the appointment, expressing publicly his opinion that no man had a right to learn a new trade or profession at his time of life, at the possible expense of the lives of other men. He promptly offered his services to the Government, however, in any other capacity in which they could be useful, and afterwards was employed in various important services, not strictly military, during the war.

His death occurred, after a short illness, at Easton, on the 5th of July, A. D. 1864. His memory should be revered by every citizen of Kansas as that of an honest and fearless magistrate, who gave to every duty his best intelligence and effort, and who in trying times was willing to risk life, if need be, rather than to submit to or permit the perpetration of wrong to the infant Territory over which he had charge.

GOVERNOR REEDER'S ESCAPE FROM KANSAS.

COPY FROM DIARY OF GOVERNOR A. H. REEDER; WRITTEN BY HIM DURING THE PERIOD WHEN HE WAS ESCAPING FROM KANSAS IN DISGUISE, IN MAY, 1856.

MONDAY, May 5.—Left Lawrence with Congressional Committee for Tecumseh. Commenced examination of witnesses there in the afternoon; R. Rees assisting Whitfield.

TUESDAY, May 6.—Examined witnesses. Took tea with Judge Elmore. Returned at 9 o'clock P. M. through the woods alone. Began to think this was rather imprudent. Mrs. Elmore lives in a cabin of one room; was compelled to nurse her negroes and do the house work last fall; she says she never cooked a meal before. She bears the change well, and is a most excellent woman.

WEDNESDAY, May 7.—Examined witnesses until 4 P. M. Learned from the best authority (a grand juror and others) that the plan we had so often heard of was about being carried out, to paralyze the Free-State party; that the grand jury now in session at Lecompton had been charged by the court, as had the last grand jury at Delaware, that not only all the officers of the State Government, but all the judges of election, were indictable. A number of indictments had been found at Delaware, but for some reason had not been pressed, and the grand jury being many of them drunk, several had been lost in the street. A similar attempt, we knew, had been made at Osawkee, when John Hutchinson had been called as a witness, and

*The extract from Governor Reeder's diary was received by the Society from General Frank Reeder, with the following letter:

"Easton, Nov. 4, 1856.—F. G. Adams, Esq., Topeka, Kansas.—Dear Sir: I send you by this mail a copy of the diary kept by my father in 1856, while escaping from Kansas. It is in one or two places incomplete, the original having become so blurred as to be indecipherable. I have added a copy of the will made while concealed in the hotel at Kansas City, the original of which was found in a compartment of the diary. Very truly yours,

FRANK REEDER."
had refused to answer several questions, and his refusal had been passed over because they were of matters inquirable at Lecompton, in another county. Both these courts, as well as that at Lecompton, were presided over by Chief Justice Lecompte, a man of frivolous mind, little ability, less integrity, great perversity and indolence, and limited knowledge of the law. Having neither property, practice, nor reputation at home, his head became turned by the location of the capital at the town he had laid out and named. By this means and the domineering habit of the Pro-Slavery men, so well adapted to operate on a weak man, they have made of him a most supple tool. After his charge to the grand jury at Lecompton, they proceeded to consider the matter, and, without taking any testimony at all, voted by a large majority of the 16 present to find indictments against Gov. Robinson and myself for treason. James Whitlock (a canting, sneaking scoundrel, who was elected to the bogus Legislature by the 1,000 Missourians that came over to Lawrence and took possession of the polls, and who does the most atrocious things under the garb of piety), suggested that it was important to get out of us all the facts we knew, and that perhaps, if they once presented us for treason, they could not put us through an examination, and if not, the presentment would better be suppressed, and send subpoenas for us first; that we could then be examined, and afterwards arrested.

District Attorney Isacks was sent for, and inquired of whether we could be as well examined after we were presented as before, and he of course said “No.” All of this Whitlock knew as well before, his main object being to bring us to Lecompton on a subpoena, knowing that on a warrant for treason we would not come. These details I had from James F. Legate, one of the grand jury, who came up to Tecumseh to inform me. Governor Robinson and Lieutenant Governor Roberts and myself had a consultation, and all came to the same conclusion—that the plans of the enemy were well laid; that if we allowed them to pick up all our leaders, including all the State officers, members of the Legislature, &c., for an offense not bailable, and keep them shut up for six months, and until after the next election, (as they could,) that they would then take our people in detail and break them down, especially as they had provided for a parade and training of the militia on election day, and under cover of this would introduce, without doubt, a number of men from Missouri. The prospect was dark, the crisis an important one and involving grave consequences, and yet we had but brief time to consult. Resolved that we must soon make an open, organized armed resistance, and that to make it as effectual and justifiable as it is already righteous and just, we must do it under and through the forms of the State government, and thus set up the State against the Territorial government. For this we must call the Legislature together, pass laws, organize courts, organize and officer our militia, and supply them all with arms, who are not already supplied; that as soon as our courts are organized we
must issue writs of habeas corpus and take their prisoners away from them, and thus make the issue of force and blood in the best shape we can. Codifying committees are already at work, and some of the laws will soon be ready. The Legislature must be called by the — day of June, as on that day commences the next court in the Second District, when they will all be indicted and arrested. It is agreed also that some one shall go East to raise men and arms to prepare for this emergency, and for several reasons that Robinson would better go, after issuing his proclamation for the Legislature to assemble, leaving Roberts to act in his place. I suggested that I would like to have them try one of their indictments for treason on me, and that perhaps I should better be arrested. All agree that much capital could be made out of it, but the only difficulty is that it will keep me prisoner till October, when so much is to be done. I persisted, however, that I would submit to the arrest and try it. We did not determine what we would do as a last resort in case the General Government took the field against us, and gave us the alternative of backing out or of levying war against them. This would be not the silly sham treason for which indictments are found now, but actual treason at least in the letter, although as holy and glorious in spirit as the dawn of the Revolution of ’76. Robinson declares that at least we will wipe out the d—d Territorial Government absolutely and effectually, and to this we all assented.

