

How Bloody Was Bleeding Kansas?

Political Killings in Kansas Territory, 1854–1861

by Dale E. Watts

A consensus on the number of people who were killed for political reasons in territorial Kansas has never been established. Contemporary estimates were vague but were inflated by implication. Richard Bowlby said in 1856, “Much blood has already been spilt on both sides, and scenes of outrage of the most diabolical character have been enacted within the borders of Kansas.”¹ Thomas H. Gladstone wrote a year later, “Murder and cold-blooded assassination were of almost daily occurrence at the time of my visit.”² Newspaper accounts were even more sensational. Reporters from both the North and the South often stretched the truth as they wrote of the level of atrocity that was being inflicted on their partisans in Kansas.³

Typically no firm numbers of killings appeared in contemporary sources. One of the few concrete estimates was included in the report of the Hoogland Claims Commission of 1859. It said:

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1. Richard Bowlby, *Kansas, the Seat of War in America* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1856), 10.

2. Thomas H. Gladstone, *Kansas; or Squatter Life and Border Warfare in the Far West* (London: G. Routledge, 1857), 63.

3. See James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1942), chapters 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9 for the best discussion of the activities of the territorial and the national press.



A political conflict at Fort Titus, Douglas County, on August 16, 1856, resulted in the deaths of two proslavery men and one abolitionist.

Although not within our province, we may be excused for stating that, from the most reliable information that we have been able to gather, by the secret warfare of the guerilla system, and in well-known encounters, the number of lives sacrificed in Kansas during the period mentioned [November 1, 1855–December 1, 1856] probably exceeded rather than fell short of two hundred.⁴

Many historians have accepted this figure of two hundred, probably because it has been the only one available until recently.

In 1974 Robert W. Richmond arrived at a much lower total. He found that “approximately fifty persons died violently [for political reasons] during the territorial period.”⁵ He admitted that it was difficult to determine how many deaths really stemmed from the slavery controversy, but the number probably was far lower than those that had been projected historically.

This study will support Richmond’s conjecture and will show that the antislavery party was not the innocent victim of violence that its propagandists, both contemporary and subsequent, tried to portray. Both sides employed violent tactics and both were adept at focusing blame on their opponents, habitually claiming self-defense in any killings committed by their own men. However the antislavery party, as the ultimate victor in the contest, was in a position to write the history of the period from its point of view. The facts, as nearly as they can be reconstructed, do not support that view, at least in so far as it pertains to the frequency and the one-sided infliction of political killings.

The reconstruction of those facts is not easy. Most of the information is contained in highly biased sources, materials that often were written for propagandistic purposes, not the accurate recording

of events. Both sides tended to overestimate the level of carnage, sometimes to gain sympathy because of their losses, sometimes to convince themselves and the world that they were destroying their enemies in great numbers and thus were winning the contest. One proslavery Atchison newspaper reported that fifteen proslavery men had been killed at the Battle of Black Jack in Douglas County in June 1856.⁶ In reality no one on either side was killed during the battle. The antislavery papers were not any more accurate in their reporting. The Lawrence *Herald of Freedom* took the proslavery newspapers to task for exaggerating free-state losses at the Battle of Osawatimie in Lykins (Miami) County in August 1856, but in the same article the *Herald* made the wild claim that thirty or forty dead proslavery men were hauled from the battlefield.⁷ Only two of these proslavery casualties can be documented.

Beyond the problem of willful distortion, the historical record is in confusion for a number of reasons. Records are incomplete, especially those of the proslavery party which was overwhelmed by its victorious opponents. Many of the vanquished presumably took their papers with them as they exited the territory, and the victors showed little interest in preserving those that remained. Surviving records often are imprecise, detailing the general carnage of political warfare in Kansas Territory but failing in some cases to give sufficient information for the historian to establish the identity of killer and victim, much less the motive for the killing. Records are contradictory. One of the most extreme examples concerns the death of a Lieutenant Cline at the Battle of Middle Creek in Lykins (Miami) County in August 1856. A.T. Andreas’ *History of Kansas* states that Cline was a proslavery man who was mortally wounded by antislavery men under Captain Samuel Anderson.⁸ Yet in another section of the

