The Connecticut Kansas Colony

Letters of Charles B. Lines to the New Haven (Conn.) Daily Palladium—Concluded

Compiled and Edited by Alberta Pantle

III. The Letters, May 23—August 23, 1856

Wabunosa, K. T., May 23d, 1856.

Messrs. Editors.—Since the mail left this morning we have received important intelligence by the return of our messenger from Topeka. He reports that our committee sent first, after being arrested, as before stated, were taken to Lecompton and are still detained as prisoners. They have been in durance one week, very much to their personal damage and annoyance, and yet it does not appear that they have committed any crime. We are further informed that they will probably be released to-day.

It appears that early Wednesday morning the U. S. Marshal brought his forces to the brow of one of the high bluffs overlooking Lawrence, planted his guns there and proceeded with a posse of twelve men into the city. They called at the “Free State Hotel” and ordered a dinner, saying they were about to make certain arrests. They were not resisted, having previously given notice that in any event they should respect life and property. Three arrests were made, after which Sheriff Jones gave notice to the mob, who had now entered place in full force, that the Hotel had been pronounced by the Court a nuisance, and must be demolished. Whereupon they proceeded in the first place to remove some articles of furniture, which was the private property of Mr. Eldridge, the keeper of the Hotel, but they did not proceed far before they seemed to regard this as rather a tedious operation and abandoned it. They then attempted to batter the walls by firing cannon; but not succeeding in this, set fire to the building and burned it to the ground. They then proceeded to the two printing offices, the type and presses of which had also been declared nuisances, and destroyed them, breaking up the presses and throwing them into the river, while they scattered the type in the streets. Subsequent to this, Gov. Robinson’s house was several time[s] fired and put out again, but finally burned down, with all its contents.

Before commencing the destruction of property the arms were

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demanded whereupon Gen. Pomeroy give up all he could control, and pointed out where some of the cannon were secreted, and gave them up also,—for which latter operation he has been very much censured, although he is understood to plead in justification the hope entertained by him that by that means he would be able to save the Hotel. The women and children generally left the place before the posse entered, as did many of the men, secreting their rifles as best they could, before leaving—it having been generally agreed that as the invasion was under the forms of United States authority, no resistance should be made. After the destruction of the Hotel and printing presses, private houses were ransacked to some extent in search of arms; a few only were found, which of course were taken away, and thus ended the long expected attack upon Lawrence.

Previous to the descent upon that city, a great number of horses were stolen, and in some instances forcibly taken from the people by the mob, in justification of which it is now declared that the Territory was under “Martial Law.” In one instance a man from Ohio, with several passengers in his wagon, was detained by some half dozen armed men at or near Lecompton, and required to give up his horses, which he refused to do. He was asked if he had any arms, to which he replied, yes, two as good and strong as the Lord ever gave to man, and added if you will throw down your weapons I will thrash the whole of you. They concluded to let him pass, but told him that a mile and half further on, he would be stopped and his horses taken from him, whereupon he called upon Gov. Shannon, who was an old acquaintance, and procured a pass for himself and company. After arriving at Leavenworth he was summoned before the Committee of Congress and testified to what had transpired and a copy of his “pass” was taken, illustrating the nature of free government in this part of the world.

Several murders have been committed during the siege—teams detained, and many other annoyances imposed upon the people. After the news of the burning at Lawrence was received, the people of Topeka hourly expected to be visited in a similar way, but dispatches were received to the [effect] that no further molestation would be offered unless it was found that decided preparations were being made for an armed resistance. It would therefore appear that the prompt refusal of our company upon three different appeals from that locality to their call, under the circumstances,

57. The presses of The Kansas Herald of Freedom and The Kansas Free State were destroyed by the border ruffians.
has saved them and us from the humiliating and embarrassing predicament of a hostile attitude towards the Government of the United States, and the consequences, we have reason to suppose, would in that event have followed. It is quite evident that the enemies of a Free State, in Kanzas, have been in some sense sagacious in cloaking their proceedings with the over garments of the “general government”—but it remains to be seen how far the people of the country who make, and have the power to unmake the government, will consent to be a party to such proceedings.

A part of the plan of the Missourians, often openly avowed, is to discourage Free State settlers who are here from remaining in the Territory, and others from coming in. I have myself heard “highly respectable” citizens of Missouri state distinctly that they cheerfully surrender all claim to Nebraska, but feel that in order to keep up the equilibrium between the two parties, it is no more than fair that Kanzas should be a slave State, and that they feel injured (poor souls) whenever emigrants from the North pass through their State, bound here. It will be quite natural to enquire what next? and what is to be the end of these monstrous proceedings? It is difficult for us to decide, and of course still more difficult for you, but I think two things are becoming more and more apparent to some minds, in both parties. Many of the pro-slavery party despair of enforcing the infamous laws of the bogus Legislature, and well they may,—while few of the most decided friends of a Free State, feel in doubt whether the organization of a State Government at the time and under the circumstances was a judicious movement. It is understood that Gov. Robinson is in custody and will be tried before the U. S. District Court, in the Territory, for treason, and some think he and several others will be hung, but such an event will not be likely to transpire.

We feel highly gratified that we, as a company, have been thus far preserved from any rash or inconsiderate movements, resulting in embarrassments and perhaps more serious consequences, although our escape has been a narrow one, as many of the younger men upon several occasions felt that they ought to go to the scene of the disturbances and help their friends, but since the events before described have become known, there is a very general conviction that we have done wisely in pursuing the course decided upon, and in no degree jeopardized our character for bravery or sound Free State principles.

By the foregoing statement it will be seen that we still want men.
Kanzas can be and must be organized with a Free Constitution, whether the present State Government is sustained or not, and unless the United States authorities are completely controlled by the Slave Power and wilfully permit and cause the entire sub-version of all equality of rights among the actual settlers, there need be no fear for the result. Let the people come then, promptly, fearlessly, and resolved to locate, and all difficulties will ultimately vanish—Jehovah will triumph and the people will be free.—L.

P. S.—Our messenger informs us that Mr. H. A. Wilcox, known in Connecticut as having been connected with the organization of our company, has been appointed by the Common Council of Topeka, or a Council of War, as agent for Kanzas, to go East and collect funds, obtain assistance, &c. We know nothing in regard to this appointment and hope that our friends in Connecticut will proceed with caution in the matter and be satisfied before they act. As soon as we can possibly ascertain the facts we will communicate them.58

WAUBONSEE, K. T., May 30th, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—Since my last communication, our committee, Messrs. Wm. Mitchell, Jr., of Middletown, and J. P. Root 59 of New Hartford, who had been arrested, have returned to our camp. It appears, as before stated, that they were on the road a few miles this side of Lawrence, in company with two others who had been on the same errand, when they were suddenly pounced upon by a company of about sixteen men, rushing from a cabin near the road, firing and commanding them to surrender. The two others, being on horses, made good their escape, while our friends, on mules, faced their assailants and inquired for what purpose they were interrupted. The officer in command informed them that he was acting under instructions from the United States Marshal, which were to detain all persons passing over the road, and he offered to show them his authority if they would go with him to

59. Joseph Pomeroy Root was born April 25, 1826, at Greenwich, Mass., the son of John and Lucy (Reynolds) Root. He was married September 10, 1851, to Frances Eveline Alden. They had five sons. He studied medicine and practiced throughout his life when he was not holding public office. He served in the Connecticut legislature in 1855. Intensely anti-slavery he became actively engaged in the Free-State cause soon after coming to Wabaunsee. In 1856 he was chairman of the Free-State executive committee and served in the territorial senate the next year, from Wyandotte, whence he had moved his family. Dr. Root helped locate the Topeka-Nebraska City road and then went East in the fall of 1856 to solicit aid for the Kansas settlers. In 1859 he was elected lieutenant governor of the new state. During the Civil War he served first as surgeon of the 2d Kansas cavalry and later as medical director of the Army of the Frontier. On September 13, 1870, President Grant appointed him minister to Chile where he gained popularity by his labors in improving the sanitary conditions of that country. Returning to Kansas in 1873, he served as surgeon general of Kansas under Governor St. John. Dr. Root died at Wyandotte, July 20, 1885.—James P. Root, Root Genealogical Records, 1600-1870 . . . (New York, 1870), p. 477; Dumas Malone, ed., Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1935), v. 16, pp. 150, 151.
the camp. After consulting together for a few moments, they decided to surrender, and were conducted to a small cabin, where they were guarded by about a dozen soldiers. In the morning they were taken to the camp, and questioned very closely by Stringfellow, who appeared to be the master spirit of the gang. They were required to give up their arms, consisting of three revolvers and a bowie knife, and also their papers.

Mr. Mitchell had in his possession three letters belonging to one of our company, which he had taken from the Post Office in Lawrence, with a written order from the owner. He objected to giving up the letters, showing the order he had for them, but they took them, notwithstanding, and remanded the prisoners to their cabin, where they were detained from Friday night until the next Wednesday morning. During this period, several others were brought in under similar circumstances, and detained, no accusation being made against any of them. One gentleman had arrived in Lawrence only a few days before, bringing with him in money, land warrants, and other valuables, about $5,000. He left his trunks at a boarding house in the city, which were broken open by the mob after the burning of the hotel, and robbed, so that after being discharged he was nearly destitute. This gentleman was taken while quietly reconnoitering the country in pursuit of a location.

Brown, the editor of the "Herald of Freedom," and another gentleman, were brought into camp, accompanied by their wives, during the stay of our committee, charged with "treason," and the scene when the ladies were compelled to leave their husbands, was very affecting. These men were subsequently taken to Leavenworth for trial, while the other seven were discharged upon the entrance of the "posse" into Lawrence. Our men received but one of their mules, and he nearly dead with the hard use and neglect he had been subjected to.—They could not obtain the letters, and but one of their pistols. The owner of the letters is expecting money from home, and has reason to believe that there are remittances for him in the stolen letters. It is known that these letters were in the hands of Stringfellow, but whether they will ever be received by the owner, is of course uncertain. Atchison, late president of the Senate of the United States, was frequently

60. The other gentleman was Gains Jenkins, an active Free-Stater who had settled at Lawrence in the fall of 1855. He was killed by James H. Lane on June 3, 1858, in a dispute over a claim.

61. There were two Stringfellow actively engaged in the Proslavery cause in 1856. They were Benjamin F. Stringfellow, a lawyer, who later settled in Atchison, and his brother, Dr. John H. Stringfellow, editor of the Squatter Sovereign in Atchison.
in the camp, and both he and Stringfellow, harangued the "posse" before leaving, and marched into Lawrence with them.

The prisoners, being discharged about the time of the descent upon the city, proceeded on to the hills in the vicinity, and witnessed the destruction. They also saw groups of women and children sitting upon the bluffs, from which they could distinctly see their own dwellings, and their neighbors’, pillaged by the mob. Our committee went to Lecompton, and endeavored to obtain some satisfaction for the detention and robberies to which they had been subjected, but to no purpose. The officer promised them that everything should be returned, and paid for one of the pistols, but no further indemnification has yet been received. It should be borne in mind that this “posse” of the Marshal, so called, were made up chiefly of soldiers recently arrived in the Territory from the South, together with the “Kickapoo Rangers,” and a few others from Missouri, and the proslavery districts in the Territory. The emigrants who come here from the East are uniformly bona fide settlers, who bring their cattle and ploughs with them, take up land, and go to work, with here and there a few who visit the Territory for purposes of business, or to examine the country with a view of finding a location for future settlement. Southern gentlemen come in as soldiers, bring no implements of industry, and engage in no employment.

They are camped out, and under military organization, thus occupying the position of invaders, according to the doctrine laid down in the proclamation of the President of the United States. But these invaders are at once enrolled by the U.S. Marshal, and by him employed to aid in making certain arrests and destroying the property of real citizens of the Territory, beginning their work as his “posse,” and ending it after discharged by him, in the deprivations of a lawless and irresponsible mob, and for all these services they are paid two dollars per day out of the treasury of the United States, and provided also with rations, including a liberal supply of whiskey. Let your democratic citizens, who vote to sustain the present Administration, distinctly understand this, that emigrants from Connecticut, who have located in this Territory, and purchased cattle and farming implements, are forcibly detained while quietly passing over the road, with no charges made against them,—robbed of their property, and prevented from pursuing their labor upon the soil,—and that the men who detain them, and rob them, invading even the sacred
rights of private correspondence through the U.S. mail, are invaders from another section of the country, who do not pretend to have come here to locate, and, what is more monstrous than all, that these depredators are paid for their services by your own government.

