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This thesis addresses several questions regarding slavery within Kansas Territory. After an overview of the events of "Bleeding Kansas," this study examines the potential of Kansas to support staple-crop agriculture and slavery. This work then analyzes the background and economic motivations of Kansas slaveholders as well as their attitudes toward their slaves. The third chapter examines the living conditions of slaves in Kansas and details their contribution to the defeat of the proslavery cause. Finally, this study details the political influence of slaveholders in Bleeding Kansas and evaluates their role as victims and participants in the territorial violence.

Within these descriptions and analyses are several important contentions. Chapter one suggests that Kansas offered the potential for staple-crop agriculture and was therefore suitable for slavery. Slavery's ultimate failure in Kansas is attributable to social and political factors rather than an inability of Kansas to support staple-crop agriculture. Subsequent chapters describe the activities of slaveholders and slaves in the territory. As for the slaveholders, most came to Kansas seeking material advancement in the form of land and slaves. While committed to materialism and economic advancement, slaveholding Kansans held a paternalistic outlook that demanded relatively humane treatment of their bondsmen. Chapter three demonstrates that masters met these

demands. However, Kansas slaves abandoned the paternalistic relationship in astonishing numbers, a fact that weakens paternalistic explanations of slavery.

The final two chapters of this study examine the roles of slaveholding Kansans in territorial politics and violence. Slaveholders influenced all levels of proslavery politics, including participation in the election fraud and other forms of political cheating that plagued the territory. Additionally, slaveholding Kansans involved themselves in the fighting of Bleeding Kansas as perpetrators and victims. Most importantly, slaveowners provided much of the leadership of the proslavery forces.

Slave Territory, Free State:

Slaveholders and Slaves in Early Kansas.

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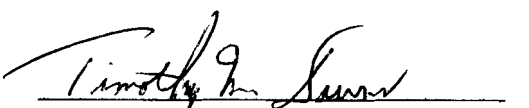

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INTRODUCTION

To the student of Kansas history, yet another work on Bleeding Kansas may seem an unproductive endeavor. Many have written and told (and rewritten and retold) the dramatic story of the Kansas Territory. Another telling demands a new possibility, new characters, and new insights. A study of Kansas slaveholders, their prospects of establishing slavery in Kansas, and the slaves themselves as participants (rather than simply victims) in the human drama can offer all three. Because scholars have largely overlooked these residents of Kansas, as well as failed to challenge the prevailing notions of the potential for slaveholding in Kansas Territory, this work will address these issues in an attempt to gain a new perspective on an old story. Before proceeding, however, the familiar tale demands a brief summation since it constitutes the context of this study.

The Missouri Compromise forms the backdrop to the tumultuous events of Kansas. This compromise admitted Missouri to the Union in 1820 as a slave state but banned slavery in regions north of 36^0 30'. Included in the ban was all of present-day Nebraska, Kansas, and the Dakotas. For Stephen Douglas, an Illinois Senator in the 1850s, this ban presented a problem. Douglas was a strong advocate for the construction of a railroad to the west coast of the United States. Douglas favored a route with Chicago at its eastern terminus in order to boost his political ambitions and real estate interests in Illinois. Passage of such a bill required southern Congressional support, however, and

southern Congressmen hotly opposed any increase in the number of free states in proportion to states with slavery. If the railroad went to Chicago as Douglas hoped, it would pass invariably through the region of Kansas and Nebraska, above the northern boundary of slavery dictated by the Missouri Compromise. Since the arrival of the railroad would likely result in eventual statehood for these regions, southern Congressmen wanted nothing to do with a plan that would place them at a political disadvantage to the North.[1]

Douglas solved this problem by proposing a Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1853. It created two territories, Kansas Territory and Nebraska Territory, out of the region, applying the principle of "popular sovereignty" to decide the slavery question in each. The principle had been used previously in the Compromise of 1850, under which California came into the Union. Under the terms of that compromise, the residents of Utah and New Mexico Territories themselves dealt with the problem of slavery within their borders, without congressional interference. They were free to allow or ban slavery as they wished; the legality of slavery depended on their state constitutions. Douglas proposed the same principle for Kansas and Nebraska, a proposal that effectively abolished the Missouri Compromise.[2] This proposal led to a dispute in Congress of "unprecedented intensity," as free-soil Congressmen, those opposed to the expansion of slavery into the territories, and their proslavery counterparts hotly debated the merits of the bill. Douglas' skill at debate proved invaluable in the Senate and that body passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act in March of 1854 by a vote of thirty-seven to fourteen. The House gave its approval to the bill 113 to 100 on March 24, 1854 and President Pierce followed with his signature

on March 30. Pierce's signature hardly ended the debate. "Instead of settling a controversy," scholar David M. Potter declared, "the adoption of the act transplanted the controversy from the halls of Congress to the plains of Kansas. The forces which had fought one another so fiercely in Washington continued to fight beyond the wide Missouri."[3]

Many Americans assumed that Douglas intended Iowans and other free-soil settlers to settle in Nebraska and Missourians and other settlers from the slave states to occupy Kansas. This would, in theory, produce one free and one slave state. This view, though mistaken, fit well with the outlook of many Missourians toward Kansas. They believed widely that Kansas would be an extension of their home state. This outlook was not without reason. Kansas military posts had been traditional consumers of Missouri's agricultural products, and a large portion of those whites already in Kansas had come from Missouri.[4] One estimate of the preterritorial population put the number of whites in the territory at fourteen hundred, about half of whom were soldiers and others connected to the military; the rest, mostly Missourians, involved themselves with trading posts and Indian reservations in the region. Some of these former Missourians were slaveholders; such peoples held much influence in the upcoming territorial period.[5] The region thus had geographic, economic, and demographic ties to Missouri even before the creation of Kansas Territory. Many Missourians assumed that Kansas would remain that way afterward.[6]