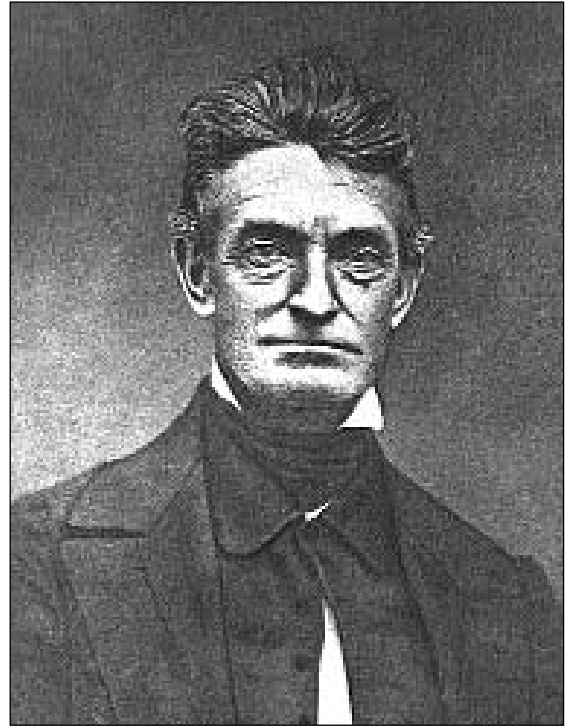
4. “Report of the Hoogland Commission on Claims,” Wyandotte, Kansas Territory, July 11, 1859, in Report of the Committee of Claims, *Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives*, 36th Cong., 2d sess., H. Rept. 104, serial 1106, 93.

5. Robert W. Richmond, *Kansas: A Land of Contrasts* (St. Louis: Forum Press, 1974), 61.

6. *Squatter Sovereign* (Atchison), June 10, 1856.

7. *Herald of Freedom* (Lawrence), November 1, 1856.

8. A.T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1883), 1103.



Antislavery leaders Charles Jennison (left) and John Brown (right). Their atrocities, committed in the name of the free-state cause, were not always politically motivated.

same book Andreas depicts Cline as a free-state military leader who was killed by proslavery Missourians led by Captain John E. Brown.⁹ No evidence has come to light to establish definitively whether Cline was proslavery or antislavery, if either.

Even if the records were more complete and consistent it still would be difficult to determine the motives for the killings. Motivation is always complex. Layers of social and biological factors interact mysteriously to produce behavior. No one in Kansas Territory, including the almost monomaniacal John Brown, acted strictly because of considerations about slavery. People found themselves caught up in violence stemming from land disputes, thievery,

personal feuds, the spasmodic functioning of frontier justice, and perhaps limitless other causes besides the slavery issue. The goal of this study is to sort through these complexities and to identify those killings in which conflict over slavery can be demonstrated to have been a preponderant factor.

Careful analysis indicates that two famous killings usually considered to have been of a political nature were not caused by the slavery controversy. The first was the shooting of Charles Dow, a free stater, by Franklin Coleman, a proslavery advocate, at Hickory Point in Douglas County. Dow and Coleman had adjoining land claims. The neighborhood experienced some general conflict over land disputes, as was ubiquitous in new territories, but little agitation over slavery.¹⁰ In this case the conflict

9. *Ibid.*, 145. Adding to the confusion is that Andreas wrote of two different Clines in the same passage: the "Lieut. Cline" mentioned here, and a "Capt. Cline," who subsequently fought with John Brown at the Battle of Osawatomie.

10. Testimony of John M. Banks before the Howard Commission, Report of the Special Committee to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas, 34th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 200, serial 869, 1057.



Most killings in territorial Kansas historically have been attributed to the slavery controversy. Many, however, actually were the result of other factors, such as James Lane's fatal shooting of Gaius Jenkins in 1858 over a land dispute.

was to prove deadly. Because the official land survey had not yet been completed, the boundaries of individual claims still were conjectural. In an attempt to more accurately delineate his borders and perhaps to gain ownership of some valuable timber land, Dow marked off his lines from the Shawnee Reserve, which was two or three miles away from his claim and had been surveyed. Most of the neighbors, including Coleman, favored waiting for the government surveyors to adjust the boundaries, but Dow insisted on taking possession of a strip of land about 250 yards wide from Coleman's claim.¹¹ Both men tried to control the use of the contested land. The tension mounted for some time until Coleman shot down Dow in the road on November 21, 1855. Neighbors agreed that Coleman and Dow had never had any difficulty about politics. The affair had grown out of the claim dispute.¹² Only afterward did politics or the slavery question become important.

One of Dow's friends, Jacob Branson, was arrested by a posse under Samuel Jones, sheriff of Douglas County, on the complaint from a proslavery neighbor that Branson had threatened his life. Antislavery men rescued Branson from the sheriff, thereby defying territorial authorities and precipitating open political conflict. The aftermath was of great political importance, but the killing itself was not of a political nature, even though Dow and Coleman's differing positions on slavery may have made it more difficult for them to reconcile their land dispute.¹³

The second incident in which killings habitually have been considered linked to the slavery question was the Marais des Cygnes Massacre. Tending to undermine this interpretation is the fact that only a few days before the massacre Thomas J. Wood of Fort Scott wrote to Governor James Denver concerning the region: "The difficulties seem to consist chiefly of

11. *Ibid.*

12. Testimony of Horatio Owens before the Howard Commission, *ibid.*, 1051.

13. James Burrett Abbott Papers, 1815–1896, Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. Abbott, who organized Branson's freeing, said that the rescue took on political significance, but the killing itself was not political.