Toward evening a Mr. Fain, a new-comer from Georgia, who has been in the Territory but two weeks, called and very politely informed me that he was acting as Deputy Marshal, and had a subpoena for me. I requested him to let me see it, and he handed me a copy. On looking at it I discovered that it was very irregular in form, and, as I was not yet ready to be arrested for treason, I determined not to obey it. I accordingly so informed the officer, giving, as the reasons, my privilege as Delegate in Congress, and the informality of the subpoena. He left, and soon after met Legate, asked where Robinson was, and was told he had gone to Topeka; asked if he could go there and subpoena him with safety. Legate mischievously told him he did not know, that he must run his own risks, which so alarmed the Georgian that he at once turned back to Lecompton. The same evening we went back to Topeka; stayed till after breakfast of the next day.

Thursday, May 8.—Returned to Lawrence, where we met Mr. Sherman and Mr. Oliver, who had gone to Lecompton on the evening before. At 2 o’clock p. m., commenced to examine witnesses. Saw my Georgia friend of yesterday come in and go up stairs for a consultation with Major Oliver, and some friends; had a small pose with him, all armed. He soon came into the room and informed me he had an attachment for me. I put myself on my privilege, and claimed that the committee protect me, so that I could go on with the investigation. They decided they had no power to interfere, but Howard and Sherman expressed a positive opinion in favor of my privilege from arrest; Oliver differing from them on that point. I then
stated how I was privileged, made a full explanation, and declared that I would protect myself, and warned the officer that if he arrested me, he did so at his peril. He and posse left without making the effort. In the meantime I had learned from good authority that my life was not safe from private assassination at Lecompton, and I had made up my mind that I would not go there to be kept for six months, in danger of nightly assassination and daily insult, from giving my help to our cause, or fighting the pending contest in Congress, confined in some miserable dog-hole in the place—for there are no comforts there. Same evening, by advice of friends, wrote to Shannon and Lecompte to say that, if they would give me their guarantee of personal safety and immediate return to the committee, I would come and testify. Same night a discussion was had whether I should wait and fight the posse that would come after me, or I leave the Territory; and there was a difference of opinion, all agreeing, however, that if the U.S. dragoons should come down we would submit.

Ascertainment that there were only ten kegs of powder in Lawrence, and only 200 Sharps' rifles. Some were in the surrounding country, however, and 5,000 Sharps' rifle cartridges were reported on hand, so that the ten kegs would mostly be used for our three pieces of artillery and the common rifles. Intelligence came in that the enemy were ordered to muster at Lecompton, and had scouts out over the country, and that men were prepared to come from Kickapoo and Atchison, most of them Missourians, of course. Decided to wait till next day, and I stayed in my quarters at the hotel.

Friday, May 9.—Governor Robinson left, openly, with his wife for Kansas City to take boat down the river. Roberts took command—messengers sent out to our friends to be ready if called for. Considered best that I should disappear for the present, and about 10 o'clock I left in a buggy with Lyman Allen, and with a borrowed overcoat and cap, drove to the ravine and walked down its bed to E. W. Clark's, where I remained secluded all day. The companies were mustered, and spies were sent up to Lecompton. Answer received from Shannon, unsatisfactory. Judge Lecompte says he has no answer to give.

Evening.—Picket guards posted a mile on the road to Lecompton. Reports that they have 300 men assembled. Friends came over to see me, and among them Mr. Howard, Chairman of Congressional Committee, Lowrey, Jenkins, Hutchinson, Roberts, &c. Prevailing opinion that I should leave the Territory and attend to matters at Washington, and that if I were away a fight could be avoided. Lowrey says he has a skiff at mouth of ravine to cross the river, and horses to ride so as to reach the Nebraska line; but prefer to go to Topeka, and thence up the Laramie road, and to Nebraska City, about 250 miles. First night's travel will be dangerous, as we must pass through the enemy's scouts. I preferred to go down at night to Kansas City, if creeks can be forded. Determined by advice, however, to go
west, and at midnight went over to the town to arrange; Lowrey and McClure to go along. Three horses tied in the ravine. At hotel found men who agreed with me; and decided to hide till the next evening and then start for Kansas City; Jenkins to make the arrangements. Left at once with Jenkins and rode to the house of —— Morgan and G. W. Goss, who roused up and gave me a bed; (about a mile south of town.)

SATURDAY, May 10.—Remained shut up in bedroom all day. News from Lawrence that the posse had not come down. At 9 p.m., Jenkins came with two-horse carriage, and George Earl and McClure, and his own saddle horse. Concluded to avoid the main road on account of a company at Franklin and the height of the Wakarusa. Went by Blanton's—missed the road, and did not reach Fish's till near 1 o'clock at night, too late to pass Westport till long after daylight. Stayed at Fish's concealed; put horses and carriage out of sight.

SUNDAY, May 11.—Kept concealed up stairs. Many persons passed, through the day, and stopped; among them Milt. McGee, who would have given his whole team to know who was up stairs. Left at 7:30 p.m. Road clear. Arrived at Kansas City about 2 o'clock in the morning; found Lowrey waiting, and Col. Eldridge; room ready for us; dangerous neighbors across the passage.

MONDAY, May 12.—Remained concealed. Boat came up, and among passengers was G. W. Brown, of Lawrence. Rumors of a mob to take him, and I was removed to No. 25 for greater safety. Brown shut himself up in No. 28. A mob of 30 or 40 assembled, headed by Milt. McGee, who came into the hotel, and going by mistake to O. C. Brown's room, they dragged him out and took him down town—discovered their error, and let him go. Col. Eldridge came up and informed me, that I might be prepared. Sent out for about 50 Michigan emigrants, who had come up to-day and camped near town. The Marshal of the town came to the hotel and took part against the intruders, and soon had a posse. McGee's men were principally from Westport. Eldridge thinks they do not know I am here, but may tumble on me in searching for Brown. Looking out of my front windows, however, I saw and heard McGee, H. C. Pate, —— Winchester, —— Brockett, and another, in conversation, and Pate was instructing a man to go in and look for some one, and described me, so that from what I heard I recognized the description. Lowrey heard that they were also after him. The prospect of being overpowered, however, deterred any further effort, and in the afternoon they suddenly left. In the evening it was found that men were posted all around the house to prevent any escapes—all over the hill back of the house and in the hacks and wagons in front, besides those walking up and down the street. No light kept in my room, which Mrs. Arms had kindly abandoned to me.

