy or some other person on the ground?

In conclusion, it would seem that there is no escaping the fact that the Aid Company must bear a share of the blame for the disorder in Kansas. That it was solely to blame is of course absurd, but it certainly was a contributing factor. Whether or not the disorder itself was an inevitable condition for the accomplishment of a greater good, is another question entirely, and belongs to the following section.

-VIII-

WHAT OF IT ALL ANYWAY?

Concluding sections and chapters are apt to be either summaries or catch-alls. This one, despite its caption, is of the latter type. In closing a discussion of the activities of the Emigrant Aid Company, a few queries that would suggest themselves, must not be overlooked. In the various writings of the year 1857 the Aid Company is mentioned only for the pioneer work it had done more than a year before. This causes one to wonder what the company was doing from the close of 1856 on, and what part if any it was taking in the Kansas relief work then going on. One wonders if, after all, the company was as well thot of among the Kansas settlers as the company's spokesmen would have one believe, and what, in the last analysis, was the importance of its work.

Speaking of the Emigrant Aid Company in his paper on " Early Kansas History", (B. F.) Sanborn said: "It left the work, in the later months of 1856 and the whole year 1857, largely to the National Kansas Committee and the Massachusetts State Committee, and to Gerritt Smith, who gave one thousand dollars a month during the active period of hostilities in 1856, and for some months longer." Since this

statement is easily verified from numerous sources, it leads one to inquire, what if any connection existed between these committees and the Emigrant Aid Company, what if any part was the company taking in the relief work, and what else was it doing.

"The Kansas State Committee of Massachusetts", according to Isely, "had been gradually evolved from a sub-committee of the Emigrant Aid Company"². The destitution in Kansas in 1856, caused in part by the exhaustion of reserve supplies during the previous severe winter, in part by a shortage of crops, and in part by the disorder of the border war, aroused groups of people in the various northern states to organize to send relief to Kansas. Gradually these separate committees consolidated into state committees, and in July 1856, at a meeting held in Buffalo, New York, a National Kansas Committee was organized of representatives of the state and local groups. Thaddeus Hyatt, already active in the New York Kansas League, became president of the new organization and its most active worker. Eli Thayer was appointed a committee to organize the North generally (but little is heard of his activities in this connection). "At the only general meeting of the committee, held in New York City, January, 1857, it was reported that *emigrants and fifty tons of clothing had been* ³ *sent to Kansas; and that the committee had raised and expended ninety thousand* two thousand ₁ dollars. . . ." All told, the committee is reputed to have raised approximately \$200,000 dollars, and to have spent around \$10,000 for arms and munitions.⁴ Besides guns and clothing, the committee furnished food, agricultural supplies, and cash to destitute settlers.

True to form, Thayer arrogated to himself and the Aid Company all credit for this nation-wide "relief movement" as it was called. Replying to an open letter signed "T. W. H." which had asserted that the Kansas Committees had done more for Kansas than the Aid Company, Thayer wrote: ". . . there would have been no occasion for such bodies had it not been for the foundation laid by the Emigrant Aid Company. They sustained the same relation to that body that the branches of a tree do to its trunk and roots." ⁵ He then devotes several pages to newspaper quotations to prove that he, Thayer, was the real organizer of the Kansas Committees. Without according too much significance to Thayer's liberal estimates of his own importance and that of the Aid Company, another point of contact may be noted. "The confusion was further fostered", wrote Curruth, "by the fact that many persons prominent in the first set of societies [New England Emigrant Aid Company, American Settlement Company, the local Kansas Leagues, etc.], were also active in the second group, the relief societies, and that the officers and machinery of the Emigrant Aid Company were used by the relief organizations of 1856 and 1860." ⁶ Pomeroy, who in 1856 was still an active agent of the Aid Company, was the chief distributor of the relief in Kansas. G. L. Stearns, who headed the Massachusetts committee, had been a director in the Aid Company; Higginson, a member of the committee was a director of the company, and Dr. W. R. Lawrence, another member, was

a brother of A. A. Lawrence, and a heavy contributor to the Cabot rifle fund. So without granting Thayer's extravagant pretensions, it may yet be conceded that the relief movement of 1856 owed something to the emigrant aid movement. Much, possibly all of the relief correspondence is preserved among the effects of the Aid Company in the Kansas State Historical Society archives, and an investigation of them is expected to yield valuable information regarding the connection between the two movements.

Whatever the Kansas Committees may have owed to the Emigrant Aid Company, there is evidence that the company itself engaged in relief work, tho the present study has not been sufficiently thoro in that direction to indicate the extent of such effort. ". . . and when the prairies of Kansas were swept by fire and sword, it was to the Boston society that the afflicted pioneers first turned for protection, comfort and material relief." This flourish of Isely's might be dismissed as mere rhetoric, but the correspondence of A. A. Lawrence is more convincing. His letter to Samuel Hoar, in which he was undecided whether to apply a \$50 gift to relief or rifles, has already been cited. It appears from the correspondence that Lawrence opposed the project for a \$10,000 appropriation by the legislature of Massachusetts, lest it be taken as an example by southern legislatures, and proposed to raise funds by subscription instead. He prepared a subscription paper, which was headed by I. M. Forbes with a subscrip-