Because of the close proximity of Kansas to their home state, Missourians, most of whom were proslavery, led the migration to Kansas. Free-soil settlers, those opposing

slavery's extension into the territories, were not far behind. Within both of these groups were activists who settled in Kansas out of devotion to the cause of freedom or slavery. Among the free-staters, a title commonly given to those actively oppposed to slavery, was a noteworthy band of Massachusetts colonists who settled at Lawrence under the auspices of the New England Emigrant Society. These colonists came to Kansas with a scheme to populate the territory with antislavery voters, in hopes that they might use the ballot box to prevent the establishment of slavery in Kansas. Proslavery people soon formed emigrant aid societies of their own. Rumors circulated Missouri about an "abolitionist plot" to surround Missouri with free states in order to exhort the slaves of the state to escape or become rebellious. Missourians accordingly urged each other to migrate to Kansas in order to ensure that the home state would not be enclosed on three sides by free soil.[7]

Such crusaders, whether they favored or opposed slavery, were in a minority, however. By far the most common reason for entering Kansas was economic opportunity. Most immigrants to Kansas came from Missouri or the agricultural states of the old Northwest. While they inevitably had feelings on the slavery question, this was not always a primary motivation for coming to Kansas. Rather, land and new economic opportunities drew these persons to the territory. Indeed, even the southern attempts to colonize Kansas inevitably involved at least some speculation in land by the colonists. Likewise, the most likely northern immigrants were not crusading Massachusetts abolitionists, but were rather young, land-seeking farmers from states such as Iowa, Ohio, and Illinois.[8]

As immigrants poured into Kansas, residents took the first steps in setting up a government for the territory in the fall of 1854. At first things progressed smoothly. President Franklin Pierce appointed a lawyer from Pennsylvania, Andrew Reeder, as the territorial governor. Besides assigning this executive to Kansas Territory, Pierce also appointed a three-person judiciary. Governor Reeder acted quickly to organize an election in November, 1854, to select a congressional delegate for the territory. This election was nothing less than a fiasco. Large numbers of Missourians came into the territory and voted illegally in the elections. These "border ruffians" easily ensured the victory of John Whitfield, a proslavery candidate, as Kansas's congressional representative.[9]

To ensure that another such fraud did not corrupt the upcoming election of the territorial legislature, Reeder ordered a census of the territory in February, 1855. This census listed 8,601 people in the territory, 2,900 of whom were eligible to vote. With a count of the eligible voters in hand, Reeder declared an election for the end of March, 1855, and prepared for the balloting by designating voting sites and appointing election judges, including several slaveholders. The judges, most of whom were at least proslavery, willingly allowed border ruffians to seize the elections. This was unnecessary, for proslavery people had a voting majority, but in any case, illegal voters cast nearly five thousand ballots and elected an overwhelmingly proslavery legislature.[10] With many Missourians viewing Kansas as their own, such actions seemed to be a perfectly reasonable defense of the new territory from "Yankee mercenaries." These judges and voters "found full justification in the words of a Missourian, who, being asked . . . if he

thought he had a right to vote in Kansas replied: 'As much as a man from Massachusetts--why not?' "[11]

The men from Massachusetts, as well as other free-state residents, saw the situation differently and refused to recognize the appropriately-dubbed "Bogus Legislature." Moreover, in October, 1855, they drafted what became known as the Topeka Constitution, an extra-legal document that established an antislavery government and banned slavery in Kansas.[12] Besides creating even more confusion over the source of legitimate government in the territory, the ban on slavery directly contradicted the enactments of the Bogus Legislature, since that body had already designated even antislavery speech a capital offense. Clearly the two governments, both of which had little claim to legitimacy, were diametrically opposed. Other enactments by the Bogus Legislature only exacerbated the tension. The proslavery legislators, whose slaveholding members will receive attention later, strengthened the hold of the proslavery forces on Kansas by passing a series of enactments that unfairly parceled out appointments, commissions, and grants to proslavery people. These enactments, in themselves worthy of later discussion, virtually excluded free-staters. If the existence of two illegitimate governments and a host of unfair legislation was not problematic enough, the only clearly legitimate authority in Kansas, the federal government, suffered from poor leadership. Governor Reeder soon resigned from office, succeeded by a string of weak governors who, like himself, were short-lived and unable to keep order. The situation in Kansas was about to spin out of control.[13]

The incidental killing of Charles Dow, a free-state settler, in November, 1855, sparked the outbreak of violence in Kansas. Dow's murderer, Franklin Coleman, was a proslavery man, though the killing was not related to the slavery controversy. Kansas settlers assumed that it was, however, and a group of free-state settlers, in retaliation for the killing, burned the home of Coleman and several of his acquaintances.[14] Meanwhile, militia on both sides began drilling around Lawrence to prepare for war in the territory. The "Wakarusa War" did not immediately result in bloodshed, however. Governor Wilson Shannon managed to negotiate an uneasy peace between the two sides, though this only postponed further violence until the spring of 1856.[15]