TUESDAY, May 13.—Learned that Brown was still in the house, and that Robinson and wife had been stopped at Lexington, Missouri; a party of
men coming on the boat and taking him off and sending up a committee to the Territory to know if he was wanted. I advised Lowrey to leave by the first boat, and he did so in disguise. Before leaving I had him to write a letter directed to me at Chicago, and mail it loosely sealed, to induce the belief that I was in the States, by the way of Nebraska and Iowa, as we were confident they would open it. I instructed him also, if he got safe to St. Louis, to telegraph up here that he had heard from me and that I was safe in Chicago. I remained a prisoner in my room, but was most kindly waited on by the ladies, Mrs. Arms, Mrs. Lyman, Mrs. Coates, and Mrs. Monroe Eldridge, who took a lively interest in my safety, and whose kindness I cannot soon forget.

Evening.—Colonel Eldridge came to my room, much excited, to say that the Deputy Marshal, with two of the same posse that had come to arrest me at Lawrence, had just arrived and were in the house. We concluded of course that they were after me, and I supposed they had heard of my leaving Lawrence on Saturday evening. I told him they could not arrest me here on process from the Territory, and I would not submit—but that they had probably found an indictment against me for treason or something else, and in that case might get process for me here, and if so, and they came with Missouri process and a Missouri officer, he should get himself into no trouble, but bring them at once to my room. Expecting them to come, I concealed this diary, and made preparations. I remained up, till midnight, and there was a constant running up and down from the street to their room. At 12 o'clock I went to bed and slept soundly.

Wednesday, May 14.—Colonel Eldridge came to my room this morning much pleased, to say that the party of yesterday had said nothing of me, but had said they were after Lowrey and Pomeroy. He stated also that the night before G. W. Brown, accompanied by Jenkins, had started for Lawrence, and had been stopped on the road by McGee’s party of Missourians (without any process, of course), and made prisoners. Have not learned what is done with them. Three boats up this morning, and, as the Sultan left on her way up the river, I heard a great hurrah, and looked out, expecting that Robinson had been brought up. To my relief I found that it was a parting cheer to the Marshal’s party, who were starting up the river to Leavenworth. After dinner it was thought best to remove me to 25, as the disturbance of orderly arrangements, consequent upon Mr. and Mrs. Arms being out of their room, and the door being locked all day, might excite suspicion; and it was accordingly done. Matters are now quiet, and if nothing new should turn up, and I can find a boat that lies here all night, and a Captain that is favorable to our cause—. It would seem that there is no suspicion of my presence here, although some circumstances seem to render this uncertain. At all events I am anxious to get off, as, since the arrest of Robinson, it will devolve upon me to go to the Governors of Ohio and Michigan, and, perhaps, Iowa and Wisconsin, for help for our people against Missouri.
THURSDAY, May 15.—Matters passed off as usual. Kindly treated and elaborately cared for by the ladies, who bring me my meals and all sorts of nice things to eat; who place early flowers in my room and attend to all my comforts, and at the same time eluding detection by the most watchful ingenuity and the most amazing stratagems. My imprisonment would be anything but irksome, were it not that my spirit chafes to be about the work of procuring from the States the aid so much needed by our abused and persecuted people, (aid, too, which will soon be needed,) and also that I long to join my idolized, noble wife, and my precious, dearly-loved children, to quiet the fears and anxieties which they must feel only the more keenly when Lowrey gets home and informs them that I am a concealed fugitive in the enemy’s country.—Meanwhile, the work of violence and persecution goes on. I learn that Jenkins and Brown are still prisoners at Westport, without process; that travelers are stopped on the road—even the mail stages searched, and passengers taken out when they happen to be obnoxious. One traveler, coming down from Lawrence, was stopped on the road, and ordered to open his carpet-bag to see if he had any letters or dispatches from Lawrence, and, as he refused to be searched, it was cut open by the ruffians. I learn that court at Lecompton has adjourned—that Shannon has left because he has no control. This is probably a mistake; I cannot believe it. About 100 young men from the South, said to be from South Carolina and Georgia, arrived, as I am told, last evening, all armed and equipped after the fashion of Buford’s men, who, from their appearance, equipments, acts, and conversation, have evidently come, not as emigrants, but only to fight. About half of them went on to Leavenworth, and the residue landed here and went into the Territory, leaving their trunks here with Mr. Taylor, and saying that they did not want them along, as the fight would probably be over in a few weeks, and then they would go back. This looks as though the crisis was to come sooner than we expected. God grant it may not be till we can get more men, more arms, and more powder.

Evening.—Mr. Coates came to my room and told me startling news. He says that he learned from S——, a member of the Blue Lodge, that it has been for some time determined to assemble all the force they can in the Territory and from Missouri, until they raise 2,000 men, and then attack and destroy Lawrence; that S—— says he received a summons commanding him to be there—that the plan is for parties to go in by byways and in small parties, so as to avoid detection, and when all is ready, to have pretexts furnished by the finding of indictments and issuing of writs, and taking the whole as the Marshal’s posse, to march into Lawrence by night, and destroy the place and people. He states also that he informed Robinson of this last Friday evening, and at Robinson’s instance went up on Saturday, arrived there Saturday night, and made it known to our people. This accounts for my not having heard it, as I was not in Lawrence after Fri-
day night. He says also that Donaldson, the Marshal, has issued a proclamation calling for a force, and reciting generally that he has writs against sundry citizens of Lawrence. He says also, on the authority of Colonel Sumner, that Shannon had become alarmed, but was powerless, and no better than a prisoner in the hands of those around him; that he had essayed to take into his own hands the collection of a posse, but the Marshal would not allow it; that he had then insisted that Donaldson should not accept the services of any Missourians, to which a reluctant assent was given, but that this was a mere evasion, and that there were camps of Missourians now in the Territory, who call themselves Georgians, as was learned from a man by the name of Wise, who was in the camp. There have come to the Territory this spring some 300 or 400 young men, including Buford's party, who evidently came here to fight, and whose leaders probably understood the whole programme before they left home.