tion of \$1000. June 4, 1856, he wrote to P. T. Jackson (the man who had first persuaded him to become active in the Aid Company) acknowledging a contribution of \$1000 from the citizens of Hartford, and promising that it would be expended by Hunt in St. Louis and Pomeroy in Kansas (both Aid Company agents), taking vouchers. June 27, he wrote to Rev. H. A. Wilson, of Providence, "There is money enough waiting to guarantee them [the Kansas settlers] bacon and flour for a year or more if necessary".⁷ September 24, 1856, Lawrence wrote to a Quaker contributor in Lynn, Massachusetts, "This company is now forwarding clothing, which is very much wanted to enable the settlers, who have been harassed all summer, and have lost their crops partially or wholly, to remain during the winter. . . . We have a depository for all this in Iowa, as it will be used only as it is wanted." He urges the people of Lynn to make up a dozen or two boxes of unsalable shoes and send them to Dr. Webb at the Aid Company office. "In many towns", he continues, "the ladies are having 'bees' to sew for Kansas. In some houses (my own for one) they have packed up everything not in use, and will buy a new stock for themselves." He urges his Quaker friend to do the same to set an example for his neighbors. "Remember", he concludes "there are thirty thousand Free State men, women and children there."⁸

As noted previously in other connections, the Emigrant Aid Company virtually ceased to function as a

colonizing agency after 1856. No conducted parties were sent to Kansas after July, and active recruiting appears to have stopped even earlier. In a letter dated June 27, 1856, Lawrence stated that the lecture work had been abandoned.⁹ The company continued to send mills to Kansas, and undertook to rebuild the Free State Hotel. There were even some new subscriptions to the stock. But the two men wno, above all others had made the enterprise what it was, retired from the management. In the fall of 1856 Thayer was elected to Congress, and December 17 made his last speech in the "Kansas Crusade".¹⁰ At the annual stockholders' meeting, May 26, 1857, Lawrence resigned as treasurer, saying that the company's object,- "the incitement of free emigration into Kansas",- having been accomplished, the organization can continue only as a land company and must be managed as such. He recommended the closing out of the holdings and dissolution of the corporation.¹¹ Ten months earlier Lawrence had written to John Carter Brown, President of the Aid Company, "As to the Emigrant Aid Company, I have very much the same view as yourself: that it has done its work. But you always find it odious to propose the destruction of an organization of which you are a manager. So it would be here; and it probably can not be effected; the majority would be against it. As to the stock, its value will probably become steadily less, as no sales of land can be made to keep down expenses. The property is all there, which we ever had (except what has been burned), and it must require constant expenditure to

protect it and to pay our agents. The rents, including that of the hotel, would have paid all our running expenses, but can not now." ¹¹

After the retirement of Thayer and Lawrence, the Emigrant Aid Company was never the same again. The tone of idealism and romanticism which these two men (whatever their personal deficiencies may have been) had imparted to the enterprise was gone. Most of the other participants who were genuinely interested in the social and political aspects of the Kansas conflict, transferred their activities to other channels such as the new Kansas Committees. Most of those who remained actively with the corporation settled down to the sordid business of trying to save as much as possible from the financial wreckage. It is reasonably certain that virtually every stockholder who subscribed after July 1856 was concerned primarily with the pecuniary aspects of the company. Typical of this class was H. B. Claflin, the heaviest stockholder, whom Thayer reports having "said that the six thousand dollars which he paid to the Emigrant Aid Company in 1856 had been several times repaid by the excess of profit on goods sold to merchants in Kansas and Kansas City over what it would have been if slavery had prevailed in that State". ¹²

A question might be raised as to why the "crusade" ended. No doubt there were a number of reasons. Population in Kansas had grown to a point where the maximum amount

of stimulated migration possible would be insignificant. The work of Geary in Kansas preparatory to the Presidential election of 1856 changed the character of local politics in the territory in such a way that anything that easterners might do or fail to do would count, but little. In the more purely humanitarian relief work, philanthropists were attracted over to the committees which were in a much more favorable position to carry on the work. Then if one may trust Lawrence's letters, the so-called "panic" of 1857 was a potent factor. In letter after letter he refers to the prevailing economic depression as an important reason why he personally and the Aid Company can not do more for Kansas.

The story of the company's later operations requires little attention. So far as one can discover, the later doings of the corporation were absolutely without historical consequences, and might well be omitted altogether from any discussion of the company except that the average person may be curious to discover what became of an organization about which such violent controversy has raged. The later history of the company falls into three periods: from 1857 to the closing out of the Kansas holdings; the civil war period; and the attempt to revive the enterprise between 1864 and 1868.

According to the Directors History the directors in 1857 wished to engage in promoting emigration to western Texas, but all funds were tied up in Kansas. In his Bis-

mark Grove speech, Hale said, "In western Texas, we did what we could",¹⁴ but no evidence could be found in the minutes or elsewhere that anything tangible was done. Thayer had planned when the Kansas job should be finished, to undertake a colonization scheme in western Virginia as a money-making venture (and perhaps incidentally as a move to restrict slavery).¹⁵ Whether he seriously proposed such a project to the directors of the Aid company does not appear in the minutes of their meetings. At any rate, after he retired from active participation in the management of the Aid Company, he launched such a project independently of the company, founding the town of Ceredo.¹⁶ During the years from 1857 to 1862, the directors did little but attempt to liquidate the company's holdings in Kansas and Missouri in such a way as to save for the stockholder at least a part of his investment. The Directors' History for these years records little but the ups and downs of land values and the difficulties of making sales. A perusal of the minute books reveals little more. All of this financial history that is worthy of discussion in such a paper as this, has already been treated in a previous section, and need not be repeated. The company made repeated efforts to recover damages for the loss of the Free State Hotel. A petition was sent to Congress in the summer of 1856, and a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives to indemnify the company, but nothing came of it.¹⁷ The claim was presented to the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention with no better results. After the Kansas holdings were closed out in 1862,