Our committee had frequent conversation with a number of these Southern patriots, many of whom complain that they have been deceived, and that they wish themselves home, and intend to go the first opportunity. They acknowledge that they are in the wrong, and say they are ashamed to be caught in such business. Some of these men were well educated, and appear like gentlemen, while by far the larger portion were of a very different character, most of them young, and either whimpering with a desire to see their mothers, or complaining for the want of whiskey, their officers having been compelled to restrict their allowance in order to keep them in subjection. Stringfellow was repeatedly seen by our men, badly disguised by a too free use of whiskey.

It is understood that this encampment is for the present broken up, but that these Southern companies, to the number of about five hundred men, are to remain in the Territory until slavery is established here. It may require a longer sojourn than they anticipate. They may meet with more difficulties if they attempt to repeat the depredations already enacted. How monstrous all these things appear to a thinking man. Wrong heaped upon wrong, the most sacred rights of free citizens despised and trampled in the dust, and all for the purpose of fastening upon this young Territory a gigantic, wholesale wrong, frowned upon and condemned by the whole civilized world. If there should be fighting, (which may God in his mercy prevent,) there is no doubt as to the result. A well informed citizen of Southern Missouri, passing through our community a few days since with a drove of cows, stated that beyond the immediate western border of the State, a majority of Missouri are in sympathy with the Free State movement, and if a general fight should ever take place on the impending difficulty, more recruits would be found in favor of freedom than on the other side. If the United States Government would withdraw their active sympathy with the pro-slavery party, and dismiss their officials who are continually prostituting their functions to the behests of the slave power, the question would soon be settled, truth triumph, and the people be free.
Charles Burritt Lines of New Haven, Conn., organizer of the Connecticut Kansas colony and writer of these letters, was active in the affairs of Kansas and Wabaunsee from the arrival of the colony in April, 1856, until his death at Wabaunsee in 1899.
William Mitchell, Jr., of Middletown, Conn., member of the Connecticut Kansas colony who became captain of its "Prairie Guard," was also prominent in Kansas affairs until his death at Wabaunsee in 1903. A son, the late William I. Mitchell, devised the state in 1953 a near-by 30-acre tract of hill pasture known as Mount Mitchell, as a memorial to the colony. Courtesy Maude J. Mitchell, Wabaunsee, daughter of William Mitchell, Jr.
We have but one mail in a week, and our last budget from this locality was returned yesterday, after one week’s absence. We know not how to account for the circumstances, but many of our company think that the Postmasters intend to cut off all communication with the East, thus denying to us the privileges of the U. S. mail for the past week. We hope this matter may be hereafter explained, as it would be an unendurable aggravation of our annoyances to feel that these interesting epistles from this far off country were to be “arrested” and imprisoned on the way, or sent back to us, when they are especially designed for you.

We had the first regular parade of the “Prairie Guard” on Monday last, for the purpose of welcoming back to our camp, Capt. Mitchell, who had been elected to the command of the company while he was imprisoned among the Georgia, South Carolina, Missouri, U. S. Marshal “posse.” We were not exactly in uniform, except as every member dressed, in every particular, different from all the others. Our music consisted of “Geo. Coe’s” band, Mr. Coe himself being the leader, with no other members present, and beating time upon a tin milk pan. The company performed exceedingly well, especially in the firing and music. Capt. Mitchell was received about midway between his “claim” and the “Big Tent,” when a salute was fired, after which the company were marched to “Mr. Bisbee’s Spring,” in the vicinity, where a collation of cold water was served by the “music,” assisted by the orderly sergeant, with another tin pan. After the entertainment, the company marched under command of Lieut. Burgess, in a hollow square, to the camp, Capt. Mitchell, accompanied by Doct. Root, being “imprisoned” within the square. On arriving at the company tent, Capt. Mitchell was welcomed and recognized as the Captain of the company in a “right smart” speech from the orderly sergeant, which was feelingly responded to by the Captain. Speeches were also made by Dr. Root, and others, after which a salute was fired and the company dismissed. We then held a meeting and heard a statement from the committee just returned from durance vile, which stirred our Yankee blood not a little.

We are at work ploughing, planting and making cabins. Our greatest need this Fall will be the funds for building a church, a school house and a hotel. If by any means we are able to construct these buildings, it will furnish employment for our men, and when the work is completed, constitute a decided attraction to the place, and lay the foundations for its future character and
success. Our plans from the outset have contemplated all these things, and we still hope to realize our expectation. We have not yet decided upon a name for our future city, but hope to soon. In the meantime, persons wishing to correspond with residents here, should address them at Waubonsee, K. T.—L. 62

SHUNGANUNGA MOUND, 63 K. T., ON THE PRAIRIE SOUTH OF TOPEKA, JUNE 10th, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—This letter is being written on the summit of one of the high mounds of Kanzas, near the road from Lawrence, west, commonly called the "California Road." We are here on our way to Kanzas City, for the purpose of hauling up our steam engine and saw mill. We left our home yesterday morning, and expect to be absent two weeks. We take provisions with us, and at the proper time, "heave to," as the sailors say, kindle a fire and cook our meals, giving the cattle opportunity to feed at the same time. Having finished my dinner, and resorted for a few moments to this quiet spot, where the surrounding country for a great distance presents a delightful view in every direction, and where a cool refreshing breeze gives cheerfulness to the place, it seemed natural to bring into requisition my patent loaded pen, which, always at hand, will furnish the means of covering an entire sheet of paper, without recourse to an inkstand.

The view from this point is the finest I have as yet enjoyed in the Territory. The prairie is now "dressed in living green," and as far as human vision can extend, is one continued lawn, rolling like the swell of the ocean, with the tall grass waving under the influence of the gentle summer breeze that is always enjoyed here at this season. The view is only broken by here and there an Indian settlement, with some trifling improvements, and in the distance beyond the "Reserve," a few scattered cabins of newly arrived emigrants, together with the creeks and streams, skirted with wood, that add variety and beauty to the landscape. We camped last night near a stream, and after supper removed the baggage from our wagons and fixed them for lodging, by spreading hay over the bottom. With the aid of a few blankets, our beds were prepared, and we enjoyed a first rate night's rest, our cattle luxuriating, in the very finest open pasture, all "free gratis." This is a fine country to travel in at this season, as you are subject to no expense.

63. Shunganunga mound is another name for Burnett’s mound at the southwestern edge of present Topeka.
for your animals, and can easily take your public house along with you.

These mounds by the way are objects of interest to the Indians, as they are in the habit of selecting the highest peaks as places of sepulture for their “Chiefs,” and beneath the spot where I now sit, repose, in all probability, the ashes of some ancient red man, who in his day figured as a leader in their councils, and a champion in their battles. But now a pile of stones is all we see to remind us that he ever lived. Below, three Indians are now passing on horses. They are dressed in the usual fantastic style,—perhaps rather more so than common, as they have just returned from Union Town, where they, with the others of their tribe, have been paid their semi-annual allowance by the Government. They are well supplied with whiskey, and very civilly invited our men to drink with them.

The man 64 (“mankind I crave your pardon”) who so brutally shot down Barber, one of the best of men, who had done no wrong, is still permitted to act as the agent of the Government for this tribe of Indians, and is now at Union Town, paying them off. Perhaps we expect too much in looking for the dismissal of any Government official in this country, however infamous his conduct, because there is no proof that can be made available, and the absence of any acknowledged government prevent the people from securing such proof. . . .

**On the Road, Wednesday, June 11, '56.**

It is a lovely morning. The sun, in all its glory, is just rising out of the eastern horizon, and your correspondent has just arisen from his excellent bed of hay, in our wagon, after enjoying another night's quiet and refreshing repose. Our teamsters are gathering their cattle, and after breakfast we shall again be on our way. One of our company, a young man of the right stamp, from Durham, who is along with us and serves as teamster, cook and chambermaid, is so delighted with this rustic out-door life, that he says if he should ever return East, he should be disposed even there to adopt the same mode, and there are many among us who would heartily concur with him. But to resume the subject on hand,—when we camped last evening, for want of a candle I could not improve the time after dark, and can only write now by running along ahead of the teams, thus gaining time, and sitting on the

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64. Although George W. Clarke was indicted for the killing of Thomas Barber, a Free-Stater, it was not proved that he actually fired the fatal shot.
bank by the wayside to improve it,—and also the time gained while the cattle are grazing, after eating my own allowance in a hurry. We are informed, and think the information reliable, that the President has given orders to Col. Sumner to disband all the armed companies in the Territory, without delay, and that he is now engaged in that important work.

This, of course, will "spike the guns" of these Southern invaders, and we hope, eventually, restore peace to the country. At all events, it is a step in the right direction, and if followed up, will, in some measure, relieve the U.S. Government from the responsibility of permitting armed bodies of men from the South to come here, and, when here, be enlisted by their own Marshal, to impose heavy burdens upon the people too grievous to be borne, instead of being expelled forthwith, in accordance with the proclamation of the President. We are also informed that Whitfield has gathered a large force, and is now in the field, and that detachments of his men, with others, have recently plundered the village of Ossawatomie, very much after the manner pursued at Lawrence, extending their robberies so far as to take ladies' rings from their ears.

Captain Walker, a free state man, has also a company of men under arms, gathered by him since the descent upon Lawrence. He has been a prominent actor in all the movements here from the first, and a sufferer, also. He has been for some weeks obliged to be away from his house, and of course to leave his family without protection. The blood-hounds of the slave power are after him, and being a brave man, and conscious of no crime, he has raised a force as the only means of defending his rights and preserving the peace of the community. But our greatest difficulty now is at Kansas City and Westport, both of which places are in Missouri. Here the excitement is intense, and in the vicinity of Westport, about four miles from Kansas City, there are armed men along the road who have established a regular system of highway robbery, as can easily be shown by reference to facts.

We called last evening near where we camped, upon Mr. Root, from Meriden, who came out with us, but being unwell, could not proceed further, and therefore took up a claim in this vicinity. He informed us that in returning from Kansas City last week with a load of boxes containing wearing apparel and other goods,

65. Col. Edwin V. Sumner was a prominent figure in Kansas territorial affairs. As commander of Fort Leavenworth in 1856, he attempted to preserve order, disbanded Free-State and Proslavery parties at the occasion demanded and, by order of President Pierce, dispersed the Free-State legislature in Topeka on July 4, 1856.—Kansas Historical Collections, v. 8 (1903-1904), p. 346.
together with provisions, he was joined by a young man by the name of Barlow, also from Meriden, and that when a little out of Westport they were stopped by a company of armed men numbering about 60. Barlow was first secured, and after being questioned as to his views on the subject of a Free State, he was taken to the woods to be hung, a rope being placed around his neck for that purpose when he was first arrested. Soon after Barlow was out of sight in the woods, another company came to Mr. Root, the leader asking him whether he was in favor of making Kansas a Slave or Free State. He promptly replied, a Free State; when they at once told him that he had only fifteen minutes to live. A rope was put upon his neck and he was led away also to be hung. He made no resistance, but followed them quietly to the spot designated under an adjoining tree. One of the most respectable looking of the company, flung the rope over a limb and drew it tight. He was then asked if his [sic] wished to leave any word for his family and replied he should be glad to have them to know what had become of him. He says he felt no fear, for he told them he should not be harmed, as he felt his soul was safe.—After some hesitation they released him upon his assurance that he did not intend to injure them.

In the meantime however, they broke open his boxes, trunk, and bureau, and scattered their contents in every direction. They did not find anything in their search, which they were disposed to take except a quantity of provisions and a shotgun, the latter of which they retained.

About this time Mr. Barlow appeared and Mr. Root requested him to help him gather up and repack his goods, but he said he was not permitted to do so, and that he was going to return immediately to the East. Mr. Root then reloaded his goods and proceeded on his way, being joined soon by another man. After passing a few miles they were again stopped by two persons, to whom they did not yield but warned them to touch them at their peril. They were not molested, and finally returned in safety to their homes. Mr. Root is one of the most peaceable and excellent of men, and in his general character and deportment without reproach. This is not a solitary case.—Many are served the same way every day.

We know of a large number who have been robbed of horses, oxen, provisions and other valuable goods, and this is done by arrangement and system. It is now confined chiefly to the extreme
Eastern border of the Territory, near Westport. It is said to be impossible to go through that place without being stopped. As we are destined for that place, we inquire of those we meet, all of whom concur in advising us not to attempt going there. I suppose there never was a more outrageous system of highway robbery among Arabs, than is now being daily perpetrated in this Territory. It is unnecessary to give further details although sheets of paper could be covered in so doing.—We learn that at Kanzas City the owner of the hotel has been compelled to sell out to save his building from being burned, and that merchants favorable to the Free State cause have been compelled to leave their stores and go down the river.