Under cover of these men and assuming their name and character, the citizens of Missouri will doubtless come over. Mr. Coates also says, on authority of Colonel Sumner, that Shannon has actually fled the country, under pretense of business, to avoid the storm which he cannot control and dare not face. Also, that our friends at Lawrence sent a messenger (Captain Walker) to Shannon, with a letter requesting him to order out the troops for the defense of the town; that Walker had difficulty to get into town, and was compelled to conceal himself, and send in another person; that he was recognized and fired at, but not hit. Shannon's reply was written while surrounded by the ultra men about him, and was evasive and unsatisfactory. Also, that the attack was fixed for to-morrow evening. This is most alarming news, and I tremble for our people. How unfortunate that we cannot all be there! My first thought was to return; but on telling Mr. Coates so, he declared it impossible, and I have no doubt he is right. The road is well watched, and I should be stopped and captured. It is mortifying to think that the great decisive battle of the cause is to be fought so near me, and I to have no share in it—at least no share in the glory, although probably, as the fight must roll here, I shall share the danger.

Friday, May 16. Still shut up in my room, the monotony relieved only by an occasional visit from some of the ladies. Colonel Eldridge, who went to Lawrence two or three days ago, is expected back to-night. Monroe Eldridge called in, a moment, to bring me some cigars, and says that the rifles, which Jenkins sent up on Monday or Tuesday last, got safe, concealed in the wagon, as far as Franklin, and were there taken by the party stationed there. This is to be regretted, as our friends need them. He says also that all persons suspected of going to the help of Lawrence are stopped, and that baggage is searched on the road. Mr. Coates says that S—thinks the attack will not be made to-night. Jenkins, he says, was released at Westport, only on condition that he should not go to Lawrence; and as
he was on his way to this place he was arrested again by M'Gee—without process, of course. No arrangement yet made about a boat to go down on. I begin to feel uneasy, and urged Mr. Coates to fix upon one, and make the bargain.

SATURDAY, May 17.—Colonel Eldridge did not return, as expected last night, and no intelligence from him. Cannon, it is said, have gone up to Lecompton, and a load of cannon balls from Lexington. One piece of cannon is at Westport, waiting for the party that is to take it up. This morning the ladies had great difficulty in waiting on me. Mrs. E—and and Mrs. W—and, a new-comer, all seemed as though their suspicions were excited, and they on the watch. Mrs. Coates and Mrs. Monroe Eldridge were in my room, and it was a long time before they could leave it. Mrs. Eldridge was probably seen to come out. Afterwards, when I was taken to No. 27, until my room could be ordered up and left to stand open a while to avert suspicion from it, I was certainly seen by Mrs. S——, or the new-comer. This afternoon a report reaches here that I was captured at Leavenworth. Boat after boat passes down before my window, and my confinement begins to be more and more galling and chafing. I must leave here soon, at all risks. My wife, to whom I dare not write, and could give no consolation if I did, must be alarmed at the newspaper accounts and Lowrey's report, and I must get away from here. The North must be raised to the help of our people. This morning I urged Mrs. Coates to have her husband get me off as quick as possible. This evening I have a note from him, in which he says that the Amazon will be here to-morrow night, and he will try to get me on board. God grant he may. The nights have been very unfavorable, and are so still. It has been bright moonlight for a week past. News to-night from Lawrence by Colonel Eldridge's hack driver. The Colonel has stayed there on account of a sick child, whom he cannot remove. Things still in statu quo; the people full of apprehension, and the enemy encamped around them.

SUNDAY, May 18.—M. F. Conway and P. C. Schuyler, who landed here two or three days ago on their way to the Territory, are still here, although they contemplate going up to Lawrence every day if they can. They are in No. 26, opposite my room, and I hear them discuss the matter. They are not aware of my being here. They leave by the boat W. Campbell, to go up the Missouri river, no doubt finding it impossible to get to Lawrence. I learn that last night the ferry boat Lizzie came down from Lawrence, having made a trip there, and brings discouraging news to the effect that our friends there are dispirited and weak, and must be defeated, which is only another name for the destruction of the town and the people. This afternoon a body of some 20 horsemen crossed the ferry from Clay county and took the road to the Territory. Immediately after, a buggy with two sorrel horses driven by a young man, said to come from Westport, crossed also. This was probably the set of chief plotters
who did not desire to be on the ground till the last blow was to be struck, and who are now notified to come. Coates wishes me to leave the house, and go to Mr. Brown's, up the ravine. On reflection, declined it as an increase of risk, and determined to remain here; but it is plain I must be off before the assailants of Lawrence come here, for they will swarm down here like a pack of wolves, and will probably search the house. Coates says the Amazon will be down to-night, and he can, he thinks, get me on board, as he is well acquainted with Captain Choteau.

**Midnight.**—Amazon has not arrived as expected.

**Monday, May 19.**—The Amazon still not here, and this almost the last chance to get off. If she should be delayed till to-night it might yet answer.

**12 o'clock.**—Amazon arrives and goes down the river without me. The W. Campbell may be here to-night.

**Sundown.**—The W. Campbell is not here, and probably will not come. In the evening a whistle sounds. Mrs. Wilcox, who happens to be in the room, looks out of the window and says it is a boat coming up. She proves to be the Martha Jewett, which has some 40 or 50 Southerners on board, and was expected to bring Robinson. A few of them stop here, and in the usual style proclaim that, if the people here want any country taken they are ready to take it. Great cheering at the wharf. How different from the arrival of Northern men! With the one it is a filibustering adventure, a drunken spree, full of pistols, guns, hurrahs, boasting, &c. With the other it is the business of life, and they come quietly with no noise or display, and immediately go to buying oxen, wagons, plows, &c.

**Midnight**—and the W. Campbell is not here. This is the more to be regretted, as she would be a sure boat for us in all respects. For the first time I begin to despond. I think constantly of my dear wife and Ida. They will see all the news and be worked up to the highest pitch at the uncertainty of my fate; and now Lowrey has about reached home, from whom they will expect everything, and all that he can tell will make the matter worse instead of better. My poor, dear wife! How happy I will be if I can get once into a civilized country and to a telegraph office, that I can relieve her distress.