Dr. Webb was relieved of his duties as secretary and sent to Washington as special lobbyist. An elaborate memorial was prepared (cited in earlier sections as the Aid Company Memorial). But all efforts proved fruitless, and the claim was all but forgotten until, as noted previously, William Herbert Curruth hit upon the idea of reviving it for the benefit of the University of Kansas. Eventually in 1900 a bill passed Congress to indemnify the University as successor to the Emigrant Aid Company, but President McKinley pocket-vetoed the bill, and the matter was allowed to drop.¹⁸

As noted in a previous section, the company finally, in March of 1862, disposed of all of its holdings except its claim against the government, for \$16,150,- just enough to pay the indebtedness. The directors had refused to guarantee the debt and so postpone the sale until better times. At an annual meeting May 27, 1862, after receiving the final report of the winding up of the business, the stockholders voted to continue the existence of the corporation for at least a year with a view to undertaking colonization in the South when war conditions should permit. Maryland was mentioned particularly as a possible field of future operations.¹⁹ Whether the aim was to be pecuniary or altruistic (or a combination of the two) is not altogether clear, altho a small circular found among the effects of the company, dated June 1862, and signed by the executive committee, after reviewing the prospect of confiscation of Confederate estates and their sale to discharged Union soldiers,

offers the services of the company to the Government of the United States to organize the migration of the ex-soldiers, and adds, "If we were employed, we expressly disclaim in its behalf any idea of profit to the Company or to those connected with it." ²⁰ At this same meeting the directors were authorized to prepare the history to which such extensive reference has been made in the course of this discussion.

During the Civil War, all of the old personnel except Dr. Webb and Edward Everett Hale appear to have abandoned the organization. All meetings ceased except the quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors. It was attended only by Webb and Hale, - often only by Webb, - and the usual minute is, "No business quorum. Meeting adjourned." ²¹

As the end of the war approached, Rev. Hale developed some fantastic notions, and tried to rehabilitate the enterprise. In December 1864, he projected a scheme to assist the migration of women to Oregon by making loans and taking their notes. Channing quotes Massachusetts documents to show that Hale applied to the Legislature for a grant of money for the purpose; the governor approved the request, but the legislature declared the project inexpedient and refused the appropriation. ²² The project was discussed in several directors' meetings, and apparently approved. A circular issued in the spring of 1865, reports that Henry Higgins has been sent to Oregon with a small party of women, and proposes to charter a ship to take a larger number. ²³ Apparently the ship was never sent, and the subject disappears from the minutes.

About the same time that the Oregon project was launched, a plan for colonizing Florida was broached. Thru the next three years a serious attempt was made to rehabilitate the company for the purpose. The board of directors was reconstituted, T. B. Forbush was appointed secretary (Dr. Webb died in the fall of 1865), and an office was reopened. As noted previously, the charter was amended in 1867 to permit the issuance of preferred stock, in the hope of attracting investors for the project. One of the new directors (Marshall) was sent to Florida on an inspection tour, and arrangements were made to finance a Union newspaper. Several small circulars and a 20-page pamphlet were issued to attract settlers. A resident agent, E. M. Chaney, was dispatched to Florida, and there are indications that some colonists were actually sent. Failing to secure investors for the stock, a scheme was devised for making the migration finance itself. Each emigrant was to buy five shares of preferred stock for cash, which shares should be exchangeable for land at \$5 to \$10 an acre, guaranteeing each a farm of 50 to 100 acres. This scheme was not successful. A few hundred dollars were raised, but finally the whole experiment of the preferred stock had to be acknowledged a failure, and the Florida project abandoned. In October of 1868, the minutes stop abruptly. The company had ceased to function.

Such were the latter days of the "powerful moneyed corporation" whose name had once convulsed the nation. An anticlimax indeed. Anyone who has endeavored to tread the tangled maze of the present discussion may well rub his

eyes and mutter, "What of it all, anyway?" When all is said and done, was the subsequent history of Kansas and the nation materially different because the Emigrant Aid Company existed? Did the Aid Company save Kansas to freedom?

It is difficult to imagine anything more futile than the old argument over who saved Kansas. Still when the time comes (and it has not come yet) to finally evaluate the services or the hindrances of the Aid Company in the Kansas conflict, this foolish question must be squarely faced. As noted in the opening section, Thayer contended that "No man, unless he be ignorant of the facts in the Kansas struggle, or completely blinded by malice or envy, will ever attempt to defraud the Emigrant Aid Company of the glory of having saved Kansas. . . ." But this extravagant claim is met by equally extravagant ones on behalf of John Brown, of Jim Lane, and of lesser leaders. Some persons claim the credit for the unorganized and undirected pioneers of the old Northwest. Still others would say that Kansas was won by the co-operation of all. Some like R. G. Elliott would insist that Kansas was never in danger; that climate and soil had predestined Kansas to be a land of freedom. Those who disagree will counter by citing the much-discussed "law of parallels",- the tendency of migration to follow parallels of latitude,- and point out that this would have given Nebraska to the North, but Kansas to the South.

Certainly the Aid Company was not hailed universally as a savior by the free-state settlers themselves. The men from the West, who constituted the great bulk of the free-soil population, brot to Kansas with them the traditional antagonism of the West against the East; this was accentuated by what Curruth called "the superior refinement and provincial pronunciation of the down-easters"²⁴. Many settlers who found a voice in the Kansas Free State believed that the Aid Company had served only to make matters worse by arousing the antagonism of the Missourians. Many even of the company's own immigrants were embittered by the failure of the company to do more for them, and charged it with being false to its promises. Lawrence again and again warned Thayer and the company's agents against making promises which they would be unable to keep.