We are now in Lawrence, and shall remain over night before we decide what course to pursue. I am writing in Mr. Hutinconch's [sic] office, in full view of the ruins of the Free State Hotel, and after conversing with citizens here in reference to the plundering of private houses, it is hard to believe that we live in the country for whose liberty Washington and his compatriots fought, and martyrs among them bled and died. The only comfort in the case must be found in resorting to the foundation of our faith, where we find the assurance that God can cause the wrath of man to praise him.—L.66

LEAVENWORTH, June 13, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—We left Lawrence yesterday noon for Leavenworth, with a view of proceeding down the river to "Kanzas City," leaving our teams at Leavenworth, and freighting our engine, mill, &c., from Kanzas City, up, at an extra expense of at least $100, and all because it is not safe to go over the usually traveled road to Kanzas City. We camped last night on the road that has been a good deal infested with these border ruffian guerilla parties, but it is now clear.

We started at 4 o'clock, and at about 5, met Col. Sumner in his carriage, who stopped us to inquire whether we were leaving the country. He seemed earnest, and somewhat anxious, evidently making the inquiry from the suspicion that we were driven out, and prepared, I think, to guarantee his protection, as he has done elsewhere. We soon after met a company of light artillery, with four heavy cannon, and about thirty well armed men, all bound to Lawrence. This looks well, and indicates a determination on the part of the Colonel to give these marauders Jesse unless they leave the Territory. It appears that a small company of U.S.

troops ordered Whitfield's company of Ruffians to disband, and they refused, whereupon a dispatch was sent to Col. Sumner, and the force we met this morning is understood to be a response to the dispatch. We therefore anticipate a speedy scattering among the invaders, and, to a considerable extent, peace in all our borders, but we cannot be confident. The pro-slavery party are exceedingly excited and desperate, and they may defy the U.S. troops, in which case the war will be prolonged, though blood must end in the triumph of the right.

Our road to Leavenworth, over which we travel, is the best we have seen in the Territory, and passes the Delaware Reserve, which is a beautiful country. A considerable portion of the distance is as pleasant as a drive through "Hillhouse woods." The effect of the suicidal course of the Missourians at Kanzas City and Westport, is beginning to be witnessed in the transfer of trade to Leavenworth, and this is as it should be. Kanzas City should be avoided at present by every emigrant from a Free State. Let the people there reap the fruit of their own way and be filled with their own devises,—let them derive their prosperity from the trade of Buford’s marauders, and South Carolina patriots, but let those who come from the East go direct to Leavenworth City, where their purchases can be made equally well, where they will pass over better roads, and, being in the Territory, will be protected from Ruffianism, by U.S. troops, whose jurisdiction does not extend to Kanzas City. We have just met a gentleman whom we suppose to be the mail contractor for this region, who confirms what we have before heard of the stopping and overhauling of the mail, which business, he says, will be stopped. He further informed us that eight companies of dragoons were now moving down on the other side of the Kanzas River, all of which gives us still more confidence that something effectual is about to be done for the peace of Kanzas.

We learned in Lawrence a very sad instance of suffering by a Free State man now there, who resides about 14 miles south. He was on his way to Leavenworth, for a load of provisions, when he was stopped by a few Missourians, and robbed of his team and $210 in money. He was then tied in a sitting position, his hands behind him, and drawn near his feet,—he was also gagged by means of a stick tied into his mouth, very cruelly, and his hat fastened over his face. In this condition he was left to die, but fearing he might by some means get clear, they returned in a short time and consulted as to the probability of his dying, con-
cluded it would not be necessary to shoot him, and again withdrew. The poor man, after a long struggle, succeeded in kicking off one of his boots, by means of which the cord became loosened about his ankles, and after a while he removed the other boot, and drew his hands up behind him. He then walked nine miles to a house, where his hands were unloosened and the gag removed. He soon told his story, was sent to Lawrence, and a company dispatched to find and punish the offenders. One of them was over-taken, and severely flogged; the other, with the team and money, is still at large, while the man remains at Lawrence in a very uncomfortable position, with all the marks of the brutal outrage upon his person. He was a stranger to them, and a quiet emigrant upon his claim. It is wonderful that he was able to effect his escape.

Our friend Mr. Root, spoken of in another letter was made doubly strong in his purposes, after his arrest. Naturally very mild, when talking to us of the outrage, he raised his hand, and with unwonted energy for him, declared—"I will stay now, at all hazards, and see this thing through, if I die for it!" That is the general and natural effect of such persecutions for opinion's sake.

The effect of the recent outrages at Lawrence has been to advance the price of the real estate, and increase investments from outside parties. The day before we passed through, an old hunker democrat from Illinois came into the Territory, and while in Lawrence, became so well satisfied that the Free State men were in the right, and must prevail, that although intending to invest elsewhere, he paid cash, $500, for a fifty feet lot immediately adjoining the smoking ruins of the Hotel, and will build a block of stores upon it forthwith. We are now in Leavenworth, which is really a very thriving place, much larger than Lawrence, with better buildings, of which I may speak more particularly hereafter, and also of the Fort, which we visited. But as we are about leaving, after another fine night's repose in our wagons, there will be no time to say more now. My next will probably be mailed in the Territory, and may not reach you.—L.  

Waubonsee, K. T., June 14th, 1856.

Messrs. Editors:—Our mail, directed to this place, has just arrived, and about fifty letters were received by members of the company. Some of which contain strange tidings in relation to

67. Ibid., June 24, 1856.
matters and things among us. We learn for the first time that severe sickness has prevailed and several deaths taken place since we arrived. Whereas we have had no deaths, and excepting two cases of measles and one of mumps, which occurred on the way, there has been without doubt much less of sickness than there would have been among the same persons, in the same time, at home. Another letter speaks of certain prominent members of the company as having left and gone East, who are still here, and others that the company has broken up and the members scattered, all of which is untrue, and no doubt founded upon vague rumors, originating "nowhere," and for which that distinguished individual, "nobody," is solely and entirely responsible.

The truth is as before stated. The company have thus far been kept together, and prospered beyond any who have ever before entered the Territory, and are now peaceably and harmoniously pursuing their organizations in this very delightful section of the country. To say we have had no disappointments would be not only foolish but untrue. Some who came here as mechanics, with no arrangements except to work at their trade, have not realized their expectations. It is impossible in the nature of the case that all such persons should be at once placed in eligible circumstances for earning money at their business, and thereby prospering. We must have first of all a saw-mill before any considerable demand for labour can exist so far as mechanics are concerned, and yet most of those among us, willing to work, have found employment at fair wages. Some have been employed in making tents, some to assist the surveyors, others in building log-cabins, and others in getting our rails for fencing and logs for sawing.

The latter business can be pursued for the present to almost any extent, as the demand for rails, at a remunerative price, is very "active," and plenty of timber can be found on the island in the Kanzas River, free to anybody who chooses to cut it. Several of our men are now at work at this business and doing well; but it is work,—there is no play about it; and a few of the company, after complaining for considerable time that they could get no employment, have become discouraged and left, with standing offers for any number of rails, which are now being cut so as to realize the cutters from $1.50 to $2 per day.

As soon, however, as the mill is in operation and the houses begin to go up, there will be work enough of a different sort,—and if our plans for the erection of a church, school house, &c. are
realized, there will be no difficulty about work in future. Those who came out with the means of buying a team to "break up" with, or a part of one, have no trouble. Those who can command, on their arrival here, from four to five hundred dollars, and have the strength and disposition to work, are very soon in "easy circumstances."—They can own three yoke of oxen, a plough, cart and cow, and, with this "capital" to start upon they can either break prairie for themselves, plant corn and realize a handsome return for it in the Fall, or they can work for others without any lost time and realize at least $5 per day. With less capital they can do well by joining teams with others similarly situated, and alternating with each other. In this way most of our ploughing has been done, as only a few have full teams.

These statements have been made in part before and are only repeated in order to say again that we wish our friends at home to believe no rumors they hear concerning us, but to base their judgment of our condition and prospects solely upon what information they receive of a reliable character from those of our own number who remain on the ground or returning for good and sufficient means, are obviously willing to tell the truth. We much regret that some of those who have left us and returned home should be inclined to circulate unfavorable stories in regard to the country and the colony from Connecticut. Perhaps it is not strange, since it becomes necessary either to acknowledge that they became homesick and returned for that reason, or imagine some difficulty of a different kind sufficient to justify themselves in turning their backs upon us. Some, we know, have taken the former course and more probably will follow, which is honorable and fair, and we have reason to think that others have taken the latter, which, while it may work evil to us, is certainly not very creditable to them. In view, therefore, of all these things, we again ask our friends to withhold any conclusions, in regard to us, until they know the facts in the case. Three have left us since my last, two of whom are from New Haven, and are, ere this, far on their way.—The other is to return soon with his family.

The Territory is still in a very unsettled state. The people of Lawrence since the detestable robberies, referred to in a former letter, were committed, feel exceedingly restless and more or less discouraged, but the state of things there is such, that it will be a hazardous business for anybody to attempt a repetition of the
scenes recently enacted there. Several teams from our place have just returned from Kanzas City, and report that a man living near Lawrence came into the city while they were there and complained that he had been turned into the street by the Southern soldiers and fired upon, and that his wife and children, as he feared, were in danger, whereupon a company of fifty men were immediately rallied, and proceeding to the spot, found near there five of these imported ruffians, and arrested them. One of our teamsters was of the company.

They found upon them three Sharps’ rifles, which it was known they had stolen, and took them, while they permitted them to retain what belonged to them. They then advised them to leave as quick as possible, which they promised to do, saying, with all becoming humility, that they were sorry to be found in such business, and were determined to leave for home at the first opportunity. A few instances have occurred where brave men from the Free State party, deeply incensed at the conduct of these invaders, have pursued and arrested some of them, and shot others, declaring they will no longer suffer these infamous depredations without showing some disposition to punish those who commit them.

The extent to which robberies have been committed by these troops sent here to establish Southern institutions upon the plains of Kanzas, will hardly be credited at the East, and yet there is no remedy at law, as the “State” is not acknowledged, and the sufferers will not recognize the “bogus” authorities. Under these circumstances it is not strange that in some instances the people take the power into their own hands, and redress their grievances in a summary manner. We hear very strange reports in regard to Gov. Shannon. He is represented as being fair to Free State men when he is sober, and, as an evidence of it, we are informed that a young man called upon him, and stated he was in danger of his life from pro-slavery men, and had no means of defense, whereupon the Governor furnished him with a U. S. rifle, . . . upon another occasion, the Governor, by request, ordered the disarming of the pro-slavery forces to prevent a fight. But in both these instances he was sober, which, I must think, from all we can learn, is not a very common occurrence, as I hear, upon the very best authority, of his committing many acts that would be exceedingly dishonorable to any sober man.

In order to give you some idea of the extent to which the Missourians in some instances carry their prejudices, let a single fact
be mentioned.—One of our teamsters called at a printing office in Westport, and bought half a dozen papers of the boy, paid for them, and put them in his pocket. On leaving the office he met one of the proprietors, who interrogated him closely, inquiring where he was from, &c. He replied to his inquiries, whereupon he was requested to return the papers, which he refused to do, and left the office. He was soon overtaken by the same man on a horse, who again demanded the return of the papers, and was again refused. He then inquired of our friend whether he had any weapons, and was told that he had. He ordered him to give them up, which he refused to do, and after a few more words this brave Missourian returned, threatening to look out for our emigrant when he came back,—all for, the offense of buying six Westport newspapers to send East. Another of our company, coming up from Kanzas City, the next day, with a load, was stopped and asked whether he was a Free State man, to which question he answered in the affirmative, when he was advised to quit the Territory forthwith, as a company of horse were soon to traverse the country, and “drive every d—d abolition Yankee out of it.” Our friend was not easily scared, and came back without further molestation. These annoyances, although exceedingly provoking, do not frighten us, as they are generally perpetrated by cowards.

