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### A Historical sketch of the border troubles in Bourbon and Linn Counties, Kansas, 1854-1860

Wayne Delavan

*Kansas State Teachers College*

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A  
Historical Sketch of the Border Troubles  
in -  
Bourbon and Linn Counties, Kansas

APPROVED: 1854-1860

Thesis Advisor Elizabeth Cochran  
Chairman of Thesis Committee Christ Mahan  
Chairman of Graduate Council W. H. ...

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Division in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree  
of Master of Science

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Wayne Delavan

Kansas State Teachers College  
Pittsburg, Kansas  
July, 1941

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ABSTRACT

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Much of these troubles seems to have been over claims and horses rather than real political differences. There were two centers opposing each other. Fort Scott was a pro-slavery bulwark opposed to the free-state men in southern

## ABSTRACT

Border troubles got a late start in the southeastern section of Kansas Territory. The free-state cause had attained a slight supremacy in the territory by the time these troubles were well developed in Bourbon and Linn Counties. This loss of the territorial government perhaps made proslavery partisans more bitter and less reasonable than they should have been. Some of the worst elements of the earlier struggle in the north drifted into this section. Examples of these can be given in George W. Clark and John Brown. Others who lacked a proper respect for life and property plus a distinct desire for someone else's property came and found plenty of opportunities for their kind of activities. This was a section of the frontier of that time. It was typical of such a region in its lack of respect for law and authority. The issue of proslavery vs. free-stateism offered good moral support for those looking for an excuse for illegal acts. Also it gave fanatics a feeling of divinity in their bloody work. Again John Brown is an example, and James Montgomery may be another.

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Linn County and the Little Osage Valley in Bourbon with a proslavery flank at Paris and Trading Post in Linn County. This condition gave opportunities for conflict. This situation was suitable for those having base motives. Doctor Jennison and the Reverend Stewart made use of this fact. Too often in a crisis such as this the conservative middle group becomes helpless in the conflict between unreasoning extremes of both sides. It was so here.

This section was unfortunate in Charles Hamilton's revenge at the Marais des Cygnes Massacre. John Brown came to top off the bad luck this region was having. These plus a dislike for the Federal District Court at Fort Scott--a dislike that might be justified to a certain degree--could not help but result in disputes. Neither side had all the devils.

Much of the material for this study came from local histories. The publications of the Kansas State Historical Society have aided very materially. Use was also made of other secondary works that had something to do with these troubles in those counties.

Political boundaries —  
Indian lands —

Location of Bourbon and Linn Counties  
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## INTRODUCTION

Attention had been attracted to the border troubles in the southeast corner of Kansas Territory by the Marais des Cygnes Massacre in May, 1858.

This southeastern section had been quietly developing its own series of border troubles. Bourbon and Linn Counties were perhaps the center of these troubles in southeastern Kansas. It is with the border troubles in these two counties from 1854 to the end of 1860 with which this present study is concerned. These counties are in the first tier of counties west of Missouri. Bourbon at present is the third county north of Oklahoma (in that period those two south counties were one) and Linn lies immediately north of Bourbon. These two counties were created by acts of the Bogus Legislature. Bourbon County is drained in the south by the Marmaton River together with its tributary, the Drywood Creek, and in the north by the Little Osage River. The Marmaton receives the Drywood after crossing the state line and then flows into the Little Osage. The northern and the eastern portions of Linn County shed their surface water runoff by means of the Marais des Cygnes (Big Osage) River. Tributaries of the Little Osage take care of part of the drainage in the southern section of the county. The Little Osage finally merges with the Marais des Cygnes some distance over in Missouri. Thus settlement and movement from Missouri were favored by topography.

These two counties had been divided into Indian reservations along with the rest of this country. The Cherokee Neutral Lands reached from the southern boundary of Kansas north to include the southern six-mile strip of Bourbon County. North of that was the New York Indians' Reservation which ran up into the Little Osage Valley slightly over into Linn. Each individual member of these tribes from New York was to receive 320 acres of this land upon application, but only thirty-two persons applied for patents. Finally in 1860 President Buchanan transferred this land back to the public domain. All of the territory in these counties had been part of the home land of the Osage Indians when the government assigned the land to the various tribal reservations in the 1830's. The Miami Reservation included nearly all of Linn County.

Linn received its name from United States Senator Lewis F. Linn of Missouri, while Bourbon was the namesake of the county of the same name in Kentucky.

Professor Spring has compared the border troubles in the southeast with those around Lawrence;

Geographically the capital events of Kansas history in the territorial days covered a narrow space. With Lawrence for a centre, the revolution of a radius thirty miles in length would include them all. Yet the Southeast, embracing Bourbon, Linn, and Miami counties, though contributing little to the ultimate results of

the struggle, is not destitute of picturesque and sanguinary exhibitions of border lawlessness.<sup>1</sup>

By 1856 all excuse for border troubles had really ended for the free-state forces were undoubtedly in a majority by that time. The proslavery interests could not hope to check the ever increasing flood of immigration from the North. But this fighting was to continue until 1865.<sup>2</sup> The main border troubles did not come until after 1856. Yet these troubles in that section were of significance. Lewis speaking before a meeting of the Missouri State Historical Society commented: two counties probably

Any catalog of violence on the border must show that the acts of invasion and attack were mainly by the Missourians before 1861 and mainly by Kansas after the Civil War had begun. The tide of aggressions began to turn in 1859 when the Jayhawkers, Kansas freebooters or gallant knights, depending upon the prejudices of those who described them, got the upper hand in guerrilla warfare in the vicinity of Fort Scott.<sup>3</sup>

The Osage Indians seem to have stayed in this land during this period of border troubles. A writer spoke of these at Trading Post in 1857; "There were many Osage Indians here at the time. They were good natured and friendly and never made any trouble for the whites." The same author later speaks of a band of Osage camping at a spring in Linn and regards it as being commonplace and that the numerous Osage

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1. L. W. Spring, Kansas (Boston, 1906), 237

2. Lloyd Lewis, "Propaganda and the Kansas-Missouri War," Missouri Historical Review, XXXIV (October, 1939), 10

3. Ibid., 10

and Miami Indians were good neighbors.<sup>4</sup> The two counties were located in such a position that free-state immigration would have to come through Missouri or down from the north through northeastern Kansas. Of course Missourians would not encourage free-soil settlers on their way to this section. If they came by way of north Kansas, they were likely to locate near the better known free-state settlements in that section. As a consequence most of the early settlers in these two counties probably were in sympathy with slavery.

Fort Scott in Bourbon County was a proslavery center. A local historian has painted the importance of Linn County as follows:

Linn County was the key to their slave interests strategy and was necessary to the slavery scheme. On the north Miami county was yet occupied by Indians, and on the south Bourbon County was the seat of the Federal Court and the Land Office which with all their powers and organized functioning were promoting in every way possible the desperate adventures of the slave owners and their murderers. Linn County was the back door through which they were to sneak and possess. Even after they had lost the northern part of Kansas Territory they evolved the new scheme of acquiring possession of the southern half of Kansas and setting up slavery as an institution in a new state to be created here and to control the great Indian Territory on the south for a future similar purpose.<sup>5</sup>

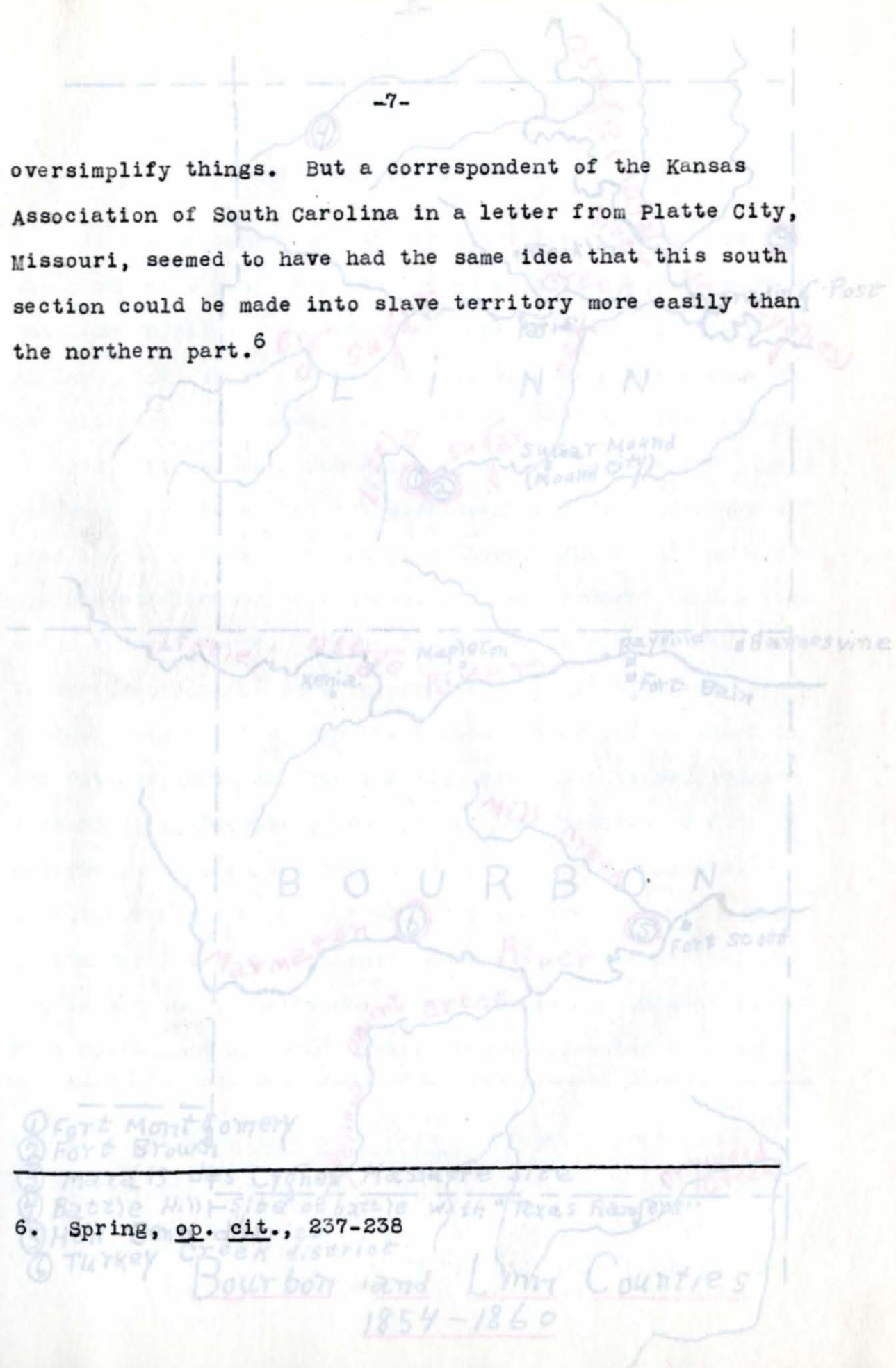
That writer has a deep free-soil bias and seems to

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4. W. A. Mitchell, Linn County, Kansas (Lacygne, 1928), 117-127

5. Ibid., 13

oversimplify things. But a correspondent of the Kansas Association of South Carolina in a letter from Platte City, Missouri, seemed to have had the same idea that this south section could be made into slave territory more easily than the northern part.<sup>6</sup>

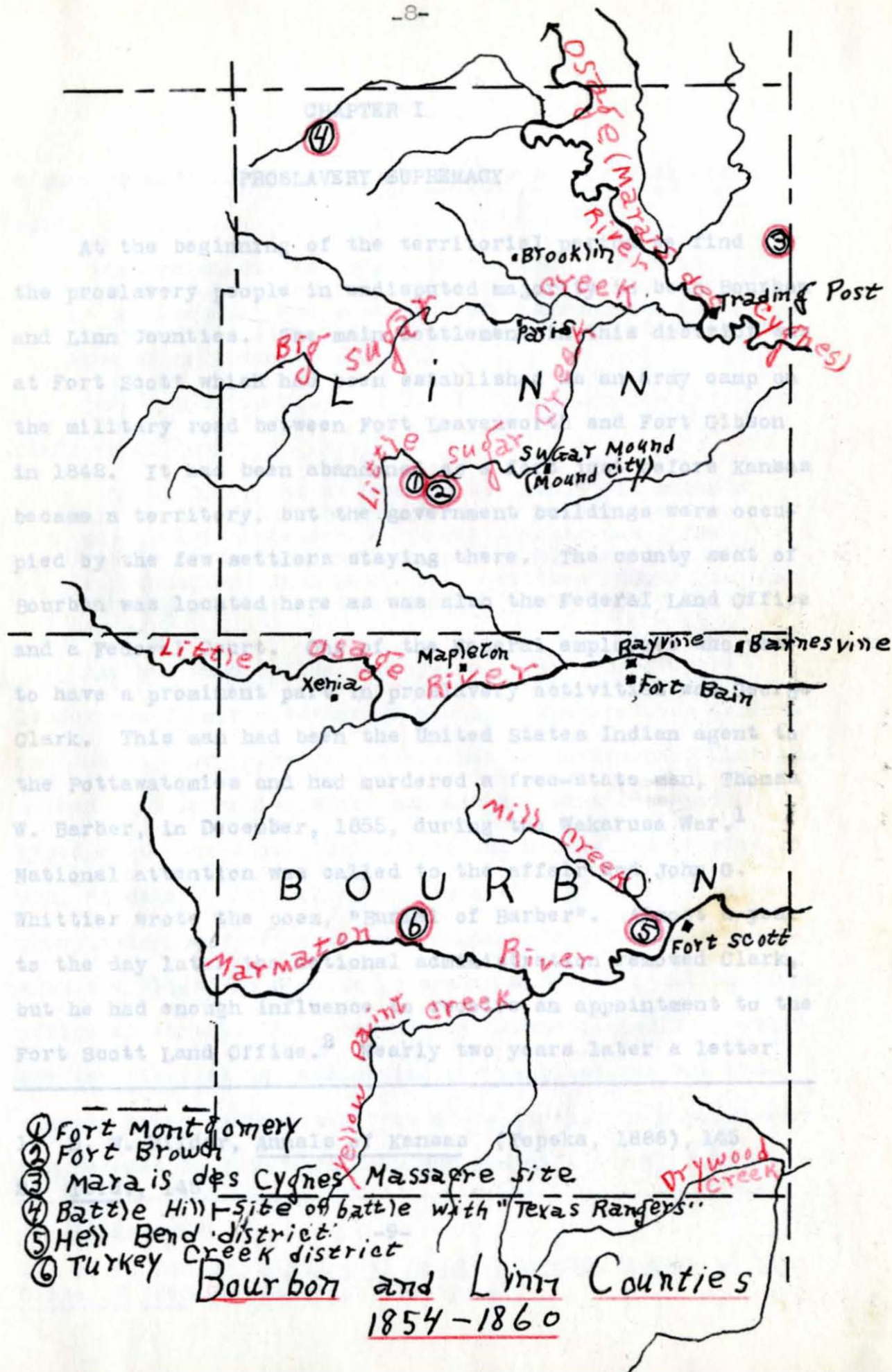


- ① Fort Montcomery
- ② Fort Brown

③ Mouth of Sugar Mound side  
 ④ Battle Hill - side of battle with Texas Rangers

6. Spring, op. cit., 237-238

⑤ Turkey Creek district  
 Bourbon and Linn Counties  
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## CHAPTER I

signed "George" a PROSLAVERY SUPREMACY North Journal which said:

At the beginning of the territorial period we find the proslavery people in undisputed majority in both Bourbon and Linn Counties. The main settlement in this district was at Fort Scott which had been established as an army camp on the military road between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Gibson in 1842. It had been abandoned as a fort just before Kansas became a territory, but the government buildings were occupied by the few settlers staying there. The county seat of Bourbon was located here as was also the Federal Land Office and a Federal Court. One of the Federal employees who was to have a prominent part in proslavery activities was George Clark. This man had been the United States Indian agent to the Pottawatomies and had murdered a free-state man, Thomas W. Barber, in December, 1855, during the Wakarusa War.<sup>1</sup> National attention was called to the affair and John G. Whittier wrote the poem, "Burial of Barber". Almost a year to the day later the national administration removed Clark, but he had enough influence to receive an appointment to the Fort Scott Land Office.<sup>2</sup> Nearly two years later a letter

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1. D. W. Wilder, Annals of Kansas (Topeka, 1886), 145

2. Ibid., 145

3. Ibid., 243

4. T. F. Robley, History of Bourbon County, Kansas to the Close of 1865, (Fort Scott, 1894), 210

signed "Osage" appeared in the Leavenworth Journal which said:

George W. Clarke, a pet in the Land Office at Fort Scott, was the real cause of all the troubles in that region, and a company of dragoons had to be stationed there to protect him from the merited vengeance of an outraged people.<sup>3</sup>

One of Bourbon County's local historians has described Clark as follows:

G. W. Clark was at heart a bad man. His methods were sneaking and underhanded. He held his office under false pretenses and under a false name, the records of the Land Office bearing his name as Doak. He planned and instigated more devilment among his class of rabid proslavery men than any other man on the border.<sup>4</sup>

Another land office employee who was a proslavery leader was former Governor of Michigan Epaphroditus Ramson. One contemporary observer notes that as Governor of Michigan, he had been an anti-slavery man and had sent free-soil messages to the state legislature and had called proslavery men, "Southern Slave-Whipping Rascals". After failing to gain Lewis Cass' place in the Senate by a secret agreement with the Whigs, he came to Kansas as an employee of the land office at Fort Scott. Suddenly he became violently proslavery and received the nomination for Congress for the Proslavery Party against the Free-State Party. Many proslavery men refused to vote when Governor Ramson's former views

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3. Ibid., 243

4. T. F. Robley, History of Bourbon County, Kansas to the Close of 1865, (Fort Scott, 1894), 210



became known, and therefore allowed the election of the large percentage of southern settlers, including those from free-stater.<sup>5</sup> Many another border ruffian used Fort Scott as headquarters. Among these was Joe Price who was a small man from Arkansas with a disfigured bird-like face. John Brown once, when Price was his prisoner at Osawatomie, noticed this feature and labeled him the "Arkansas Snipe", and the name stuck.<sup>6</sup>

Most of the settlers were sympathizers with slavery.<sup>7</sup> Slave-holding Missouri was on the east and the slave-holding Cherokees were on the south. To the north and west was wild Indian land. The War Department in May of 1855 sold the buildings of the old fort at Fort Scott. This place was a trading center of the Cherokees and other Indians.