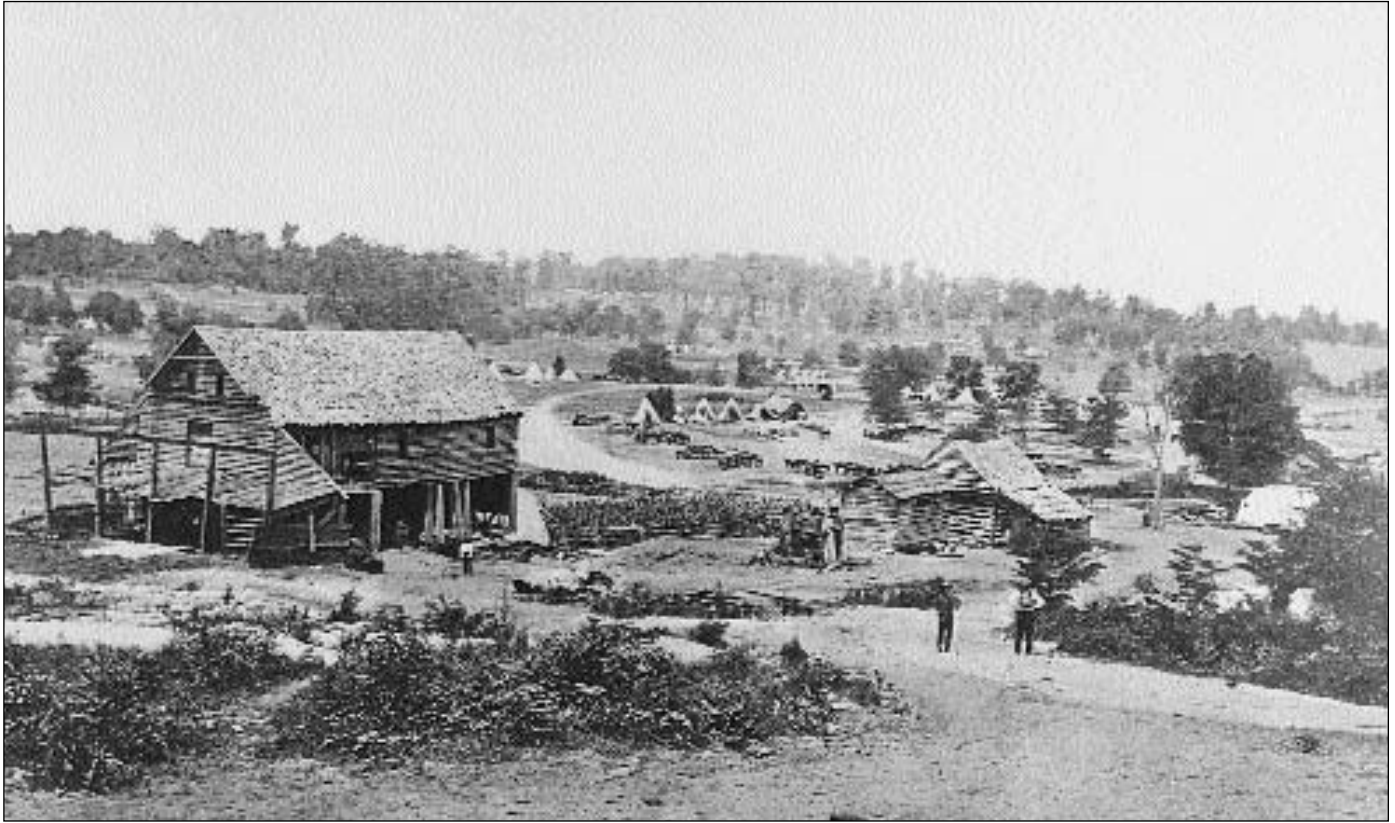
The Battle of Hickory Point in Jefferson County in September 1856 involved a clash between free-state and proslavery forces in which one proslavery advocate was killed.

a scramble for property, and not to involve any political elements, though politics are made a pretext for what the marauders do.”¹⁴ Although he was speaking of James Montgomery’s antislavery “marauders,” the comment also applied to proslavery “marauders” such as Charles Hamilton, the author of the massacre. Evidence indicates that Hamilton had lived in Linn County near the Missouri border until he was driven out by fear of Montgomery’s raids on

slavery advocates in the neighborhood. Hamilton reportedly made severe threats against his neighbors, but it is not clear why he directed his wrath toward them.¹⁵ On May 19, 1858, Hamilton swept back into the territory with some twenty to thirty-five accomplices. He captured twenty or so men in the vicinity of Trading Post. Apparently following impromptu trials, he elected to retain eleven of the captives. No definitive evidence has been found to explain why he held certain men while releasing others. None of those retained had been active in the political distur-

14. Thomas J. Wood to James Denver, Fort Scott, May 7, 1858, Territorial Executive Department Correspondence, Territorial Troubles, Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society. Late in 1858 P.T. Colby traveled to southern Kansas to gather information for Governor Samuel Medary on the “difficulties there and then existing.” In a letter to President James Buchanan, Colby concluded that “the contest is devoid of political character.” See P.T. Colby to the President of the United States, January 8, 1859, in “Governor Medary’s Administration,” *Kansas Historical Collections, 1889–1896* 5 (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Co., 1896), 585; see also G. Murlin Welch, *Border Warfare in Southeastern Kansas, 1856–1859*, ed. Dan L. Smith (Pleasanton, Kans.: Linn County Publishers, 1977), ix, which states that the disputes in the region stemmed primarily from land problems and were motivated by economic concerns.