These various incidents, and many others that could be narrated, will show that we are still quite unsettled, and that while the slave power is being exerted to the utmost, the real strength of the Free State party is steadily increasing. Whether it will be permitted to operate in effecting the ultimate establishment of free-principles in the Territory, remains to be seen. Another fact: A team has just arrived with a load of baggage belonging to a family removing from Lawrence. The teamster is a respectable citizen of that city, whose acquaintance we made while there. He reports that when about 20 miles on his way, he was stopped by a company of about thirty-five of the Southern robbers, who, after inquiring where he was from, and where he was going, and using very insulting language towards him, demanded his money or his horses. He remonstrated, denouncing them as cowards, thus to waylay and rob an unoffending citizen alone and without arms, but they were the more insulting and determined, until the old man, as a choice of evils, gave them ten dollars, it being every dime he had with which to pay expenses.—These facts were communicated to me
by the man himself, and were especially interesting at this time, as we have made our arrangements to leave for Kanzas City on Monday morning with four teams, to bring up the engine and fixtures, which we very much need. We shall start, nevertheless, according to our plan. Perhaps they will rob us, but we do not intend they shall, and as there will be nine in our company, we think they will prefer to let us pass. . . .—L. 68

KANZAS CITY, June 17, 1856.

MESSRS. EDS:—In my last, a few facts were stated in regard to the town of Leavenworth. It is situated very near the river, and built in the woods, the stumps of trees being quite common in the streets. Original patches of the forests remain still undisturbed in the yards, and unoccupied spaces, in the very heart of the city. The houses, stores and other buildings are nearly all framed, and some of them quite substantial. We did not see a log cabin in the place. The number of buildings is now over three hundred, the first of which was not begun twenty months since. There are also two weekly newspapers, a city government, 2,000 inhabitants, a hotel in the works to cost $25,000, 24 licensed grog shops, but no churches built expressly for the purpose, there being one cheap building erected for temporary use, in which divine service is held, and other rooms occupied in different parts of the city for the same purpose.—There is a Methodist church North, and one South, already organized, illustrating the condition of society here—a struggle between the slave power and the friends of freedom for supremacy, in which the churches participate.

It is not surprising, perhaps, that a community of 2,000 people should grow up so rapidly under the circumstances, but with the exception of some of the cities in California, it is undoubtedly the most remarkable instance of rapid growth on record, far outstripping St. Paul on the Mississippi. But it is lamentable to witness all through Kanzas how little is done to establish the worship and the ordinances of our holy religion. The most complete establishment for the purpose I have yet seen, is that of the Catholic Bishop at Leavenworth, erected in all probability for the accommodation of the troops, a very large proportion of whom are Irish, as very few Catholics are to be found in the community at large. The establishment is of course upon a small scale, but sufficiently commodious for the present. The Unitarians are now erecting a fine church at Lawrence, and the Congregationalists are preparing to do the same,

68. Ibid., June 26, 1856.
each of which is to cost about $5,000. We hope our own community will not be so tardy in the matter, but, after the example of our fathers, make it their first business to provide a good house for the worship of God, and another for the education of the children.

During our present sojourn in Kansas City, opportunity has offered for full conversation with a number of the conservative portion of the pro-slavery men, merchants and others, and while they condemn all the proceedings on the part of Missourians, that we condemn, such as illegal voting, unjust laws, and the introduction of armed bodies from other states, they insist that the fault is not all on their side. They charge very much of the trouble to the Emigrant Aid Company, not denying their right to operate as they have, but claiming that it was natural and inevitable that the operations of such an organization should excite and incense the masses of the people here.—They say that the people of Missouri, very many of them, had long been waiting for the country to be open for settlement, without any idea of the repeal of the Compromise act, but with the well settled understanding that Kanzas was of course to be free. They preferred it should be so, and further that the repeal was the work of demagogues, got up for political effect, the whole of which they deeply regretted because they foresaw the result. They knew that the country would become excited, and that, in the end, Kanzas would after all be free,—but instead of having a population from among themselves, friendly as neighbors, and profitable as customers, it would be as it is, made up of enemies to their institutions, who, as far as possible, pursue a non-intercourse policy in matters of business.

Some of these positively declare that considerable numbers did come here from the East solely to vote—that they saw them with nothing but a carpet bag, revolver and Sharps’ rifle, and also that they saw them return, and have made oath to these facts before the Committee of Congress. While it cannot be doubted that these men are mistaken in their belief as to the fact that any considerable number came here, 2,000 miles, to vote and return, at an expense, including outfit, loss of time, &c., of at least $200 to each man, it is nevertheless obvious that many of them do believe it, and that the masses, in their movements, are more or less stimulated by the same faith. These facts are only referred to in explanation of the sympathy that now pervades all classes here in Missouri on this subject, and not in justification of their course. I do not wish to condemn the Emigrant Aid Society, but to explain how and why it has
operated to increase the violence of the action of the people in this terrible controversy. There can be no doubt the hotel in Lawrence was destroyed because it belonged to this Society, and the proprietors of the one here were compelled to sell out because of their supposed connection with the same society.

The popular feeling is further illustrated in the fact that there is now lying on the levee at this place, more than 100 tons of engines and machinery belonging to this Company, on which more than $3,000 has been advanced by the forwarders. It is suffering badly by exposure, while it is not deemed safe for the agents of the Society to be here to remove it. This of course is all wrong.—The authors of all this trouble, on whose head the consequences ought to fall, are the political demagogues who conceived the idea of repealing the Missouri Compromise as a means of creating a new hobby to serve their own ambitious designs.—The accessories are the whole body of the Democratic Party, who have endorsed the measure and intend to ratify and establish it, if possible in the coming Presidential election. Yet we need not be defeated, we must not, and by the help of God and the co-working of good men in wise measures, we will not. All now necessary is to multiply the number of independent emigrants, who come to settle, and go into the Territories with the necessary tools to make themselves a home. They should not come to fight under any other circumstances than those of self-protection. We hope and believe that measures are in progress that will place all such emigrants beyond the necessity of fighting at all.

You have already been informed of the movement of U. S. troops. We learned this morning, that Col. Sumner, with a body of men, encamped yesterday, at Cedar Creek, on the road, about 20 miles from this place, and in the midst of the region of the recent disturbances. Also, that several companies of dragoons are reconnoitering different parts of the Territory, in consequence of which, we shall start our teams over the usually traveled road this evening. Col. Buford's men have indirectly levied an assessment upon me to the amount of $25, by breaking open a box of wheels brought out to haul our engine, pretending they supposed them to be cannon carriages, in consequence of which, they were not received by the consignees.

They made a journey down the river to St. Louis and back. Among the many mischievous devices of the pro-slavery men, there is none perhaps more diabolical than the appeals made to their
people, based upon cruelty said to have been perpetrated by our friends, upon innocent pro-slavery men.—Not content with publishing these statements in newspapers, issue hand-bills and circulating them widely through Missouri and the South, declaring that free State men have been guilty of committing the most cold blooded murders; that they have also tortured their victims, by cutting off their hands and feet and chopping them to pieces with hatchets; that they drag men from their homes, in defiance of the entreaties of wives, and cries of children, &c. All this is done, of course, to excite and inflame the passions of the populace, and lead them to rush into the Territory to wreak their vengeance upon every free State man they meet.—These statements are false and are known to be so by the men who publish them.

Provoked to exasperation by the robberies and murders that were becoming quite common, perpetrated by invaders upon peaceable citizens, bands of free State men have, in some instances, organized, and taken the law into their own hands, in consequence of which, several of the aggressors have no doubt been slain. Our friends at the East must bear in mind how deeply we are wronged both by the government and the people.—L.69

KANSAS CITY, June 19, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—We leave here this morning, after an unusual detention, having arrived on the 13th. We should ordinarily have accomplished our business in one day, but as we came by a new route, and left our teams up the river, thinking we should be unable to go over the ordinary road, and have been subject to various other annoyances growing out of the war. Our stay has been prolonged and our expenses very much increased; but we now have our engine, boiler, saw mill, &c., all packed on the wagons, without any accident having occurred to mar the hard work of the occasion. We start with five teams, in all thirteen yoke of oxen, beside one team containing a family from Ohio, a man with his wife and three children, first rate people, going to join our community.

We find very comfortable accommodations here with Capt. Smart, who is a slaveholder, but a sensible man. In coming down the river, the other day, we had an opportunity of seeing and hearing Mr. Atchison and some of his associates. He sat opposite us at the dinner table. He did not like the nomination of Buchanan, although it would make no difference in the result, as the party were fully committed to their cause,—but, said he, a victory with Pierce

69. Ibid., June 28, 1856.
or Douglas would have been worth fighting for, because they were more actively identified with the great questions at issue. He complained that the Buford men had overdone matters in the Territory, having taken their own friends as well as foes, and, in one instance, he said they had arrested Wilson's (meaning Shannon, as we suppose,) brother-in-law, tied a ball and chain to him, and sent him down the river. His friend with whom he was talking, replied—"It will never do to allow any class of men to feel that they have a right to take life, indiscriminately, at pleasure." "That," said he, "must be stopped," and Mr. Atchison assented, adding that "an unarmed man ought not to be detained under any circumstances," all of which, of course, meets our hearty concurrence. Mr. A. is a very fine looking man, erect in person, about the size of Judge Boardman, perhaps a little taller, with a rather ruddy complexion. During our passage, he, with another man, came where two of us were sitting upon the gunwale of the boat, and addressing a gentleman standing near us, said, "I wish to introduce to you the renowned Captain of the 'Kickapoo Rangers,' a gentleman distinguished for his military exploits, and well skilled in taking scalps." We saw the Captain afterwards in Kansas City, in company with a Wyandot Indian, both decidedly worse for whiskey.

The pro-slavery paper at Leavenworth speaks highly of a company of Wyandots, for their co-operation in the recent troubles, stating that they fight after their old fashion. We saw in the same paper a circular addressed to the friends of slavery, signed by committees of the three border counties, calling for aid. They say they can find men in Missouri, but want money, horses, ammunition and arms. The troops, say they, cannot accomplish much on foot, and they must be supported. It goes much into detail, and is an earnest appeal to aid in carrying on the war, and in another paper in the same town, I noticed the Governor's proclamation, ordering all armed bodies to disband and disperse, and calling upon good citizens to aid in restoring peace. These things seem a little inconsistent with each other, but it is surprising to notice how bold the pro-slavery men are in their action, for the distinctly avowed purpose of making Kanzas a slave State,—and upon the borders of Missouri the popular sentiment is undoubtedly very strong in that direction, although we meet with some who deprecate the course pursued. We saw a gentleman yesterday, said to be the largest slaveholder in the country, and living within a few miles of this place, who is heartily sick of the whole thing. It is quite possible
that if a few men of common sense, representing both sides of the controversy, could be brought together, measures would be taken to put an end to violence, and possibly leave the matter to be decided by the legitimate and natural course of event.

There is no doubt great excitement at the East, and there probably will be earnest efforts made to raise "material aid" for Kanzas, but it is difficult for me to see how money can be used advantageously except to encourage actual settlers to come here with simply the means of self protection, in the quiet pursuit of making homes for themselves and families. To raise money for the support of an army, is to engage in civil war, which does not yet seem expedient or right. Money invested in building school houses, churches, stores and dwellings, will be more effectual, and tend to peace, but I am sorry to say many Free State men here have lost their patience, and possibly their common sense, and are ready for the worst,—yet we hope better councils may prevail, and a general disruption be prevented.

We are making some purchases with a view to a celebration on the Fourth, and we intend to have one with a public dinner, military parade, oration, toasts, display of flags, &c., all of which will be duly reported after the event has passed,—and may the festivities, if we are permitted to enjoy them, contribute to promote a better appreciation of the value of our institutions, and a more determined purpose, by patient continuance in well doing, to seek for their full development and final success.—L.70

WAUBONSEE, K. T., July 2, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—We arrived home on Saturday night, after an absence of three weeks, with our engine and mill all safe. We left Kanzas City and drove through Westport, the hot-bed of the late infamous outrages, and found all things quiet in a region where ten days before no Free State man was safe in passing. The potency of U. S. rifles, in the hands of U. S. Troops, had rendered the inhabitants very civil. The change is apparent in the fact that while at tea table in Kanzas City, a few days before, there were four men who had been robbed of their teams within a week, some of whom found them afterwards in possession of citizens of Westport. These robberies were generally committed by the Southern troops under Buford. I saw one of them in Kanzas [City?] exhibiting a fine watch, which he boasted of having "pressed," up in the Territory.

70. *Ibid.,* July 8, 1856.
Passing through Westport, our "big wheels" made in New Haven, to carry the boiler, attracted considerable attention, especially in connection with the smoke pipe on the next wagon, and we heard the remark from persons on the road, "there goes a smashing big cannon." We passed the camp of Buford's men a little out of Westport, but they treated us quite civilly, or rather did not interfere with us. Our train consisted of seven wagons, four of which were chiefly loaded with the machinery, one owned by an old settler who came down after provisions, one a teamster who had been robbed and recovered his team traveling in our company, and the other a family, consisting of a man, wife and four daughters, whom we met at the boarding house, and who came up to locate with us and are now here. They are from Ohio and will be a decided acquisition. We had a fine opportunity on our journey up to notice again the character of the country, and we are agreed that it looked more than ever attractive. Our friends from Ohio were constantly exclaiming, "What a beautiful country."