While this section was settled by Missourians, most immigrants from that state to the territory bought few slaves because of the expense. Many of those cared little about the territory but feared that it would be settled by slave stealers and that it would offer a haven for fugitive slaves.<sup>8</sup> A

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5. William P. Tomlinson, Kansas in Eighteen Fifty-eight (New York, 1859), 236; the sketch on Governor Ramson in George Fuller's Governors of the Territory and State of Michigan (Lansing, 1958), 73-76 also supports this view of his record as governor of Michigan

6. C. W. Goodlander, Early Days of Fort Scott (Fort Scott, 1899), 22-23

7. Spring, op. cit., 238

13. Lewis, loc. cit., 8

14. Mitchell, op. cit., 198

8. Lewis, loc. cit., 10

15. Goodlander, op. cit., 34

large percentage of southern settlers, including those from Missouri, in Kansas finally voted for free-soil.<sup>9</sup> There were about thirty slaves in Fort Scott and vicinity in the spring of 1857 and they were sold as late as August, 1857, when a Negro woman was sold for \$500.<sup>10</sup> An inventory of an estate filed February 1, 1859, listed one Negro wench, one boy, and a girl. These were valued at \$600, \$400, and \$300 respectively.<sup>11</sup> An inventory and appraisement of an estate on March 10, 1856, revealed a Negro boy worth \$500, a Negro girl valued at \$400, and a trunk and contents priced at six dollars. This property was sold on April 5, 1856.<sup>12</sup> An able-bodied slave in Missouri in the last part of the 1850's could still be sold for \$1,000 or \$1,500.<sup>13</sup> There was a slave at Chouteau's Trading Post on the Marais des Cygne about 1845.<sup>14</sup> Two free Negroes came to Fort Scott in 1858 and were the first ones there.<sup>15</sup> In 1857 when only

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9. Ibid., and Spring, op. cit., 43

10. Robley, op. cit., 66-68

11. "Inventories, appraisments & Sales Bills, Probate Court, 1854-'88, Bourbon Co., Kan. T. and Kans. State," (Bourbon County Archives), 3-4

12. Ibid., 32

13. Lewis, loc. cit., 8

14. Mitchell, op. cit., 198

15. Goodlander, op. cit., 34

three towns existed in Linn County (Paris, Brooklin, and Trading Post) they were all proslavery settlements. Judge Joseph H. Barlow of Paris owned several slaves as did James Fox. Fox returned to Missouri in 1858 when the county became too much free-soil for him. Another man in the north part of Linn owned a wench.<sup>16</sup> At this same time Governor Walker in a private letter to President Buchanan estimated that there were about 200 to 300 slaves in Kansas (spring of 1857).<sup>17</sup> In the first part of this period these two counties were isolated from the rest of the territory and had little of the partisan troubles which infested the northeast part. But some border ruffians did drift into Fort Scott. It was merely headquarters and not a place of residence. These border ruffians were Dr. Charles Hamilton, Capt. G. S. Hamilton, Aliam Hamilton, W. B. "Fort Scott" Brocker, G. W. Jones, G. W. Clark, E. Greenwood, Sheriff Ben Hill, and others. Their followers were usually "poor white trash" who never owned or hoped to own a slave.<sup>18</sup> Most of the

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16. C. E. Cory, "Slavery in Kansas", Kansas State Historical Society, Transactions, VII, 2

17. James F. Rhodes, History of the United States, (New York, 1906) II, 273-274

18. Robley, op. cit., 51-53

settlers from the South were "law abiding citizens" who favored slavery. The few northern men were different from those to the north as they came without "aid". They were mostly from Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. They were not abolitionists neither did they want slavery or free Negroes.<sup>19</sup> The people of Fort Scott were border ruffians, proslavery Democrats, and free-state Democrats, with two Republicans. The free-state and proslavery Democrats were nearly equal in number, while the border ruffian group was not large. Some of the border ruffians as well as some of the quiet proslavery Democrats had been sent by a man in Georgia named Titus. Therefore these were called "Titus' men".<sup>20</sup>

A band of thirty from South Carolina under the leadership of G. W. Jones arrived in Fort Scott in the spring of 1856. They were part of the company of men from South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama under Colonel Bufford. This main group totaling nearly 300 men stayed mostly at Westport, Missouri. These men in Fort Scott pretended to be looking for homes. A free-state man from South Carolina, Josiah Stewart, under the impression that they wanted to see the

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19. Ibid.

20. Goodlander, op. cit., 9 and 13. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas (Chicago, 1883), 1056

country as a prospective location for a colony from South Caroline, took them on a tour of the district. They, by questioning, learned where the various settlers were from, their views on current questions, arms and ammunition owned by each settler, as well as the kind of land in the locality. Then in July, Jones and his men started to visit the free-staters warning them to leave the territory. Stock was stolen, cabins burned and men bluffed by being placed under false arrest and taken towards Fort Scott. Then proslavery men began to take the deserted claims.<sup>21</sup>

Late in the summer of 1856 a squad came to Fort Scott from the south calling themselves "Texas Rangers". They were well-armed and mounted. After wild talk for a few days they joined with some of G. W. Jones' South Carolinians plus some Fort Scotters to go north to capture John Brown at Osawatomie. They were under the command of William Barnes, G. W. Jones, and Jesse Davis and were to join General Reid in his raid on Osawatomie. While camped near Middle Creek in the north of Linn County, only a few miles from Osawatomie, they were discovered by a band of free-state men under Captain Anderson, Shore, and Cline. Three or four volleys were exchanged and the proslavery men fled back to

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21. Robley, op. cit., 56-57; A. T. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas (Chicago, 1883), 1066

Fort Scott.<sup>22</sup> One Fort Scott man named Kline had been killed at the first volley. He had started publishing a newspaper, Southern Kansan, at Fort Scott but only two issues were out.<sup>23</sup> The retreat became a rout with hats, boots, coats, a black flag on which "Victory or Death" was painted in red letters left behind. It was in the middle of the night when they arrived in Fort Scott with stories of hordes of abolitionists coming. The Texas Rangers kept on going and were never heard from again. The town was frightened at prospect of fire and sword revenge upon the town, and the citizens sought refuge for the night. One group hid some distance out of town heard rumors that the town was being burned and the citizens murdered, and the group had a prayer meeting which lacked not for fervor. Evidently no pursuit had been made of the retreating band as no enemies came near Fort Scott that night.<sup>24</sup> A clipping from the Pleasanton Observer, Saturday, March 22, 1879, reports that Missourians were held responsible for the invaders and that two of these men were wounded, one of which was captured and died in a few days at Osawatomie. The free-state men suffered

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22. Robley, op. cit., 57

23. Ibid., 58

24. Spring, op. cit., 239

29. Robley, op. cit., 35

no losses.<sup>25</sup> The eleven prisoners taken by the free-staters were released the next day on promise to never again take up arms against any settler.<sup>26</sup> This battle site is still known as "Battle Hill".<sup>27</sup>

Old Squire Redfield and his family lived on Drywood Creek between Fort Scott and Nevada, Missouri. This old man had settled here in Missouri in the 1830's as a missionary to the Indians. At this time his home was a stopping place for people going to Kansas.<sup>28</sup>

The election for delegate to Congress from Kansas was held November 29, 1855. The district with Fort Scott as a voting place was about fifty by one hundred miles. John A. Whitfield, the proslavery candidate, received the entire 105 votes at Fort Scott. He was elected. Robley reports that "Whitfield resided in Missouri at that time and made no pretense of being a citizen of the territory".<sup>29</sup>

The election of members of the territorial legislature was held Friday, March 30, 1855. No protest of fraud was

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25. Linn County Scrap Book, I (Kansas State Historical Society Library)

26. J. N. Holloway, History of Kansas, (Lafayette, Indiana, 1868), 285-286

27. Mitchell, op. cit., 195

28. Goodlander, op. cit., 49

29. Robley, op. cit., 35

filed but "Nevertheless this election was grossly fraudulent... Most of the votes came from the covered wagons, camped on the Marmaton bottom, 'for one day only,' which Judge Margrave said, 'just swam over from Missouri'".<sup>30</sup> Henry Joseph C. Anderson was elected to the lower house from Bourbon County and "was never a resident of the district from first to last".<sup>31</sup> Big Sugar Creek precinct of the 5th district cast seventy-four pro-slavery and seventeen free-state votes out of ninety-eight total. Phillips estimates that only thirty-two legal pro-slavery votes were cast. In the Little Sugar Creek precinct of the same district, seventy voted for the free-state candidate and thirty-four for the slavery candidate. Phillips thought that all of these votes were legal. Out of the 315 votes at Fort Scott, Phillips stated that only one hundred were legal.<sup>32</sup> Of course Phillips was the special correspondent of the New York Tribune for Kansas and wrote from the free-state standpoint. These totals agree with those given by Wilder.<sup>33</sup>

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30. Ibid., 36

31. Ibid., 36-37

32. William Phillips, The Conquest of Kansas (Boston, 1856), 71

33. Wilder, op. cit., 59

34. Lewis, loc. cit., 8

35. Mitchell, op. cit., 45-46



Missourians justified this invasion of Kansas to protect slavery in Missouri by the "Sarpy elections" in Nebraska, a little earlier, where citizens of Iowa went into Nebraska Territory to vote and thus controlled railroad legislation.<sup>34</sup>

Henry Younger of Missouri, father of the Younger outlaws, was elected to the Territorial Council to represent the district of which Linn County was a part. He never lived in Kansas.<sup>35</sup>

A convention was called in April, 1855, at Mound City to nominate candidates to the legislature. It was controlled by Missourians and free-state men were informed that the question of slavery was not yet involved. James Montgomery, recently from Missouri, had been elected secretary and had unexpectedly come out for free-state principles. Colonel J. P. Fox had made Montgomery secretary in the belief that he was a proslavery man. Now Colonel Fox, the proslavery candidate, was forced to pledge himself against slavery to get Montgomery's support. Then the convention was adjourned in order to get a larger attendance of actual settlers. At the second meeting was a Colonel Coffey, an Indian agent, who tried to frighten free-staters by stating that Missouri

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34. Lewis, loc. cit., 8

35. Mitchell, op. cit., 45-46

36. Ibid., 68-69

40. Wilder, op. cit., 133

would ship all their old Negroes over if Kansas became free and that these Negroes would be equal to the whites. Montgomery denied this, and Coffey asked him if he wished to have his "daughter to ride attended by a big, buck nigger". Montgomery then pointed to the mulattoes in slave states. Montgomery nominated Colonel Fox, who received the vote of the convention.<sup>36</sup>

Proslavery secret organizations were common. These Blue Lodges, Social Bands, Sons of the South, etc., would receive information of secret Indian treaties regarding land from Washington.<sup>37</sup>

Runners came in August, 1856, and warned free-state settlers to leave within three days.<sup>38</sup> Some free-staters from North Carolina were warned by a border ruffian friend from their old home and others of a coming raid. They went over to Missouri and camped for about two months and missed Clark's Raid on Linn County.<sup>39</sup> This was the first raid on that county that was of importance.<sup>40</sup> A large band of several hundred men had been gathered at West Point, Missouri, just east of Trading Post, about the first of September.

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36. Charles R. Tuttle, History of Kansas (Madison, Wisconsin, 1876), 420

37. Mitchell, op. cit., 53

38. Ibid., 30-31

39. Ibid., 58-59

40. Wilder, op. cit., 133

Command was taken by G. W. Clark of Fort Scott. The band moved to the southeast towards Trading Post and Mound City, destroying property as they went in a ten-mile strip. In this swath free-staters' homes were burned, cattle and horses were stolen, and wagons and men were impressed to carry away the plunder got from the burnt homes. Mitchell maintains that "in this raid they [Clark's men] violated women".<sup>41</sup> A half-dozen houses could be seen burning at one time from Brooklin that night. Crops and fences were destroyed.<sup>42</sup> After camping at Trading Post a party of fifty of Clark's men returned after dark to one home whose owner had been gone during the day and who had earned their special hatred. As he was still gone, they cut off the legs of some of his chickens roosting nearby and burned his cabin.<sup>43</sup> The Barnes store and government postoffice was robbed and burned at Sugar Mound (Mound City).<sup>44</sup> Professor Spring tells us that: Bourbon County.<sup>45</sup>

An old soldier gave his impression of the raid before the Strickler Commission: I was in the Black Hawk War, and have fought in the wars of the United States, and have received two land warrants from Washington City for my services, but I never saw anything so bad

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41. Mitchell, op. cit., 20

42. Spring, op. cit., 239-240 *Bankers in Missouri*, Missouri Historical Review, xvii (April, 1923), 270

43. Mitchell, op. cit., 195

44. Ibid., 36

and mean in my life as I saw under General Clarke.<sup>45</sup> Many of these settlers left temporarily and returned the next spring. Then rumors of new troubles circulated but little happened to the settlers.<sup>46</sup>

Free-state men began to take a different attitude the spring after Clark's raid. Before they had been rather fearful of the proslavery people. A new leader was organizing the free-state settlers. He was James Montgomery. First, Montgomery went to Missouri, pretended to be looking for a school, taught school for two weeks, and then disappeared. In that time he obtained a list of some people in the Clark Raid. This "school-teacher" soon returned leading a guerrilla band and captured twenty of the raiders and relieved them of money, weapons, and horses. Montgomery forced many proslavery men to return the claims from which free-state men had been forced. Many of these were on the Little Osage River in Bourbon County.<sup>47</sup>

Linn Montgomery and some of his neighbors organized a secret band which would gather in an attic of a house near Sugar

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45. Spring, op. cit., 239-240

46. Mitchell, op. cit., 199

47. Hildegard Herklotz, "Jayhawkers in Missouri", Missouri Historical Review, XVII (April, 1923), 270

48. Ibid., 49

49. Mitchell, op. cit., 49

Mound. This group pledged themselves to give life and property in mutual-aid. New members were soon admitted. The password at night was "Up! Up! Up!"<sup>48</sup> Three rifle shots called a meeting immediately at Montgomery's home. Next Montgomery had headed a group of his men who went to the farm of Briscoe Davis, one of the "county judges" (county commissioners). This proslavery leader was at home and was told to "get out". About the same time an Englishman, Dr. Barton Robinson, arrived in the locality and offered to buy Davis' well-improved farm. A short time later Montgomery checking up on Davis's leaving found the Englishman in possession.<sup>49</sup> Davis, an ardent proslavery man, had earned the hatred of free-state men by being one of the first county officials of Linn County, and who had served on a number of posses which had warned free-state people to leave. He had helped burn their cabins if they had failed to observe the warning.<sup>50</sup> Governor John W. Geary visited Linn County in October, 1856, on his way to Fort Scott. While camped south of Sugar Mound (Mound City), he was notified of a robbery committed in the home of Judge Davis. Geary visited the scene of the robbery and issued a procla-

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48. Mitchell, op. cit., 17-18

49. Ibid., 49

50. Mitchell, op. cit., 49

mation offering a reward of two hundred dollars "for the apprehension and conviction of the person or persons who committed the robbery upon the defenseless females at the house of Judge Davis, in Linn County".<sup>51</sup>

Trading Post's saloons made gathering places for the border ruffians. Montgomery and some of his company went to Trading Post and started the people inside those saloons walking toward Missouri without their guns. Not a shot was fired. Then the heads of the whiskey barrels were smashed with an ax, allowing the liquor to run nearly a hundred yards down the old military road.<sup>52</sup>