One of the most serious charges of the company's opponents among the free-state settlers was it had brot unto them the horrors of the border war. The question of the company's responsibility for the troubles in Kansas was discussed in an earlier section, but the equally pertinent question of whether the border war was a necessary evil was deferred. Dr. J. H. Stringfellow, proprietor of the Squatter Sovereign, testified: "Had it not been for the emigrant aid societies, the majority in favor of slave institutions, would by the natural course of emigration, have been so great as to have fixed the institutions of the Territory without any exciting contest as was the case in the settlement of the Platte

Purchase. That was the way we regarded the passage of the
Kansas-Nebraska Bill." ²⁵ If it could be shown (certainly it
has not been yet) that the price of peace on the border was
the yielding of Kansas to slavery, then all that the Aid Com-
pany did must be considered justified.

FOOTNOTES

-I-

1. Thayer, Eli, A History of the Kansas Crusade (N. Y., 1889), pp. 250-251.
2. List submitted for adoption as state texts for Kansas high schools at last adoption (1925). Given as separate classification in Bibliography.
3. List prepared by Prof. F. H. Hodder, University of Kansas, for Kansas State Teachers' Association (1927).
4. The following standard secondary works were consulted:
Burgess, J. W., The Middle Period (N. Y., 1897);
Channing, Edw., A History of the United States (6 vol., N. Y., 1925); Macy, J., The Anti Slavery Crusade (Yale Chronicles of America, New Haven, 1919); Rhodes, J. F., History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 (8 vol., N.Y., 1892); Schouler, J., History of the United States of America under the Constitution (6 vol., N. Y., 1894); Smith, T. C., Parties and Slavery (American Nation, N. Y., 1907); Von Holst, The Constitutional and Political History of the United States (Chicago, 1885).
5. Channing, op. cit., Vol. VI, pp. 160-166; Von Holst, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 434, Vol. V, pp. 138-140.
6. Schouler, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 323-327; Smith, op. cit., pp. 122-124, 131.
7. Burgess, op. cit., pp. 408-423; Rhodes, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 78-79; Macy, op. cit., pp. 150-151, 158.
8. Channing and Von Holst.
9. Burgess and Schouler.
10. Macy.
11. Channing, Von Holst, Burgess and Schouler.
12. Channing and Von Holst.
13. Von Holst, op. cit., p. 139.
14. Burgess, op. cit., p. 410.
15. Schouler, op. cit., p. 325.

16. Smith, op. cit., p. 122.
17. Caldwell, Harlow and Schlesinger.
18. Caldwell.
19. Von Holst, op. cit., p. 139.
20. Smith, op. cit., p. 122.

-II-

1. Thayer, Eli, The New England Emigrant Aid Company (Worcester, 1887), p. 13.
2. Caldwell, Forman and Muzzey.
3. Burgess, Middle Period, p. 410.
4. Printed copy of the charter. Papers and effects of the Emigrant Aid Company in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. Hereinafter cited as Aid Company Papers.
5. Date attested in letter of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to Edward Everett Hale, March 27, 1895. Aid Company Papers.
6. Engrossed copy of act, "Massachusetts House of Representatives 164 (1854)." Aid Company Papers.
7. Thayer, op. cit., pp. 25-27.
8. Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Troublés in Kansas, H. of R. Report No. 200, 34 Cong., 1 Ses., p. 883. Hereinafter cited as Howard Report.
9. Thayer, op. cit., p. 25.
10. Collection of publications of the Emigrant Aid Company in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. Hereinafter cited as Aid Company Publications.
11. Letters of Amos A. Lawrence about Kansas Affairs, bund volume of typewritten copies in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. Hereinafter cited as Lawrence Letters.
12. Printed copy, "Connecticut General Assembly, May Session, 1854. AN ACT to Incorporate the Emigrant Aid Company." Aid Company Papers.

13. History of the New England Emigrant Aid Company with a
on its Future Operations, published by order
of the Board of Directors (Boston, 1862), pp.
3-4. Hereinafter cited as Directors' History,
14. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, p. 27.
15. Ibid., p. 164.
16. Lawrence Letters, pp. 7-9.
17. Directors' History, pp. 3-4.
18. Curruth, W. H., "The New England Emigrant Aid Company as
an Investment Society," Kansas Historical Col-
lections, Vol. VI, pp. 90-96.
19. Lawrence Letters, pp. 11-15.
20. Ibid, pp. 7-9.
21. "Articles of Association and Agreement of the Emigrant
Aid Company." Printed copy to be signed in ex-
change. Aid Company Papers.
22. Printed copy of Act of Incorporation. Also, officially
attested copy of charter. Aid Company Papers.
23. A roster of the officers, directors and executive commit-
tee as they were at the time of the company's
greatest activity will be found in Appendix.
24. Directors' History, p. 11.
25. Wilder, D. W., The Annals of Kansas (1st ed., Topeka, 1895),
p. 36.
26. Brown, G. W., False Claims of the Historians Truthfully
Corrected (Rockford, Ill., 1902), p. 8.
27. Channing, History of the U. S., Vol. IV, p. 161.
28. Aid Company Papers.
29. Circular among Aid Company Papers.
30. Walter, George, History of Kansas, also Information regard-
ing Routes, Laws, etc. (N. Y., 1855)
31. Howard Report, pp. 252, 258.
32. Colt, Mrs. Miriam D., Went to Kansas (Watertown, 1862).