For a considerable distance through the Shawnee Reserve, the road is skirted upon either side with innumerable wild plum trees and no marks of "curculio" upon them. Crab apples were also exceedingly abundant, some of the trees being 20 feet high, and all full of fruit, while from their tops, stretching from one to the other, grapevines were hanging in beautiful festoons. The odor from their blossoms filling the air with a delightful perfume, gave earnest of the rich fruit in course of preparation for the harvest season. These fruits, we are informed, are very fine, as are also the strawberries, immense fields of which we passed thru, after the season. Our pleasure of course was found in the gratifying evidences of the adaptation of the country to the growth of these fine fruits.

On our first day out we passed in sight of several encampments of U. S. troops, in the vicinity of recent outbreaks. Near one of them we stopped for water, and while refreshing ourselves at the well of the old "Baptist Mission," now abandoned— one of the soldiers informed us that a Free State man was hung by ruffians from one of the adjoining trees, a few days before, and his body thrown into the well from which we were drinking. He pointed to his clothes strewn about, and a little distance off, to his grave,—his body having been taken from the well and buried. His

71. The Baptist Shawnee Mission was established in 1831 in present northeast Johnson county. It was here that the Rev. Jotham Meeker brought his printing press and types to print books in the Indian language. The mission was discontinued in 1855.—A. T. Andrews and W. G. Cutler, History of the State of Kansas (Chicago, 1883), p. 66.
name was not known. We also passed several other localities that have been recently made memorable by sad and fearful tragedies. A little off from our route a young man, the son of a widow, and her chief dependence, not 20 years old, was stopped by some of these infamous Buford men and interrogated. He acknowledged himself a friend of the Free State movement, but said being under age he took no active part in the matter. He was asked if he had any arms, to which he replied, none that belonged to him, and only a single pistol, the property of another person, which he had taken to get repaired. He was ordered to give it up but refused on the ground that it was not his. The owner being in hearing and fearing for the young man's safety, told him to surrender it, which he did. They then suffered him to drive off, but one of the company not being fully satisfied, drew his rifle and shot him dead. This occurrence fired a few young men in Lawrence with a spirit of vengeance, and they proceeded to the spot, met two persons whom they did not know—who in fact were not connected with the affair, except in sympathy, being identified with the Southern invaders. Words passed, shots were exchanged, and one of the Lawrence boys was shot dead, a young man with whom I became well acquainted in Lawrence.

One of our men went into this neighborhood to do an errand for a member of the company, and he reported a very tense feeling among the settlers, and especially the Free State men from Missouri. He found quite a number of that class and their indignation on account of the invasion of these Southern outlaws was irressible. They seemed eager for a fight—they had witnessed the atrocities, and feeling that justice required their expulsion or their death, and despairing of any effective measures of redress from the government, the[y] were anxious to "go at them" and drive them to the kennels from whence they came.

We have made the acquaintance of quite a number of true men from Missouri and they are among our most reliable settlers, but it is often difficult for them to hold back, and it is not strange. They are here in good faith with their families,—they have lived in a Slave State, and seen the workings of the system and become sick of it.—They know it is bad in all its aspects and come here to get rid of it, and add their influence to protect these broad prairies from its withering curse. When they see men without principle—mere outlaws—coming in for the sole purpose of forcing the cursed system upon actual settlers at the point of the
bayonet, is it to be expected they will look with unmixed forbearance forever? Of one thing you may be assured, whenever the contest does come, if come it must, Missouri will be divided against herself.

A single fact more. There is a little town called Franklin about four miles east from Lawrence, where pro-slavery sentiments are in the ascendant. Among the unscrupulous and most active of the enemies of the Free State movement was a German residing there, by the name of Peshmaker. He went to Kanzas soon after the Buford men arrived, and induced a number of them to camp at Franklin. He also figured conspicuously at the siege and sacking of Lawrence, and was regarded as one of the worst of the leading depredators in the territory. A few days before we passed through the town, a number of Buford men were assembled with a loaded cannon, and arrangements for destroying an obnoxious store, and doing other mischief. A few Free State men, not exceeding ten also appeared, and when Peshmaker opened his door they fired and wounded him mortally. He lived five days. No other persons were killed, although the pro-slavery papers, have made the most extravagant representations on the subject. There is no doubt this Peshmaker has been a very bad man, and it is claimed in justification for shooting him, that he and his accomplices were meditating a general onslaught upon the Free State party that night. We visited the house; the family were gone, and yet everything appeared the same as when they left. We saw several bullet holes, some where the balls passed through the bed and pillow where the children were sleeping, and some that perforated eight one inch boards, giving very satisfactory evidence of the immense power of "Sharp's Rifles." It was a sad picture and a melancholy illustration of the terrible fruits of civil war; may they soon have an end, and peace with her thousand blessings reign supreme over the land.

We again called at the residence of Capt. Walker on our return, and found his heroic wife at her post. The house was unoccupied when we passed it going down, as she had been advised to flee for her personal safety. She has with her five young children, and only sees her husband occasionally, as he is still in peril although he has done nothing but defend his own house, and aid in defending others. Mrs. Walker informed us that the night the house was surrounded by the Buford men, 12 persons had been posted by Capt. W. to aid

72. This incident is described in the Kansas Weekly Herald, Leavenworth, June 14, 1856, but the name is spelled Tichemaker. He is described as "a good citizen and pro-slavery man."
in his defence, and a few others stationed outside. Immediately upon the ruffians dismounting the men inside fired, wounding several of their enemies, and killing one horse. The brave men of course attempted to flee, but a portion of them when Mrs. W. recognized one of the Buford Boys who were secured by those outside and brought in, had been frequently at her house and had been nursed by her in sickness. They also discovered the son of Governor Shannon in the company. They took as spoils, one live horse and one dead one, two U. S. rifles, several pistols, one coat tail with a bottle of whiskey in it, &c.

Mrs. Walker stated that she had a call the next day from Gov. Shannon, who enquired for her husband, but she of course could give no information about him, and it was rather queer that the inquiry should be made. Under most circumstances, it would be surprising that the Chief Executive functionary should be out on such business, but Mrs. W. stated that he was so badly intoxicated, that it was with great difficulty he could keep upon his horse. There were many other incidents of interest that occurred during our journey, but we must close this communication with a brief reference to one feature in our "camping out" at night. As our wagons were loaded, we of course could not "bunk" in them, except to a limited extent. Two of them were so loaded that they could be used, one by the family with us, and the other by two men. The rest of us, were of course obliged to make our beds upon the open prairie, and judging from my own experience it was no hardship.

There is certainly something peculiar in the atmosphere in this country, for while we slept upon the ground and found our blankets and the hair upon our heads wet with dew, we experienced no inconvenience from the exposure; in fact we have become so accustomed to these things that exposure to night air is not regarded as at all prejudicial—but such a sleeping apartment—so capacious—so thoroughly ventilated—and such a canopy studded with brilliants, the like of which cannot be found in the bridal chambers of Queens or Princes. . . .—L. 73

Waubonsee, July 7, 1856.

Messrs. Editors:—We were disappointed in part in regard to our celebration the 4th of July. We had made very full arrangements some weeks since, which, had they been carried out, would have been satisfactory to all, but circumstances we could not forsee, changed our plans. After the teams and eight members of the com-

73. New Haven Daily Palladium, July 19, 1856.
pany left for Kanzas City, an application was made from Topeka, earnestly requesting our Company to be present at a Convention in that place on the 3d and 4th inst. Some of the members, and among them the Captain of the Prairie Guard, were of opinion that we ought to respond to the invitation—consequently the committees suspended operations and no preparations were made. The difficulty was also increased by the protracted absence of the members gone to Kanzas City, and we found on our return the state of things as above described, with only four days intervening before the "glorious fourth" would be upon us. We accordingly called a meeting of the Company to consider and decide upon some course to be pursued.

A proposition was made to send a delegation to Topeka, in connection with resolutions expressing the sentiments of Company in relation to the existing state of things, which, after considerable debate was adopted with great unanimity. Captain Mitchel and C. B. Lines were appointed delegates, but Mr. Lines was unable to attend, in consequence of severe exhaustion from a long journey and the impossibility of procuring any conveyance except saddle horses, and M. C. Welch, Esq., was appointed in his stead, and attended the Convention. Our delegates returned on the 5th inst. and reported that the attendance was large, numbering at least five hundred, and the debates earnest and some of the time exciting. Mr. Welch, of our Company, was Secretary of the Convention. John Hutchinson, Esq., of Lawrence, offered a resolution advising that the Legislature proceed, at all hazards, to establish a code of laws and put the government in operation, but the proposition was defeated, the general sentiment of the Convention being in harmony with the resolutions of our own Company.

Before the adjournment, two important votes were passed; one raising a committee to impeach Shannon, Lecompte and Donaldson; the other to provide ways and means for constructing a stage road through Nebraska to Iowa, in order to provide a thoroughfare for emigrants, clear entirely of Missouri. This last movement is one of great importance. An instance illustrating its necessity occurred just previous to the session of the Convention. A company of emigrants, numbering about sixty, were on their way from Illinois and Indiana, and were stopped at Lexington, on the Missouri river, where they were robbed of their arms and permitted to proceed to Leavenworth, where they were not allowed to land but compelled to return to St. Louis. . . .
The results of the Topeka Convention were on the whole quite satisfactory to our delegates and the company generally, and we think will be productive of good, but the Legislature were not so fortunate. Marshal Donaldson read a proclamation the day before in public, forbidding them to meet, and on the morning of the 4th, and before they had organized, Col. Sumner marched a company of dragoons into the street, located two pieces of artillery in a commanding position, and then entered the hall where the Assembly were to meet and where the members were in fact together, and ordered them to disperse. He then proceeded to the Senate and dispersed them also, not encountering from either body any disposition to resist.—The Senate was nearly full, but in the lower house only 17 members appeared, considerably less than a quorum, although others were no doubt in town. This terminates the action of our State Legislature for the present, but it should be borne in mind that our cause is not in the least affected by these proceedings—we are still knocking at the door of Congress for admission as a State, and if that is denied—for protection as a Territory—we still have a large majority of the settlers with us, and there is an increasing determination to defend our rights to the last. It will not be easy for Missourians to come in here again and vote the people down, unless they are protected by the government in so doing, which is not probable.

The government are now in full possession, having troops distributed in various parts of the Territory. We are informed that a company is stationed above us for the purpose of intercepting and disbanding a force said to be coming in from the North under company of Gen. Lane, with no intention of preventing them from coming in, but dispersing them as a military company. With this course no fault could be found, provided the same precaution had been taken with Buford's men and others from the South.

I have received a few copies of the Register containing certain extracts from correspondence which the editor is pleased to commend. He also bespeaks for them a candid consideration on account of the source from which they come. I am glad of all this, for while these editors may find occasionally something to approve, and while they endorse these extracts because they come from a reliable source, it will serve to commend to their readers and their political associates, certain other extracts that may not be equally digestible, but that have the same element of truthfulness attaching to them, and consequently are entitled to consideration and con-
fidence. The statement in the Register in reference to a letter seen by them, purporting to be from one of our Company, and stating that most of the members were homesick, &c., is a mystery to us. *It is unnecessary to say that the facts are not so. The truth in relation to that matter is well understood, and it is not probable that the editors believed the story when they published it.*

Our Company still number about 50 of the original organization, besides several who have gone home, to return in a short time, and I do not know of one who regrets that he came. We also have accessions to our number from time to time, more than sufficient to supply the places of those who leave. The coarse and vulgar trifling of the Register with the names of some of us, may be all in accordance with its taste, but were the editor two thousand miles from his family, it is hardly probable that a similar paragraph in reference to himself, to be read by his wife and children, would be any more pleasant to him than it is to us. But no matter—“border ruffianism” is not confined to Kanzas, and we need not wonder at its developments, wherever its outrages here are justified. Our friend Mr. J. J. Walter, and two others, leave here today for the East, but will return soon. Others also will follow them. As far as we know they all intend to come back and make Waubonssee their future home.