At that time, the proslavery sheriff of Lecompton, Samuel J. Jones, attempted to arrest several of the citizens of Lawrence who were responsible for the earlier arsons. Instead, Lawrence residents shot and wounded and wounded him. Although thwarted in this attempt, Jones soon healed and was back in May, 1856, with a posse of proslavery men and warrants for the arrest of several prominent free-state residents. Not content simply to make the arrests, Jones and the proslavery men destroyed two abolitionist newspapers, a hotel frequented by free-state residents, and the homes of several prominent antislavery leaders. The "Sack of Lawrence" did not in itself plunge Kansas into open warfare, but it led directly to the event that did, in fact, cause the war. This event was the famous Pottawatomie Massacre.[16]

The chief protagonist in this tragedy was John Brown, a religious extremist who believed that he had been divinely ordained to end slavery, by force if necessary. Brown, leading a militia band to Lawrence to help the town against the looters, arrived too late to

help. Rather than return to his home, Brown and his band of followers kidnaped and in cold blood murdered several proslavery settlers living on Pottawatomie Creek, southeast of Lawrence. The combination of the sack of Lawrence and the Pottawatomie Massacre convinced Kansans on both sides that war was upon them. Guerrilla bands formed on both sides and were soon skirmishing with one another throughout eastern Kansas, a saga well-documented by scholars. However, this study will show that the conflict was very much a slaveholders' war. Chapter five will analyze the war in terms of its slaveholding participants.[17]

The participation of the slaveholders in the fighting was central. However, the slaveholders were also important in the last political effort to establish slavery in the territory. This event was the famous Lecompton constitutional convention in 1857. In order to enter the Union, Kansas needed a constitution; accordingly, an election for convention delegates took place in August, 1857. Free-state settlers, ever since the frauds of 1854 and 1855, had refused to participate in territorial elections. As a result, the proslavery men who went to the polls were virtually unopposed and elected a body of convention delegates completely sympathetic to the proslavery cause. A good number of these elected individuals were actual slaveholders who significantly influenced the proceedings in Lecompton.

The Lecompton constitution, though it ultimately failed in Kansas, was the last gasp politically for the proslavery forces. Its failure, discussed in chapter four, marked the end of the political strength of the proslavery party. The failure of the Lecompton document prompted the last of the major acts of violence in Kansas Territory, the

retaliatory massacre of several free-state citizens living along the Marais des Cygnes River. Slaveholder complicity in the killings was direct.[18]

The failure of Kansas to become a slaveholding state obscures its history as a slaveholding territory. Slavery was a tangible institution in Kansas, not an abstract ideology or mere possibility, and its existence predated the official organization of Kansas Territory. Since slavery was a real institution in Kansas, several important issues remain unexamined. Little research has been done to determine why slaveholders came to Kansas and what roles they played in the territory. From this research it is apparent that slaveholders took leading roles in Kansas economics, politics, and violence. Futhermore, Kansas offers the opportunity to examine the effects of both the frontier and abolitionist influence on the relationship between masters and slaves.

Moreover, historians have missed the vital role slaves played in the ultimate demise of slavery in Kansas. Slaves encountered a new environment ripe with opportunities for achieving their liberty. This research details their response to this situation. Kansas also provides insights into the treatment of slaves in a frontier region, offering comparison with other regions regarding the material provision they received, the brutality they experienced, and the kind of work they performed.

A discussion of the suitability of Kansas for slavery precedes these matters. The peculiar institution failed in Kansas, but was this because the region was unfit for slave labor or was the failure due to some other cause? In publicizing Kansas for slavery, writer Benjamin F. Stringfellow suggested that "Its great staples must be Hemp and Tobacco."[19] At this time, one must ask whether hemp and tobacco really offered a foundation for

slaveholding in Kansas. Slavery needed a permanent economic base to survive in Kansas and without it, freedom was the only possible outcome in the territory. If no such potential base existed, then the conflict in Kansas was hardly necessary to bring about a free state.

NOTES

1. Allan Nevins, Ordeal of the Union (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947), vol. 2, 88-94; David M. Potter, The Impending Crisis,1848-1861 (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 145-176.

2. Nevins, Ordeal of the Union, vol. 2, 88-94; Potter, The Impending Crisis, 145-176.

3. Potter, The Impending Crisis, 165-167, 199.

4. William Frank Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), 68; John G. Haskell, "The Passing of Slavery in Western Missouri," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 7 (1902): 33.

5. A. T. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas (Chicago: by the author, 1883), 82.

6. Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State, 69.

7. Alice Nichols, Bleeding Kansas (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 9; Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State, 68-69.

8. Gunja SenGupta, For God and Mammon: Evangelicals and Entrepreneurs, Masters and Slaves in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1860 (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1996), 116-117; James Shortridge, "People of the New Frontier: Kansas Population Origins, 1865," Kansas History 14 (Autumn 1991): 165, 167, 170.
It should be noted that northern or middle-western origin did not necessarily mean free-soil sentiments, though that was a general tendency. Furthermore, many Kansans opposed slavery out of racial prejudice, not wanting people of color, slave or free, living in the territory. See James A. Rawley, Race and Politics: "Bleeding Kansas" and the Civil War (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1969) vii-viii, x, 98-99.

9. Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State, 69-70.

10. Ibid., 69-70; Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, 94, 97; SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 41.

11. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, 99.

12. Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State, 71. For details of the "free-state movements," see John N. Holloway, History of Kansas (Lafayette, Indiana: James, Emmons and Company, 1868), 177-199; and Andreas, History of Kansas, 106-113.

13. The Statutes of the Territory of Kansas (Topeka, Kansas: John T. Brady, 1855), 7-11; Nichols, Bleeding Kansas, 37-47; Robert Richmond, Kansas: A Land of Contrasts, 3rd ed., (Arlington Heights, Illinois: Forum Press, 1989), 71-74.

14. Nichols, Bleeding Kansas, 51; Richmond, Kansas: A Land of Contrasts, 77.

15. Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State, 72; Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, 117-119; Jay Monaghan, Civil War on the Western Border: 1854-1865 (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1955), 39-43.

16. Potter, The Impending Crisis, 207-209; Richmond, Kansas: A Land of Contrasts, 78; James Malin, John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1942), 50-51; Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, 127-131.

17. Richmond, Kansas: A Land of Contrasts, 78-79; Malin, John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six, 28-29; Stephen B. Oates, To Purge This Land With Blood: A Biography of John Brown (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 106, 133-137; Potter, The Impending Crisis, 213.

18. Potter, The Impending Crisis, 300-303; Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State, 77-78; Kenneth Stampp, America in 1857 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990; Oxford University Press, 1992), 266-294; Robert W. Johannsen, "The Lecompton Constitutional Convention: An Analysis of its Membership," Kansas Historical Quarterly 23 (Autumn 1957): 225-243. For a discussion of the Marais des Cygnes incident see Harvey R. Hougen, "The Marais Des Cygnes Massacre and the Execution of William Griffith," Kansas History 8 (Summer 1985): 1-21.

19. Benjamin F. Stringfellow, "Kansas--Slavery," New York Semi-Weekly Tribune, 30 January 1855, in "Kansas Clippings," vol. 1, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

CHAPTER ONE

THE UNANSWERED QUESTION

Historian James Malin, writing in the 1950s, noted that scholars had inadequately analyzed the potential of Kansas Territory to support slavery. Malin wrote of this great omission that "No conclusive evidence has ever been brought forward to prove that Kansas would or would not have been made a slave state in any case; or even if it had been nominally a slave state, to demonstrate what the nature of the slave society would have been in this geographical setting of space and time." Malin believed that a lack of evidence made the question unanswerable, but noted the dangerous assumption of many scholars that antislavery forces rescued the territory from the proslavery forces. This view implied that Kansas was to become a slave state but for the intervention of the free-state crusaders.[1] Other scholars, such as Lydia Alma Haag and Charles W. Ramsdell, deviated from that assumption, writing from an equally unproven hypothesis that Kansas was climatically unsuitable for staple crops and, by implication, unsuitable for slaveholding. This untested position made the fighting and violence over slavery unnecessary in Kansas's admission into the Union as a free state. The proslavery cause was doomed from the beginning and slavery had no real chance of ever becoming a permanent feature in the territory.[2]

This research utilizes two presumptions in an attempt to determine which of these hypotheses is indeed correct. First, it presumes that the permanent establishment of slavery in Kansas rested on the development of a staple crop. Since hemp and tobacco production sustained slavery in neighboring Missouri, a second presumption of this research holds that these crops offered the most likely foundation for utilizing slave labor in Kansas Territory. Cotton, though not a product of Missouri, will also receive brief attention because it provided the economic foundation for most of slaveholding South.[3] One difficulty in analyzing possibilities for sustaining slavery in Kansas is that, for reasons to be discussed, the staple crops did not develop during the territorial years, but only afterward. This research will examine the reasons for that delayed development and whether those reasons rendered Kansas permanently unfit for slavery.

Before proceeding, a brief comment is needed regarding the slave population in Kansas Territory. For the moment, suffice it to say that adequate numbers of slaves once lived in Kansas to form a core for the future of slavery. The presence of only a handful of slaves in Kansas Territory in 1860 was, in actuality, the remnant of what was once a much larger slave population.[4] Drawing on the research of Lydia Alma Haag, Gunja SenGupta noted that even in the violent years of 1856 and 1857, the number of Kansas slaves "more than doubled." She suggests that Kansas's slave population approached "viability" and that slavery might have actually lasted in Kansas.[5]

The peculiar institution's chances of becoming permanent, however, likely rested on the development of a solid economic foundation such as staple crop agriculture. The close physical resemblance of Kansas Territory to western Missouri frequently attracted

the attention of settlers and visitors to the region. One free-state visitor was particularly frightened at the similarities in "circumstances of soil and climate" as well as the presence of slaves in Kansas. In an editorial to the *New York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, he chided "northern politicians" as "poor, deluded innocents [who] never apprehended that Slavery could exist in Kansas."[6] On the other side of the question, Benjamin F. Stringfellow tried to encourage proslavery settlers by reassuring them:

> There can be thus no reason why slave labor should not be as profitable in Kansas as in Missouri. Anticipating that such inquiries might be made . . . I procured from intelligent farmers in Platte, a county bordering on Kansas, a statement showing the amount of land which one can cultivate with the yield per acre. . . . There is no reason why land separated by a river, or only an imaginary line should be less valuable. To a distance of one hundred and fifty miles west the soil is but little, if any inferior to that of Missouri.[7]

The observations of one Dr. Middleton, a visitor to Kansas from Mississippi, agreed with Stringfellow. The editor of the *Jackson Mississippian* interviewed Dr. Middleton and wrote, "He found just the soil that is needed for raising tobacco and grain. As hemp-growing country, even Kentucky cannot beat it."[8] A correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, visiting in 1854, was particularly frightened by this potential and alarmingly declared:

> I have spent twelve days in the Territory of Kansas, traveling extensively in it. I have conversed with many intelligent men who live within and near its border, and having thus gained some important information respecting . . . its prospects in regards to Slavery . . . [T]he country, in an agricultural view, is rich beyond comparison . . . capable of producing hemp . . . in rich abundance . . . I have serious fears that these fair lands will be cursed with Slavery and all its attendant evils.[9]

Despite these early assertions of Kansas' suitability for slavery and staple-crop production, early Kansas agriculture was, in the beginning, primarily subsistence in nature.