33. Attested long-hand copy of "An Act in Addition to an Act to Incorporate the New England Emigrant Aid Company." Aid Company Papers.
34. Officially attested copy under Great Seal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts of "AN ACT to Extend the Charter of the New England Emigrant Aid Company." Aid Company Papers.

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1. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, cited in previous sections.
2. Robinson, Charles, The Kansas Conflict (Lawrence, Kans., 1898).
3. Spring, L. W., Kansas, the Prelude to the War for the Union (Boston and N. Y., 1907).
4. Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XIV, pp 63-70.
5. Connelley, W. E., A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans (5 vol., Chicago and New York, 1918), Vol. I, p. 347.
6. Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XV, p. 348 et seq.
7. Quoted in Thayer, New England Emigrant Aid Company, pp. 16-17.
8. Rhodes, History of the United States, Vol. II, p. 78.
9. Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 223.
10. Connelley, Kansas and Kansans, Vol. I, p. 341.
11. Ward, G. O., The Worcester Academy (Worcester, Mass., 1918), pp. 33-42.
12. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, pp. 58-59.
13. Howard Report, p. 885.
14. Ward, op. cit.
15. Connelley, W. E., An Appeal to the Record (Topeka, 1903),
16. Cf. Ante., p.12.
17. Lawrence, William, Life of Amos A. Lawrence (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 81

18. Lawrence Letters, p. 141.
19. Ibid., pp. 36-37.
20. Howard Report, p. 885.
21. Lawrence Letters, p. 87.
22. In archives of Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.
23. Ante, note 19.
24. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, p. 203.
25. Connelley, Appeal to the Record, p. 109.
26. Lawrence Letters, pp. 2-4.
27. Ibid., p. 148.
28. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, ch. VIII; Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. I-II, pp. 193-195; also document in archives, Aid Company Papers.
29. Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. VI, p. 90.
30. Aid Company Publications.
31. Lawrence Letters, pp. 24-25.
32. Robinson, Kansas Conflict, p. 182.
33. Asserted by his son (Lawrence, Amos A. Lawrence, passim) and shown by-transfers on books of company.
34. Ante, note 21.
35. Lawrence Letters, p. 151.
36. Ante, note 21.
37. Howard Report, pp. 884-885.
38. Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. VI, pp. 90-96.
39. Lawrence, Amos A. Lawrence, p. 80; also ante, note 21.
40. Directors' History, p. 22.
41. Speech at Bismark Grove Reunion, September 16, 1879, reported in Gleed, C. S., ed., The Kansas Memorial (Kansas City, 1880), pp. 140-148.

1. Curruth, W. H., "The New England Emigrant Aid Company as an Investment Society," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. VI, pp. 90-96.
2. Lawrence, Amos A. Lawrence, p. 97; Howard Report, p. 874.
3. Curruth, loc. cit.
4. Directors' History, p. 26.
5. Account books of the Emigrant Aid Company in archives of Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. Hereinafter cited as Account Books.
6. Lawrence, Amos A. Lawrence, p. 86.
7. Directors' History, p. 24.
8. Ibid., p. 26.
9. Two bound volumes of printed form quitclaim deeds, filled in duplicate of original instruments, among Aid Company's effects in archives of Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. Hereinafter cited as Quitclaims.
10. Curruth, loc. cit.
11. Such a careful check of the Account Books is contemplated preparatory to the more extensive dissertation on the Emigrant Aid Company suggested in Section I.
12. Directors' History, p. 22.
13. Shown by general ledger of the company. Account Books.
14. Directors' History, p. 24.
15. Curruth, Loc. cit.
16. Directors' History, p. 8.
17. A Memorial of the University of Kansas in Support of Senate Bill No. 2677 (Lawrence, Kans., 1897), - hereinafter cited as K. U. Memorial; Wilder, Annals, p. 208; Howard Report, p. 885.
18. Directors' History, p. 20; Minutes of fourth annual stockholders meeting, Minute Books.

19. Ibid.
20. Craik, E. L., "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas 1854 to 1858," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XV, p. 348 et seq.
21. Connelley, Appeal to the Record, pp. 121-129.
22. Robinson, Kansas Conflict, pp. 87-89.
23. Howard Report, p. 885.
24. Lawrence Letters, p. 24.
25. Directors' History, p. 23.
26. Letter dated August 26, 1854. Lawrence Letters, p. 23.
27. Hale, E. E., Kansas and Nebraska (Boston, 1854), p. 30.
28. Lawrence Letters, P. 87.
29. Directors' History, p. 23.
30. Journal entry. Account Books.
31. Robinson, op. cit., p. 70; Thayer, Kansas Crusade, pp. 58-59.
32. Lawrence Letters, p. 22.
33. Connelley, Appeal to the Record, p. 7.
34. Shown by his correspondence.
35. Curruth, loc. cit.
36. Brown, False Claims, p. 55.
37. Lawrence Letters, p. 3.
38. Thayer, New England Emigrant Aid Company, p. 46 (footnote)
39. Connelley, Appeal to the Record, p. 7.
40. Directors' History, p. 22.
41. Howard Report, p. 874.
42. Martin, G. A., "A Chapter from the Archives," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol XII, pp. 359-375.
43. Thayer, New England Emigrant Aid Company, p. 27 (footnote)

44. Hale, E. E., Speech at Bismark Grove, in Gleed, C. S.,
The Kansas Memorial, p. 148.
45. Account Books.
46. Cf. Ante, p. 40.
47. Ante, note.45.
48. Curruth, loc. cit.
49. Directors' History, p. 26.
50. Ibid.
51. Curruth, loc. cit.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.