15. Robert B. Mitchell to James Denver, Paris, Linn County, May 20, 1858, Territorial Executive Department Correspondence. Governor Denver speculated that Hamilton’s only cause for rancor was his belief that his neighbors had not adequately protected him from the marauders who had attacked him. See James Denver to Lewis Cass, Leecompton, June 7, 1858, in “Governor Denver’s Administration,” *Kansas Historical Collections, 1889–1896*, 529. Welch, *Border Warfare*, 88, states that Hamilton threatened anyone who voted against the Leecompton Constitution, but it is not known which if any of the victims had done so.



A proslavery party from Fort Saunders, Douglas County, was responsible for the death of one free-state man in August 1856.

bances, and nine of the eleven were National Democrats, a party generally opposed to the antislavery movement.¹⁶ Hamilton and his men led their prisoners about two miles back toward Missouri, had a brief gunfight with Eli Snyder at his blacksmith shop, and then shot down the captives in a ravine. Five men were killed, five wounded, and one survived unscathed. As with the affair between Coleman and Dow, this incident had large political reper-

16. R.B. Mitchell to James Denver, Paris, Linn County, May 27, 1858, Territorial Executive Department Correspondence. Charles Snyder testified in the *Lawrence Republican*, June 17, 1858, that "Most of them [the victims] were my neighbors, and not one of them had ever been engaged in any former difficulties to my knowledge. Neither had they ever seen or belonged to Montgomery's party." The majority report of the select committee on the governor's message, January 12, 1859, in "Governor Medary's Administration," 592, reinforces this interpretation: "Not one of these men so slain had at any time been engaged in the previous troubles, but were considered conservative men, and opposed to force on either side."

cussions as a nationally publicized event but was not inherently a political killing. Unless additional evidence proves that Hamilton's motives were political, the massacre must be considered a matter of blind revenge being wreaked on undeserving victims. Politics played a role in creating conflict in the area but were not the controlling factor.

The case of Sarah Carver is another in which the weight of political motivation could be questioned, but close investigation reveals that the killing was sufficiently political to warrant placing it in that category, distinguishing it in that regard from the Dow–Coleman affair and the Marais des Cygnes Massacre. Seventeen-year-old Sarah lived on the Neosho River in Lyon County with her new husband, who was thought to have proslavery sentiments. One night around Septem-

ber 10, 1856, a group of men rode up to the cabin and demanded that Carver come out. He refused. The horsemen fired through the chinks in the cabin walls, mortally wounding Sarah who was lying in bed. A.T. Andreas wrote that the raiders were anti-slavery, but contemporary free staters maintained that they were nonpolitical freebooters.¹⁷ The preponderance of evidence supports Andreas. For example, Charles T. Gilman of Council Grove identified the killers as “abolitionists” shortly after the incident, which occurred only about thirty miles from his home.¹⁸ Sarah apparently was not the primary target. Even the most hardened ruffians on either side were scrupulous about not killing women; thus, Sarah is the only woman known to have been killed because of the political conflict in territorial Kansas, and she fell victim to a free-state band.

All of the killings in Kansas Territory are subject to debate concerning the role politics played in them. As previously mentioned, none was caused purely by political conflict, although some such as the Pottawatomie Massacre were highly political. On the other hand, probably few were not at least tainted by the political climate. Reasonable historians could come to widely differing conclusions about which killings should be included among the political group.

A careful search of representative sources reveals a total of 157 violent deaths during the territorial period. Of these, fifty-six may be attributed with some confidence to the political conflict or the slavery issue. The remaining 101 killings comprise fifty-two resulting from personal conflicts such as fights or brawls, seventeen stemming directly from land disputes, eleven from lynchings, and five occurring during robberies. In sixteen cases information is insufficient to determine a primary motivation. Of these 101 slayings, twenty-five may have had politics or slavery as a significant contributing cause, but primarily they were the result of other factors.