Commercial production developed only after the grant of statehood, but corn, rather than hemp or tobacco, was the major cash crop.[10] Indeed, William Darnell, just ten years old when his family came to Kansas in 1855, provided the only known example of tobacco production in the territorial period: "Father planted the seed and grew his own tobacco--a small patch sufficient for his own use." Darnell did not even mention tobacco when describing the family's efforts to raise cash through agriculture. "Corn was one of our chief stand-bys. . . . Father soon started raising hogs for market and also to help out the family larder."[11]

Like tobacco, hemp production during the territorial period was infrequent, though slightly more common than tobacco. Judge Sterling Cato claimed that one ton of Kansas hemp was worth $140 and one hand could manage six acres of the plant. Jefferson Buford, a South Carolinian who had come to Kansas as a colonist, told Alabamians in an 1856 editorial that 1,000 pounds of hemp per acre was common in Kansas. Buford received his information from "Dr. Walker, a long time resident of its borders."[12] It is likely that this doctor was William Walker, a chieftain of the Wyandotte tribe, who had lived in Kansas for many years. In an 1854 letter, Walker attested to Kansas' agricultural capability: "The high rolling lands after a crop or two of corn yield fine wheat, Rye, and Oats crops. The lower lands for corn, Hemp, Tobacco &c [sic] and the soil [is] inexhaustible."[13]

The slow development of staple crops was not necessarily an indication that Kansas was unsuitable for them. Delayed production of staple crops was typical of frontier regions; these crops normally appeared only after a period of several years in

which the inhabitants engaged in subsistence agriculture. In both frontier Missouri and Kentucky, staple-crop agriculture developed belatedly without seriously harming the future of slavery in either of them, and there was plenty of work to keep slaves occupied in the interim. In early Kentucky, slaves began working in hemp and tobacco fields only after performing a "thousand and one laborious tasks" including clearing land, building homes, and plowing land.[14] Similarly, the first inhabitants of what became known as Missouri's "Little Dixie" country, that area located along the Missouri river, began their new lives as subsistence farmers, switching to commercial production of staple crops only when their fortunes improved. A few Missourians eschewed hemp and tobacco in favor of "increasingly commercial" production of wheat, corn, and livestock, but in either case, such farmers typically had to wait a few years before they were able to advance from subsistence to commercial agriculture.[15]

In Kansas Territory bad weather and the inflamed political situation further slowed the transformation to commercial farming. Extremes in weather plagued Kansas into its first years of statehood and even subsistence farming proved difficult at best. In some cases severe weather, like the tremendous drought of 1856, caused settlers to quit and leave Kansas altogether. The political troubles of the new territory only exacerbated the difficulties. The violence hampered virtually all economic pursuits, farming included, and some Kansans found themselves in dire need.[16] A Mrs. Patrick, whose husband had been imprisoned at Lecompton for fighting in the free-state ranks, was such an individual. Without her husband's support, she and her children found themselves in grave circumstances. A correspondent of the *Missouri Democrat* described her condition:

> She and her children lived mostly on green corn and vegetables the greater part of the time. When these failed her, she was reduced almost to actual starvation. As a last resort, she begged for some flour of a Government teamster. He had none, but gave her some coarse hard bread, upon which they lived for a long time. This case is not an isolated one, but I mention it to show you the actual suffering from want of some of the settlers.[17]

The correspondent noted that much of the destitution of Kansas resulted from spending badly-needed money on arms instead of necessities. Criticizing the practice he wrote, "Rifles are good in their place, but . . . we think it is better to buy bread." [18]

With the admission of Kansas into the Union in 1861, conditions improved greatly. Farming was generally prosperous in Kansas during the Civil War, though the problems that hampered agriculture in the territorial period did not wholly disappear. Guerrilla raiding, the most spectacular of which was William Clarke Quantrill's destruction of Lawrence, caused severe poverty and homelessness for hundreds of settlers. Dry weather sometimes interfered with agriculture, though the droughts were localized and most farmers experienced favorable weather conditions. The improved conditions permitted Kansas farmers to begin producing beyond their own needs, just as the Union war effort created a huge demand for farm products, particularly grain crops and livestock.[19]

This demand, coupled with a serious labor shortage caused by the Civil War, moved many Kansans toward these agricultural activities rather than staple-crop production. Indeed, the Civil War years witnessed the emergence of corn as the chief market crop of the new state and the raising of livestock became "the major wartime business in Kansas."[20] For many Kansans grains and livestock were the only realistic agricultural choices. Kansas contributed two-thirds of her adult males to the Federal

armies, and despite the valiant efforts of Kansas women and children, many fields went unworked for lack of laborers.[21] In such a situation, labor-intensive crops like cotton, hemp, and tobacco were of obvious impracticality, and production of these crops remained low. Even the additional labor of fugitive slaves from Missouri did not seriously alleviate the shortage, and most agricultural efforts of the 1860s by necessity focused on grain crops and stock-raising.[22]