The first year of our experience in this country will be the one of trial—the one that must test our fidelity to the cause and our satisfaction with the country. We shall need patience, courage and principle to sustain us, and we must have encouragement from home. We shall ask no charity except it be to aid in building a Church and School House, and we suppose we may rely upon our friends at the East to help us in these matters.—More than this, we need capital, and those who desire to have us thrive as a community—who wish our men to stay and aid in the great work before us, must see the necessity of furnishing the means to provide labour for those who wish to work. If we can have money spent among us this Fall, to the amount of $10,000, in building a church, school house, hotel, stores and dwellings, we shall be “on our pins,” and those who make the investment will ere long reap a handsome reward.

We shall also need a good stone mason and carpenter, competent to contrive and erect good buildings. With these appliances we must go ahead, without them we shall be embarrassed, and in a great measure stationary. Our Company generally continue
to enjoy good health and good pluck, although a few have been somewhat unwell, but are improving. In my next I will give you a sketch of our 4th of July celebration, such as it was, got up in a hurry, and with few facilities for such an occasion.—L. 74

WAUBONSEE, July 25, 1856.

Messrs. Editors:—We are greatly encouraged in our hopes for the future of Kanzas, by the evidence pouring in upon us from all quarters that FREMONT is to be our next President. I am almost as sure that he will “come in” as you tell us Senator Wilson was. The starting of the campaign seems so much like the one of 1840 and ’48—there is the same enthusiasm and confidence of success, which always are a prestige of ultimate triumph. But on the other hand we are uneasy through fear of the effect of Douglas’ bill, now [pend?]ing in Congress. We fear that trap, so finely set, will deceive some of our friends, and jeopardize our cause,—but let us explain. The bill on its face seems very fair, and apart from events transpiring here would be so. It provides for a convention to consist of 52 members, and to be apportioned to the different Counties according to population, all of which is well until you know how things are being managed here.

For some weeks past special efforts have been made to rush in to all the border towns large numbers of Missourians and Southerners, and we know that an unusual stock of provisions have been taken to these places, evidently to feed these adventurers—at the same time the propagandists having control of all the inlets to the Territory, are preventing Free State men from landing or rather from proceeding on their way to the interior. Hence, while the proslavery districts are rapidly filling up, the Free State localities in the interior are blockaded. The murders and robberies have to a great extent subsided, but the Buford men are still operating in the way indicated above.

One of our teamsters direct from Leavenworth, only a few days since, states that he saw one of the Buford men, with a Sharp’s rifle, in a store where he was trading, and that the merchant told him that it was one taken from a company of emigrants, sent back a few days before. He learned while there that what has been before stated in regard to the sending back of Free State men, is a fact of everyday occurrence, which nobody denies. Hence it appears that Douglas and Atchison are acting in concert, the one arranging a bill so plausible as to deceive many of our truest

74. Ibid., July 24, 1856.
friends, and yet sufficiently dove-tailed into the operations here as to render their success in some measure probable. The accumulation of a large population in the border towns operates against us in a variety of ways. It not only secures a large proportion of the delegates, but under the bill it is very likely also, in some cases, to swallow up adjoining Free State Counties, because they may prove to be fractious.

We are quiet in our community and all things are well with us. We have just divided our town site into parcels, and a few days since distributed to each man his share. Our plan was as follows:—We first reserve for church sites six lots, for public buildings six lots, and for school houses thirty lots, part of them for sites, the balance to be hereafter sold for school purposes, the remainder were divided into parcels of eight lots, each as near equal in value as possible, and drawn for by the members. The size of these lots is 300 feet deep by 100 front. There is also one lot to each member, on the bank of the river, somewhat smaller, making for each nine lots, leaving also a surplus over and above the reservations of nearly 100 lots, to be hereafter disposed of. Our men are well pleased with the arrangements and by a unanimous vote adopted rigid rules to secure to each man his right and protect the Company from embarrassment, by means of individuals trading off their lots and removing to other points, or by any other illegitimate system of speculation. 75

We have also started our saw mill under the influence of the first steam engine ever heard in Waubonsee, and we think these two circumstances will give a fresh start to our business operations and the development of the town. . . .—L. 76

WAUBONSEE, July 31, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—This day closes the fourth month since the departure of our Company from New Haven, and with many, if not all the members, these four months have been among the most eventful of their lives. Their experience has been new, peculiar and varied—away from home and its endearments—deprived of the company of wives, children, parents, sister, friends, and living almost

75. About this time the streets of the village were named. Many New Haven, Conn., street names were used. Some favored naming a street after Henry Ward Beecher but Moses C. Welch objected on the ground that while he respected the character and many excellent qualities of Mr. Beecher’s heart, he had come to be a symbol for bold impulsiveness that acts without reverence and sound judgment. He did not believe that the company would wish to be put in the position of seeming to approve of Mr. Beecher’s manner by naming a street after him. Mr. John H. Gould fanned that if they felt this way and wanted to be consistent he “moved to send back to Mr. B, the 23 rifles and 25 Bibles, he was instrumental in furnishing us with. Motion rejected.” The street was named Plymouth.

76. New Haven Daily Palladium, August 8, 1856.
entirely excluded from female society,—as an evidence of which, it is pertinent to state that the only young lady, between the age of 15 and 25, seen in this community since our arrival, was one who attended our religious service on Sabbath last, being, for a few days, on a visit from another settlement in the vicinity,—denied also the religious, literary and social advantages—and what is perhaps more than all, the feeling of personal security under the protection of law, which we have always enjoyed in common with you before. We have been breathing also a new atmosphere, engaging in new pursuits, exposed to new temptations, subject to new physical, mental and moral influences, undergoing in short almost an entire revolution in every element of our being.

The weather with us for July has been very pleasant, much more so than is usual in Connecticut. We have had no uncomfortable warm days or nights, very few sudden changes, and no drizzling rain, as our water from above all comes down in “energetic” showers, falling fast and soon over. We hear of no such thing as colds, although three of our number, and only three, have had the “ague,” and in every instance, they were very much exposed, either by living in the woods, in very unsuitable apartments, overworking or imprudence of some kind. What our experience for August may be is of course yet in the future.

We are beginning to have a plentiful supply of vegetables from our gardens, and every promise of any quantity of “melons.”

Our Institute held their first meeting last evening. The officers are—

President—M. C. Welch.
Vice President—J. M. Hubbard.
Secretary—George Coe.
Treasurer—J. H. Gould.

George H. Thomas and F. H. Hart are members of the executive board. A very extraordinary question was debated at the first meeting—viz: “Resolved, That a good wife contributes more to the happiness of a man than a fortune.” It was still more extraordinary that any man could be found to advocate the negative of such a proposition, and especially here, where we have had a fair opportunity to realize the value of a wife. Some of us feel that an apology is due to the sex for having permitted such an absurd question to go upon our records. The resolution for next week is, “Resolved, That life in Kanzas is preferable to life in Connecticut.” We have in Mr. Welch an excellent President, every
way qualified to maintain his position with profit to the institute and honor to himself.

On Tuesday evening last we held our second weekly prayer meeting. Twenty persons were present in a small tent, and the occasion was one of great interest. An expression in one of the prayers, offered by an old settler, would have sounded strange in the ears of a New Haven audience. He prayed that God would take care of the interests of our Territory, that He would overturn the existing corrupt government, and especially supply the place of our present debased Governor, with a better man, and in all this, he spoke right out into the ear of God, what he felt in his soul. . . .—L.

**Lawrence, K. T., Aug. 23.**

We left our settlement on Friday, the 16th, with two teams, bound for Kanzas City or Leavenworth for a stock of provision,—three of our number being on their way east. We had heard various rumors of new troubles below, but knew little that was definite or reliable. On arriving at Topeka, however, we ascertained enough to satisfy us that we could not proceed upon our journey further than Lawrence, without great hazard. We found also that the long expected train from Illinois and other States, had arrived over the new wagon road through Nebraska, via Iowa City. They numbered in all about 500 men, besides women and children. Over 200 were left at two different points upon the road, to locate new towns, and establish convenient stopping places for future travelers,—and about 250 were camped at Topeka, more than half of whom had just left for Lawrence, in answer to a call from there for aid.

Among their large number were the two companies stopped on the Missouri river, robbed and sent back; one from Massachusetts, under Doct. Cutter, and one from Chicago. Doct. Cutter informed me that they were not only robbed of their rifles, but also of their tents and farming utensils, and compelled to make a long and tedious journey over more than 300 miles of new country, never before traveled with teams—besides a longer distance by steamboat and railroad. What an illustration of civil liberty and protection of personal rights in this republican land!! This train has long been expected and often referred to by our enemies as Col. Lane’s fighting band, collected to drive all pro-slavery men out of the Territory. It is very likely Col. L. may

have been instrumental in raising some of these companies, but many of them have never seen him, and all of them appear like bona fide settlers. Many have their families with them, their furniture, implements for farming purposes, &c., and from a free intercourse with them I can see no reason to doubt that they intend to make Kanzas their home.

In this particular, as in every other, they differ widely from the "Buford men," and others from the South, who are evidently here for no purpose except to fight, rob and murder. After very diligent enquiry I have not been able to learn of a single instance where one of the latter that has taken a claim or made a permanent location. In fact all their movements, from their start to the present time, prove they have no such intention, and the personal appearance of the men themselves, establish the fact beyond controversy. They were never accustomed to work, and one of the leading considerations that brought them here is that the system of work without remuneration and living in luxury without work may be inaugurated upon this fair soil for the double purpose of extending their detestable institution and propping up its rotten dynasty, where it now exists.

Those who read carefully the true history of passing events in Kanzas, will notice all these differences and many more that mark the progress of the two classes of emigrants to this country, but those who read only the unmitigated falsehoods published in pro-slavery papers in the Territory and rehashed by the dough-faced journals in the Free States, can know nothing of the real facts in the case. It often appears to me when reading these statements that the old liar whose sole business is to deceive men, and who is the acknowledged father of the profession, must have suspended, for the time being, all his other labors and concentrated his entire power upon his pro-slavery coadjutors in Kanzas.

We spent the Sabbath in Topeka, but it was no Sabbath to us. We walked to the room where service is usually held, and found less than a dozen persons present. The minister offered a prayer and called upon others to speak and pray. The conversation all turned upon Kanzas, and the war, in the prayers, earnest petitions were offered for the success of the people in their struggle for liberty; and especially that God would so control the coming Presidential election as to secure a result favorable to Freedom.

On our way we passed through the small pro-slavery town of Tecumseh, and when a little beyond the settlement, eleven men, all
well armed, came up to our teams and ordered us to stop.—One of our wagons being some miles in advance of us, there were only four in our party, two of whom had pistols, the others none. We of course made no resistance until they required us to open our trunks. We protested against it asserting our rights as American citizens to travel unmolested, but they said we were suspected of having ammunition for the Northern army, and they must examine for the purpose of ascertaining the fact. We then opened our two trunks, and, much to our surprise, found 10,000 of Sharp’s rifles caps or primes, which we supposed had been left behind. They did not know what they were, but we frankly told them, and at first they were quite decided that they must be taken. We knew they could be of no value to them and told them they could take them if they choose—but as it was private property, they must pay $1.25 per thousand if they took them. They tried to raise the money but could not, and the poor cowards had not pluck enough to take them without, and left us, although they found the very articles they were looking for.

We now passed on to Lawrence without farther interruption, and on arriving found everything indicating a state of war. Upon inquiry we found the Free State men had been driven to make several assaults and conquests in order to clear the country of highwaymen, and protect the lives and property of travelers and other citizens.

It appears that among numerous robberies that have of late become quite frequent, a merchant of Topeka lost a team and load, near Kanzas City or Westport, valued at over $500, the teamster having barely escaped with his life. Diligent enquiry revealed the fact that these robbers were entrenching themselves in log cabins, or “block houses,” in various parts of the Territory, one of which was in Franklin, a small town five miles east of Lawrence. They determined at once to root them out, and mustered a small force of determined men, many of whom were among the best citizens of Lawrence, and one of the most prominent, an excellent young man who has established a Sabbath School at Franklin and attended it regularly every Sunday. They proceeded to the place and after some hours of fighting, and the loss of one man, they succeeded in smoking them out, and took a cannon and about fifty very good guns, besides recovering some stolen property. The ruffians, after crying for quarters, succeeded in making their escape. No other building or person was disturbed, the proslavery statements to the contrary, notwithstanding.