-V-

1. Cf. Ante, pp. 2-3.
2. Emigrant and immigrant: in all the testimony and writings of the time of the Kansas conflict, the term emi-grant is made to do service in both relationships. Many of the later writers, too,- some of them doctors of philosophy,- talk of "emigrants" arriving in Kansas.
3. No. 34, Senate Reports, 34 Cong., 1 Ses.
4. Howard Report, pp. 875-882.
5. The charter is reprinted in the K. U. Memorial, pp. 4-5; in Howard Report, p. 874; also other places. See Appendix.
6. "Organization, Objects and Plan of Operations of the Emigrant Aid Company, Also a Description of Kansas," (issued as pamphlet thru three editions, Boston, 1854) quoted in Thayer, New England Emigrant Aid Company, pp. 16-17, and Kansas Crusade, pp. 27-29.
7. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, Appendix A.
8. Hale, Kansas and Nebraska, pp. 216-219.
9. Curruth, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company as an Investment Society," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. VI, pp. 90-96.

10. Howard Report, p. 878.
11. Aid Company Publications.
12. Howard Report, pp. 884-885.
13. Robinson, Kansas Conflict, pp. 69-70; Directors' History, pp. 6-7; Howard Report, pp. 897-899.
14. Directors' History, p. 6; Thayer, Kansas Crusade, p. 28.
15. "Lays of the Emigrants as sung by the Second Party for Kansas on their Departure from Boston, Tuesday, August 29th, 1854," (small folder, Mudge and Son, Boston, 1854) Aid Company Publications.
16. Lawrence Letters, pp. 18-20.
17. Directors' History, p. 7.
18. Among the effects of the Aid Company in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society are two door signs, painted on black sheet metal. One reads, NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY - UP ONE FLIGHT; the other, merely THE NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY.
19. Directors' History, p. 8.
20. Ante, note 6.
21. Webb, T. H., "Information for Kansas Emigrants, prepared by Thomas H. Webb, Secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company," (pamphlet, 14 editions, Mudge and Son, Boston, 1855-1857) Aid Company Publications.
22. Preface signed August 21, 1854; Wilder, Annals, p. 37.
23. Two Tracts for the Times. Reprints of "Negro Slavery No Evil," by B. F. Stringfellow, and "Is it Expedient to Introduce Slavery into Kansas," by D. R. Goodloe of North Carolina. Republished by the New England Emigrant Aid Company (Boston, 1855).
24. Robinson, Sara D. T., Kansas, Its Interior and Exterior Life (Boston, 1856).
25. Wilder, Annals, pp. 44-45; Curruth, loc. cit.; "Lays of the Emigrants as sung by the Parties for Kansas on the Days of their Departure from Boston, during the Spring of 1855," (Boston, 1855) Aid Company Publications.
26. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, pp. 18-28.

27. Ibid. p. 24.
28. Constitutions of several of these Kansas Leagues are among the Aid Company Papers.
29. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, ch. X; Lawrence Letters, passim.
30. Howard Report, passim.
31. Ibid., p. 886.
32. Ibid., passim.
33. Ibid., p. 884.
34. Ante, p. 56
35. Miller, Peopling of Kansas, p. 55.
36. Ward, Worcester Academy, p. 40.
37. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, p. 57.
38. Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. I-II, pp. 193-195.
39. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, p. XIV.
40. Directors' History, p. 8.
41. Ibid., p. 10.
42. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, p. 54.
43. Howard Report, pp. 887-892.
44. Ibid., p. 886.
45. Lawrence, Amos A. Lawrence, p. 94.
46. Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, Ser. III, Vol. 1, p. 349.
47. Miller, op. cit., p. 57.
48. Ibid.
49. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, p. 54.
50. Lynch, W. O., "Popular Sovereignty and the Colonization of Kansas from 1854 to 1860," Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings, Vol. IX, pp. 380-392.
51. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, p. 181.

52. Robinson, Kansas Conflict, p. 158.
53. Brown, False Claims, p. 4.
54. Connelley, Appeal to the Record; Cordley, Rev. Richard, A History of Lawrence, Kansas (Lawrence, 1895); Lynch, loc. cit.
55. Howard Report, p. 879.
56. Ibid., pp. 832-862.
57. Elliott, R. G., Foot Notes on Kansas History (Lawrence, 1906), pp. 6-7.
58. Doy, John, The Narrative of John Doy (N. Y., 1860), p. 9.
59. Miller, op. cit., pp. 44-46.
60. Lynch, loc. cit.,
61. Lawrence Letters, p. 132.
62. Sanborn, B. F., "Early Kansas History," Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, Ser. III, Vol. 1, pp. 351-359.
63. Curruth, loc. cit.
64. Craik, "Southern Intestest," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XV, p. 348 et. seq.
65. Lynch, loc. cit.

-VI-

1. Hale, "Bismark Grove Address," Gleed, Kansas Memorial, pp. 146-148.
2. Ante, pp. 55-56.
3. Howard Report, p. 878.
4. Ante, pp. 61-62.
5. Directors' History, p. 9.
6. Howard Report, pp. 832-835, 844-846.
7. Directors' History, p. 11.
8. Ibid.
9. Spring, Kansas, p. 35.