This James Montgomery was a preacher in the Christian ("Campbellite") Church who had been born and educated in northeastern Ohio. His ancestry went back to a Scot highlander by way of Dublin, Ireland. His grandfather was a brother of General Richard Montgomery of the American Revolution. Montgomery taught school (tutor on plantations) for years in the Licking River valley in Kentucky and married a girl from there. Then in 1854 he and his wife left in a canoe and arrived at Westport, Missouri, in late summer. They went to Bates County, Missouri. During the

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51. "Executive Minutes of Governor John W. Geary," Kansas State Historical Society, Transactions, IV, 1890, 620

52. Mitchell, op. cit., 21-23

winter he bought a claim across the line in Linn County from a proslavery man.<sup>53</sup> Some one of the numerous "posses" roaming the country had burnt Montgomery's home early in 1855, while he and his family looked on. Later his livestock was stolen, and he was warned to leave. The family slept on the floor so as to be below the level of gunfire for once in a while bullets would hit the house.<sup>54</sup> Montgomery, aided by his band of men, went into nearby timber and cut large oak and walnut logs eight feet in length. Then the logs were split and hewed into a thickness of eight inches with a tenon six-inches long cut on each end. The site of the new cabin was on a hillside with a wide view. A stone foundation was laid with 24-foot logs on it. Then the timbers which had been dressed in the timber were mortised into these logs. These timbers stood on end side by side with another mortised log on top. Augur holes and oak pins were used to hold the logs together. This was a log house much bigger than the average at that time and was practically bullet proof. Very little noise was made putting the house together. It was equipped with portholes. A

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55. Tealinson, op. cit., 189

53. Mitchell, op. cit., 15-17; Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1933), XIII, 97.

54. Mitchell, op. cit., 17-18 and Conflict (New York, 1892), 391.

secret tunnel had been dug before and filled up just before the building. Then it was secretly reopened after Montgomery took possession of the house. The hill came to a point about a hundred feet back of the house and lookouts were frequently stationed there.<sup>55</sup> This home of Montgomery was familiarly known as Fort Montgomery. Bourbon County was in the Montgomery was "an ardent Topeka man"<sup>56</sup> and was elected a member of the "State Senate" under the Topeka Constitution in 1857.<sup>57</sup> Much of the trouble was to come from claim-disputes.<sup>58</sup> This was only natural in a frontier community because of lack of accurate boundaries in some instances and also to a lack of adequate and effective law enforcement. In addition Bourbon and Linn Counties had the squatter sovereignty issue with which to contend. When settlers of one faction were driven off their claims, some settlers of different political affiliations might occupy them. Then upon the return of the original owners, came protests against these claim jumpers. Of course those in possession contended that the claims had been abandoned and that therefore they were

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55. Ibid., 18-19

56. Tomlinson, op. cit., 189

57. Dictionary of American Biography, XIII, 95

58. Charles Robinson, The Kansas Conflict (New York, 1892), 391



rightfully in possession. Also "the authorities knew so little about boundary lines" that Linn County controlled a three mile strip of Miami County territory up to 1858 including elections, taxes, etc.<sup>59</sup> Probably arguments over claims and their boundaries could easily come about.

Also land titles were not good. Bourbon County was in the New York Indian Reservation or in the Cherokee Neutral Lands. The first, which included the northern four-fifths of the county, was not thrown open for settlement until 1860<sup>60</sup> and the latter in 1866.<sup>61</sup> The Miami Reservation of which Linn was a part was not entirely opened for settlement until 1868 although a start had been made in 1854. The free-state town of Moneka north of Mound City had been paralyzed because it was on the Miami Indians' land and the town company had found it impossible to give title to lots.<sup>62</sup> When the United States Government sold the buildings of the old fort at Fort Scott in 1855, it had not given title to

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A number of raids were made in the summer of 1855 on the

59. Clipping from Pleasanton Observer, March 22, 1879, in Linn County Scrapbook, I, 27 (Kansas State Historical Society Library)

60. Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the

Extinguishment of their Titles", Kansas Historical Society, Collections, VIII, 84.

61. Everett Dick, The Sod-House Frontier, 1854-1890 (New

61. Ibid., 106

62. Mitchell, op. cit., 137

land for that land was Indian land.<sup>63</sup> The government issued patents to thousands of acres of land before the New York Indians' land was declared open in 1860.<sup>64</sup> No land office could function before the land had been surveyed. In the meantime claims were often filed with the Surveyor General, and these records were to be transferred to the regular land office when it was open. But many difficulties could be found in records. Lecompton Land Office received the first filing made in Kansas in May, 1856.<sup>65</sup> Thus many claim disputes could naturally rise without a political issue. That would cause more conflict, and human nature being what it is, this would likely be used for a cloak for genuine claim-jumping.

The proslavery people were well organized at first, but there were few free-state people in the southeastern section.<sup>66</sup> Proslavery men from Fort Scott settled a site on the Neosho River in Allen County and called it Cofachiqui. A number of raids were made in the summer of 1856 on the

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63. Ralph Richards, "The Forts of Fort Scott and the Fateful Borderland", Fort Scott Tribune, February 13, 1941

64. Ibid., February 13, 1941

65. Everett Dick, The Sod-House Frontier, 1854-1890 (New York, 1937), 21

66. Spring, op. cit., 238

free-state people of the Neosho valley. Also speakers were sent to rally the proslavery supporters. "Judge" R. G. Roberts, a native of Cedar County, Missouri, stumped the southern and western Missouri for funds and proslavery settlers with fairly good results.<sup>67</sup> Nightriders from Fort Scott reached up the Neosho valley as far as the vicinity of the present town of Emporia.<sup>68</sup> One of these proslavery men, Tom Addis, had been forced out by fellow proslavery men and had fled to Miami County and labeled himself an abolitionist. There he formed a band to retaliate against his enemies. This band stole in Neosho valley and finally murdered a woman in September, 1856. As a result of these activities, the settlers of a portion of the Neosho valley consisting of twelve families fled to Fort Scott as refugees.<sup>69</sup> Most of the thirty-one New York Indians who took allotment of their reservation land as provided by treaty were driven out by proslavery people for their claims.<sup>70</sup> Montgomery's free-staters were perhaps one of the first guerrilla bands. Many of the border ruffians were fine

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67. Richards, loc. cit., March 1, 1941

68. Ibid., March 4, 1941

69. Ibid., March 5, 1941

70. Ibid., March 8, 1941

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young men with an overflowing love of adventure,<sup>71</sup> and undoubtedly some of this same element entered into free-state organizations also. Professor Spring thinks that the jayhawkers were superior devils to the Missourians.<sup>72</sup> He speaks of this development of jayhawking: the "posses" in

Free-state men in the southeast, comparatively isolated, having little communication with Lawrence, and consequently almost wholly without check, developed a successful if not very praise-worthy system of retaliation. Confederated at first for defense against pro-slavery outrages, but ultimately falling more or less completely into the vocation of robbers and assassins, they have received the name--whatever its origin may be--of jayhawkers.<sup>73</sup>

A protective society was formed on the Little Osage in 1856 after the murder of a settler named Hedrick. He was called to the door of his home from the bedside of his sick wife and shot. Then two neighbors, a Mr. Denton and a Mr. Hopkins, called a meeting of settlers at which a protective society was formed. Squire Jewell was the chairman of the large meeting with Hopkins, Jewell, and Denton as a committee to draft bylaws. At a second meeting three days later, James Montgomery was present. He endorsed the resolution whereby the members of that organization pledged themselves to

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71. Phillips, op. cit., 111

72. Spring, op. cit., 256

73. Ibid., 240

protect all citizens in their rights of life and property "irrespective of politics". Montgomery promised to aid them.<sup>74</sup>

A letter writer signing himself as "Bourbon" in the Herald of Freedom, July 8, 1858, tells of the "posses" in Bourbon and Linn Counties:

There are in the Counties of Bourbon and Lynn a small squad of vagabonds, numbering about ten, who steal from either side indifferently, though pretending to be Free State. Capt. Montgomery has driven them from his quarters and threatens to mete out summary punishment should he catch them in their disgraceful acts.<sup>75</sup>

The spring of 1857 saw a new free-state leader arrive. He was Dr. Charles R. Jennison. He was a full-fledged doctor just out of school at twenty-two and had selected Mound City to begin practice. "He was a boyish young fellow of slight figure, brown hair, with the mild sallow complexion of the student"<sup>76</sup> who was to be a free-state leader. Montgomery was the youngest leader up to this time. He was forty-three. The other leaders and their associates were "Religious, stern, puritanical in their rules of living." Jennison in

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74. Robley, op. cit., 85-86

75. Clipping in Kansas Biography Scrapbook (Kansas State Historical Society Library), IV, 8-9

76. Mitchell, op. cit., 189-190

80. Mitchell, op. cit., 31

contrast was profane, a heavy drinker, a confirmed gambler. He was to have little regard for property or life and was to lead a group of similar spirits.<sup>77</sup> A. H. Tanner, an ardent free-state man, gives his opinion of Jennison:

I've never liked him [Doc. Jennison] over well for he deserted a crowd of us youngsters once on the eve of what we supposed to be a conflict of arms. He could do the talking for a company and the rest might do the fighting; at least that is what we thought he intended for us to do.<sup>78</sup>

Montgomery in late 1856 went as a delegate to the governor asking for aid for free-staters. The governor refused to listen. Montgomery also visited Lawrence. That city was unable to send men but did supply some arms.<sup>79</sup>

One settler, as quoted by Mitchell, tells of conditions in 1857:

In 1857 we began to raise some crops and prospects were brighter, but the troubles were still growing worse. The men had to hide out nights for their lives as the bushwhackers were out most at night--one party one night, the next night or two another party.<sup>80</sup>

Another squatter reports:

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77. Ibid., 189-190 and 296; Theodosius Botkins, "Among the Sovereign Squats," Kansas State Historical Society, Transactions, 1902, VII, 433

78. A. H. Tanner, "Early Days in Kansas," Kansas State Historical Society, Collections, 1918, XIV, 227-228

79. Tuttle, op. cit., 421

80. Mitchell, op. cit., 31

in 1857 It was not safe to have lights in the house after dusk. It was considered proper to carry arms to church and on business... a neighbor was called to the door at night and shot. A short time later a call came at my state home to "come to the door on business".<sup>81</sup> 1858. This

street Professor Spring tells us that; In May, 1857, and set-

ttled In these agressions [following Clark's Raid in Linn County] jayhawkers seem to have taken the lead, and they established a freebooting reputation that fairly western intimidated proslavery adherents. The accounts of marauding incursions from Missouri, which appeared in contemporary prints, were mostly canards circulated by jayhawkers as an excuse for their own depredations.

They occasionally dispatched a messenger to Lawrence with a budget of exaggerated or manufactured pro-slavery outrages, to keep alive their reputation as struggling, self-denying, afflicted patriots.<sup>82</sup>

Free-state men at first had settled at Sugar Mound, which was later to be called Mound City, and along Little Sugar Creek. Moneka was another settlement north of Mound City and was more violent in its free-statism than Mound City largely because of the quaker people which Mound City had.<sup>83</sup> Paris, the county seat of Linn, was the first colony of Southerners in southeastern Kansas. It was located on Big Sugar Creek in 1854 by a group from Paris, Kentucky.<sup>84</sup> Trading Post was extremely proslavery.<sup>85</sup> Raytown established

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81. Ibid., op. cit., 270-271

82. Spring, op. cit., 241-242

83. Botkins, loc. cit., 431; Mitchell, op. cit., 293

84. Botkins, loc. cit., 429-430

85. Mitchell, op. cit., 199

91. Rhodes, op. cit., II, 273-274

in 1857 on the lower part of the Little Osage River in Bourbon County was "enthusiastically Free State".<sup>86</sup> Free state immigration increased greatly in 1857 and 1858. This stream of free-state settlers began in May, 1857, and settled the prairie of eastern Linn and northern Bourbon Counties. Before this settlers had been mainly from western Missouri and had settled along the creeks.<sup>87</sup> A new post-office had been established at Trading Post in 1857 taking part of the territory served before by Paris. Eastern capital was talking of a railroad along the old military road from Kansas City to Fort Smith.<sup>88</sup> Tomlinson on his visit to this section in 1858 noticed many new settlers and many new houses in southern Linn and northern Bourbon. Most of these newcomers were free-staters coming by way of Iowa and Nebraska.<sup>89</sup> Peace should have arrived in Kansas by 1856 for free-state men were in control.<sup>90</sup> Governor Walker in a private letter to President Buchanan conceded that free-state men were a large majority.<sup>91</sup>

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86. Tomlinson, op. cit., 123

87. Mitchell, op. cit., 270-271

88. Ibid., 201

89. Ibid., 22

90. Lewis, loc. cit., 10

91. Rhodes, op. cit., II, 273-274



In the spring of 1857 the associate justice of the Territorial court who presided at Fort Scott resigned and Joseph Williams replaced him on July 10.<sup>92</sup> Judge Williams swore out many warrants for cutting timber on Indian land. Nearly every settler was guilty for the Indian titles were not yet extinguished. A. H. Tanner, who came from Iowa to Linn County in March, 1857, is quoted by Mitchell on these arrests:

Only the wealthier classes were arrested, for money was what these men wanted and a man too poor to pay a fine was exempt. This thing went along in a small way until the winter of 1857-'58, when the marshals and deputies summoned large parties..... with the avowed purpose of capturing Montgomery and his "out-laws". These posses kept up their work during the entire winter but accomplished little. A few skirmishes with small armed bodies occurred though, but few prisoners were ever taken.<sup>93</sup>

In December, 1857, a delegation from Linn County went to Lawrence to secure aid from James H. Lane, one of the prominent free-state leaders in the territory. He was too busy working against the Lecompton Constitution and was unable to aid. But a small party headed by Captain J. B. Abbott did come to Linn to investigate the situation.<sup>94</sup> The October term of the United States District Court under

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92. Richards, loc. cit., March 7

93. Mitchell, op. cit., 270

94. Spring, op. cit., 242

97. Spring, op. cit., 242

98. Tuttle, op. cit., 424

Judge Joseph Williams, S. A. Williams, clerk, and J. H. Little, deputy United States marshal had a number of free-state men on trial for "claim cases". These usually went against the free-staters. Often charges were false and bail was excessive or refused.<sup>95</sup> Montgomery selected some of those for whom bail had been denied and offered \$800 cash bail for each. When this was turned down, Montgomery now arrested a proslavery man in retaliation. This prisoner was allowed to overhear plans for a rescue by Montgomery. Then after this prisoner was frightened a great deal, he was allowed to escape. This action of Montgomery's did bring some pressure on the United States Court at Fort Scott.<sup>96</sup>

The free-state settlers of the Little Osage valley and of Linn County now organized a squatters' court. The Abbott party from Lawrence had only a short time before tried a proslavery man on the charge of jumping a free-stater's claim with impromptu squatters' court with judge, counsel, sheriff, and jury as in a regular court.<sup>97</sup>

This squatters' court set up by the settlers was against the Federal Court at Fort Scott. Many proslavery men from the northern and central parts of the Territory had drifted into the southeast because of Governor Geary's peace policy.<sup>98</sup>

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95. Robley, op. cit., 83

96. Tuttle, op. cit., 423-424

97. Spring, op. cit., 242

98. Tuttle, op. cit., 424

That was causing new troubles. The squatters' court had all the officials of a real court. Dr. Rufus Gilpatrick of Anderson served as judge with Henry Kilbourn as sheriff. The judge was labeled "John Brown". As no Bible was available, witnesses were sworn in on Dr. Gunn's Family Physician.<sup>99</sup> One case was tried when a free-state man, Beason, complained that some men were butchering his hogs. The court posse arrested these men red-handed. The butchered hogs went to the court for expenses, while the men paid for them. This made one of the guilty men sell his claim to raise this the money.<sup>100</sup> <sup>103</sup> Rumors of this attack swept over the

Territorial Marshal Little was ordered by Judge Williams to dissolve this squatters' court. He found the court meeting at Fort Bain on the Osage River near Missouri.<sup>101</sup> The court made ready to fight, but told Marshal Little that the Territorial Legislature then in session had repealed all laws and that a provisional government was in charge. Therefore the marshal and his posses returned to Fort Scott.<sup>102</sup> A second

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99. Robley, op. cit., 83

100. Holloday, op. cit., 508 op. cit., 84-85

101. Robley, op. cit., 83-84

102. Spring, op. cit., 243 History of Kansas (Chicago, 1928), II, 583

visit was made on December 16. This posse was met by a committee headed by D. B. Jackson under a flag of truce. Little demanded surrender or he would fire on the court. Also he warned them that he represented the United States Government. The truce party warned the Marshal of the consequences of such actions. Marshal Little made his attack and was repulsed after several volleys. Some of this posse had viewed the trip as a lark. This beaten posse fled back towards Fort Scott, carrying their wounded with them. Little returned the next day with a larger posse only to find the court gone.<sup>103</sup> Rumors of this attack swept over the Territory and the story grew as it spread.<sup>104</sup> Soon the court returned to Fort Bain and then soon adjourned.<sup>105</sup>