This did not preclude some experimentation with staple crops during that decade. In an 1860 letter to his father, future Kansas governor John Ingalls wrote of both corn and hemp in the Atchison area. "A good deal of corn is being shipped this spring . . .," Ingalls proclaimed, " [and] considerable attention is being paid to the hemp crop. The farmers of Missouri have grown rich by it. It requires a rich soil and considerable experience and the prices fluctuate remarkably but success is the rule. The climate here is well adapted to its culture, and I have no doubt it will eventually form a large share of our exports."[23]

Nevertheless, farmers grew only small amounts of crops traditionally associated with slavery during the year of 1860. The U. S. census records from that year reveal only 44 tons of hemp in the territory, most of that from Doniphan County in the extreme northeast of the state. Tobacco growers likewise produced modest amounts; only 20,349 pounds of tobacco came from the territory in 1860. A few particularly adventurous farmers experimented with cotton, producing sixty-one ginned bales, each weighing four hundred pounds.[24]

Yields from these very first attempts at growing hemp and tobacco were surprisingly high, suggesting that large-scale growth had potential for profit. Already by

the war years, Kansas's yields per acre for hemp and tobacco exceeded Missouri's, a state in which both plants had long been profitable products. In Missouri, the average yield in 1862 for an acre of hemp was 916 pounds, while in Kansas the figure increased to 1,250 pounds. In a similar vein, an acre of Missouri tobacco yielded one thousand pounds while the yield from a Kansas acre increased slightly to 1,025 pounds.[25]

Kansas farmers continued to sow tobacco for many years though total production remained at low levels. John Ingalls in 1863 wrote to his father that he had three acres of the plant, as part of his experiment in Kansas' agricultural capabilities.[26] In 1864, Dr. C. A. Buck, a Jefferson County resident, recommended early planting of seeds, although they could be planted as late as April "if the seed has been soaked in milk."[27] During the 1870s, German-Russian settlers successfully raised tobacco in seemingly inhospitable *western* Kansas. As late as 1910, a newspaper article described the efforts of newly-arrived settlers of Ellis County: "In early days tobacco, seed of which had been brought by the first settlers, was cultivated extensively. There is record of one colony producing ten thousand pounds in 1877 . . . a few still raise tobacco."[28] In 1873, a glutted corn market caused many farmers to sow tobacco instead. Tobacco output soared from 48,586 pounds on only fifty-five acres in 1872 to 393,592 pounds the following year. This boom was short lived. Plagues of grasshoppers struck the Kansas prairies in the summer of 1874, eating away virtually all of Kansas' farm crops, including tobacco. In Brown County, the grasshoppers devoured all of the corn and devastated fruit trees, eating away the leaves, fruit, and occasionally even the bark. An 1876 county history recalled that, "Nothing escaped, for they [the grasshoppers] seemed quite indifferent as to the quality of

their food. Tomato plants, onions, and even tobacco plants were utterly destroyed." After losing the crop to the swarms, Kansas farmers never again sowed the crop in large amounts, though it continued to be planted into the twentieth century.[29]

While tobacco emerged briefly in the state's agricultural history, hemp was a different story altogether. Though they grew hemp, Kansas farmers never sowed it in large amounts, for poor market conditions gave them little reason to attempt it. Had market conditions been better, Kansas might well have become a hemp producer, for the available evidence suggests that Kansas was suitable for growing the crop. Besides enjoying a positive statistical comparison to Missouri in yields per acre, Kansas received favorable praise from settlers familiar with hemp production in other states. John Whitfield, Kansas' Congressional delegate, testified to Kansas Territory's hemp capability: "I think I do not exaggerate when I say the that the best land in Tennessee is inferior to that of Kansas. Some of idea of its productiveness may be formed from the fact that the ordinary yield of [hemp] to the acre is . . . eight hundred to twelve hundred pounds."[30] At least one other settler pronounced Kansas a veritable hemp mecca. In an 1864 edition of the *Osage County Chronicle* contained the following editorial written by an "Old Hemp Raiser":

> It seems strange that the public are not generally aware that Kansas is the best hemp State in the United States. As strange as it seems, it is certainly true. It seems also that it is not generally known that any hand that understands the business of hemp raising can, at the present prices, make $1,000 per year at that business in this country . . . I have raised hemp in Kentucky, Tennessee, and in Kansas. The bottom land in Kansas is far superior to the lands of Kentucky or Tennessee for the quantity or the quality of hemp or lint.[31]

Nevertheless, hemp always remained a minor crop in both importance and output. The primary market for hemp rope and cloth had been the South, where planters had need of cheap bindings and coverings for cotton bales. The Civil War left the southern cotton industry in ruins, and without a market, hemp farming offered little profit; in Missouri the hemp industry failed altogether. Such conditions meant that only a minuscule amount of hemp ever grew in Kansas. In 1872, Kansans sowed only 1,200 acres of hemp, producing 1,046,227 pounds. Even in 1873, the glutted corn market did not spur hemp production in any significant way; total output for hemp increased only slightly to 1,410,304 pounds.[32]