From here, they proceeded to another of the same sort of forts,
upon Washington Creek, but the inmates got the alarm and fled, leaving a number of guns, ammunition, stolen property, etc., and easy prey to the Free State party. Our friends then returned to Lawrence with their cannon and rifles, and found a pressing call to proceed at once to Lecompton, where it was said Col. Titus 78 had arrested several “Topeka Boys,” and had them in durance. This Titus, by the way, is one of the most blood thirsty men in the whole country. He has been a fillibuster and sort of land pirate during much of his life, and is now the terror of all peaceable citizens in the territory. We know him well. Our friends Mitchell and Root saw much of him when in the enemy’s camp, and heard him offer $500 for the head of Capt. Nather, and various other similar things. Preparation was promptly made for a call upon this ruffian, by sending to Topeka for reinforcement, which was responded to by the citizens there, and part of the companies recently arrived. During the night our force, with the cannon taken at Franklin, were on the ground, and after considerable firing with rifles from both sides, the cannon was brought to bear upon the building, and Col. Titus, Capt. Donaldson and seventeen others, were taken prisoners.

Several of our men were wounded, and among them Capt. Shombre 79 of Indiana, who afterwards died of his wounds. Capt. S. was a very respectable citizen of Richmond, Ind., a member of the Presbyterian Church in that place, and highly respected. He was an ardent friend of Freedom, and when told he could not live, said in his latest breath, “Tell my friends I offer my life a willing sacrifice to the cause of Freedom in Kanzas, and die peacefully.” While standing by his grave and witnessing the last sad rites of sepulture, the query suggested itself—How many such men, prepared for such a death, could be found in the ranks of our enemies? Another of the wounded was Mr. Henry of Hartford, who was an original member of our company, but remained at Lawrence because he failed to overtake us on the way. He was shot with a pistol by Titus himself. He saw him fire from the window three times, two shots striking his horse, and the other entered his right side and is lodged a short distance from the surface. His escape from instant death was almost miraculous. Another was shot with a rifle ball through the arm and it has since been amputated; another through the skull, across the top of his head—all of whom are now doing well.

78. Henry T. Titus, from Florida, was commissioned colonel of the Second regiment, Southern division, Kansas militia, August 5, 1856. He figured prominently in the incidents of border warfare during the summer of 1856.

79. Henry J. Shombre (not Shombre) brought a Richmond, Ind., company to Kansas in August, 1856, and was killed in the same month at Fort Titus.
The prisoners were brought to the city and treated with the utmost kindness and attention. Titus was badly wounded, but properly cared for by direction of the same Capt. Walker for whose head he had so often offered a reward, and who has been hunted by him for months, and kept away from his family and prevented from raising his crops. Capt W. was in command, and found it somewhat difficult to satisfy the people that the life of old Titus should be spared. Clark, the murderer of Barber, was in the building, but escaped, and it is well he did, for all the captains in Kansas could not have saved him from the death he so richly deserves. He therefore still lives to serve President Pierce awhile longer in the capacity of Indian agent. At Titus' house they recaptured several stolen horses, together with a number of tents, also stolen, and sundry other things.

The foregoing is a plain statement of the facts in the case, derived partly from personal observation and partly from the testimony of responsible men who were eye witnesses of the event.

On Sunday, the 17th, Gov. Shannon visited Lawrence and proposed an exchange of prisoners in which he was to give up five taken at Franklin by warrant, and held under the forms of law, in exchange for more held by the people. To this proposition the committee objected on the ground that they had much the larger number, but offered to accede to it if the Gov. would also return the cannon taken from them at the time of the burning of the hotel—to which he agreed, and stipulated that he would send the prisoners and the cannon into the camp of U.S. troops between Lawrence and Lecompton, and there make the exchange—which was carried out in good faith by both parties the next day. It so happened that we, with our teams entered the city with the surrendered prisoners, and cannon. Shannon made a speech to the people at the time the treaty of peace was agreed to, and his dispatch sent by the commander of the troops with the prisoners was also shown me—in both of which (the speech and the dispatch) he manifested the warmest sympathy for the people of Lawrence, and expressed a hope that whenever they should again meet, it might be only as friends. But the calm which followed was only for a moment, and I fear will prove a sure precursor of the most terrible storm that ill-fated Kanzas has yet experienced. By next mail you may expect some facts in reference to pending dangers, and chances of succor and relief.—L

80. New Haven Daily Palladium, September 1, 1856.
The above letter was the last that appeared in the *Palladium* and it seems likely that Lines did not write another. Late in August, he returned to Connecticut to get his family and to obtain funds for the erection of a church, school, and other public buildings needed in Wabaunsee. Apparently he began soliciting money as soon as he reached home because the New Haven *Daily Palladium* for September 4, 1856, reported that Charles B. Lines had spoken in Union Hall in behalf of the Connecticut Kansas Colony. Lines wrote, in a letter to his son, Edward, dated January 1, 1857, that he had spoken at New Haven and the surrounding towns, written numerous letters to his friends and acquaintances, and distributed circulars describing the needs of the Kansas colony. Through his efforts about $6,000 was promised, including $500 from the Congregational Union for a church, $250 from the editor of the New York *Sun* for a school, and individual contributions.

In the same letter, Lines wrote of seeing several members of the colony who had returned to Connecticut. Several expected to come back to Wabaunsee in the spring with their families, others would not return at all, and one, Charlie Ford, wanted to return but his wife probably could not be persuaded to come.

About the time that Lines returned to Connecticut, the Prairie Guards, led by William Mitchell, were called to Lawrence which was again threatened by Proslavery forces. They left Wabaunsee on August 25 and were gone about a month. They were stationed in one of the temporary forts which had been erected the previous winter on the hill where the University of Kansas now stands, with Captain Mitchell in charge of the fortification. When news reached them that Osawatomie had been burned “they went on a forced march to Bull Creek and met the enemy on August 31st. Only a few shots were exchanged and these by the cavalry in the lead. The boys suffered from hunger and thirst on this trip, having marched forty miles without anything to eat or drink. They then returned to Lawrence, after having captured one of Colonel Buford’s baggage trains.”

81. In Ms. division, Kansas State Historical Society.
82. A copy of one of these circulars was printed in an unidentified newspaper some years ago. It was signed by C. B. Lines and E. M. Woodford, of the colony, and T. D. Woolsey, Leonard Bacon and 13 others in the East. This reprint was found in a scrapbook belonging to Mande Mitchell.
A. A. Cottrell, one of the Prairie Guards, wrote later:

When our company reached home we found ourselves in a bad fix. The cattle we left had eaten up the most of the corn and garden truck. Many of the boys were sick, caused by improper food and exposure. That fall and winter there were so many sick that there were not well ones enough to look after those that needed care. At one time there was not money enough in the settlement to buy an ounce of quinine. The winter of '56-'57 was a very long cold winter. A neighbor of mine, with a wife and five children had only one pair of shoes for the family. They were French-Canadians and lived most of the winter on nothing but lye hominy with occasionally a prairie chicken. That winter I paid $6.00 for a 100 pound sack of flour in St. George and brought it home, six miles on my back. Mr. J. M. Bisbey with a family to feed paid $9.00 for a sack of flour. Many of the New Haven Colony became discouraged and left the country.

There were several reasons for the withdrawal of such a large number of the colonists during the first year. The severity of the weather, for which they were poorly prepared, illness and lack of provisions have already been mentioned. In addition, a few of the men felt that the affairs of the colony had been handled in too dictatorial a manner and aid from home had not been impartially distributed. Probably the most important reason was that the men were city bred and some had little inclination for farming and little desire to live in a new country where the odds were so strongly against them.

Soon after the return of the Prairie Guards from Lawrence, the settlement was augmented by the arrival of five young men from Mendon, Ill. They were Enoch, Jeremiah Everts and Luther H. Platt, Samuel Weed, and S. H. Fairfield. The Platts, originally from Connecticut, had come, a few years previously, to Mendon where there was a large settlement of people from Guilford, Conn. They, as well as S. H. Fairfield, from Massachusetts, were probably well acquainted with a number of the members of the colony. Samuel Smith, who started with the main group from New Haven, had stopped off at Mendon and did not come to Kansas until later. Everts Platt was his son-in-law.

S. H. Fairfield, recalling his arrival at Wabaunsee, said:

From what we had read in the New York and Chicago papers we were expecting to find Wabaunsee a pretty New England village. We had first taken up our abode with a couple of colony boys in a log cabin some three miles up Antelope creek. The next day, in a two-wheeled cart drawn by a yoke of Missouri steers, we set out to see our pretty village. . . . Crossing the

84. This was probably one of the Sharai families since they were the only French-Canadians living in the vicinity at the time.

branch east of town we came into the village. It was composed of three tents, a bark house, and a small log cabin. The post office was kept in a shake cabin two miles west of the village on Emmons creek. The postmaster was the home missionary, Rev. Harvey Jones. This was the first post office in the county, and the only one at the time, unless there was one at Wilmington.86

The men who stayed in Kansas during the winter continued to aid the Free-State cause. Joseph P. Root was away most of the time actively engaged in antislavery activities. William Hartley, Jr., is said to have joined with John Brown and was reputed to have been one of the best shots in his band. An underground railroad route was established through the settlement. The attic of the William Mitchell house, east of Wabaunsee, served as a hiding place for slaves. Mitchell took the slaves to Joshua Smith who escorted them north to the state line. Enoch Platt was also active in this movement and it is interesting to note that his father, Jirad Platt of Mendon, Ill., was one of the most ardent workers in the underground railroad in Illinois.

Not much constructive work was done toward improving the settlement during the winter but when spring came the colony went ahead with its plans to make Wabaunsee a “New Haven” in the West. Friends and relatives came from Connecticut to join them and by the time of the company meeting on May 12, 1857, Lines and his family with several other families had returned.

On May 18 plans were adopted for dividing the townsite into shares of three lots each. Each member of the company in good standing was to receive six shares. The remaining shares were to be retained under the control of the company. M. C. Welch, J. H. Gould, and E. Dwight Street were appointed a committee to prepare a form of certificate of the ownership of shares, and also to report a plan for the sale of a limited number of shares on liberal terms to persons, not members of the company, making improvements on the townsite, and to actual settlers in the vicinity. A building committee was appointed to report a plan and select a site for a schoolhouse. The location of a cemetery site was also discussed.87

At the same meeting on May 18, officers were elected. Dr. J. P. Root was chosen president; H. Jones, secretary; M. C. Welch, treasurer; and Wm. Mitchell, J. J. Walter, J. M. Hubbard, J. H. Gould, F. H. Hart, and Benj. Street, directors.

87. The site chosen for the cemetery was east of town. On May 30, 1953, a memorial gateway, designed by Maude Mitchell and paid for by the descendants of the pioneers, was dedicated. It was built of glacial boulders gathered from the hills overlooking the settlement. Several members of the original colony and many of their descendants are buried in this cemetery.
The following meetings were concerned with the drawing of shares. On June 15, inducements in the form of shares were offered for the erection of an additional saw mill (to be in successful operation by October 1, 1857), a good shingle mill, and a hotel which was to cost not less than two thousand dollars. Messrs. Hart, Welch and Walter, the committee on the temporary church building, were instructed to send at once to Leavenworth for pine lumber to finish the building.

On June 17, the same committee was instructed to obtain a door for the church building and also some white paint for painting the building. A plan was reported for transferring all interest in and control over the townsite from the Connecticut Kansas Colony to the Wabonsa Company.

At this meeting, Lines made a verbal report on the money collected by him for the school and church building and for other purposes. A resolution was passed thanking him for the efficient way in which he had represented the interests of the Connecticut Kansas Colony in the East. There were three dissenting votes.

On June 26, 1857, it was voted that as there is no longer any necessity for the continued existence of this organization, it be & is hereby dissolved and that the Secretary be requested to hand over the books, papers & other property of the Conn. Kan. Col. in his hand to the Secretary of the Wabaunsee Company, and the Board of Trustees of the Wabaunsee Co. are fully authorized to take possession & control of all property of every description now belonging to the Conn. Kan. Colony.

Voted To dissolve & adjourn sine die.

Many of the members of the Connecticut Kansas Colony were deeply religious and from the beginning tried to hold services every Sunday, but it was not until June 27 and 28, 1857, that they effected a church organization. On June 27, a group met for that purpose. Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Lines, Harvey Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Chester E. Pond, Hiram Maybee, and Henry Fairfield, having letters from other churches, were considered a com-

88. A small frame building was completed in 1857. The next year a two-story frame building was erected. It was used as a church until 1862 and for school and public meetings until 1879 when a stone schoolhouse was built.—Letter from Frank I. Burt, November 22, 1908, in Ms. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

mittee for the examination of new members. Charter members included those persons serving on this committee and the following named persons: Moses C. Welch, Mrs. Harlow Isbell, Julius F. Willard, Franklin H. Hart, Mr. and Mrs. E. Dwight Street, William F. Cotton, Hezekiah M. Selden and John S. Nesbitt. On June 28, the newly formed church was recognized by appropriate services. The Rev. S. Y. Lum, of Lawrence, preached the sermon and the "Fellowship of Churches" was given by the Rev. C. E. Blood, of Manhattan. The first minister of the church was the missionary Harvey Jones who had been preaching the gospel in the area since 1854.