**Tuesday, May 20.**—At 7½ o'clock this morning the W. Campbell sounded her whistle, having stayed at Leavenworth last night—only three hours' run. I learn that she has but one or two passengers. What an admirable opportunity is lost! The fates seem to be against us.

**11 a.m.**—The J. H. Lucas goes up; an unpropitious boat, even if going down. An awkward occurrence happened indoors. Having not been out of my room for several days, Mrs. Monroe Eldridge and Mrs. Wilcox called me out into No. 26 to clean up, and as No. 26 has no lock, the chambermaid stepped in, and, though called back at once, probably saw me. Afterwards she knocked at the door and I opened it and met her face to face.
She stepped back and said she would come again. This is very awkward, and makes it necessary for us to decide whether we will trust her in full and bribe her. Edward Eldridge says he will talk to her. He has done so, and I have done the same, and have applied the universal argument. She promises well, and I have some confidence. Coates and Conant are exceedingly anxious. I shall take a wagon fitted as for an emigrant, and pass through Missouri to Iowa, and they have engaged a man to go. I regret they have done so, for I do not consider it at all safe. The J. M. Converse (Capt. Bowman, from Pittsburgh) is expected this evening, and it is now arranged that Coates shall speak to him, and that if possible I shall go on board to-night and pass up the river with him and then down. About 8 o’clock the Edinboro came down (Capt. Abeel), and, as she is to lie here all night, and the sky is cloudy, I feel anxious to get on board. The Converse may pass up and down in the daytime. On sending for Mr. Coates I find he has gone to Weston, being sent for by Gov. Robinson, who has been brought up on his way to Lecompton. Sent to Conant, in whose hands Coates left the matter. Monroe Eldridge says Conant refuses; that he is afraid of the consequences to himself and his store if it should be known, and he considers it too dangerous to approach the captain with any proposition. I sent to him then to go on board or elsewhere, and only learn the captain’s name and his political opinions; to do so that I can judge if I dare send for him, and make the proposal myself, as he may not know me. But Conant fears to do even this. Edward Eldridge is sick, Colonel is gone, Arms is not well, and Monroe has the whole business on his hands. Sent for Mr. Taylor, who agreed at once and went aboard; reported in an hour that the captain was from Alabama, and that some of the new Alabama emigrants were on the boat talking and drinking with him, and all their toasts and conversation were of the most violent pro-slavery character. Of course we gave it up, although I am by no means certain that Captain Abeel could not have been bribed by a shrewd man. Up to midnight the Converse has not arrived. Arrangements made to call me when she comes unless the captain will agree to be here all night, as he returns down.

WEDNESDAY, May 21.—At 7 o’clock A. M. Mrs. Coates knocked, and I was obliged to jump into bed after letting her in. She says the Converse arrived at 5 A. M.; that Mr. Coates has seen him, and he says if I will come to Weston or Lexington, the places where he stays all night, he will take me. She comes from her husband, for an answer. What nonsense! Drive 48 miles to Weston, or twice that distance to Lexington, through most dangerous neighborhoods to dangerous places. I urged her to have Coates tell Bowman at once who the passenger was to be, to offer him $200, either to run down here Friday night, or hold back so as to lie here on Saturday night. She left to carry my message. It is now nearly 4 P. M. and I have no answer. Coates has gone to Lecompton to attend to Robinson. I must
then get along without him. The prospect is dull indeed. Had Colonel Eldridge been here I feel sure I could have been off; but I cannot expect him now until the Lawrence difficulties are over, and then he will probably bring the whole swarm of invaders along. Mrs. Coates has just been in to say that her husband has unexpectedly returned; that the Deputy Marshal did not consider it safe to take Robinson to Lecompton, among the posse there assembled. She says also that, although he was sent for as Robinson's counsel, he was not allowed to have any private conversation with Robinson, that the Deputy Marshal sat by and insisted on hearing all the conversation. What intolerable tyranny, unheard of in the history of criminal jurisprudence! She again presses, as her husband's request, the plan of going through Missouri, which is so distasteful to me. I inquired of her what Captain Bowman said as to having his boat here on Friday night. She says that Coates had gone to the boat, but could not find him, and therefore nothing else had been said. Thus is lost all chance of this desirable boat. Coates called this evening. He was, with Colonel W. Russell, of Lexington, also counsel for Robinson, denied all private conversation with him. Mr. Preston, the Deputy Marshal, who had Robinson in custody, stated that he kept a guard at the door of the room, not to prevent Robinson from escaping, but to protect him—that men had threatened to kill Robinson if they had to kill the men who had him in custody. He also stated that it would not be safe to take Robinson up to Lecompton at present, on account of their own men, who would probably take him out of the hands of the officers and kill him. Coates says that a Free-State man by the name of Jones had been coldly shot down and murdered at Blanton by three Southerners—shot in the back as he was riding off unsuspectingly. Russell, who acts as counsel for Robinson, and knew him in California, is denounced and threatened also. But he says he is the friend and counsel of Robinson, and will stand by him. Coates states also that Conway and Schuyler were taken off the boat at Parkville, on their way to Leavenworth, and kept there some time, then discharged. Robinson wishes the people of Lawrence to make no fight or resistance. Edward Eldridge brings me a disguise; pants too small.