A surprising development during the first years of Kansas settlement was the emergence of a cotton industry in the state. General James Lane used fugitive slaves from Missouri to help in cultivate a small field of cotton in the 1860s. Lane's activity was not unique, for Kansas farmers experimented with cotton successfully in nearly every Kansas county.[33] Historian James Malin, in his examination of early Kansas agriculture of that decade, determined that Kansas farmers successfully cultivated cotton in Geary County, over one hundred miles west of the Kansas-Missouri border. Another recent examination of agriculture in Lyon County, seventy miles west of the border, noted that settlers produced 857 ginned bales in 1865.[34] In Jefferson County, located north of Lawrence on the Kansas River, efforts to grow cotton met with noteworthy success. Many of its earliest settlers had come from southern states and hoped to maintain the agricultural traditions and methods of their former homes. One later source reported that "A large acreage of cotton was planted and successfully grown here . . . . A cotton gin was built at

Valley Falls and did a large business. They also raised a large amount of tobacco."[35] A thriving cottage industry in that area created a high demand for cotton cloth, and customers from up to two hundred miles away processed their cotton at Valley Falls. While local demand consumed most of the cotton, some of the product went to the Missouri River town of Leavenworth for export to other locales.[36]

Despite the surprising results of efforts to grow cotton, the industry had already failed in Missouri in the 1820s and there were climatic factors that worked against its future in Kansas. Drought, however, was not one of them. James Malin noted that an 1864 publication, exultant at cotton's success in the relatively dry Kansas climate, hailed it as a drought-resistant crop. The ninety-eighth meridian, famously designated by historian Walter Prescott Webb as the westernmost boundary of the cotton belt, still leaves half of the present day state of Kansas within the land region moist enough to sustain cotton growth. What harmed Kansas cotton was the cold; while half of Kansas was east of the ninety-eighth meridian, all of it was above the northern boundary designated by Webb as the upper limit of the cotton belt. Only the southern part of the state could sustain growth and Kansas cotton was reportedly inferior to that from the southern states. When the great cotton-growing states of the South emerged from the devastation of the Civil War, Kansas cotton could not compete. This apparently did not prevent cotton, like tobacco, from experiencing a short-lived explosion of production to 251,222 pounds in the early 1870s, but the spurt did not last. In 1878, the Kansas State Board of Agriculture reported only 508 acres sown in twenty-two counties, half of that in Crawford County.[37]

While cotton offered little hope for the foundation of a functional slave system, its modest successes suggest that hemp and tobacco could have functioned in such a role. Of the three staple crops examined in this study, cotton offered little opportunity for establishing an agricultural base for slavery. The crop had already failed in Missouri, though farmers in that state had also experienced successes with the plant.[38] What cotton does illustrate is the potential of climatically suitable crops. For Missouri, these were hemp and tobacco and good reason exists to believe that they offered a similar opportunity in Kansas. Tobacco and hemp, also grown successfully and with excellent yields per acre in Kansas, offered legitimate possibilities for utilizing slave labor on a reasonably large scale. Indeed, slavery had been rewarding in Kansas even in the absence of a highly profitable staple crop; the development of tobacco and hemp farming would have only enhanced opportunities for upward mobility. Southerners were correct in speculating that eastern Kansas was a place to realize dreams of owning land, becoming slaveholders, and amassing fortunes.

Overall, the slaveholders, especially those in Kansas before 1854, were prosperous and had enjoyed increasing rewards for their efforts in the form of cash, land, and slaves. Men like Thomas Johnson, Alexander Johnson, R. W. Cummings, and William Walker all acquired more land and slave property during the years preceding the organization of the territory. Those masters arriving after the formation of Kansas Territory in 1854 continued the pattern of success and prosperity. It is significant that only two of these masters, Rush Elmore and Richard Williams, ever relinquished their slaves for financial reasons, and neither case had anything to do with the profitability of slaveholding.

Williams sold his slaves to cover the losses of an incompetent business partner, while Elmore owed creditors before his arrival in Kansas.[39]

Rush Elmore eventually concluded that slavery could not exist in the territory, but his opinion stemmed from his unique experience as a Kansas master. Because his slaves suffered miserably in the winter of 1855-1856, he concluded that chattels from his native Alabama could not cope with the fierce Kansas winters. Elmore did not reach this conclusion immediately, even though nursing the frost-bitten and incapacitated bondsmen required monumental effort from himself and his wife. One observer recounted their struggle to provide adequate medical care and sufficient quantities of firewood to warm the stricken slaves, stating with amazement, "I should think that that [sic] would have convinced them that [K]ansas was no place for those slaves. They were hardly convinced when I saw them."[40]

Perhaps Elmore's initial reluctance to declare Kansas unfit for slavery was well-founded. In returning to James Malin's observation, it seems that Kansas was indeed suitable for slavery. The region offered the potential for staple crop agriculture, though this capability remained largely untapped except for a few attempts undertaken after the political fate of slavery had been settled. Having established the potential of slavery in the territory, it is now time to examine those people who actually held slaves in Kansas. These persons in most cases came seeking opportunity and advancement. Indeed, the hope of economic advancement led most southern people into Kansas and slaveholding was normally a fundamental part of the process. The activities of Kansas slaveholders and

those persons wanting to join them in the slaveholding class are the focus of the subsequent chapter.