The frame buildings which have already been mentioned served as church buildings for the first few years. In July, 1860, the Congregational Record stated that "The church at Wabaunsee have finished their house of worship, all but the plastering and seats. It is a stone building, forty by fifty, perhaps. It will cost, when finished, four thousand five hundred dollars, and will accommodate perhaps three hundred persons." In 1861 Wabaunsee was reported by the same journal, as having the largest church in the state, and giving the best account of herself. The building was not mentioned, however, and it was not actually completed and dedicated until May 24, 1862. The Rev. W. A. McCullom, then the pastor of the church, gave a brief account of the condition of the church, the struggles they had made to complete it, some having left their own homes unplastered, that the walls of the church of God might not remain bare. The Rev. L. Bodwell preached the sermon on the text, "And the people had a mind to work," and other prominent clergy took part in the service.

There have been intervals since 1862 when the church at Wabaunsee has not been in use but the greater part of the time it has been opened for services each Sunday. The building was renovated in 1948 and it is, today, much the same as it was when it was built by the early settlers. Except that it is built of stone, the church resembles a New England church with its small family-sized pews and the narrow balcony at the rear of the auditorium.

Wabaunsee did not become a "New Haven" of the West, but the countryside is just as beautiful as it seemed to the members of the Connecticut Kansas Colony when they first saw it on April 28, 1856. Today, one hundred years later, the Beecher Bible and Rifle

90. "Records of the First Church of Christ, 1857-1917," microfilm of the original records in Ms. division, Kansas State Historical Society.
91. The names of the charter members were taken from the Manual, First Church of Christ, Wabaunsee, Kansas, 1902 (Kansas City, Kan., 1902), p. 6.
church still stands as a symbol of their staunchness, their personal integrity, and their uncompromising determination to make Kansas a free state.

V. Roster of the Colony

There is no known list of the members who left New Haven on March 31, 1856, and traveled with the main group. Fifty-seven men, four women, including a Miss Alford, and two children, are usually reported to have been in the company. The following list has been compiled from the “Roll of the Connecticut Kansas Colony, July 18, 1856,” which appears with the “Minutes.” Some of those listed settled at Wabunsee and made permanent homes, others stayed a short time and then returned to Connecticut or settled elsewhere. For a few, no further record could be found. Newspapers, county histories, genealogies, letters and other sources have been searched and such information as could be found for each individual has been added under the heading “Remarks.”
### Roll of the Connecticut Kansas Colony, July 18, 1856

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baldwin, Sherman A.</td>
<td>New Britain, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled in Wabaunsee; member of legislature in 1875 and 1876; died at Lawrence, March 31, 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardwell, Orange</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Removed to Zeandale, Riley county, before 1860.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrett, Henry</td>
<td>Wethersfield, Conn.</td>
<td>Apparently left colony within a short time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop, Hobart D.</td>
<td>Plymouth, Conn.</td>
<td>Apparently left colony within a short time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgess, William C.</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Apparently left colony within a short time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadwell, Perry</td>
<td>Plymouth, Conn.</td>
<td>Withdrew from colony before August 1, 1856.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, Levi W.</td>
<td>Middletown, Conn.</td>
<td>Apparently left colony within a few years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coe, George H.</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Opened eating place in Wabaunsee; May 17, 1856; returned to New Haven, Conn., within a few years; living in New Haven in 1910.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cottrell, Amos A.</td>
<td>Cheshire, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee; worked in secret service helping slaves escape in Missouri; served in Civil War from Illinois; returned to Wabaunsee county about 1876 and settled on Ewans creek; sons of his children graduated from Kansas State College; died February 8, 1909.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elmer, Hiram W.</td>
<td>West Hartford, Conn.</td>
<td>Left colony within a short time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fenn, Isaac</td>
<td>Orange, Conn.</td>
<td>Apparently left about 1857.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford, Charles A.</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Returned to Connecticut before January, 1857, and probably did not come back to Kansas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford, Wilford</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Apparently left colony within a short time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gould, John H.</td>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>Joined colony April 7, 1856; first probate judge of Wabaunsee county; superintendent of schools, 1859-1861; died at Wabaunsee July 10, 1886.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griswold, Richard W.</td>
<td>Guilford, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee; died December 15, 1868.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griswold, Walter S.</td>
<td>Guilford, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee; moved to LaClede, Pottawatomie county, in 1880.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall, Harvey S.</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Apparently left before 1859; returned to Connecticut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hart, Franklin Henry</td>
<td>Durham, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled in Wabaunsee; taught school at Camp Point, Ill., winter of 1858-1859; returned to New Haven, Conn., in fall of 1859 where he became a prominent businessman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartley, William, Jr.</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Supposed to have fought with John Brown; member of &quot;Lawrence party&quot; to gold fields, in 1856; made first survey and map of Denver, returning to Connecticut probably soon after.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubbard, Josiah Meigs, Jr.</td>
<td>Middletown, Conn.</td>
<td>President first town company of Wabaunsee; member of first state senate; served in Civil War, 1862-1865, returned to Connecticut at close of war where he held various public offices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huntington, Alfred J.</td>
<td>Bozrah, Conn.</td>
<td>Apparently returned to Connecticut before 1859.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyde, Thomas C. P.</td>
<td>Bolton, Conn.</td>
<td>Returned to Connecticut before January, 1857, and probably did not come back to Kansas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingham, Friend W.</td>
<td>Middleton, Conn.</td>
<td>Living at Ogden, Riley county, in 1860.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labell, Harlow</td>
<td>Guilford, Conn.</td>
<td>Brought wife and children with colony; ran first blacksmith shop; died at Wabaunsee in May, 1873.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, Freeman</td>
<td>Middletown, Conn.</td>
<td>Died at Wabaunsee in the summer of 1856.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelsey, Samuel F.</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>No record. An Austin Kelsey came to Wabaunsee in 1859 and is often listed as a member of the colony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake, Ferris</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Returned to Connecticut before January, 1857, and probably did not return to Kansas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lines, Elford Jarmio</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee, established first store, member of first state legislature in 1861; county attorney of Wabaunsee county 1865-1866; died October, 1870.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitchell, William, Jr.</td>
<td>Middletown, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee. See biographical sketch on pp. 43, 44.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses, Rolloin</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled near Zeandale; later moved to Manhattan where he died August 29, 1893.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neale, Ira</td>
<td>Winsted, Conn.</td>
<td>Withdrew from colony by late 1856.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocorr, Henry</td>
<td>Hartford, Conn.</td>
<td>Apparently left colony within a short time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker, Luther A.</td>
<td>West Avon, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee; postmaster in 1860.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pond, Chester E.</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Wife came with colony; opened business college in Leavenworth in 1887; later had business school in Topeka; owned land and lived at Wabaunsee part of time before 1874; lived in California in 1894.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porter, Bryan C.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee; apparently left in 1859.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porter, L. D.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Apparently left colony within a short time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read, Timothy</td>
<td>Milford, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee; died in December, 1830. His widow and sons lived at Wabaunsee many years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Root, Buel E.</td>
<td>West Hartford, Conn.</td>
<td>Apparently left colony within a short time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Root, Joseph Pomeroy</td>
<td>New Hartford Center, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee; see biographical sketch on p. 141.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scranton, Daniel F.</td>
<td>New Guilford, Conn.</td>
<td>Apparently left colony within a short time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selden, Hezekiah M., Jr.</td>
<td>Middle Haddam, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee; served as county treasurer 1860; county clerk 1861-1865; died in office before July, 1865.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street, Benjamin</td>
<td>East Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Returned to Connecticut before January, 1857; died at Atlanta, Ga., July 3, 1854.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street, E. Dwight</td>
<td>East Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Wife came with colony and died in January, 1859. E. Dwight Street returned to Connecticut in spring of 1859.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry, Ward</td>
<td>Plymouth, Conn.</td>
<td>Probably returned to Connecticut within a few months. May be the same Ward Terry who came to Nortonville, Kan., about 1876; later moved to Golden City, Mo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas, George H.</td>
<td>Berlin, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee; later returned to Connecticut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas, Silas M.</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee; moved to California after 1878.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomlinson, H. W.</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Apparently left colony within a short time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter, John J.</td>
<td>Hamden, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee; returned East at close of Civil War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Webb, Walter</td>
<td>Meriden, Conn.</td>
<td>Apparently left colony within two or three years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welch, Moses C.</td>
<td>Hartford, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee; register of deeds of Wabaunsee county, 1860; enlisted in Co. &quot;B&quot;, 2d regiment, Kansas volunteers, June 26, 1861; discharged for disability August 16, 1861; served as chaplain of 5th regiment, Connecticut volunteers; living in Windsor, Conn., in 1869.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wells, George</td>
<td>Hartford, Conn.</td>
<td>Left colony by January, 1857; resided in various parts of the United States, then returned to Hartford, Conn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willard, Julius F.</td>
<td>West Avon, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Wabaunsee; moved to California in 1911 and died at San Diego, Cal., May 23, 1917. His son, Julius Terriss Willard, was on the faculty of Kansas State College for many years. Several times he served as acting president of the school.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Connecticut Kansas Colony

**Members Who Started With Colony But Stopped En Route or Returned Home**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church, Edward</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Returned to Connecticut in May, 1856.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crane, Rollon C.</td>
<td>Thompson, Conn.</td>
<td>Turned back at Lawrence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crossman, Edward N.</td>
<td>Darby, Conn.</td>
<td>Turned back at Lawrence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farren, Joseph D.</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled near Lawrence; returned to Connecticut about 15 years later.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferris, Weston</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Turned back at Kansas City.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parmele, William A.</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>Turned back at Lawrence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penne, Henry Kibbe.</td>
<td>Hartford, Conn.</td>
<td>Turned back at Lawrence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penfield, Edward N.</td>
<td>Middletown, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled near Topeka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penfield, Eldridge H.</td>
<td>Middletown, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled near Topeka; died December 12, 1858.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice, Harvey D.</td>
<td>West Hartford, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled at Topeka; one of the founders of Washburn College; died June 11, 1903.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Root, Luther H.</td>
<td>Meriden, Conn.</td>
<td>Settled on California road five miles south of Tecumseh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Samuel</td>
<td></td>
<td>Settled at Mendon, Ill., later came to Kansas and settled on the Blue river; died May 15, 1889.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodford, E. M.</td>
<td>West Avon, Conn.</td>
<td>Stopped at Lawrence, came to Waubaunsee in 1857.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Residents of Waubaunsee Admitted as Members of the Colony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bates, D. L.</td>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>Came to Kansas with the Fourth Emigrant Aid party; settled in the Waubaunsee area before February, 1855.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binsey, Harvey</td>
<td>Albion, N. Y.</td>
<td>Came to Kansas with Fourth Emigrant Aid party; settled in the Waubaunsee area in November, 1854; died at Bonner Springs, Kan., March 30, 1869.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binsey, James Monroe</td>
<td>Alabama, N. Y.</td>
<td>Settled in the Waubaunsee area in September, 1854; moved to Wyandotte, Kan., after Civil War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiatt, Daniel B.</td>
<td>Henry County, Ind.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill, George H.</td>
<td>Charleston, Mass.</td>
<td>Came to Kansas with Fourth Emigrant Aid party; settled in the Waubaunsee area in 1854.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, Harvey</td>
<td></td>
<td>Came to the Waubaunsee area in 1855 under the auspices of the American Home Missionary Society; minister of the First Church of Christ at Waubaunsee, 1857–1862, 1867–1871; died in California, April 1, 1901.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonard, Hartford P.</td>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>Came to Kansas with the Fourth Emigrant Aid party; settled in the Waubaunsee area in 1854; later lived in Riley county.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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92. This list was compiled from the Lines letters, "Minutes of the Connecticut Kansas Colony," and other sources.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nesbitt, John H.</td>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>Settled in the Wabaunsee area in March, 1855; opened a small store which burned shortly before the arrival of the colony in April, 1856; one of the signers of the Topeka constitution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharai, Peter</td>
<td>Upper Canada</td>
<td>Peter and a Bartholomew Sharai settled in the Wabaunsee area in August, 1854; many of their descendants still live in central Kansas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>