THURSDAY, May 22.—This morning the Star of the West. A note from Coates is thrown over my door, saying that Lawrence is taken. Hotel destroyed. A messenger from the enemy's camp came in and took boat immediately down the river; would give no particulars except to say that Col. Eldridge and family were safe. The mob will probably be here to-night or to-day, and will be very likely to attack or search the house. What will become of me? How bitterly I realize that if I had had a thorough, efficient, zealous friend outside, I would now be safe in the States. For three or four days have I been seeking to get the particulars of the plan to cross Missouri to Iowa, and in vain. Last night Coates did not know them himself. My poor, dear wife! She is uppermost in my thoughts. How
much I reflect on the agonizing suspense that now makes her nights restless and her days miserable; day after day looks in vain for letter or dispatch; with trembling hand opening each day the newspaper, only to be left in the same uncertainty and misery. And should I be murdered by this crazy, drunken mob, as is probable if they should discover me, she will probably first learn it from a newspaper. God have mercy on her and my dear, dear Ida, my own fond Emma and my three loved and precious boys, whose hearts are all filled with the image of their father, and whom, next to their noble, generous, inestimable mother, I love with the deepest affection. How these ties drag me down! If not for them how boldly and proudly could I not denounce and defy my pursuers, and die in conflict with a thousand of them. But God's will be done. If I am taken from the dear ones he has given me it will be for the best, and He will care for them. Intelligence comes in more and more certainly that this hotel is to be destroyed. The Pro-Slavery boarders are leaving and taking away their families and baggage. Persons in the secrets of the Pro-Slavery party come privately and warn their friends in the house. Gen. Calhoun has left. Last night, while he must have known that Lawrence was being destroyed, his daughter gave a party here.

Mr. Leonard Arms comes in to say that it is beyond all question the intention to destroy this house, as soon as they get back from Lawrence; but he thinks that if I can get out by 8 or 9 o'clock, I can get away. Sad chance! I can perhaps find a place to stay for a few days, but how am I to get away? Coates says that Conant's man is now unwilling to go; that he is afraid of being caught. It is now 1 o'clock P.M. What will twenty-four, or even twelve, hours produce? If I am taken by these demons, especially when herded together on this enterprise and maddened with liquor, I know I shall not live an hour. If I can refrain from speaking or thinking of my wife and children, I think I can show them how a brave and honest man can die. But when I recur to them, my throat chokes and my eyes fill.

Mrs. Coates reports that I can go to Brown's, but that I must not come till after dark. It is now 5 o'clock P.M., and I have put on such disguise as I can get, the dress of an Irish laborer. Have cut off my whole beard and soiled my face with cork, burnt. The ladies, and Mr. Edward and Monroe Eldridge, have been in, and we had a hearty laugh over it, although it is a matter of life and death. Thus do extremes meet. But mirth at such a time is spasmodic, and can last but a moment, to be followed by a reaction.

As I write, a party of the invaders come down and cross the ferry on their way home, shouting threats against the American Hotel, and whooping and yelling like Indians, and, as soon as they reach the opposite shore, firing off their arms. They linger there as though they may intend to return. Give me four hours more and will leave the house. I have written a hasty last will, which I leave in this book, care of Mr. Coates.
6 o'clock.—A meeting of the citizens has been held, at which the Mayor presided. It was ascertained that not more than 60 men could be raised to defend the house, and arms for not more than 25 or 30; and the Mayor informs Edward Eldridge that he cannot undertake to defend it, unless he can show the papers to prove that it does not belong to the Emigrant Aid Company. This he says he cannot do, because the Colonel did the business and has all the papers, and he has not come back from Lawrence. News is received of the attack on Lawrence and the destruction of the hotel. A few men killed.

Lying on the bed, and supposing the door locked, the man who serves the water opens and comes in. Of course I can do nothing but lie still and let him see me. Fortunate that I am to leave so soon.

8:30 o'clock.—Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Eldridge come up to say that all is ready, and that Brown is waiting to go with me. I declined to leave the house with Brown, preferring to walk out alone and join Brown on the road. After they left, I lit my pipe and walked boldly down the front stairs, through the office, which was crowded with people. Elbowing through them, I passed into the bar-room and out on the steps. Dozens of people were sitting and standing about the door and on the sidewalk, many of them the most obnoxious men, and who were well acquainted with me. I stood quite unconcerned on the steps until I saw a vacant chair, and went to it and sat down. My friends were about, and by my previous directions engaged those in conversation who were nearest and most dangerous. After sitting some minutes, I walked deliberately up the road, unmolested and unrecognized, with a sense of great relief; found Brown on the way, and went on to his house in the edge of the timber, and quite out of town; found there Mr. Davis and wife, who have a room rented—D. E. Adams, and J. McIntire. Sat out of doors and enjoyed the freedom and fresh air.

Friday, May 23.—Obliged to keep close house during the day, in a stifling room. Determined I could not stay here; consulted with Adams as to taking a small skiff and running down the river at night so as to be taken on board the Converse as she passed. Agreed on the plan. Sent Adams to buy a skiff and tell Eldridge to send some provisions and have him or Coates make the arrangements with Capt. G. W. Bowman as he shall come down to-morrow. Adams returns and reports; and the plan during the day is fully matured by help of Hubbard and McIntire. In the evening Adams leaves to get the skiff and scull it out of the Kansas river to a place about a mile below town. About 9 o'clock McIntire and I start, each with an ax, and, skirting the town for awhile, then passed along the main road to the river. Hunted along the shore; could not find Adams or the boat. I went into a ravine and McIntire continued his lookout. A stranger is seen wandering about along the shore and road, much to our annoyance. Very soon Edward Eldridge and his wife came along with carpet-sack filled with a pair of blankets and provisions, and we got them in the ravine. Eldridge and McIntire then started out and walked to the man
and spoke to him; did not know him. He left, and soon Adams made his appearance. He and I took across the road to the skiff unperceived, and Eldridge and wife and McIntire returned. We floated quietly down the river to Randolph landing, which, in the dark, we had trouble to find, as neither of us was acquainted with the place. Dropped down below it about one-half mile and laid up our skiff under some overhanging rocks where it could not be seen from the shore. Clambered up the bluff and found a public road along the bank; reconnoitered for 400 yards around the woods, considered the place safe, and returned to the skiff for our sack and axes and Adams's bundle. The moon was then fully risen, and bright. Got safely into the woods above the road, where we slept till morning.

Saturday, May 24.—About 7½ o'clock we shouldered our axes and bundle and sack, and trudged up the road past the few houses that constitute Randolph. As we passed the principal house a man hailed us to know if we were woodchoppers. Adams replied “Yes.” Had we got a job engaged? I whispered to Adams to say “Yes,” but too late. He said “No.” The man then walked out into the road and offered us a job. I stopped; asked the price. He said 75c. to $1 a cord. I told him that was not enough; that we were going up to Eldridge's job above, where we could get, as we were told, $1.12½; but that if we did not succeed we could stop and see him on our way back.