As one illustration of these claim disputes, one can use the Hardwick vs. Denton claim trouble. James Hardwick came from north Alabama in 1856 and settled on the Little Osage in Bourbon County. He had \$4000 in cash which he invested in claims. A former neighbor of his in Alabama, Isaac Denton, had settled some time before in Vernon County,

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During the winter of 1858 someone fired into Hardwick's

103. Ibid. 243-244; Robley, op. cit., 84-85 and there was

104. Spring, op. cit., 244

105. William E. Connelley, History of Kansas (Chicago, 1928), II, 583

107. Robley, op. cit., 85

Missouri. He and his son James Denton came over to Bourbon County in the winter of 1857. They settled on one of Hardwick's claims by permission. All were proslavery men and very good friends. In March Hardwick asked the Dentons to vacate the claim. The Dentons refused and maintained that Hardwick had no good title to the claim.<sup>106</sup> Hardwick made threats. Shots were fired into the Denton's cabin and the Dentons left.<sup>107</sup> The case was taken to the Squatters' court and Denton's side was upheld for the claim had belonged to a free-state man who had been driven off and the squatters' law allowed the person actually in possession to hold it. Hardwick had to pay court costs and damages consisting of a good horse and fifty dollars in cash. Two members of this court at the time, according to Holcombe, were Preston B. Plumb and James H. Lane, both of whom were later United States Senators from Kansas. Feelings were running high, and Hardwick accused the Dentons of "insulting women of the neighborhood". A countercharge of Hardwick's attempt to "bushwhack" old man Denton was made by the Dentons. During the winter of 1858 someone fired into Hardwick's home. In March Denton was called to the door and there was

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106. Robley, op. cit., 85

107. Robley, op. cit., 85 Holcombe, op. cit., 207

112. Holcombe, op. cit., 207

slain.<sup>108</sup> Hardwick claimed to have been in Kansas City at the time, but he fled to Dade County, Missouri. Conrad Travis, a friend of Hardwick, whose claim was also on the Little Osage, was arrested, tried, and acquitted by the land squatters' court. Travis on his way home from the court, April 1, 1858, stopped at the home of a friend, Dr. James Riley Wasson. That night bushwhackers raided Wasson's place, killed Travis, wounded Wasson, and stole much of Wasson's property.<sup>109</sup> Dr. Wasson was taken by his brother to Dade County, Missouri, where in a few months he recovered and came back and settled in Linn County.<sup>110</sup> Some believed that this was done by James Denton, some suspected Montgomery's men, and some thought that it was merely raiding bushwhackers.<sup>111</sup> A free-state man, a friend of the Dentons, was murdered the same night.<sup>112</sup> Another son, John Denton, had been employed on the plains by Russell and Majors, a freighting firm operating across the plains. In the summer of 1858, he found Hardwick at Nevada, Missouri, and arrested him. While on the way back to Kansas, Hardwick escaped

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named Weaver. Rhodes had been drinking and tried to

108. Holcombe, History of Vernon County, 207 gun and

109. Ibid.; Robley, op. cit., 85-86

110. Mitchell, op. cit., 35 185-312

111. Robley, op. cit., 86; Holcombe, op. cit., 207

112. Holcombe, op. cit., 207

according to Denton's story. Some settlers on the Little Osage trailed with dogs and found the corpse of Hardwick. Indignation against Denton was great. A justice of peace warrant was sworn out for him. William Marchbanks, a friend of Hardwick and a constable arrested Denton at a store near the state-line. A guard was kept over the prisoner at the constable's home as reports flew that Montgomery and men were on their way to rescue the prisoner. In time Denton escaped and went to Montgomery for protection. That was refused unless Denton was a free-soiler. Denton denied being that. Marchbanks and John Denton met again at the store in October, 1860, and the crowd prevented Denton from killing Marchbanks. Marchbanks left and shortly returned with help and shot Denton from a distance. Marchbanks had to leave the county to avoid lynching.<sup>113</sup>

One of the men in Marshal Little's posse that tried to capture the squatters' court was James Rhoades, who was employed in a sawmill on the Marmaton. He left the posse and started toward the mill, when he met a free-state man named Weaver. Rhoades had been drinking and tried to shoot Weaver; Weaver, who was unarmed, got the gun and

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113. Holcombe, op. cit., 208-212

117. Wilder, op. cit., 201

killed Rhoades.<sup>114</sup>

Another claim dispute at the time was the Stone-Southwood case. William Stone had been driven off his claim in 1856 and had found it occupied by Southwood, a Southern Methodist preacher, upon his return. Southwood refused to leave, and free-staters built another cabin on the claim for Stone and his family. Women of the two families fussed over the well. Now free-staters gave Southwood a certain time to leave. Southwood got a band from Fort Scott to come to his aid. They found a free-state party waiting for them at the claim. Finally Southwood and friends retired.<sup>115</sup>

At a meeting at Fort Scott, December 13, 1857, a vigilance committee had been appointed. Also a militia company was to be organized or an appeal was to be made to the governor for troops. The vigilance committee plus the county sheriff, John S. Cumming, and Deputy Marshal Little asked Acting-Governor Stanton for United States soldiers.<sup>116</sup> That official on December 16 asked General William S. Harney to send troops to Fort Scott.<sup>117</sup> Two days later General Harney

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118. Ibid., 802

114. Robley, op. cit., 84-85.

115. Ibid., 82.

116. Ibid., 88

117. Wilder, op. cit., 201



notified the acting-governor that troops would be sent as requested by the acting-governor to insure a fair election.

Troops went to Doniphan, Atchinson, Palmero, and Fort Scott.<sup>118</sup> Captain Sturgis came to Fort Scott, December 21, with companies E and F of the 1st United States Cavalry and order was restored.<sup>119</sup> But troubles commenced anew when the troops left, January 10, 1858.<sup>120</sup>

General James H. Lane had visited this section just before the coming of Federal troops. He came to warn of these soldiers, to investigate conditions, and to raise a militia company under his authority as a Territorial militia officer. This company was raised at Mound City. He left after seeing that the Federal forces had passed on toward Fort Scott.<sup>121</sup>

In February, 1858, a free-state man named Johnson called on Montgomery for aid as border ruffians were stealing his property. Montgomery went to arrest the offenders. Field free-staters sent messengers asking these men to surrender.

Judge Williams and other authorities met Montgomery outside

of Fort Scott and promised that the stolen property would be delivered at Barnesville in a few days; that the guilty

118. Ibid., 202

119. Robley, op. cit., 89

120. Ibid., 93-94

121. James H. Lane, Report of January 15, 1858, in Kansas Territory House Journal, Extra Session, 1857, 84-85

1. Robley, op. cit., 100-102; Helleday, op. cit., 513-515  
Helleday is more favorable to Montgomery than Robley is.

## CHAPTER II

### FREE-STATE SUPREMACY

Montgomery had retired to his farm in Linn County. The Rev. John E. Stewart with a small band operated from the north of the Little Osage. They started stealing horses from both sides and running them north. Some settlers left and some went to Fort Scott. Judge Williams asked the governor for troops. Two companies of the 1st United States Cavalry under Capt. George T. Anderson came February 26, 1858. Some men in Company I started stealing and labeled themselves "free-state men". Finally these men were dismissed from the army. Now Montgomery took the field, and Stewart and his band departed from the locality to avoid him. Stealing "ceased for some time".<sup>1</sup>

In February, 1858, a free-state man named Johnson called on Montgomery for aid as border ruffians were stealing his property. Montgomery went to arrest the offenders. Timid free-staters sent messengers asking these men to surrender. Judge Williams and other authorities met Montgomery outside of Fort Scott and promised that the stolen property would be delivered at Barnesville in a few days; that the guilty persons had fled. Then Captain Anderson came with his troops and these stolen goods were never delivered. The guilty men

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1. Robley, op. cit., 100-102; Holloday, op. cit., 512-513  
Holloday is more favorable to Montgomery than Robley is.

returned within a few days.<sup>2</sup> The troubles of 1858 gained the name of "Fort Scott Difficulties".<sup>3</sup> By June, 1857, Montgomery and his free-staters had gained the upper hand in the border troubles of his locality and many proslavery families were leaving the country. Mitchell quotes a settler:

In 1858 it was a common sight to see squads of horsemen riding over the prairie without legitimate excuse for their presence, and at such time families left their homes after sundown and slept on the open prairies, while the men would gather at the fords and stand guard all night against invaders.<sup>4</sup>

Tomlinson reports that men from Fort Scott had made a drive on free-state men on the Little Osage, March 27, 1858, murdering one man and wounding others.<sup>5</sup>

Many proslavery men scared out by Stewart returned and ordered free-staters to leave in 1858. But Montgomery rallied free-state supporters.<sup>6</sup> Some of the settlers had been burned out in Linn County because of being subscribers to the New York Tribune.<sup>7</sup> Fort Scott still was the pro-slavery stronghold. According to Villard the Lawrence

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2. Robley, op. cit., 94; Holloday, op. cit., 511

3. Tomlinson, op. cit., ix-x

4. Mitchell, op. cit., 192

5. Tomlinson, op. cit., 193

6. Holloday, op. cit., 514-515

7. Mitchell, op. cit., 40-41

correspondent of the Chicago Tribune wrote in April, 1858, that "Fort Scott is the only place within the Territory where the Border Ruffians now show their teeth." Furthermore some of the murderers that had operated elsewhere now showed up in Fort Scott and "became the leaders of immigrants from southwestern Missouri."<sup>8</sup> Crawford and Pat Devlin, who is often given the credit for originating the term "jayhawker", had a claim on the Little Osage. He had laid the foundation of a cabin for pre-emption and spent his time in "jayhawking". This claim was jumped by John Hinton and family. During the winter Pat Devlin came by and found only the grandfather, an old man about 85, at home, bed-ridden with rheumatism. Pat Devlin tore off the roof and the walls down to the level of the old man's bed. This left that helpless person exposed to the "weather, alone and utterly helpless". Devlin was an "all-around thief" of Jennison's band.<sup>9</sup>

In the spring of 1858 Dr. George P. Hamilton and two brothers from Georgia helped to organize a group of border ruffians as the "Bloody Reds". Official headquarters was the Western Hotel, commonly known as the Proslavery Hotel,

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8. Oswald Garrison Villard, John Brown (Boston, 1911), 352

9. Robley, op. cit., 95-96

12. Ibid., 94-95

but they often met at the home of Thomas Jackson in Vernon County, Missouri. This organization in the last of April ordered George A. Crawford, William Gallaher, and Charles Dimon, free-state Democrats, to leave the town within twenty-four hours. Despite threats of death, Crawford retorted, "I don't exchange messages with horse-thieves".<sup>10</sup> Crawford and the other two gathered at the Free-State Hotel and were promised support by their friends if it came to a fight. Their friends also asked the army for help, and the officers promised to be neutral. Twenty-five well-armed proslavery men gathered at the Western Hotel and finally got three soldiers to join them. These soldiers were arrested the next day and ordered back to the camp. The "Bloody Reds" now gave up the siege and left town for the last time.<sup>11</sup> About this time "Doc" Jennison and the Reverend Stewart and some followers called upon Van Sumwalt, a proslavery settler on the Little Osage, and shot him. Jennison then dressed the wound.<sup>12</sup>

One proslavery man, Thomas Smith, near Brooklin was driven out and went over to Missouri and settled between Butler and the state line. Later a group went over to hang

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15. Villard, op. cit., 348

10. "George A. Crawford," Kansas State Historical Society, Transactions, VI; Goodlander, op. cit., 22

11. Robley, op. cit., 110

12. Ibid., 94-95

him and found him at home dying of sickness.<sup>13</sup> One of the Hamilton brothers from Georgia was Charles A. Hamilton who owned a number of slaves and a large log house three miles east of Trading Post close to the Missouri line. An old neighbor of his, William Hairgrove, who was a free-state man tried to visit him when he first came but was ordered off the place. Once in a while Hamilton would talk to free-staters at the post-office. His nearest neighbor was a proslavery man who was forced to leave and his place was taken by a free-state man. This free-state neighbor taught school over in Missouri and thus avoided Hamilton. Hamilton's younger brother was studying law at Judge Barlow's law office at Paris. His older brother was a doctor at Fort Scott and leader of the "Bloody Reds".<sup>14</sup> Charles Hamilton was a graduate of the University of Georgia.<sup>15</sup> His home was the headquarters for proslavery people.<sup>16</sup> He and his brothers had gone over into Missouri the fall of 1857 for the winter.<sup>17</sup> Linn County appointed assessors to assess those

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13. Mitchell, op. cit., 256-257

14. Robley, op. cit., 109

15. Villard, op. cit., 348

16. Spring, op. cit., 244

17. Tanner, loc. cit., 228

18. Ibid., 109

19. Tomlinson, op. cit., 64-65

20. Ibid., 109

21. Ibid., 64; Spring, op. cit., 243-246

people who went across the state line for the winter and returned in the spring to plant crops. Charles Hamilton refused to pay taxes on his slaves, as he had feared for their safety and had sent them back to Georgia. Finally he very angrily paid about twelve dollars in tax. Later the Hamiltons left and rumors were that they planned to return for revenge.<sup>18</sup>

Hamilton also was believed to have stolen free-state men's horses and to have sold them over in Missouri. In May he raided free-state claims on the Little Osage and he was ordered to leave as a consequence, but was later seen around the neighborhood after dark.<sup>19</sup> One free-state man on the Little Osage accuse Hamilton of raping his wife who was alone at her home during this raid.<sup>20</sup>

Hamilton had a disagreement with Eli Snyder, a blacksmith at Trading Post, in April. Hamilton had stopped him outside of Trading Post and demanded where he was going. He received no answer at first. Next the hot-headed Southerner made threats to kill the blacksmith. Snyder had a shot gun loaded with buckshot and ordered the Georgian and his companions to move on.<sup>21</sup>

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18. Ibid.

19. Tomlinson, op. cit., 64-65

20. Ibid., 102-104

21. Ibid., 64; Spring, op. cit., 245-246

Just before Hamilton left, Montgomery's spies got a<sup>23</sup> death list of seventy names made out by Hamilton. Unable to get action from the county sheriff except for a promise to protect the listed persons, Montgomery caught Hamilton at his home. Part of his men had been sent to get a howitzer and extra rifles, when United States troops appeared on the old military road which ran by the house. This caused Montgomery to lift the siege. He left two men to watch the house. They were discovered the next morning and forced to jump over a cliff in order to escape. Next Montgomery made attacks on the Marmaton west of Fort Scott in an attempt to force Hamilton out into an open fight.<sup>22</sup> When Captain Anderson led a party of dragoons out against the Jayhawker, Montgomery retreated westward. At a ravine on Yellow Paint Creek near the Marmaton Montgomery and his men dismounted and made a stand. One soldier was killed and three wounded. Captain Anderson had his horse shot from under him. The dragoons now retreated, met reinforcements, and continued the retreat back to Fort Scott. Montgomery's second in command was A. D. Steven, known as Captain Whipple, who was later killed at Harper's Ferry with John Brown's band. This was the first time and also the

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22. Tuttle, op. cit., 427

23. Mitchell, op. cit., 201



last time free-state men dared to fire on Federal soldiers.<sup>23</sup> Captain George T. Anderson was forced to resign in June as a result.<sup>24</sup> May 17, Judge Barlow carried on the resolutions  
Montgomery had obtained a howitzer from Lawrence that had been brought from Illinois without mounting. This "Old Betsy" is now in the State Historical Society's collections at Topeka. That jayhawk leader intended to force all proslavery men into Fort Scott and lay siege to that town. Some proslavery men were warned, and they appealed to Captain Anderson at Fort Scott. They were told to come to Fort Scott, if they wanted protection.<sup>25</sup> Montgomery pushed his activities into Missouri in May,<sup>26</sup> and soon retired to his farm.<sup>27</sup>

Settlers of Trading Post and vicinity had organized a military company as rumors of bushwhackers ran riot. By May 17 the demands of crops and the false lull caused the settlers to disband the company. One of this company was Hamilton's spy.<sup>28</sup>

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23. Villard, op. cit., 351  
24. Villard, op. cit., 351, 630

25. Tuttle, op. cit., 425-426; Holloday, op. cit., 512

26. Herklotz, loc. cit., 271

27. Tuttle, op. cit., 426

28. Mitchell, op. cit., 201

Hamilton had warned Judge J. H. Barlow of Paris of a coming raid. Now he invited the Judge over to a caucus at Pappinville, May 17. Judge Barlow served on the resolutions committee and gave a minority report advising against an invasion of Kansas. When Hamilton and his men started, Barlow asked them in a speech to withdraw and warned them that the jayhawkers were superior in rifles, and other arms. A number did withdraw. Judge Barlow on his way home avoided the little Osage settlements and Trading Post and failed to give warning of the impending attack.<sup>29</sup> Judge Barlow, besides being a proslavery leader, was a personal friend of James Montgomery. Montgomery saved his life several times because of this friendship.<sup>30</sup>