These figures indicate that the level of killing in territorial Kansas was much lower than was implied at the time and by subsequent writers. Political killings account for about one-third of the total violent deaths. They were not common. The streets and byways did not run red with blood as some writers have imagined. Sol Miller, the irascible and opinionated editor of the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, saw some humor in the exaggerated accounts of bloodshed. He wrote early in 1858:

The late civil war in Kansas did not last but a day and a half. A Kansas correspondent thus sums up the result:

Killed	0
Wounded, contusion of the nose	2
Missing	0
Captured	3
Frightened	5,718

To have read the frightful accounts of the late war, as given in the *St. Louis Democrat* and some of the Kansas papers, one would have supposed that at least as many as are reported above to have been frightened, were actually killed, and had “gone the way of all flesh.”¹⁹

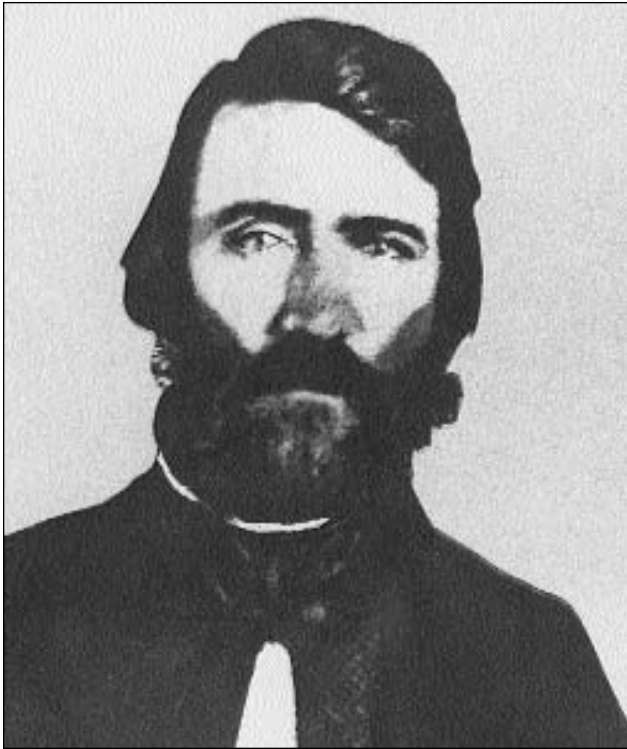
One should not make light of the armed attacks that wounded but did not kill, nor of the arson that destroyed households and means of livelihood but did not kill, nor of the threats that drove settlers away but did not kill. These all merged with the killings and the rumors of killings to produce a sometimes frightful environment in which to live. However, it is important to keep in mind the relatively small number of actual killings that occurred in this environment. It is almost infinitesimal when compared with the 583 people estimated to have died violently during 1855 in California and the 1,200 who died in San Francisco between 1850 and 1853.²⁰

17. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 867.

18. Charles T. Gilman to A.G. Boone, Council Grove, September 16, 1856, Territorial Executive Department Correspondence.

19. *Kansas Chief* (White Cloud), February 11, 1858.

20. W. Eugene Hollon, *Frontier Violence: Another Look* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 75.



Proslavery leaders Samuel Jones (left), sheriff of Douglas County, and Henry Titus (right), defender of the proslavery stronghold Fort Titus.

Beyond the question of numbers, the data shed light on the nature of violence in Kansas Territory. The dates of the political killings and the distribution of those dates reveal the periods of greatest conflict. By year, the frequency was:

1854 = 0	1857 = 6
1855 = 4	1858 = 3
1856 = 38	1859 = 3
1860 = 2	1861 = 0
	(until statehood)

These figures confirm that 1856 was the bloodiest period in Bleeding Kansas. During that year a total of thirty-eight people were killed in political strife, far above the eighteen who died during all the other years combined.

Geographical location is also an important consideration in analyzing these data:

YEARS AND COUNTIES OF POLITICAL KILLINGS

<u>1854</u>	0	<u>1857</u>	
		Bourbon	4
<u>1855</u>		Douglas	1
Doniphan	1	Leavenworth	1
Douglas	1		
Leavenworth	1	<u>1858</u>	
Shawnee Reserve		Unknown (south of	
(probably Douglas)	1	Wakarusa River)	1
		Bourbon	2
<u>1856</u>			
Douglas	13	<u>1859</u>	
Franklin	5	Linn	3
Jefferson	1		
Johnson	1	<u>1860</u>	
Leavenworth	8	Linn	2
Linn	1		
Lykins (Miami)	8	<u>1861</u>	
Lyon	1		0

Douglas County suffered the most from violence, incurring a total of fifteen political killings during the territorial period. The greatest violence seems to have come in those areas that were strongly mixed politically. The region between Lecompton and Lawrence, in which proslavery and antislavery settlers lived side by side, was ravaged time after time by conflict while the two towns themselves, more uniform in their respective political views, were almost free from political killings.

This analysis of the location of political killings reveals that violence began in the more northerly counties of Kansas Territory and then shifted southward. In 1855 the four killings were scattered from Douglas to Doniphan counties. Douglas (thirteen), Leavenworth (eight), Lykins (eight), and Franklin (five) Counties accounted for thirty-four of the thirty-eight political killings in 1856. The year 1857 was calmer with six political killings, one in Douglas County, one in Leavenworth County, and four to the south in Bourbon County. In 1858 the three killings were split between an area near the Wakarusa River, probably Douglas County, and Bourbon County. Linn County was the site of the three killings in 1859 and of the two in 1860.