Encountered five or six other persons on the road, but no one paid much attention to us. Found a running branch, up which we passed out of sight of the road and sat down to eat our breakfast. Stayed there unseen till 12 o'clock; disappointed that the boat did not come as it should at 10 o'clock.

Arranged what story to tell at Randolph, if questioned. Made up a bundle of some of the provisions, &c., in my blanket, leaving the carpet sack for Adams. At 12 o'clock heard the whistle of the boat for Kansas City, five miles above. Waited one-half hour by the watch, and then left the ravine; passed down the road to a convenient place, and then ascended the hill where we had a view of the river for two or three miles.

Saw the boat coming, but could not make out her name till she was so near that we had to run down the road. She hauled up to the landing full of passengers, and as the plank was run out I went on board panting with heat, fatigue and thirst. Passed back among the deck passengers, where, according to my dress, I belonged, laid down my ax and bundle, and found quite a number of passengers there.

The deck clerk soon called for my fare, and I took a ticket to Waverly. I turned into one of the hot and stifling berths, and never suffered so much from thirst in my life, would have given anything for a drink, but laid still with my back to the passengers and hands. Soon the clerk came back, to give me change. I heard him ask, "Where is the old man with the pipe?" "There he lies," says a hand; "he is asleep; he feels his oats, I guess." "Yes," says another, "he had a good load on when he came on board."
The clerk came behind me and said, "Here, if you want money, take it;" and as I turned half over and took it, "Ah! I thought that would fetch you."

Toward evening I got up, and walked about, got some water, and to my consternation I learned from their talk that some of my fellow-passengers were a part of the invading force returning from the sacking of Lawrence, and that some leading men, no doubt to please their followers, had also taken deck passage. Among them I saw Henry L. Rout, a lawyer of Liberty, Mo., who picked up my pipe which I had dropped in the berth, and made some jocular remark to me. I was confident he knew me, and I was very uneasy, especially as we were to lay that night at Lexington. Arrived at Lexington about 8 o'clock; divested myself of all that would lead to my identification or that was inconsistent with my dress. Sat about on the boat till about 11 o'clock, and then went to bed.

SUNDAY, May 25.—Laid in my bunk till near 9 o'clock. As we passed Waverly the clerk came and notified me. I told him that a gentleman on board had informed me that my friends did not live there any more, and that I would go on to Booneville. This was partly true. A man on board having heard me say I was going to Waverly questioned me and I told him I had friends there. He asked their name and I told him at random. He said no such man lived there. I afterwards followed him up, and by a plausible story put him off his guard and thanked him for the information.

In the forenoon, Capt. Bowman took the opportunity to speak to me, and said he could not get me up stairs till night, and that he had a lot of Border Ruffians up in the cabin. Sent the steward to me, under pretense that I was sick, to offer me anything I wanted to eat. I declined, however, and ate from the stock I had in my bundle; with good bread and cheese and a tin cup of water, I made a good meal, delighted that I had not been stopped at Lexington, for I had become convinced that I was recognized, or at least suspected.

Saw the captain again; learned that Mr. Fogg was on board. Told captain it would be best not to take me up stairs that night, as I might be missed by those below, and I would prefer to stay where I was. My bedfellow was a pro-slavery man by the name of Ross, very genteelly dressed, of whom I had become very suspicious, and who seemed to watch me very closely.

This evening we laid up at Booneville, and there I quietly paid on to St. Louis. After night I watched with great care some three or four men who, I had persuaded myself, were suspicious of me.

MONDAY, May 26.—Breakfast finished my provisions. Fogg came down on the deck and approached me to talk, but I walked away from him. Tonight or before morning at least we are to be in St. Louis, and I told the captain that I must be got up stairs to-night to change my dress. He informed me that, as arranged, Eldridge had put my valise and an old trunk on board, marked with a fictitious name. When we stopped at Jefferson City
I watched, as I did at all the landings, the persons who passed on and off the boat, and to my surprise I saw Mr. Ross, my bedfellow, going ashore with his carpet-sack, although he had paid to St. Louis. Watching, I observed that he went direct to the railroad depot. This being about 11 A.M., it was plain that he could get to St. Louis before evening and have a warrant for me so as to arrest me at once. I again saw the captain, who informed me that he could not get to St. Louis before 7 o'clock in the morning, and would lie by that night near St. Charles. This was very unsatisfactory, and on further consultation he agreed to get me up stairs late at night, and to hail the boat from St. Louis to Alton, as he would meet it in the morning, and put me on board so that I could go at once to Alton and not to St. Louis. Agreed on. On further reflection concluded this was not safe, as, if a warrant was out, they would look for me on that boat or at Alton. Sent up for captain again; proposed that he should see the man at the woodyard where we were lying and get me a guide across the country to Alton, so that I could arrive before the boat from St. Louis, and take a conveyance to the next railroad station above. Saw Fogg, who says two young men from Lawrence are up stairs, who will go with me. Captain could get no guide, but had the route described. The steward got my bundle up stairs for me, into the room of Bassett and Brackett. My valise was taken there, and I prepared to go up. Had great difficulty. Boat full of passengers. Watched all my fellow deck passengers to see them asleep, and finally laid down myself and feigned sleep. Two of them who seemed to watch me, then went to bed and seemed asleep. I thought all had turned in, and was thinking of soon slipping out, having arranged with the captain that the steward should be on the watch if anyone got up to follow me, when, to my great chagrin, the captain came noisily along the cabin, and up to my berth, and nudged me to get up. I was vexed, as I was sure this would attract the attention I had taken so much care to elude. There was no help, however, and I soon followed, pretending to look for a better place to sleep. Passed up stairs. Found to my disappointment that no watch had been set to see if I was followed. Passed quickly into the room of Bassett and Brackett. To add to the chance of detection, the captain followed me there. I changed my clothes and then learned from my friends that two of the deck passengers were out on the guards evidently on the watch. Determined, however, to go, and if followed to fight it out. Bassett and Brackett had no weapons. I had two revolvers and a knife, and supplied them. A violent thunder storm came up, and in it, toward the close, we put out the lights and started. The woods being close to the shore we stopped in them to see if we were followed. Waited a short time; no one came off the boat, and we struck through the woods; lost the road twice; traveled on, and finally, at 8 o'clock A.M., struck the Mississippi river fifteen miles above Alton. Got a man to take us across in a skiff.