10. Lawrence, Amos A. Lawrence, p. 84.
11. Goodnow, I. T., "Reminiscences," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol IV, pp. 244-253; Greene, A. R. "Kansas River Navigation," ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 317-358; Howard Report, pp. 1035-1037.
12. Robinson, C., "Topeka and her Constitution," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol VI, pp. 291-305.
13. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, pp. 87-88.
14. Lines, C. B., "Bismark Grove Address," Glead, op. cit., pp. 121-129.
15. Bisbey, J. M., "Early Day Transportation," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol., XI, pp. 594-597.
16. Lawrence Letters, passim.; Minute Books.
17. Wilder, Annals, p. 615 (quotes Kansas Magazine, Vol. III, p. 551).
18. Moore, Ely, Jr., "The Naming of Osawatomie," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XII, pp. 338-346.
19. Coffin, W. H., "Settlement of the Friends in Kansas," ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 57-58.
20. Parker, N. H., The Kansas and Nebraska Handbook (Boston, 1857), pp. 57-58.
21. Not to be confused with present Claflin in Barton County,
22. Directors' History, p. 24.
23. Glead, op. cit., p. 124.
24. Ibid., pp. 69-70.
25. Ibid., pp. 140-148.
26. Richardson, H. A., A History of Milling in Kansas (Lawrence, 1928), Ch. I.
27. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, p. 187.
28. Howard Report, pp. 833-846, 885.
29. Wilder, Annals, p. 55.
30. Directors' History, p. 19.
31. Minute Books.

32. Aid Company Papers.
33. Richardson, op. cit.
34. Howard Report, p. 885a, p.
35. Directors' History, p. 19.
36. Richardson, op. cit.
37. Phillips, W., The Conquest of Kansas by Missouri and her Allies (Boston, 1856), p. 24.
38. Directors' History, pp. 6-7; Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XVI, p. 28; Howard Report, pp. 837, 844-846, 850, 884-885; Lawrence Letters, passim.
39. Cordley, Lawrence, p. 13; Boynton, C. B., and Mason, T. B., A Journey through Kansas (Cincinnati, 1855), p. 161.
40. No. 29, Senate Miscellaneous Documents, 37Cong., 2 Ses.,
41. Quitclaims.
42. Connelley, Appeal to the Record, p. 74.
43. Brown, False Claims, p. 9.
44. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, p. 108.
45. Lawrence Letters, passim.
46. Parker, Handbook, pp. 69-70.
47. Directors' History, pp. 10- et seq.
48. Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. I-II, pp. 193-195.
49. Lawrence Letters, p. 34.
50. Moorehouse, G. P., "Probably the First School in Kansas for White Children," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. IX, pp. 231-233.
51. Cordley, R., "The Schools of Kansas," ibid., Vol. III, pp. 419-422.
52. Cordley, Lawrence, pp. 13, 17.
53. Lawrence Letters, pp. 28-34.
54. Lawrence, Amos A. Lawrence, pp. 115-121; Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. VI, pp. 70-76.

55. Sanborn, B. F., Life and Letters of John Brown (Boston, 1885), p. 374; Lawrence, Amos A. Lawrence, p. 127.
56. Quitclaims.
57. Lawrence Letters, pp. 9, 10-11, 27.
58. Gleed, op. cit., p. 149.
59. Isely, W. H., "The Sharps Rifle Episode in Kansas History," American Historical Review, Vol. XII, pp. 546-566.

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1. Richardson, J. D., Messages and Papers of the Presidents (Cong. Ed., Washington, 1899), Vol. V., pp. 354-355, 404-405.
2. No. 34, Senate Reports, 34 Cong., 1 Ses., Vol. I.
3. Congressional Globe Appendix, 34 Cong., 1 Ses., pp. 280-289.
4. Howard Report, passim.
5. Ibid., p. 875 et seq.
6. Robinson, Kansas Conflict, pp. 103-113; Thayer, New England Emigrant Aid Co., pp. 28-32; Hale, "Bismark Speech," Gleed, Memorial, pp. 140-148.
7. Howard Report, p. 884.
8. Ibid., pp. 874-875, 886-887.
9. Ibid., pp. 1143.
10. Ibid., pp. 208-209, 831-832, 834.
11. Ibid., pp. 864-865.
12. Ibid., p. 1159.
13. Ibid., pp. 1167, 1169.
14. Ibid., passim.
15. Ibid., p. 836.
16. Ibid., p. 846.

17. Issue of December 13, 1856, quoted in Brown, False Claims, p. 45.
18. Klem, Mary J., "Missouri in the Kansas Struggle," Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings, Vol. IX, pp. 393-413.
19. Ante, notes 2 and 3.
20. Craik, "Southern Interest," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XV, p. 348 et. seq.
21. Ibid.
22. By law of parallels was meant the observed tendency of westward migration to follow the parallels of latitude. This would have meant normally that Kansas would be settled from Missouri.
23. Andreas, A. T., History of Kansas (Chicago, 1883), p. 83.
24. Howard Report, pp. 902-903.
25. Ibid., pp. 356, 838, 856, 896, 902, 903.
26. Ibid., p. 877.
27. Ibid., p. 900.
28. Ibid., p. 954.
29. Ibid., p. 957.
30. Paxton, W. M., Annals of Platte County, Missouri (Kansas City, 1897), p. 184.
31. Ante, note. 25.
32. Pro-slavery frontiersmen generally considered any person an abolitionist who was opposed to the extension of slavery.
33. Howard Report, pp. 892-893.
34. Ibid., p. 1145.
35. Connelley, Kansas and Kansans, Vol. I, pp. 394-395.
36. Elliott, Foot Notes, p. 6.
37. Howard Report, p. 361.
38. Ante, Section II.
39. Craik, loc. cit.; Howard Report, passim.