A large group of proslavery people estimated by A. H. Tanner as being over a hundred persons had left the territory by way of the Marais des Cygnes. They intended to go on to Jefferson City, but near Pappinville their camp was visited by Charles Hamilton.<sup>31</sup>

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29. Ibid., 212, 292-295; "Judge C. F. Trinkle Recounts Famous Massacre to Kiawamians", Fort Scott Tribune, May 27, 1931

30. Ed. R. Smith, "Marais des Cygnes Tragedy", Kansas State Historical Society, Transactions, 1900, VI, 367

31. Tanner, loc. cit., 229

34. Ibid., 369

Many of Hamilton's men balked at the state line but twenty-five or thirty did cross. All three of the Hamilton brothers were present. Eight or ten of the others were from Fort Scott and more than this number were from Missouri.<sup>32</sup> The invaders arrived at Trading Post about nine o'clock on the bright May morning of May 19. Several prisoners were taken and released, but John F. Campbell was kept.<sup>33</sup> Now turning eastward on the road toward West Point, they met the Rev. L. B. Reed talking with William A. Stillwell and Patrick about a mile east of Trading Post. Next Amos C. Hall was found sick at his cabin and was taken prisoner. These men were herded afoot ahead of the horsemen. William Colpetzer was found at his claim which adjoined Hamilton's. Now turning northward they captured Michael Robinson and a Charles Snider who had come from Illinois to visit his friend, Robinson. Shifting to the northwest the "Bloody Reds" found William Hairgrove and his son Asa working in the fields. Austin W. Hall was next added to the group. These prisoners were unarmed. Most of them were acquaintances of Hamilton's and had taken no part in proslavery-free-state conflict.<sup>34</sup> The Reverend Reed had been in Kansas

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32. Tomlinson, op. cit., 67

33. Smith, loc. cit., 368, History of Kansas, II, 572

34. Ibid., 369

less than a year<sup>35</sup> and had earned proslavery hatred by delivery fifty Sharp's rifles from Westport to Montgomery.<sup>36</sup> These prisoners were taken to a ravine, lined up, and shot. Colpetzer was only wounded and begged for his life but was killed. Patrick Ross, who had been driven off his Little Osage claim shortly before was shot again to make sure. Austin Hall had been unhit and successfully feigned death. Colpetzer, Ross, Campbell, Stillwell, and Robinson had been slain. The rest had been wounded. Hamilton's men rifled the pockets of the men.<sup>37</sup> Stillwell had been in the territory less than a month.<sup>38</sup> Hamilton had tried to capture Samuel Nickel. He was not at home so the search was made of his home. One of the searchers knocked a heavy clock off of a shelf that fell into a cradle where a baby was lying.<sup>39</sup> One of the condemned men had requested permission to take a drink out of a small brook they were crossing. He had been told to "Wait, and get it in hell".<sup>40</sup> Hamilton

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35. "Letter of the Reverend Reed to the Rev. Nathan Brown, editor of American Baptist", La Cygnes Journal, Linn County Scrapbook (Kansas State Historical Society Library), I, 51-52

36. Mitchell, op. cit., 21

37. Smith, loc. cit., 369

38. Tanner, loc. cit., 229

39. William E. Connelley, History of Kansas, II, 572.

40. Ibid., 573

had specially wanted to take Eli Snyder, the blacksmith with whom he had the trouble in April. Just before shooting his prisoners, Hamilton took a squad and went to capture Snyder whose blacksmith shop and claim were located nearby. Hamilton sent three men down to the shop while he and the rest stayed on top of the hill overlooking the shop. One of the men went into the shop and told the blacksmith that a man on top of the hill wished to see him. When Snyder stepped out and saw Hamilton and heard Hamilton shout that at last he had him, he realized that he had been trapped. Jumping quickly back into his shop, he saw that another border ruffian had entered the shop through a place left by a broken board and now was about to get hold of his shotgun. The huge blacksmith knocked him out of the building with his fist. Next he fired at the man who had called him out. That man only partly up the hill in retreat was wounded with the buckshot. Then Snyder gained protection of a stone wall. One of his shots wounded Hamilton. Snyder's wife and daughter had been doing the laundry at the spring in the ravine. The wife joined her husband and the daughter went to the house and got her brother who had been asleep at the house. He joined his father after bringing a rifle. Hamilton and his squad gave up the attempt to take his hated enemy. Then that border ruffian joined the main group. At

this time the prisoners were shot.<sup>41</sup> Rumors of these murders began to radiate over the countryside, and free-state men began to gather.<sup>42</sup> A man came to Brooklin telling of the massacre. David Sibbett, the postmaster and storekeeper, took a rifle and a bag of buck shot and rode over the prairies west of Brooklin warning and arming settlers. He rode forty miles on this errand. The next day the settlers began to gather at Brooklin. These made up two companies and rode on toward Trading Post.<sup>43</sup> Trading Post was filled with men when Tomlinson arrived at that place from Westport on a visit to the territory. Scouts found that Hamilton's men had split into several groups, but they had tended toward West point. They also reported West point to be full of armed men. The best scout on the border was believed to be a member of Montgomery's band. A posse was formed under the sheriff of Linn County, regular territorial militia officers, and James Montgomery which marched upon West point, Missouri, in the hope of finding some of the murderers. Tomlinson went along and reports that the few cabins along the road had been

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41. Ibid., 573-574

42. Tomlinson, op. cit., 57

43. Mitchell, op. cit., 41-42

deserted apparently because of the border troubles.<sup>44</sup>

Tomlinson gives sixty or seventy men for the size of the posse, but Villard in his biography of John Brown says 200.<sup>45</sup>

West Point on a mound at the state line had a clear view of the Kansas prairies for several miles. The expedition came into sight of the town in the late afternoon and halted for conference. Montgomery and some others wanted to surround the town and then search it. Others wanted to send messengers into the town telling of their purpose and then make their search. The last method was adopted, and none of the enemy was found. The posse was then ready to go and returned to Trading Post late at night.<sup>46</sup> Montgomery had been in Johnson County to the north at the time of the massacre.<sup>47</sup>

A meeting of the settlers was held at Trading Post on the morning following the return of the posse. Provisions were made for a voluntary guard at Trading Post to be changed weekly, so that the settlers would not lose so much

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44. Tomlinson, op. cit., 78-80

45. Ibid., 79; Villard, op. cit., 349

46. Tomlinson, op. cit., 81-85

47. Robley, op. cit., 111; Robinson, op. cit., 399-401

51. Robley, op. cit., 112-114

time from their crops.<sup>48</sup> had been frightened by the raids of  
May. The massacre shocked the entire border, caused a wave  
of fear to arise, and threw a blight upon the proslavery  
people. Especially was hatred directed towards Fort Scott.<sup>49</sup>

Also John Brown's Parallels and John G. Whittier's Le Marais  
de Cygne came as results of this mad mass murder. This last,  
a poem, first appeared in the Atlantic Monthly for September  
1858. Both proslavery and free-state organization went more  
underground than ever.<sup>50</sup>

many Governor Denver feared retaliatory raids and sent Samuel  
Walker of Douglas County to arrest Montgomery and anyone else  
who might cause trouble. Feelings were running high and  
everyone was excited and suspicious.<sup>51</sup> led by the people there.<sup>52</sup>

A conference was called for West Point on June 8. Six  
delegates represented the troubled district in Kansas. Bates,  
Vernon, and Jasper Counties, Missouri, were represented by  
about 200 men. A report was indorsed whereby each side pledged  
its aid against invasion. Also aid was promised by the  
Missourians in bringing the Marais des Cygnes murderers to

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48. Tomlinson, op. cit., 87

49. Mitchell, op. cit., 296; Robley, op. cit., 112-114

50. Mitchell, op. cit., 52-53

51. Robley, op. cit., 112-114 and the Mississippi (Hartford,  
1867), 135



justice.<sup>52</sup> The people had been frightened by the raids of May, 1858. Montgomery was popularly believed to have led these thieving invasions of Missouri. Rumors told of Montgomery's plans to clean out the territory and then attack West Point and Butler in Missouri.<sup>53</sup> Missourians were encouraged by this conference. The Kansas delegates had been suspicious of the large crowd they found in West Point, but they were surprised at finding very few border ruffians--most of the crowd were of the better type of citizen and many of them were unarmed.<sup>54</sup> It was dusk before the Kansas delegation returned to Trading Post. The agreement signed at West Point was read to the crowd gathered there. General approval and satisfaction were expressed by the people there.<sup>55</sup>

Another visitor to their region besides Tomlinson in June, 1858 tells us that Montgomery was "the guerrilla chieftain, whose name was in every man's mouth throughout Kansas and the neighboring states".<sup>56</sup> He also noticed a "certain resemblance to John C. Fremont" in Montgomery.

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52. Tomlinson, op. cit., 225

53. Herklotz, loc. cit., 271

54. Tomlinson, op. cit., 223-224

55. Ibid., 225

56. Albert D. Richardson, Beyond the Mississippi (Hartford, 1867), 125

Montgomery had a number of hostile visitors that spring. Several times enemies had found him gone and had waited for his return. At such times his wife would go out to milk in the nearby pasture. By the way she called for the cows, Montgomery, hidden nearby after returning, would know where she dropped a package of food. One night Montgomery came crawling through the tall grass when in reaching out he touched a boot. The man watching the house was wearing the boot, and when Montgomery's son came out, the man threw up a rifle on the chance that it might be the guerrilla leader. And all the time the hunted man was only a few feet away waiting for him to leave. One group angry at not catching Montgomery took his wagon apart, set it up again on top of the hill, placed a load of hay on it, and set fire to the hay. It was intended for the wagon to roll against the lean-to of Fort Montgomery and set it afire. But it hit a stone and swerved out of its course. Meanwhile Montgomery inside the house had to let his wagon burn.<sup>57</sup>

John Brown had planned a raid on the South only to have information of this to leak out to certain officials in Washington. As the real destination of Brown's raid

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57. Mitchell, op. cit., 19-20

was not revealed, he returned to Kansas in order to confuse the governmental officials. Thus his designs upon Harper's Ferry had to be postponed for a year.<sup>58</sup> Brown went to Lawrence and became interested in Montgomery in the southeast. The last of June saw Brown leaving for that region. By July 9 he was writing to his son from the home of Montgomery.<sup>59</sup> Most of his time was spent at the home of Augustus Wattles, near Moneka. This man had moved from Lawrence and had come from the same neighborhood back in Connecticut. Wattles had been educated at Lane Seminary at Cincinnati, Ohio, when Dr. Lyman Beecher was head of that school. Slavery was an issue in Ohio at that time, and Wattles and his wife were refused membership in the Presbyterian Church at Cincinnati because of their anti-slavery views.<sup>60</sup> Wattles had invited Brown to this section. Brown went by the names of Shubel Morgan<sup>61</sup> and Captain Clark Walker.<sup>62</sup> But the New York Tribune told of his going to

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58. William E. Connelley, John Brown (Topeka, 1900) II, 214; George W. Brown, False Claims of Kansas Historians Truthfully Corrected (Rockford, Illinois, 1902) 23

59. Villard, op. cit., 353

60. Mitchell, op. cit., 135-136

61. Ibid.; Connelley, John Brown, 216

62. Kansas City Star, March 5, 1933, 11A

this section to visit Montgomery.<sup>63</sup>

Brown located his headquarters on the claim of Eli Snyder, the blacksmith who escaped from Hamilton and his band. The site of the massacre was only a few hundred yards from Brown's headquarters.<sup>64</sup>

A new comer to the territory came by way of Bates County, Missouri. He claimed to have heard a man named Matlock boast of being one of Hamilton's men. He told this story to Captain Weaver in charge of the local militia and became closely associated with John Brown.<sup>65</sup> As a result of this story a party of free-staters led by Eli Snyder went over to Missouri and arrested Matlock. He confessed and then escaped from jail at Paris.<sup>66</sup>

Fort Scott feared a raid. One June Sunday John Hamilton, a leader in that town, and sixty men dashed across the Plaza to George Clark's house and arrested Clark in order to prevent a possible raid on the town. But the military forces took Clark away from them and kept him in their military camp for his safety.<sup>67</sup>

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63. Villard, op. cit., 629

64. Ibid., 353

65. Mitchell, op. cit., 208-209

66. Tomlinson, op. cit., 262-263

67. Goodlander, op. cit., 23

Free-state men had control of the territory by now and were also in control in the southeast. Montgomery had about fifty men at the time. Brown's coming made the free-state men more hopeful and much more aggressive.<sup>68</sup> Brown took an old log house and laid stones around the outside "as high as a man's shoulders" and called it Fort Snyder but it became known as Fort Brown.<sup>69</sup> He also organized a company and drew up articles of agreement for it. This seems to have been his custom.<sup>70</sup>

A guard of about thirty militiamen under Captain Weaver had been maintained at Fort Hamilton, as Hamilton's home was known, in case that border ruffian returned.<sup>71</sup> Rumors came of another general invasion of Kansas from Missouri. Therefore Montgomery made a raid upon Missouri to scare off such an invasion.<sup>72</sup> Also these reports told of Colonel Titus marching south in Missouri along the state line. Montgomery sent the man Tomlinson over as a spy. He joined that company led by Colonel Titus and found that there

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68. Mitchell, op. cit., 20

69. Joel Moody, "The Marais des Cygnes Massacre", Kansas State Historical Society, Collections, 1918, XIV, 221

70. Villard, op. cit., 353

71. Tomlinson, op. cit., 97

72. Mitchell, op. cit., 23-24

were no plans for an invasion of the territory. Charles Hamilton was along and expressed a desire to go to Arizona and make it a slave state.<sup>73</sup> It was a habit of Montgomery's to have spies stationed in the proslavery lodges in Missouri and Fort Scott. By this means he was able to surprise his enemies.<sup>74</sup> Montgomery's men had gained the name of "Osages" because of their operations on the Little Osage.<sup>75</sup>

A convention had been called at Raytown, May 29, 1858. Over two hundred men gathered early and more came later. A man from the Little Osage district presided. Fort Scott was condemned. Judge Williams had promised to be at the convention and then had sent a message of regret claiming that he did not know about it in time. A Fort Scott delegate apologized for Judge Williams's conduct. The convention's committee on resolutions had a few conservative members who prevented a report. Then the meeting resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the state of Kansas. Montgomery spoke and promised that his men would give "quiet, peaceful proslavery men" nothing to fear.<sup>76</sup>

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73. Tomlinson, op. cit., 253

74. Herklotz, loc. cit., 270-271

75. Connelley, History of Kansas, II, 584

76. Tomlinson, op. cit., 123-130

prison. Deputy Marshal Walker who had been sent by the governor to arrest Montgomery arrived at this convention at Raytown. He feared to make the arrest because of the crowd. He was rebuked by the crowd because he was not going to arrest George W. Clark at Fort Scott. Walker finally offered to arrest Clark if a warrant was sworn out for him.<sup>77</sup> That night about twelve men slipped out to patrol the state line east of Fort Scott to prevent the escape of proslavery men from that town. Walker and about twenty men of the convention set out in the morning over the old Indian trail to Fort Scott over flooded streams. Many refused to start on Sunday. Walker and six men including Montgomery and Tomlinson visited the home of the county sheriff, but he escaped by fleeing. Proslavery Western Hotel was searched and lady guests assured of their safety. Clark escaped from his home by a secret passage to Free State Hotel.<sup>78</sup> But he came back to surrender when the posse started to batter his door down.<sup>79</sup> A agreement was made whereby Clark was to be left in Fort Scott as a prisoner, if Montgomery was arrested. After leaving Fort Scott with Montgomery as a

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Robley, op. cit., 114

77. Spring, op. cit., 247-248

78. Tomlinson, op. cit., 289, 143-144

79. Spring, op. cit., 248-249; Robley, op. cit., 113-114

prisoner, Marshal Walker was overtaken by runners from the River, or Marais des Cygnes as it is there called, army officers at Fort Scott with the report that Clark had been released. Then Walker released Montgomery.<sup>80</sup> Walker reported in January, 1859, that troubles in Bourbon and Linn were caused by Montgomery and John Brown, but that Montgomery would cease if proslavery men he had chased out of the territory would stay out and if his men were not punished for their recent acts.<sup>81</sup>

Another convention was held at Raytown in June, 1858. A large delegation from Fort Scott was present but was outvoted three to one by Montgomery's supporters. Goodlander writes that "Nothing was accomplished at the meeting".<sup>82</sup>

About this time three free-state men had been reported shot at Mound City. Soon afterwards "Doc" Jennison captured a group near Trading Post and paroled them. But one man's ear was cut off by Jennison for identification.<sup>83</sup>

Governor Denver came south in June, 1858, to visit this region of troubles. He described the country in a letter to Secretary of State Lewis Cass:

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80. Robley, op. cit., 114.