While most of the findings of this study tend to confirm traditional interpretations, one very important exception is apparent. Contemporary antislavery accounts and the writings of historians generally depict the antislavery people as the victims of proslavery attackers. Newspaper reporters and other propagandists were very adept at creating graphic descriptions of the atrocities that the Border Ruffians were said to be inflicting on the virtually helpless antislavery settlers. The data, however, indicate that the two sides were nearly equally involved in killing their political opponents: thirty proslavery people, twenty-four antislavery men, one officially neutral U.S. soldier, and one man whose political persuasion is obscured by a

garbled historical record. Antislavery men seem to have been just as hostile and aggressive as their proslavery counterparts. The only difference is that their reprehensible actions, such as killing Sarah Carver, either have gone unnoticed or have been excused as accidents or as having been committed in self-defense.

No angels lived in Kansas Territory. The Potawatomie Massacre constituted the bloodiest single atrocity, but those murders were balanced by the killings of peaceful antislavery men. The gunfire that cut down a Mr. Cook (proslavery) at Easton in January 1856 set the stage for the revenge killing of one of his assailants, R.P. Brown (antislavery). Tit for tat, killing for killing, each side fought to avenge supposed crimes by its enemies while striving to convince the world that it did so only with the purest of motives. Because they eventually won the contest in Kansas, the antislavery group wrote most of the history books. This gave them the opportunity to hide their own misdeeds and to accentuate those of their foes. However, both sides often placed human life below ideology and personal gain.

The exact number of political killings in territorial Kansas will never be known. Propagandists inflated or deflated their reports for political reasons. Estimates were and will continue to be based on rumor as much as on solid information. As was common in the unstable environment of new regions, people disappeared without a trace: some may have been killed by political foes; others probably simply moved on to greener pastures. Newly documented instances of political killings will continue to appear as historical research progresses; however, some cases included here in the political category may prove in the future to have been precipitated by essentially nonpolitical motives. Therefore, the present estimate of fifty-six political killings in Kansas Territory likely will remain relatively constant, fluctuating only within a narrow range as additional information becomes available.

DOCUMENTED POLITICAL KILLINGS

1. Unidentified Negro man.
Killed by a Shawnee Indian.
Before March 24, 1855, on the Shawnee Reserve
(probably Johnson County or Douglas County).
Shot trying to escape from slavery.
2. Malcolm Clark (proslavery).
Killed by Cole McCrea (antislavery).
March 25, 1855, Leavenworth.
Shot during a quarrel at a squatters'
association meeting.
3. Samuel Collins (antislavery).
Killed by Pat Laughlin or — — Lynch (proslavery).
November 29, 1855, Doniphan County.
Shot during a quarrel due to Laughlin's defection
from the free-state cause.
4. Thomas W. Barber (antislavery).
Killed by George W. Clark or James Burns
(proslavery).
December 6, 1855, Douglas County.
Shot while returning home after the Wakarusa
War at Lawrence.
5. — — Cook (proslavery).
Killed by a party led by R.P. Brown (antislavery).
January 17, 1856, Easton, Leavenworth County.
Shot during a fight concerning an election.
6. R.P. Brown (antislavery).
Killed by Robert Gibson and others (proslavery).
January 17, 1856, Leavenworth County.
Mortally wounded in the head with an ax in
retribution for his involvement in killing Cook.
7. John Jones (antislavery).
Killed by a party of Israel B. Donaldson's men
(proslavery).
May 4, 1856, Blanton's Bridge, Douglas County.
Shot as a "damned abolitionist."
8. — — Stewart (antislavery).
Killed by — — Cosgrove (proslavery).
May 19, 1856, Douglas County.
Shot while looking for John Jones' killers.
9. James P. Doyle (proslavery).
Killed by a party led by John Brown (antislavery).
May 25, 1856, Franklin County.
Shot or hacked with swords during the
Pottawatomie Massacre.²¹
10. William Doyle (proslavery).
Killed by a party led by John Brown (antislavery).
May 25, 1856, Franklin County.
Hacked with swords during the
Pottawatomie Massacre.
11. Drury Doyle (proslavery).
Killed by a party led by John Brown (antislavery).
May 25, 1856, Franklin County.
Hacked with swords during the
Pottawatomie Massacre.
12. Allen Wilkinson (proslavery).
Killed by a party led by John Brown (antislavery).
May 25, 1856, Franklin County.
Hacked with swords during the
Pottawatomie Massacre.
13. William Sherman (proslavery).
Killed by a party led by John Brown (antislavery).
May 25, 1856, Franklin County.
Hacked with swords during the
Pottawatomie Massacre.²²
14. Unidentified man, probably — — Tischmaker
(proslavery).
Killed by unidentified attackers (antislavery).
June 3, 1856, Franklin, Douglas County.
Killed defending the town of Franklin.
15. Jacob Cantrel (antislavery).
Killed by a party of John Whitfield's or Henry Pate's
men (proslavery).
June 6, 1856, Johnson County.
Shot after the Battle of Black Jack for being a free-state
Missourian who aided the antislavery forces.