40. Howard Report, p. 160.
41. Ibid., pp. 1157, 1183.
42. Walter, History of Kansas, p. 15.
43. Wood, S. N., "Bismark Speech," Glead, Memorial, pp. 69-70.
44. Howard Report, pp. 658-660.
45. Lawrence Letters, p. 35.
46. Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, Ser. II, Vol. I, p. 181.
47. Curruth, "Investment Society," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol VI, pp. 90-96.
48. Isely, "Sharps Rifle Episode," ibid., Vol XII, pp. 546-566.
49. Howard Report, passim.
50. Ibid., p. 1106.
51. Ante, note 2.
52. Howard Report, p. 880.
53. Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol 41, pp. 226-227.
54. Isely, loc. cit.
55. Lawrence Letters.
56. Howard Report, p. 1078.
57. Ibid., p. 909.
58. Ibid., p. 907.
59. Laughlin did not say that he saw the portholes, but that he saw the house building and that it had portholes; only two pages back in the same testimony he had told how it was usual for partisans to tell everything in the way that would best serve their purpose. Moreover, it is doubtful if the parapet of the hotel was up by the last of August. Mrs. Robinson gives the date of its external completion as November 29, 1855 (Kansas, Its Interior and Exterior Life, p. 119).
60. Malin, J. C., "The Pro-Slavery Background of the Kansas Struggle," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol X, pp. 285-305.

61. Phillips, Conquest of Kansas, p. 309.
62. No. 29, Senate Miscellaneous Documents, 37 Cong., 3 Ses., p. 27.
63. Howard Report, pp. 1092-1093.

-VIII-

1. Sanborn, "Early Kansas History," Mass. Historical Society, Proceedings, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 331-359.
2. Isely, "Sharps Rifle Episode," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. XII, pp. 546-566.
3. Ibid.
4. Martin, G. W., "A Chapter from the Archives," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XII, 359-375; Sanborn, loc. cit.
5. Thayer, New England Emigrant Aid Company, p. 43 et seq.
6. Curruth, "Investment Society," Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. VI, pp. 90-96.
7. Lawrence Letters, pp. 146-150.
8. Lawrence, Amos A. Lawrence, pp. 108-109.
9. Lawrence Letters, pp. 149-150.
10. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, p. 219.
11. Lawrence Letters, p. 151.
12. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, p. 208.
13. Directors' History, pp. 22-23.
14. Gleed, Kansas Memorial, pp. 140-148.
15. Thayer, Kansas Crusade, pp. 59-62.
16. Ward, Worcester Academy, p. 40.
17. Directors' History, p. 20.
18. This statement is made on the authority of Prof. F. H. Hodder, University of Kansas.
19. Directors' History, pp. 30-32.
20. Aid Company Papers.

21. Minute Books.
22. Channing, History of the United States, Vol VI, p. 162
(footnote).
23. Aid Company Publications.
24. Curruth, loc. cit.
25. Howard Report, p. 926.

APPENDIX

A. Copy of Charter of 1855.

AN ACT to incorporate the New England Emigrant Aid Company.

Be it enacted . . .

Section 1. Eli Thayer, Amos A. Lawrence, John M. S. Williams and Thomas H. Webb, their associates, successors and assigns, are hereby made a corporation by the name of the NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY, for the purpose of directing emigration Westward, and aiding in providing accommodations for the emigrants after arriving at their places of destination, and for other purposes; they have all the powers and privileges, and are subject to all the duties, restrictions and liabilities set forth in the forty-fourth chapter of the Revised Statutes.

Section 2. The capital stock of said corporation shall not exceed one million of dollars. Said capital stock may be invested in real and personal estate; provided, the said corporation shall not hold real estate in this Commonwealth to an amount exceeding twenty thousand dollars.

Section 3. This act shall take effect from and after its passage.

February 21, 1855. Approved. Henry J. Gardner.

B. Officers, Directors and Executive Committee, 1856.

President: John Carter Brown, Providence, R. I.

Vice Presidents: Eli Thayer, Worcester, Mass., and J. M. S. Williams, Cambridge, Mass.

Treasurer: Amos A. Lawrence, Boston, Mass.

Asst. Treasurer: Anson J. Stone, Boston, Mass.

Secretary: Thomas H. Webb, Boston, Mass.

Executive Committee: William B. Spooner, J. M. S. Williams, Eli Thayer, S. Cabot, Jr., R. P. Waters, Le Baron Russell, Charles J. Higginson, E. E. Hale.

Directors:-

William B. Spooner, Boston.
S. Cabot, Jr., Boston.
John Lowell, Boston.
Le Baron Russell, Boston.
Charles J. Higginson, Boston.
Samuel G. Howe, Boston.
George Upton, Boston.
Patrick J. Jackson, Boston.
William J. Rotch, New Bedford.
J. P. Williston, Northampton.
Wm. Dudley Pickman, Salem.
R. P. Waters, Beverley.
R. A. Chapman, Springfield.
Charles A. Bigelow, Lawrence.
Nathan Durgee, Fall River.
William Willis, Portland, Me.
Ichabod Goodwin, Portsmouth.
Thos. M. Edwards, Keene, N.H.

Albert Day, Hartford.
John Bertram, Salem.
Geo. Howland, Jr., New Bedford.
Francis Wayland, Providence.
Everett E. Hale, Worcester.
Seth Pedelford, Providence.
Samuel B. Tobey, Providence.
Benjamin Silliman, New Haven.
Horace Bushnell, Hartford.
Moses H. Grinnell, New York.
William Cullen Bryant, New York.
Henry W. Elliott, New York.
Edwin D. Morgan, New York.
Henry C. Bowan, New York.
Horace B. Claflin, Brooklyn.
Edward W. Fiske, Brooklyn.
J. L. Bailey, Philadelphia.

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