81. Wilder, op. cit., 250.

82. Goodlander, op. cit., 23.

83. Mitchell, op. cit., 32.



From Fort Scott to the crossing of the Osage River, or Marais des Cygnes as it is there called, a distance of about 30 miles, we passed through a country almost depopulated by the depredations of the predatory bands under Montgomery, presenting a scene of desolation such as I never expected to have witnessed in any country inhabited by American citizens.... The accounts given of the flight of the people were heart-rending in the extreme.<sup>84</sup>

Governor Denver conferred with Augustus Wattles of Moneka, June 12, 1858. Wattles defended the action of Montgomery.<sup>85</sup> Montgomery and several of his men met the governor south of Moneka and accompanied him as far as the Little Osage where they ate dinner at Raytown.<sup>86</sup> Governor Denver had left LeCompton, June 9, with Charles Robinson, Judge John C. Wright, A. D. Richardson, and others and arrived at Fort Scott, June 13. Notices of a public meeting called by the governor for the 14th had been widely circulated, and a large crowd gathered on the Plaza in front of the Free State Hotel. Both town people and outsiders were excited and suspicious. Governor Denver made the first speech and quieted the crowd.<sup>87</sup> Judge Wright of Lawrence and B. F. Brantley of Fort Scott spoke in a similar mood. Then Governor Ransom

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84. Quoted in Villard, *op. cit.*, 351

85. Tomlinson, *op. cit.*, 229-230

86. *Ibid.*, 230-231

87. Tomlinson, *op. cit.*, 240-241

gave a terrible and bigoted denunciation of the free-state cause. Judge Wright interrupted with a sharp denial. Governor Denver sprang between the two before open combat broke out and then rebuked Governor Ransom. Governor Ransom was forced to take a seat. Then Governor Denver requested all county officials to resign with new ones being elected by the people at the meeting. These new officials were given certificates of appointment.<sup>87</sup> Also an agreement was made that the governor would withdraw the troops while the people promised to keep the peace. This is known as the "Denver Compromise".<sup>88</sup> Next the governor's party started north and stopped for dinner at Barnesville. There a stranger with "the gift of gab to a great degree" came into town claiming to be from western Vernon County, Missouri. His report told of Colonel Titus being in the neighborhood with 300 men for an invasion of Kansas. Titus was marching south by way of western Missouri, but nobody seriously believed the man's story.<sup>89</sup> Then Governor Denver and Montgomery spoke at Rayville. Denver gave the points of his peace: (1) Withdrawal of troops from Fort Scott, (2) election of new county offic-

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87. Robley, op. cit., 115-117. Robley writes that Montgomery did not meet the governor highly pleased with the settlement. Robinson, op. cit.,

88. Goodlander, op. cit., 24

89. Tomlinson, op. cit., 240-241

ers for Bourbon, (3) guards to be stationed along the state line to prevent an invasion of the territory, (4) suspension of old writs until they had been authenticated by proper authority, and (5) Montgomery and men as well as all of other armed bands of men would abandon the field. Montgomery indorsed these terms.<sup>90</sup>

The next day Denver, Montgomery, and Charles Robinson spoke at Trading Post. Denver promised to station Major Weaver with sixty militiamen on the state line in Linn County.<sup>91</sup> Denver also visited Montgomery at his home before leaving Linn County.<sup>92</sup>

A sense of security now returned to this frontier section. Settlers had failed to get their spring crops in. Very few patches of corn existed. Wheat had in a number of cases been destroyed by "horses and cattle running wild on the prairie".<sup>93</sup>

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90. Robley, op. cit., 118-119; "Denver Administration", Kansas State Historical Society, Transactions, V, 1896, 494-495

91. Wilder, op. cit., 237

92. Robley, op. cit., 115; Mitchell, op. cit., 275. Charles Robinson writes that Montgomery did not meet the governor but only himself and Judge Wright, and that Montgomery was highly pleased with the settlement. Robinson, op. cit., 404-405

93. Tomlinson, op. cit., 263

Additional troops had been sent to Fort Scott on May 6 after Montgomery had defeated the Federal dragoons on Yellow Paint Creek. These additional troops stayed less than a month.<sup>94</sup> Captain Nathaniel Lyon, a man in charge of the Federal soldiers at Fort Scott, wrote Governor Denver on June 25 that the Denver Compromise had been fulfilled in good faith.<sup>95</sup> Governor Denver wrote on August 5 to Fort Leavenworth requesting removal of the troops from Fort Scott.<sup>96</sup> Governor Denver also wrote to Governor Stewart of Missouri that peace had been restored in the southeast.<sup>97</sup> The new sheriff, Thomas B. Roberts, of Bourbon County recovered many of the horses stolen by the Rev. J. E. Stewart. "preacher" Stewart often used Montgomery's name. He had a hideout on the Little Osage and one on the Drywood Creek in the southeast corner of Bourbon. Members of both free-state and proslavery groups were in his band.<sup>98</sup> Sheriff Roberts ran across one of Stewart's men, Rube Forbes, near Mapleton. A member of the posse, Dave Forbes, was a brother of this

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94. Connelley, History of Kansas, II, 585

95. Denver, loc. cit., 541

96. Ibid., 122-123

97. Herklotz, loc. cit., 273

98. Robley, op. cit., 122; Wilder, op. cit., 238

102. Goodlander, op. cit., 24

horsethief. Dave Forbes held the rest of the posse at bay with his revolver and threats of death until his brother had escaped.<sup>99</sup>

Free-state men celebrated the Fourth of July, 1858, at Mound City on July 4 and at Rayville on July 5. The women of the Little Osage district presented James Montgomery with a suit of clothes at the Rayville Celebration.<sup>100</sup>

X The Denver truce of June "was generally observed until in November". Then two farm houses north of Fort Scott had been looted. Enemies of Montgomery held Montgomery's men responsible. It was now not know who was responsible.<sup>101</sup> Some one tried to burn the Proslavery Hotel at Fort Scott late in the summer by running a load of hay against it and setting fire to it. Then rifle fire from nearby timber covered the blaze to prevent its being put out. But the flames failed to spread to the building.<sup>102</sup> Harris and Pope, two free-state farmers on the Little Osage had some horses stolen by a band of men who fled into Missouri. They trailed them as far as Pappinsville in Bates County, Missouri, and were captured by the horse-thieves and shot. One of

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99. Robley, op. cit., 122-123

100. Tomlinson, op. cit., 265-267 cit., 539-540

101. Robley, op. cit., 126

102. Goodlander, op. cit., 24

them later regained consciousness and finally returned to Kansas. Montgomery was asked to return to the Little Osage but refused because of his promise to Governor Denver.<sup>103</sup> One of Montgomery's men, Marshall, was arrested on an old writ apparently in violation of the Denver Compromise. Montgomery was asked again to return to the Little Osage district. He came and sent a note to the authorities of Fort Scott asking them to release Marshall to avoid a re-opening of the border troubles. Marshall was back home in less than twenty-four hours.<sup>104</sup>

Judge Joseph Williams failed to hold the November 19, 1858, term of the United States District Court at Fort Scott. Because of threats of Montgomery and Jennison, he and other court officials fled to Missouri. Williams wrote a letter to Governor Stewart of Missouri claiming that three hundred armed "abolitionists" under Montgomery and Jennison had begun a war, captured Fort Scott, broken up the Federal Court, and were intending to invade Missouri to release slaves and hang masters. As an extra touch he added that citizens of Bates and Vernon Counties of Missouri were leaving their

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103. Tomlinson, op. cit., 260-261

104. Ibid., 261-262; Denver, loc. cit., 539-540

105. Ibid., 507

homes.<sup>105</sup> Soon afterwards J. F. Snyder, division inspector of the Sixth Military District, Missouri Militia, reported somewhat the same idea of danger of invasion of Vernon County from an anti-slavery crusade from Kansas.<sup>106</sup>

United States Deputy Marshal Campbell and his deputy, Dimon, of Fort Scott went to Linn County to make arrests. They stopped at a hotel in Mound City. Montgomery was in town when news of reasons for the visit leaked out. A group was gathered from the town and from around Mound City. Some of the group known to the marshal's posse and stayed back but close enough to assist in case of need. In the meantime the rest passed the posse and then jumped to the ground covering the posse with guns. Marshal Campbell pointed out that they were Federal officers and that this action was treason. The two man posse was taken to Mound City. A crowd of two-hundred had gathered there. "Doc" Jennison gave a wild talk, but Montgomery compromised and returned the horses and money to the posse but kept their papers and guns. Among these papers were about sixty warrants and a list of people in Linn County who would give aid to the posse. Montgomery escorted the posse part

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105. Villard, op. cit., 366

105. Herklotz, loc. cit., 506-507

106. Ibid., 507

of the way home. They were given a passport by that Jayhawk leader.<sup>107</sup>

A meeting was held in Mound City by both sides where an agreement similar to the Denver Compromise was drawn up. This was known as the Sugar Mound Treaty.<sup>108</sup>

About the middle of November the Denver Peace was violated by the arrest of Ben Rice of Bourbon County and John Hudlow of Linn County. They were arrested on an old indictment.<sup>109</sup> Arrest was made by a free-state Democrat.

They were chained in a room in the Free-state Hotel and were denied either trial or bail. Friends supplied some quilts as they were given no bedding. Winter and chilly nights were coming any time. A meeting was called at Rayville, December the first. It failed to indorse a resolution calling for a rescue of Rice, and it failed to agree upon anything. Montgomery now called for aid from outside. Groups from Lawrence under S. N. Wood, from Osawatomie under S. S. Williams, from Emporia under P. B. Plumb met at Fort Bain with Montgomery and party from Mound City.

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107. Mitchell, op. cit., 273; Tanner, loc. cit., 227-228

108. Villard, op. cit., 366

109. Goodlander, op. cit., 35, reports this arrest for stealing a horse from Squire Redfield over in Missouri, while Robley, op. cit., 127, says it was for the murder of Travis.



Jennison was also included in the party. They spent the last part of the night of December 15, 1858, at a lonely house in the Hell Bend district west of Fort Scott. Here Sam Stevenson and company from Xenia and a party under Captain Barnes from Barnesville met them. This made about thirty men from the Little Osage district with a total of seventy-five men. "Brass Betsy", the cannon, was also taken along. A leader was elected. Montgomery was selected over Jennison. Montgomery was conservative, while Jennison wanted to plunder Fort Scott.<sup>111</sup> H. A. Tanner thought this was the largest group under Montgomery's command at one time until the Civil War.<sup>112</sup> Tanner also mentions that one man of the rescue party later became county treasurer of Bourbon County, one a United States Senator and a third one a United States Representative.<sup>113</sup> Brown and several men now joined the rescue party. He asked to lead the party and to burn Fort Scott. The band refused to substitute Brown and his policy of destroying the town for Montgomery. Brown angrily refused to have anything more to do with the rescue. They left their horses under guard at

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111. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, 276-278; Robley, *op. cit.*, 127-128; Goodlander, *op. cit.*, 35. Apparently each of these base their statements on different sources.

112. Tanner, *loc. cit.*, 230

113. Tanner, *loc. cit.*, 232

the Marmaton River; crossing rapidly, they marched three squads of twenty men into the town and surrounded the Free State Hotel. The prisoners were released by a blacksmith who cut their chains.

Deputy Marshal John Little was in his father's general store across the alley. He had been "man hunting" upon the Little Osage the day before. He heard the rescue party arrive and fired a shotgun at them. Then he peeked out of a side window and was killed by a Sharp's rifle bullet by Aaron D. Stevens, alias "Captain Whipple", or by J. H. Kagi.<sup>114</sup> Both of these men later were with Jone Brown at Harper's Ferry. Alexander McDonald came out on the street with the rest of the crowd and was ordered to surrender by "Doc" Jennison. He attempted to escape back into his home, and a rifle bullet was placed through the door by Jennison.<sup>115</sup> The expedition's cannon was brought to bear on the store building after Little's shot. It was the rescue party's belief that the store had some armed men in it. Someone informed the jayhawkers that women and children were in the residence part in the back. Then those inside of the store

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114. Robley, op. cit., 130-133, states that Stevens fired the fatal shot, and Tanner, loc. cit., 231, and Villard, op. cit., 366, maintain that Kagi fired it.

115. Goodlander, op. cit., 36-38; Robley, op. cit., 131

120. Mitchell, op. cit., 277-278; Robley, op. cit., 132

opened it up.<sup>116</sup> Jennison and some others plundered the Little's store. Word of this was carried to Montgomery by some townsmen. He prevented the spread of looting and finally got the partly looted store boarded up. Some estimate that \$7,000 worth of goods were stolen<sup>117</sup> but A. H. Tanner thought that Jennison and others took only about \$700 worth.<sup>118</sup>

Many of the townsmen were herded into the Plaza, or the old military parade ground. A fire was built for these with furniture and books from Judge Williams law office. Williams was very "jolly and good-natured" and asked that his "fiddle and wardrobe" be spared. His request was granted. Governor Ransom and Deputy Marshal Campbell were very bitter and made threats with their positions as Federal authorities. Ransom, a big six-footer, was especially disgusted at being marched around before the townspeople by a small man with a squirrel rifle.<sup>119</sup> Breakfast was ordered by some of the townspeople for rescue party, but the band left without eating.<sup>120</sup> Tanner believed that Montgomery had an understanding

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115. Tanner, loc. cit., 230

116. Robley, op. cit., 131-233

117. Robinson, op. cit., 405; "Governor Medary's Administration", Kansas State Historical Society, Transactions, 1896, V, 561 Robley, op. cit., 134-135

118. Tanner, loc. cit., 232

119. Tanner, loc. cit., 232

120. Mitchell, op. cit., 277-278; Robley, op. cit., 132

with the guards for no resistance was offered. Also their arms were conveniently stacked.<sup>121</sup> This had not been a popular move and had been disapproved by over a half of the free-staters. Some denounced Montgomery after he accomplished the rescue.<sup>122</sup> Three free-state men had tried to warn Fort Scott.<sup>123</sup>

Application was made to Governor Medary by Fort Scott for troops after this rescue. He suggested a local militia company. This advice was followed in January. John Hamilton, a soldier at the founding of Fort Scott and a free-state man, drilled the companies. Everybody wanted to be officers and not privates.<sup>124</sup>

Several persons had been "jayhawked" in Linn County from November 12 to 15. The blame was placed on Montgomery's men.<sup>125</sup> Montgomery was also indicted by a proslavery jury on November 12, 1858, for destroying the ballot box at Sugar Mound in the January 4, 1858, election.<sup>126</sup> Montgomery had

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121. Tanner, loc. cit., 230

122. Ibid., loc. cit., 232-233

123. Robley, op. cit., 132-133

124. Robley, op. cit., 134-135

125. Mitchell, op. cit., 304

126. Mitchell, op. cit., 304; Dotkin, loc. cit., 439-440

tried to prevent free-staters from voting in that election on the Lecompton Constitution. He and some men had visited polling places and had then returned to his home precinct of Sugar Mound. He found there that many conservative free-state men had already voted. Therefore he smashed the ballot box but left the cigar box used for the ballots for state officials alone. This caused the conservatives to become angry. Without these votes the free-state cause lost Linn County by twenty votes. It also frightened proslavery people and made many conservatives angry.<sup>127</sup> Montgomery after learning of his indictment went with John Brown and some other men to Paris in search of the indictment and warrants but without results. Several days later "law and order" conservatives of Mound City at a meeting voted to join the sheriff's posse in arresting Montgomery. When this large posse of both political groups went to Montgomery's home, he was with some of his men down on the Little Osage.<sup>128</sup> Some raids came from proslavery people at Rockville in Miami County. Montgomery and some men went to that town and fought a proslavery band which retreated to a frame church. After gunfire got too severe, the proslavery men fled from

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127. Botkin, loc. cit., 438-439, 333

128. Mitchell, op. cit., 304; Botkin, loc. cit., 439-440

the church towards Missouri.<sup>129</sup> Simon McGrew, a Quaker and the grandfather of United States Senator Arthur Capper, was a radical free-state man. He employed a Negro woman who had been freed with her child in southern Arkansas and had come north to Kansas. Her husband on another plantation soon ran away and joined her. Several months later a posse came with the United States Marshal from Fort Scott for the runaway. Then they started to go to another home for another Negro refugee. Simon McGrew escaped and gave warning to his neighbor of the posse and then rode to Mound City. His younger brother escaped also in the excitement following his brother's break and got to Mound City. Montgomery came but failed to catch the posse and the man was returned to slavery. He did return after the Civil War.<sup>130</sup>

Montgomery aided runaway slaves according to one of his neighbors who was at his home when Mrs. Montgomery fed one of them.<sup>131</sup>

A free-state secret society, "Wide Awakes", had been strong since 1857. It was opposed to enforcement of the fugitive slave law and would aid anyone violating

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134. Goodlander, op. cit., 15