21. John Brown never admitted to any direct participation in the Pottawatomie Massacre. Contemporary opinion on his involvement was strongly split, but recent historians have agreed that the evidence is conclusive that Brown was the leader of the murderous party.

22. The Sherman brothers were German immigrants and seem not to have taken any strong position on the slavery issue, so it is debatable whether William was killed because of his political orientation.

16. Oliver C. Hopkins (antislavery).
Killed by Berry Haney (proslavery).
June 15, 1856, Douglas County.
Killed while attacking Haney's house.
17. David S. Hoyt (antislavery).
Killed by a party from Fort Saunders, Douglas
County (proslavery).
August 12, 1856, Douglas County.
Shot after trying to negotiate a truce.
18. Unidentified man (antislavery).
Killed by Jefferson Buford's men (proslavery).
About August 12, 1856, Franklin, Douglas County.
Killed attacking the town of Franklin.
19. Unidentified man (proslavery).
Killed by defenders of Wakefield's house (antislavery).
August 15, 1856, Douglas County.
Shot while attacking Wakefield's house.
20. — — Sisterre (proslavery).
Killed by a party of Samuel Walker's men
(antislavery).
August 16, 1856, Douglas County.
Killed defending G.W. Clarke's house.
21. — — Clowes (proslavery).
Killed by a party of Samuel Walker's men
(antislavery).
August 16, 1856, Douglas County.
Killed defending G.W. Clarke's house.²³
22. Unidentified editor of the *Southern Advocate*
(proslavery).
Killed by a party of Samuel Walker's men
(antislavery).
August 16, 1856, Douglas County.
Killed defending G.W. Clarke's house.²⁴
23. Frederick Beeker (proslavery).
Killed by a party led by Samuel Walker (antislavery).
August 16, 1856, Douglas County.
Shot defending Fort Titus.
24. Jacob Baker (proslavery).
Killed by John Cleony (Cleary), Samuel Walker,
Andrew J. Smith, or William Jesse (antislavery).
August 16, 1856, Douglas County.
Shot defending Fort Titus.²⁵
25. Henry J. Shombre (antislavery).
Killed by a party led by Henry Titus (proslavery).
August 16, 1856, Douglas County.
Mortally wounded attacking Fort Titus.
26. — — Hoppe (antislavery).
Killed by Charles Fuget (proslavery).
August 19, 1856, Leavenworth County.
Shot and scalped after Fuget vowed to kill the
first free-state man he met. Fuget was tried
for murder and acquitted.
27. Unidentified German man (antislavery).
Killed by Charles Fuget (proslavery).
August 19, 1856, Leavenworth.
Shot after speaking against Hoppe's murder.
28. — — Cline (proslavery or antislavery).
Killed by party led by Samuel Anderson (antislavery)
or John E. Brown (proslavery).
About August 27, 1856, Linn County or
Lykins (Miami) County.
Mortally wounded during the Battle of
Middle Creek.
29. Frederick Brown (antislavery).
Killed by a party led by Martin White and
John W. Reid (proslavery).
August 30, 1856, Osawatomie, Lykins (Miami)
County.
Shot before the Battle of Osawatomie.
30. David R. Garrison (antislavery).
Killed by a party led by Martin White and
John W. Reid (proslavery).
August 30, 1856, Osawatomie, Lykins (Miami)
County.
Shot before the Battle of Osawatomie.

23. A.W.H. Clowes was listed among the proslavery prisoners from the Battle of Fort Titus by the *Squatter Sovereign*, August 26, 1856. If this is the same Clowes, he obviously could not have been killed earlier during the attack on Clarke's house.

24. References to this person are extremely vague, but no evidence yet exists with which to refute them.

25. The file for Andrew J. Smith, William Jesse, and John Cleary in U.S. District Court, Criminal Case Files, 1855–1860, Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society, lists the date of Baker's death as September 16, 1856. This must be an error because the only fighting at Fort Titus was a month earlier on August 16.