TUESDAY, MAY 27.—We were then in Illinois. Bassett and Brackett
found a boat going down to Alton, and I hired a team to take me to Jerseyville, fourteen miles, Mr. Brock being the driver. At Jerseyville found a good hotel and livery stable, and hired a man to take me to Brighton, where I got on the evening train for Chicago; found Fogg and my little baggage on board. I learned the night before, as we traveled through the woods, that the ruffians had broken open my trunk at Lawrence, stolen and put on my clothes, and chased Chapin, of Ohio, as he came out of the hotel, calling out that it was me, firing at him, and threatening to kill him; and that there was a universal determination expressed among them to kill me. Arrived at Chicago.

WEDNESDAY, May 28.—At 9 o'clock was generally called on, and most enthusiastically welcomed. People came in crowds to look at and welcome me. In the evening, as I lay asleep on a sofa, a gentleman waked me up to say that there were a thousand people in front of the hotel calling for me. Went out on the balcony, was received with cheers upon cheers, made them a speech, and was kept all the evening shaking hands. Had a perfect levee. At 10:30 p. m. took the cars for Bloomington, where the State Convention was to meet next day. Arrived there on—

THURSDAY, May 29, at 7 o'clock a. m. Found there a great concourse of people, and, to my surprise, the wife of Gov. Robinson, with J. S. Emery of Lawrence. Was lionized all day, and engaged to speak in the evening. Spoke for 24 hours to an enthusiastic audience, and at 12 o'clock left to return to Chicago. Arrived there at 8 o'clock on—

FRIDAY, May 30.—Roamed around all day, recruited my scanty wardrobe, went to an artist, and, having put on my disguise in his private room, had a photograph taken for my dear wife.*

At Bloomington and Chicago I proposed my plan of help for Kansas, to wit, the raising of 10,000 men and $200 a man, and to equip and provision them for a year, $5,000 to be sent on at once, and 5,000 men or more if wanted; they to provision 500 men in Chicago and 500 in the State.

Had full consultation with our friends, and among them, with Major Jones, of a volunteer battalion, who says that if funds are raised he will guarantee 300 good men. Slept to-night in a good bed— the first time I have done so, or had my clothes off, since the 22d.

SATURDAY, May 31.—Took the cars for Detroit. Arrived there in the evening, and no sooner was my name on the register than I was besieged by

---

*The Historical Society has in its collections a photograph of Governor Reeder in this disguise. It was given the Society by Hon. Edward L. Pierce of Milton, Massachusetts, accompanied by the following note of explanation written by him:

"The photograph of ex-Governor A. H. Reeder was taken in 1856, on his arrival at Chicago, of which only three copies were taken—one for the Governor, and the other two for Dr. Ray of the Chicago Fraternity, and myself, who were present. It represents Governor Reeder in the disguise in which he came down the Missouri river at the time of his escape, an incident referred to in Phillips's 'Conquest of Kansas,' pages 175, 176. The clothes are the same he was, but the hat and ax were procured at Chicago. The picture is an interesting souvenir of Kansas history. —EDWARD L. PIERCE.

"MILTON, MASSACHUSETTS, Dec. 7, 1877."

Mr. Pierce is the distinguished author of the "Treatise on American Railroad Law," published in 1806, of "Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner," published in 1878, and other important works."
unknown friends, who pressed all kinds of good offices upon me. In the evening the Attorney General, State Treasurer and others, called, and I had a large levee.

COPY OF WILL OF GOV. A. H. REEDER, REFERRED TO IN THE ABOVE DIARY, AS MADE MAY 22, 1856.

I, Andrew H. Reeder, being in danger of being murdered by a set of vile ruffians and outlaws, who are outside of all the restraints of law, order, decency, and all social obligations, and who are below the savage in all the virtues of civilization, and who will probably kill me for opinion's sake, and in furtherance of that scheme for which already a number of lives have been sacrificed, to wit, the making of Kansas a slave State by violence and force of arms, do, in view of my death, which may happen to-day or to-morrow, make this last will and testament:

I declare my domicile to be in the borough of Easton, State of Pennsylvania, where I request this will to be proven.

I give and bequeath to my dear son, George Marchand, my gold watch, which has been in the family for three generations, and which I hope he will keep and transmit.

To my dearly loved and cherished wife, Amelia, I give, devise and bequeath all my estate, real, personal, and mixed, after payment of my debts, in fee simple forever.

My reason for this is that I know she will use it for the good of the children, as I would myself, and will share with them to the last dollar; and because, as there are many debts to pay and real estate to sell, it will be troublesome to deal with minors.

I appoint my friends Geo. W. Housel, C. F. Randolph and Henry Green, all of Easton, the executors of this last will and testament, and empower them to sell and convey at public or private sale any of my real or personal estate for payment of debts and expenses.

For the sake of my dear wife and children, I regret to leave my estate in its present scattered and shattered condition. The reasons are obvious, but I shall not stop to speak of them.

Witness my hand and seal, this 22d day of May, 1856, at Kansas City, Mo.

A. H. REEDER.

STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE C. BRACKETT.

READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JANUARY 19, 1886.

On the morning of May 22, 1856, and after witnessing the raid made on Lawrence the day before by Sheriff Jones's posse, led by Col. Titus, in company with Owen A. Bassett I started for Leavenworth en route to my former home in Iowa, for the purpose of enlisting volunteers to march to Topeka to assist in protecting the Free-State Legislature, which was to assemble in that city on July 4 following.

We reached Leavenworth and took up quarters at the same house with the United States Commission, which was investigating the recent Territorial election of a Delegate to Congress from Kansas, intending to take the first steamer bound for St. Louis on the next day.