129. Mitchell, op. cit., 51-52

130. Mitchell, op. cit., 247-248, 353

131. Mitchell, op. cit., 25-26

that law.<sup>132</sup> The name probably was given to the society in 1860 as it is the same name as Lincoln's campaign club. A. H. Tanner told Mitchell that Captain (later General) Nathaniel Lyon and other army officers stationed at Fort Scott were initiated into this order.<sup>133</sup> These troubles kept many away from the land sales at Fort Scott in the fall of 1858.<sup>134</sup> Kagi and some others of John Brown's men aided Montgomery when settlers on the Little Osage appealed to him for aid in the fall of 1858. Brown found some of the free-staters more inclined to lean toward his ideas because of the Marais des Cygnes Massacre.<sup>135</sup> Some Federal troops under Captain Farnsworth were sent to take John Brown. Brown and his men met these soldiers in a battle at Fox's Ford on the Big Sugar Creek. A number were wounded on each side.<sup>136</sup> Brown and his men posed as stone masons working on a house for Augustus Wattle.<sup>137</sup> Brown had a fever in

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Newspapers in both Missouri and Kansas, even Kansas free-

132. Robley, op. cit., 150-151

133. Mitchell, op. cit., 272

134. Goodlander, op. cit., 15

135. Mitchell, op. cit., 43

136. Connelley, John Brown, II, 216

137. Ibid., 217

of \$250 was authorized by the Secretary of the Interior and August and had to spend a month near Osawatomie recovering from this fever. He was aided financially by the National Kansas Committee.<sup>138</sup>

A mulatto slave came over to Linn County from Missouri on December 19, 1858, and told of his wife and children which were to be sold thus breaking up the family. He was hunting for help, and Brown offered to help. Brown led a band on the night of December 20, to the home of that slave's master and to another slave-holder's home and released ten slaves. A horsethief called "pickles" and Dr. Charles Jennison were with Brown. Some property was taken to maintain the stolen slaves, and much was stolen merely for personal gains by some of the raiders. Brown had sent Aaron D. Stevens and some others on another raiding party at the same night. They killed David Cruise, a wealthy farmer, and stole one of his women slaves.<sup>139</sup>

This slave-raid created great excitement in Missouri. Newspapers in both Missouri and Kansas, even Kansas free-state papers strongly condemned Brown's action. Montgomery was connected with these raids in popular opinion. A reward

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138. Villard, op. cit., 358-360

139. Villard, op. cit., 367-369; Brown, op. cit., 147-148, quotes a free-state man's account of this.

144. Villard, op. cit., 375

145. Barrington, Kansas Day, (Topeka, 1892), 59



of \$250 was authorized by the Secretary of the Interior and offered by the Governor of Kansas for the arrest of Brown and of Montgomery,<sup>140</sup> while a reward of \$3000 was put up by the governor of Missouri for Brown. The slaves were taken through Linn County to a hideout on the south fork of the Pottawatomie. Brown stayed at the Wattles home and at a camp on Turkey Creek near the Marmaton west of Fort Scott.<sup>141</sup>

Brown offered to help Montgomery to repel an invasion of Kansas if one came. Montgomery was working for peace. Several skirmishes were fought.<sup>142</sup> George A. Crawford, a free-state leader, went to Brown and asked him to leave the territory as he was hurting the free-state cause so badly.<sup>143</sup> Brown returned to the Wattle home and wrote his Parallels for the New York Tribune. These are dated at Trading Post instead of Moneka to avoid trouble for the Wattles.<sup>144</sup> Some claim that the Parallels were written in Anderson County.<sup>145</sup>

Montgomery wrote a letter dated January 15, 1859, to the

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140. Spring, op. cit., 256

141. Villard, op. cit., 370-373

142. Brown, op. cit., 103; Robinson, op. cit., 412-413

143. Robinson, op. cit., 406-407; Brown, op. cit., 101

144. Villard, op. cit., 375

145. Barrington, Kansas Day, (Topeka, 1892), 59

Lawrence Republican stating that he was not responsible for Brown's raid upon Missouri. He denied having had a company since July 5, 1858. Then he went to Lawrence and surrendered to the court there. Only one indictment--for robbing a post office--was waiting for him. He was released on \$4,000 bail. He then spoke on January 20 for over two hours on the border troubles before the Congregational Church of Lawrence. He was cheered. The audience also gave three cheers for John Brown. Governor Medary was in Lawrence and conferred with Montgomery. Montgomery returned to Lawrence in February surrendering with six of his men to the Lawrence court.<sup>146</sup>

Governor Medary in a message to the territorial legislature on January 11, 1859, renewed his reward of \$250 for Brown and for Montgomery and called attention to the fact that John Brown had fortified himself on Sugar Creek.<sup>147</sup> At this time John Brown was getting ready to leave the territory for the last time.

Missouri had feared loss of her slaves to Kansas as early as February, 1855, and had wanted patrols on her boundary lines with free states and with Kansas.<sup>148</sup> Governor

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146. Mitchell, op. cit., 224; Brown, op. cit., 101-102

147. Villard, op. cit., 376

148. Herklotz, loc. cit., 269-270

Stewart came to the conclusion that citizens of Bates County were in danger. Therefore Adjutant-General G. Parson was sent to western Missouri to investigate the situation and to organize militia companies. He organized several companies in Cass and Bates Counties.<sup>149</sup> These people complained that this military duty took them away from their farming too much. Therefore Governor Denver of Kansas was asked by Governor Stewart to help prevent invasions of Missouri.<sup>150</sup> Governor Stewart wrote to President Buchanan that a group of Missouri militia was being sent to Cass and Bates Counties to protect them from raids from the territory of Kansas and asked for Federal troops. These could not be secured at that time. The governor's action eased troubles until Brown's raid.<sup>151</sup> Brown's raid left great excitement in Missouri and meetings were called at many western Missouri towns. These people appealed to the Missouri governor for troops and forced many free-soil Missourians to leave.<sup>152</sup> Governor Medary of Kansas on December 28, 1858, asked

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149. Ibid., 272-273

150. Ibid., 273

151. Ibid., 274

152. Herklotz, loc. cit., 279-280, 507

army officers at Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley for troops to aid against Montgomery in Bourbon, Linn, and Lykins Counties. Governor Robert M. Stewart wired on the 31st that he would help if needed.<sup>153</sup>

Jerry Jackson had a farm and store on Mulberry Creek east of Trading Post over the state line. He had many free-state customers and friends even though he kept many slaves. Hamilton had stopped here a few minutes following the Marais des Cygnes Massacre, but Jackson had no part in the massacre. A truce had been made by some free-state men with Jackson a few days before Christmas, 1858.

Jennison and Eli Snyder attacked Jackson's store soon afterward. Jackson's new home and his store were burned and over \$6,000 worth of goods and four horses were stolen. John Brown and Montgomery were not in this party.<sup>154</sup>

Governor Medary now sent four companies of United States dragoons to the Fort Scott region and authorized four militia companies. Also the Secretary of War was telegraphed to send 600 arms and 10,000 rounds of ammunition

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153. Medary, loc. cit., 566

154. Mitchell, 200-201, 215, 216; Holcombe, op. cit., 242

158. Spring, op. cit., 234-236

159. Herklotz, loc. cit., 507-508

for these militia companies. This material was to be sent by express.<sup>155</sup> Some of these army men arrived in Fort Scott, January 8, 1859.<sup>156</sup> Governor Stewart sent a special message to Missouri state legislature on January 6, 1859, on these border troubles caused by Montgomery and Brown. Also he submitted petitions sent to him by sufferers from these troubles in Bates and Vernon Counties. Governor Stewart wanted these people protected.<sup>157</sup> The Missouri Senate's committee on Federal relations reported against a bill to raise patrols from the suffering counties. It feared the results and its report was accepted by the Missouri Senate.<sup>158</sup>

But in November, 1858, Missouri did send militia from St. Louis under Brigadier-General D. M. Frost and the Governor's Guard from Jefferson City under General Parsons. These, it was hoped, would respect the territorial-state line.<sup>159</sup> This action was reported by the governor of Missouri to the governor of Kansas. Governor Medary of

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155. Herklotz, loc. cit., 282-283; Medary, loc. cit., 565-566

156. Medary, loc. cit., 504-505

156. Wilder, op. cit., 250

157. Ibid., 293-296

157. Herklotz, loc. cit., 280

158. Herklotz, loc. cit., 308-309

158. Spring, op. cit., 254-256

159. Ibid., 307-310

159. Herklotz, loc. cit., 507-508

Kansas answered that there were no troubles on the Kansas side.<sup>160</sup>

One hundred and seventeen citizens of Fort Scott on January 16, 1859, petitioned the governor for martial law in Linn, Anderson, Bourbon, and Allen Counties.<sup>161</sup>

General Frost cooperated with General Harney who was in charge of Federal forces at Fort Scott.<sup>162</sup> Frost reported to the Missouri governor that his forces were no longer needed. They were recalled on December 16, 1860.<sup>163</sup>

The territorial legislature had passed an amnesty act in February, 1859. This stopped prosecution for criminal offenses in Lykins, Linn, Bourbon, McGee, Allen, and Anderson Counties that may have grown out of "political differences of opinion". Also all pending actions were dropped.<sup>6</sup>

The militia companies at Fort Scott under John Hamilton

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1. Goodlander, op. cit., 44

2. Hobley, op. cit., 139-140

3. Spring, op. cit., 256

160. Medary, loc. cit., 604-605

4. Ibid., 250

161. Ibid., 595-596

5. Goodlander, op. cit., 51

162. Herklotz, loc. cit., 508-509

6. Hobley, op. cit., 137

163. Ibid., 509-510

### CHAPTER III

#### BORDER TROUBLES END

While Missouri was making these preparations for her protection from the jayhawkers, the situation in Kansas was becoming more quiet. Many free-state men came to Fort Scott in 1859.<sup>1</sup> Bourbon County got many new settlers despite its troubles and the pikes Peak gold rush.<sup>2</sup> July 4, 1859, saw a celebration of peace in this district.<sup>3</sup> Things were quiet as far as border troubles were concerned in the summer<sup>4</sup> and fall of 1859.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Goodlander, op. cit., 44

2. Robley, op. cit., 139-140

3. Spring, op. cit., 256

4. Ibid., 250

5. Goodlander, op. cit., 51

6. Robley, op. cit., 137

had been supplied muskets by Governor Medary. They had to go to Paris in January, 1859, for these arms.<sup>7</sup> Then in February this militia force rode from the state line along the Little Osage River toward its headwaters and captured a dozen prisoners. These were taken to Lawrence for trial but were freed by a mob there. This mob at first believed this John Hamilton to be the Charles Hamilton of the Marais des Cygnes Massacre. Prior to this each town hated the other, and after this meeting they had a better understanding of each other.<sup>8</sup>

George A. Crawford of Fort Scott and a friend of Stephen A. Douglas went to Washington after the amnesty and got George W. Clark fired from his job at the Fort Scott Land Office. But Clark still had political influence enough to get a position in the navy. Clark may have wished removal for his personal safety.<sup>9</sup>

Mound City won the county seat election in 1859 over Paris. Paris refused to give up county papers or move offices. The sheriff was ordered by the county commissioners to move the records, but could not find them. Then Charles

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10. Mitchell, op. cit., 141-142; Medary, loc. cit., 609  
7. Ibid., 135; Medary, loc. cit., 602  
8. Goodlander, op. cit., 41  
9. Robley, op. cit., 123; Tanner, loc. cit., 230  
13. Ibid., 215      14. Ibid., 216



Jennison, Pat Devlin, and some others from Mound City went over with "Brass Betsy", the cannon. Officials when threatened with having their homes blasted by the cannon produced the records. Later they found out that no powder had been available for "Old Betsy".<sup>10</sup> Mary Montgomery had been invited to Leavenworth by Col. D. R. Anthony to aid in preventing trial of prisoners for rescuing runaway slaves from Federal officers. Montgomery and some of his men came. Montgomery gave orders to shoot Judge Pettit of the court as well as the United States marshal if the cases were called. They were not called.<sup>11</sup> Richard J. Hinton came to Linn County to raise a rescue party for John Brown and conferred with Augustus Wattles and James Montgomery. Wattles did not think much of the plan.<sup>12</sup> Some men had shortly before rescued Dr. John Doy from the St. Joseph, Missouri, jail. Montgomery and a number of men from Linn County joined the party together with Ben Rice of Bourbon County.<sup>13</sup> Wattles went in advance and Doctor Jennison left at Lawrence.<sup>14</sup> Montgomery's party was joined

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10. Mitchell, op. cit., 141-142; Medary, loc. cit., 609

11. Col. D. R. Anthony, "Remarks," Kansas State Historical Society, Transactions (1904), VIII, 222

12. O. E. Morse, "An Attempted Rescue of John Brown from the Charlestown, Va., Jail", Kansas State Historical Society, Transactions (1904), VIII, 214

13. Ibid., 215

14. Ibid., 216

by men from Boston and some German revolutionists of 1848 from New York. The westerners were from Lawrence, Kansas, and from Iowa as well as those with Montgomery. Headquarters were established at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Scouts were sent out and a meeting place was arranged near Hagerstown, Maryland.<sup>15</sup> John Brown refused to allow a rescue to be made as it would harm his "mission" in life.<sup>16</sup> One man from Lawrence pretended to be drunk and was placed in the jail where Stevens and Hazlett were located. Then he managed to talk to these men who had been in Linn County with John Brown and who were now under sentence of death for their Harper's Ferry activity. They were told that Montgomery had eighty men and was making a reconnaissance in the nearby mountains. Also they were informed that "Preacher" John E. Stewart of Kansas was along. The prisoners asked that no rescue be attempted since it was impossible.<sup>17</sup> Snow storms had hindered Montgomery.<sup>18</sup> Col. D. R. Anthony had given Montgomery money to aid in this expedition.<sup>19</sup> Reports

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15. Ibid., 217-219

16. Ibid., 219, op. cit., 236

17. Ibid., 219 klots, loc. cit., 305

18. Ibid., 216; Wilder, op. cit., 296 Yost, "History of Lynching in Kansas", Kansas Historical Quarterly, II, (May, 1933)

19. Anthony, loc. cit., 222

were made of a raid on Bourbon County from Missouri on March 20, 1860.<sup>20</sup> There were no jayhawk troubles in the summer of 1860.<sup>21</sup> But Montgomery broke up the Federal district court at Fort Scott in the fall and made threats to prevent the land sales there on December 3.<sup>22</sup>

Guthrie was hanged by the Osage Vigilance Committee of Mapleton. Hugh Carlin, a Jennison man, was also hanged for horse stealing by that same vigilance committee.<sup>23</sup> Later a settler named Griffith, on the Little Osage, was hanged for the same reason.<sup>23</sup>

Russell Hinds had helped to return a runaway slave to Missouri. Jennison now made a circuit of murder. Jennison hanged Russell Hinds on the state-line in southeast Linn County on Sunday, November 11, 1860. Next on November 16 L. D. Moore, a proslavery man near Mapleton, was put to death for his part in the hangings of Guthrie and Carlin. Samuel Scott, formerly a sheriff of Bates County and then a resident of Linn County was murdered on November 18. Some others

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20. Wilder, op. cit., 296

21. Goodlander, op. cit., 296

22. Ibid., Herklotz, loc. cit., 505

23. Robley, op. cit., 150; Genevieve Yost, "History of Lynching in Kansas", Kansas Historical Quarterly, II, (May, 1933) 186; Robinson, op. cit., 412

were sold at prices ranging from \$1.25 to \$5.50 per acre,  
barely escaped being caught and hanged by Jennison.<sup>24</sup>  
These murders caused a reaction against mob violence.<sup>25</sup>  
"Pickles" Wright of Linn County had been arrested in  
May. His name was given to him because he once stole a jar  
of pickles on a raid.<sup>26</sup> His trial was watched by the Osage  
Vigilance Committee of Mapleton. If he was not found guilty  
he was to be hanged. Therefore he pled guilty to avoid that  
possibility. A rescue party had tried to organize but fail-  
ed for lack of support.<sup>27</sup>

A convention at Mound City on December 8, 1860 justi-  
fied the murders of Doctor Jennison in November.<sup>28</sup> Mont-  
gomery had no part in the hanging of Hinds but justified it  
by quoting the 16th verse of Exodus XXI.<sup>29</sup>

Troops had been sent again to Fort Scott December 1,  
1860. Montgomery finally allowed the land sales, perhaps  
because of the troops. Only fourteen eighty-acre tracts

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24. Herklotz, loc. cit., 506; Medary, loc. cit., 631-632

25. Robley, op. cit., 151-156.

26. Ibid., 149-150

27. Ibid., 149-150

28. Wilder, op. cit., 307

29. Connelley, op. cit., 591; Robinson, op. cit., 412

were sold at prices ranging from \$1.25 to \$5.50 per acre,  
30  
but a large crowd attended.

This is the end of this phase of border troubles in these two counties. A second phase was to begin and end with the Civil War. Then it was Kansas which would be aggressive.

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30. Robley, op. cit., 155-156.