31. Unidentified man (proslavery).
Killed by a party led by John Brown (antislavery).
August 30, 1856, Osawatomie, Lykins (Miami) County.
Killed during the Battle of Osawatomie.
32. Unidentified man (proslavery).
Killed by a party led by John Brown (antislavery).
August 30, 1856, Osawatomie, Lykins (Miami) County.
Killed during the Battle of Osawatomie.
33. George Partridge (antislavery).
Killed by a party led by Martin White and John W. Reid (proslavery).
August 30, 1856, Osawatomie, Lykins (Miami) County.
Shot during the Battle of Osawatomie.
34. William Williams (antislavery).
Killed by a party led by Martin White and John W. Reid (proslavery).
August 30, 1856, probably Lykins (Miami) County.
Killed after being taken prisoner during the Battle of Osawatomie.
35. Theron P. Powers (antislavery).
Killed by a party led by Martin White and John W. Reid (proslavery).
August 30, 1856, Osawatomie, Lykins (Miami) County.
Shot during the Battle of Osawatomie.
36. Charley Keiser (antislavery).
Killed by Kickapoo Rangers (proslavery).
September 1, 1856, Lykins (Miami) County.
Shot after the Battle of Osawatomie.
37. Unidentified man (proslavery).
Killed by William Phillips (antislavery).
September 1, 1856, Leavenworth.
Killed during a gunfight with William Phillips.
38. Unidentified man (proslavery).
Killed by William Phillips (antislavery).
September 1, 1856, Leavenworth.
Killed during a gunfight with William Phillips.
39. William Phillips (antislavery).
Killed by a party led by Frederick Emory (proslavery).
September 1, 1856, Leavenworth.
Shot resisting Emory's attempt to drive him out of town.
40. Sarah Carver (proslavery).
Killed by unidentified attackers (antislavery).
About September 10, 1856, Lyon County.
Shot during an attack on her husband.
41. Charles G. Newall (Newell) (proslavery).
Killed by John Kagi, A.J. Patrick, or Thomas W. Porterfield (antislavery).
September 15, 1856, Jefferson County.
Killed by a cannon shot during the Battle of Hickory Point.
42. David C. Buffum (antislavery).
Killed by Charles Hays (proslavery).
September 16, 1856, Douglas County.
Shot by proslavery forces attempting to take his horse.²⁶
43. William T. Sherrard (proslavery).
Killed by John A.W. Jones (antislavery).
February 18, 1857, Lecompton, Douglas County.
Shot while participating in a gunfight at a political meeting.
44. James T. Lyle (proslavery).
Killed by William Haller (antislavery).
June 29, 1857, Leavenworth County.
Killed after stabbing Haller during a dispute at an election.
45. Unidentified man (proslavery).
Killed by defenders of Fort Bain (antislavery).
December 2, 1857, Bourbon County.
Mortally wounded while attacking the fort with a marshal's posse.

26. The file for Charles Hays in *ibid.* states that Buffum died on October 1, 1856. This must be a mistake because all other sources agree that he was wounded on September 15 and died either that day or the next. Hays was charged with murder and was released on bail. He escaped prosecution. See First District Court, 1855–1858, Record A, Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society.

46. Unidentified man (proslavery).
Killed by defenders of Fort Bain (antislavery).
December 2, 1857, Bourbon County.
Mortally wounded while attacking the fort with
a marshal's posse.
47. Unidentified man (proslavery).
Killed by defenders of Fort Bain (antislavery).
December 2, 1857, Bourbon County.
Mortally wounded while attacking the fort with
a marshal's posse.
48. James Rhodes (proslavery).
Killed by — — Weaver (antislavery).
After December 2, 1857, Bourbon County.
Shot during a fight on the road after the battle
at Fort Bain.
49. — — Konz (proslavery).
Killed by unidentified men (antislavery).
Around January 15, 1858, south of the
Wakarusa River (probably Douglas County).
Executed after boasting of having killed a
number of abolitionists.
50. Alvin Satherwaite (Satterwaith) (U.S. soldier).
Killed by a party of James Montgomery's men
(antislavery).
April 23, 1858, Bourbon County.
Mortally wounded while pursuing free-state raiders.
51. John H. Little (proslavery).
Killed by a party led by James Montgomery
(antislavery).
December 15, 1858, Fort Scott, Bourbon County.
Shot while free-state men were breaking a man
out of jail.²⁷
52. Unidentified man (antislavery).
Killed by a party led by U.S. Deputy Marshal
Andrew J. Russell (proslavery).
January 20, 1859, Linn County.
Shot during a gunfight with Russell and his men.
53. Unidentified man (antislavery).
Killed by a party led by U.S. Deputy Marshal
Andrew J. Russell (proslavery).
January 20, 1859, Linn County.
Shot during a gunfight with Russell and his men.
54. Unidentified man (antislavery).
Killed by a party led by U.S. Deputy Marshal
Andrew J. Russell (proslavery).
January 20, 1859, Linn County.
Shot during a gunfight with Russell and his men.
55. Russell Hinds (proslavery).
Killed by a party of Charles Jennison's men
(antislavery).
November 15, 1860, Linn County.
Hanged for participating in the voluntary return
of a slave to his master.
56. Samuel Scott (proslavery).
Killed by a party of Charles Jennison's men
(antislavery).
November 18, 1860, Linn County.
Hanged because he was a member of the first
territorial legislature, had harbored proslavery
raiders, and had returned to Kansas Territory
after having been expelled twice.



27. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 1070, states that the victim was Dr. Blake Little, father of John H. Little. However, contemporary sources agree that John Little was the man killed. See *Fort Scott Democrat*, December 16, 1858; Case of James Montgomery, et al., U.S. District Court, Criminal Case File, 1855–1860.