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APPENDIX A

MONTGOMERY'S OUTLINE OF BORDER TROUBLES IN BOURBON  
AND LINN COUNTIES

(Original in Kansas State Historical Society's James Mont-  
gomery papers)

History of Southern Kansas

Cause of trouble the same as elsewhere.--(Law & order)

"Kansas is ours and we will have it peaceable if we can and"

Free State Men driven off

**APPENDICES**

Wm. Stone

Mrs. Stone beaten

Southwood warned to leave

Proslavery men attempt to murder Stone

Fort Scott Court in--indictments

Bani austria (sic)

Malicious prosecutions again

It Free State move.

Beeson's case

Squatters Court organized

Stewart taken

Marshall summer (sic) court to surrender (sic) fight

Troops called for

Johnson mobbed

Anderson's & Denton's horses sold

Barnes' cattle sold

APPENDIX A

MONTGOMERY'S OUTLINE OF BORDER TROUBLES IN BOURBON ed til grap

Page & Co. AND LINN COUNTIES

Arrest free state men  
(Original in Kansas State Historical Society's James Mont-  
Stevenson pursued page  
gomery papers)  
Ingraham wounded  
History of Southern Kansas  
Page killed  
Cause of trouble the same as elsewhere.--(Law & order)  
Dye ordered off-Fort Stein  
"Kansas is ours and we will have it peaceable if we can and"  
Denton & Hedrick killed  
Free State Men driven off  
Davis wounded  
Wm. Stone  
Travis killed, Wassons wounded  
Mrs. Stone beaten  
Fight with troops  
Southwood warned to leave  
martial law threatened  
Proslavery men attempt to murder Stone  
More troops sent  
Fort Scott Court in--indictments  
Guerrilla movements, Proslavery.  
Bani austia (sic)  
Driven from Linn Co.  
Malicious prosecutions again  
Trading Post murder  
It Free State move.  
West Point visited  
Beeson's case  
Denver's dispatches--intercepted  
Squatters Court organized  
Montgomery writes to the Gov.  
Stewart taken  
Denver visits Fort Scott  
Marshall summer (sic) court to surrender (sic) fight  
Compromise--Peace, Prosperity.  
Troops called for  
Court sit--Compromise violated  
Johnson mobbed  
Fresh troubles (Rice)  
Anderson's & Denton's horses sold  
Little killed--store robbed  
Barnes' cattle sold

Proslavery Guerilla force organized, action postponed til grap

Page & Co. see No.

Arrest free state men

Stevenson pursued page

Ingraham wounded law that will punish a proslavery man how

Page killed we are indebted to the fighting men for it.

Dye ordered off-Fort Stein

Denton & Kedrick killed

Davis wounded

Travis killed, Wassons wounded

Fight with troops

Martial law threatened

More troops sent

Guerilla movements, Proslavery.

Driven from Linn Co.

Trading Post murder

West Point visited

Denver's dispatches--intercepted

Montgomery writes to the Gov.

Denver visits Fort Scott

Compromise--Peace. Prosperity

Court sit--Compromise violated

Fresh troubles (Rice)

Little killed--store robbed

Old Brown

APPENDIX B

Brown invades Mo.

Alarm in territory

Jackson--Close--

"If we have any law that will punish a proslavery man how ever guilty--we are indebted to the fighting men for it."

WHEREAS A body of Government soldiers and border ruffians did, on the 1st inst. fire upon some Free-State citizens, who were peacefully and inoffensively traveling on the common highway, and being incited to commit said outrageous and unlawful act by other ruffians living in Fort Scott;

Resolved, 1. That Judge Joseph Williams, the corrupt tool of slavocracy, be required to leave this Territory in six days; after that period he remains at the peril of his life.

2. That Dr. Blake Little, J. C. Sims and W. T. Campbell, the traitors who were elected by fraud and corruption to the bogus Legislature, be required to leave within six days--an infraction of this order at their peril.

3. That H. T. Wilson, G. P. Hamilton and D. V. Greenwood, the infamous swindlers of the Leocompton Convention, who forged an infamous constitution, be hung to death if they are caught in this Territory ten days from date.

4. That E. Ransford, APPENDIX B. Clarke, the holders of the two "wings" of the pretended National Democracy and the corrupt Judgement of a corrupt President, have six days to leave this Territory, under penalty of death, following James Montgomery's fight with Captain Anderson and soldiers on Yellow Paint Creek (from William E. Connelley's History of Kansas, II, 585-586).

WHEREAS? A body of Government soldiers and border ruffians did, on the 21st inst. fire upon some Free-State citizens, who were peacefully and inoffensively traveling on the common highway, and being incited to commit said outrageous and unlawful act by other ruffians living in Fort Scott;

Resolved, 1. That Judge Joseph Williams, the corrupt tool of slavocracy, be required to leave this Territory in six days; after that period he remains at the peril of his life.

2. That Dr. Blake Little, J. C. Sims and W. T. Campbell, the traitors who were elected by fraud and corruption to the bogus Legislature, be required to leave within six days--an infraction of this order at their peril.

3. That H. T. Wilson, G. P. Hamilton and D. F. Greenwood, the infamous swindlers of the Lecompton Convention, who forged an infamous constitution, be hung to death if they are caught in this Territory ten days from date.



APPENDIX C

4. That E. Ransom and G. W. Clarke, the holders of the two "wings" of the pretended National Democracy and the corrupt fuglemen of a corrupt President, have six days to leave this Territory, under penalty of death.

5. That J. H. Little, James Jones, Brockett, B. McDonald, A. Campbell, Harlan and the ruffians who accompanied the soldiers to assist and witness the massacre of Free-State citizens, be sentenced to whipping and branding and then be driven from the Territory.

6. That after the departure of the Judge and Marshal, no other official officers shall be allowed to administer the law but those elected under the Free-State Constitution.

7. That Judge Griffith, Maj. Montgomery and Capt. Hamilton be directed to carry out the orders of this meeting.

8. That Capt. Anderson shall be hanged to the highest tree in Bourbon County, and every soldier be put to death wherever he may be found.

9. That a copy of this notice be served on the people of Fort Scott.

I never had a commission from that board; and neither Gen. Lane nor the Board are responsible for my conduct.

I am identified with a popular movement in this section of the country, having for its object a redress of grievances. Our work is a necessary one; and, as soon as it is accom-

APPENDIX C

lished, we will lay down our arms and submit to the laws.  
Montgomery's letter to James H. Lane concerning his  
activities, June 6, 1858  
Respectfully yours,  
James Montgomery

"While on the Marmaton he (Montgomery) replied to an  
order of Major Gen. Lane commanding him to disband his  
company and report himself to headquarters, to answer  
charges made against him as an officer commissioned by the  
Military Board. The following is a copy of his transmitted  
reply:--Marmaton, June 6th, 1859. Eds. Lawrence Republican-  
Gents:--I see in your issue of May 27th, an article headed  
"Military Orders," and signed "J. H. Lane, Maj. Gen." in  
which I am ordered to disband my company and report myself  
instanter, etc. I have only to say that my command as a  
militia officer was resigned in the early part of last winter,  
some time before the order of February 18th was received  
by me.

'It is not true, as charge in the Lecompton Democrat,  
that I am acting under a commission from the Military Board.  
I never had a commission from that board; and neither Gen.  
Lane nor the Board are responsible for my conduct.

'I am identified with a popular movement in this section  
of the country, having for its object a redress of grievances.  
Our work is a necessary one; and, so soon as it is accomp-

APPENDIX D

lished, we will lay down our arms and submit to the laws.

(Taken from Oswald Garrison Villard, Respectfully yours, Brown, 1800-1839, A Biography Fifty Years James Montgomery'

The above letter was written at the earnest solicitation of some of Montgomery's friends, who deemed it due to his character that the facts of the case should be given to the public, and is the only letter he has ever written to my knowledge in vindication of his conduct for the many writers." (William Tomlinson's Kansas in Eighteen Fifty-eight, 218-219)

exciting drinks shall be used as a beverage by any member, or be suffered in camp for such purpose.

III. No member shall leave camp without leave of the commander.

IV. All property captured in any manner shall be subjected an equal distribution among the members.

V. All acts of petty or other thefts shall be promptly and properly punished, and restitution made as far as possible.

VI. All members shall, so far as able, contribute equally to all necessary labor in or out of camp.

VII. All prisoners who shall properly demean themselves shall be treated with kindness and respect, and shall be punished for crime only after trial and conviction, being allowed a hearing in defence.

APPENDIX D

(Taken from Oswald Garrison Villard's John Brown, 1800-1859, A Biography Fifty Years After, 666-667)

We the undersigned, members of Shubel Morgan's company, hereby agree to be governed by the following Rules:

I. A gentlemanly and respectful deportment shall at all times and places be maintained toward all persons; and all profane or indecent language shall be avoided in all cases.

II. No intoxicating drinks shall be used as a beverage by any member, or be suffered in camp for such purpose.

III. No member shall leave camp without leave of the commander.

IV. All property captured in any manner shall be subjected an equal distribution among the members.

V. All acts of petty or other thefts shall be promptly and properly punished, and restitution made as far as possible.

VI. All members shall, so far as able, contribute equally to all necessary labor in or out of camp.

VII. All prisoners who shall properly demean themselves shall be treated with kindness and respect, and shall be punished for crime only after trial and conviction, being allowed a hearing in defence.

VIII. Implicit obedience shall be yielded to all proper orders of the commander or other superior officers.

IX. All arms, ammunition, etc., not strictly private property, shall ever be held subject to, and delivered upon, the order of the commander.

Names	Date, 1858
Shubel Morgan	July 12
C. P. Tidd	" " Jan. 14/59
J. H. Kagi	" "
A. Wattles	" "
Sam Stevenson	" "
J. Montgomery	" "
T. Homyer	" "
Simon Snyder	" 14
E. W. Snyder	" 15
Elias J. Snyder	" "
John H. Snyder	" "
Adam Bishop	" "
William Hairgrove	" "
John Mikel	" "
Wm. Partridge	" "

men ever created, brave and true to his country and word  
You can't prove he ever injured an innocent person.

A few days more and we were to of been married then go  
south to trouble you no more. But through your influence  
he was killed, sent to another world without even time to  
pray or say good bye to his friends.

But thanks to God if you did kill his body you can't  
touch his soul, no, and it is in the spirit land now, the  
cry of "the Osages are coming" can awaken him no more, for  
he now quietly sleeps in our little grave yard.

APPENDIX E

Letter to Montgomery, Jan. 14, '59--An aftermath of the killing of Little at Rice rescue. (Taken from the Montgomery Papers in the library of Kansas State Historical Society)

Fort Scott, Jan. 14/'59

Montgomery

Listen to me.

Today I heard you said in a speech a few days since, that you were not sorry that you had killed John Little, that he was not killed to (sic.) soon.

Can you before God say so?

O, the anguish you have caused--he was one of the noblest men ever created, brave and true to his country and word. You can't prove he ever injured an innocent person.

A few days more and we were to of been married then go south to trouble you no more. But through your influence he was killed, sent to another world without even time to pray or say good bye to his friends.

But thanks to God if you did kill his body you can't touch his soul, no, and it is in the spirit land now, the cry of "the Osages are coming" can awaken him no more, for he now quietly sleeps in our little grave yard.

But remember this, I am a girl but I can fire a pistol and if ever the time comes I will send some of you to the place where there's "weeping and gnashing of teeth", you a minister of God, you mean a minister of the devil and a very superior one too. I have no more to say this time & you and your imps please accept the sincere regards for your future repentance

along the border of Missouri in particular, have this day entered into the following agreement and understanding, for our future guidance and action, viz;

of  
Seve Campbell

Article 1. All criminal processes, against any and all Free-State men, for any action of theirs prevent to this date, growing out of difficulties heretofore existing between the Free-State and Pro-Slavery parties, shall be forever discontinued and quashed.

Art. 2. All Free-State men held in confinement for any charges against them, on account of former difficulties, between the Free State and Pro-slavery parties, to be immediately released and discharged.

Art. 3. All Pro-Slavery men, known to have been actively and criminally engaged in the former political difficulties of the Territory, and who have been forcibly expelled, shall be compelled to remain away, as a punishment for their oft repeated and aggravated crimes.

Art. 4. No troops APPENDIX F or other officers of the  
General Government, shall be either sent or called to  
(Taken from Oswald Garrison Villard's John Brown, 1800-  
surround or serve criminal processes against any Free-State  
1859 A Biography Fifty Years After, 665-666)

The citizens of Linn County, assembled in mass meeting  
at Mound City, being greatly desirous of securing a permanent  
peace to the people of the Territory generally, and to those  
along the border of Missouri in particular, have this day  
entered into the following agreement and understanding, for  
our future guidance and action, viz:

Article 1. All criminal processes, against any and all  
Free-State men, for any action of theirs prevent to this  
date, growing out of difficulties heretofore existing be-  
tween the Free-State and Pro-Slavery parties, shall be for-  
ever discontinued and quashed.

Art. 2. All Free-State men held in confinement for any  
charges against them, on account of former difficulties, be-  
tween the Free State and Pro-slavery parties, to be immediate-  
ly released and discharged.

Art. 3. All Pro-Slavery men, known to have been active-  
ly and criminally engaged in the former political difficulties  
of the Territory, and who have been forcibly expelled, shall  
be compelled to remain away, as a punishment for their oft  
repeated and aggravated crimes.



Art. 4. No troops, marshal or other officers of the General Government, shall be either sent or called in to enforce or serve criminal processes against any Free-State man or men, on account of troubles heretofore existing, for any act prior to this date.

Art. 5. All parties shall hereafter in good faith discontinue, and thoroughly discountenance acts of robbery, theft or violence against others, on account of their political differences.

as the use of your column while I briefly state two parallels in my poor way. Not one year ago Eleven quiet citizens of this neighborhood (Viz.) Wm. Robertson, Wm. Golpetzer, Amos Hall, Austin Hall, John Campbell, Asa Snyder, Thos. Stillwell, Wm. Hairgrove, Asa Hairgrove, Patrick Ross, and B. L. Reed, were gathered up from their work, & their homes by an armed force (under One Hamilton) & without trial; or opportunity to speak in their own defense, were forced into a line & all but one shot, Five killed & Five wounded. One fell unharmed, pretending to be dead. All were left for dead. Now I inquire what action has ever since (the occasion in May last) been taken by either the President of the United States; the Governor of Missouri; the Governor of Kansas or any of their tools; or by any proslavery or administration party?

APPENDIX G

John Brown's Parallels

(This letter to the New York Tribune and to the Lawrence Republican is taken from William E. Connelley's History of Kansas, 577-578)

Trading Post, Kansas, Jany.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 1859

Gents; You will greatly oblige a humble friend by allowing me the use of your columns while I briefly state Two parallels in my poor way. Not one year ago Eleven quiet citizens of this neighborhood (Viz.) Wm. Robertson, Wm. Colpetzer, Amos Hall, Austin Hall, John Campbell, Asa Snyder, Thos. Stilwell, Wm. Hairgrove, Asa Hairgrove, Patrick Ross, and B. L. Reed, were gathered up from their work, & their homes by an armed force (under One Hamilton) & without trial; or opportunity to speak in their own defense, were formed into a line & all but one shot, Five killed & Five wounded. One fell unharmed, pretending to be dead. All were left for dead. Now I inquire what action has ever since (the occasion in May last) been taken by either the President of the United States; the Governor of Missouri; the Governor of Kansas or any of their tools; or by any proslavery or administration man?

Now for the other parallel. On Sunday, the 19th of December, a Negro man called Jim came over to the Osage settlement from Missouri & stated that he, together with his Wife, Two Children, & another Negro man were to be sold within a day or Two & begged for help to get away. On Monday night of the following day Two small companies were made up to go to Missouri & forcibly liberate the Five slaves, together with other slaves. One of those companies I assumed to direct. We proceeded to the place, surrounded the buildings, liberated the slaves; and also took certain other property supposed to belong to the Estate. We however learned before leaving that a portion of the articles we had taken belonged to a man living on the plantation as a tenant & who was supposed to have no interest in the Estate. We promptly restored to him all we had taken so far I believe. We then went to another where we freed Five more slaves, took some property; & Two white men. We moved all slowly away into the territory for some distance & then sent the White men back, telling them to follow us as soon as they chose to do so. The other company freed One female slave, took some property; & as I am informed killed One White Man (the master) who fought against the liberation.

Now for a comparison. Eleven persons are forcibly

restored to their natural; & unalienable rights with but one man killed; & all "Hell is stirred from beneath." It is currently reported that the Governor of Missouri has made a requisition upon the Governor of Kansas for the delivery of all such as were concerned in the last named "dreadful outrage;" the Marshall of Kansas is said to be collecting a posse of Missouri (not Kansas men) at West Point in Missouri, a little town about Ten Miles distant, to "enforce the laws," & and all proslavery conservative Free State dough faced men & administration tools are filled with Holy horror.

Respectfully yours,

John Brown