NOTES

1. James C. Malin, "Judge Lecompte and the 'Sack of Lawrence'," Kansas Historical Quarterly 20 (1952-1953): 493-494.

2. Ibid.; Lydia Alma Haag, "Slavery Agitation and Its Influence on the State of Kansas," (M. S. thesis, Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, 1934), 57-58; Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 16 (September 1929): 160-163; Clement Eaton, The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860 (New York: Harper Brothers, 1961), 69-71.

3. For a good overview of tobacco and hemp production in Missouri, see R. Douglas Hurt, Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 80-110.

4. Malin, "Judge Lecompte and the Sack of Lawrence," 493-494; Haag, "Slavery Agitation and Its Influence on the State of Kansas," 57-58; Gary L. Cheatham, " 'Kansas Shall not Have the Right to Legislate Slavery Out': Slavery and the 1860 Antislavery Law," An article forthcoming in Kansas History; Ramsdell, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," 160-163; Eaton, The Growth of Southern Civilization, 69-71.

5. Gunja SenGupta, For God and Mammon: Evangelicals and Entrepreneurs, Masters and Slaves in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1860 (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1996), 127; Haag "Slavery Agitation and Its Influence on the State of Kansas," 58. For a discussion of the different proposals about the future of slavery in Kansas by contemporaries and modern scholars, see Charles Desmond Hart, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion: Kansas-Nebraska, 1854," Kansas Historical Quarterly 34 (1968): 32-50.

6. "Kansas--The Other Side," New York Semi-Weekly Tribune, 30 January 1855, in "Kansas Clippings," vol. 1, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

7. "Kansas--Slavery," New York Semi-Weekly Tribune, 30 January 1855, in "Kansas Clippings," vol. 1, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

8. "Fears and Hopes for Kansas," Jackson Mississippian, [undated], in "Kansas Clippings," vol. 10, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 227.

9. "From an Emigrant to Kansas," New York Tribune, 4 July 1854, in "Kansas Clippings," vol. 10, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 25.

10. James Malin, "Notes on the Writings of General Histories," Kansas Historical Quarterly 21 (1954-1955): 332-333.

11. George A. Root, ed. "Reminiscences of William Darnell," Kansas Historical Collections 17 (1926-1928): 493.

12. J[efferson] Buford, "To Kansas Emigrants and All Friends of the South," Alabama Spirit of the South, 19 January 1856; in G. Douglas Brewerton, The War in Kansas (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1856; reprint, Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 210-213. Since Buford was ardently proslavery and hoping to popularize settlement by southerners, these remarks could have been propaganda and should be used with appropriate caution.

13. William Walker to Anonymous, 19 January 1854; in William E. Connelley, ed., The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska, (Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Company, 1899), 66. Dr. Walker may have been a relative of William Walker or another person altogether.

14. Holman Hamilton, ed., Three American Frontiers: The Writings of Thomas D. Clark (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), 174-175.

15. Hurt, Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie, 5-7, 65, 69.

16. Robert W. Richmond, Kansas: A Land of Contrasts (Arlington Heights, Illinois: Forum Press, 1989), 86; Malin, "Notes on the Writings of General Histories of Kansas," 332-333.

17. John Smith to Anonymous, 29 October 1856, Kansas History Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

18. Ibid.

19. Albert Castel, A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958), 203-215; Frank W. Blackmar, ed., Kansas (Chicago: Standard Publishing Co., 1912), vol. 2, 42-43.

20. Castel, A Frontier State at War, 203-215.

21. Richmond, Kansas: A Land of Contrasts, 96-97; and Wendell Holmes Stephenson, "The Political Career of General James H. Lane," in William E. Connelley, ed., Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society 3 (1930): 133.

22. Castel, A Frontier State at War, 204.

23. John Ingalls to Dear Father, 3 April 1860, in William E. Connelley, ed., "Some Ingalls Letters, " Kansas Historical Collections 14 (1915-1918): 116-117.

24. Joseph Kennedy, ed., Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), 57, 185.

25. [Department of the Interior], Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1862, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), 580, 583; and Richmond, Kansas: A Land of Contrasts, 86.

26. Burton J. Williams, Senator John James Ingalls: Kansas' Iridescent Republican (Lawrence, KS: The University Press of Kansas, 1972), 49.

27. I. D. Graham, "The Kansas State Board of Agriculture: Some Highlights of History," Kansas Historical Collections 17 (1926-1928): 789.

28. Francis S. Laing, "German-Russian Settlements in Ellis County," Kansas Historical Collections 11 (1909-1910): 523.

29. Graham, "The Kansas State Board of Agriculture: Some Highlights of History," 793-795; Edmund N. Morill, ed., History of Brown County, Kansas (Hiawatha, KS: Herald News, Book, and Job Office, 1876; reprint Hiawatha, KS: Morill Free Public Library, 1982), 52-53.

30. John Whitfield, "A Description of Kansas," Atchison [Kansas] Freedom's Champion, 6 March 1858, 1.

31. "Hemp Raising in Kansas," Osage City [Kansas] Chronicle, 7 May 1864, 2.

32. Hurt, Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie, 103, 305-306; Graham, "The Kansas State Board of Agriculture: Some Highlights in History," 793-795.

33. Stephenson, "The Political Career of General James H. Lane," 133.

34. Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas, (Chicago: Standard Publishing Co., 1912), vol.1, 458; James Malin, "Beginnings of Winter Wheat Production in the Upper Kansas and Lower Smoky Hill River Valleys: A Study in Adaptation to Geographical Environment," Kansas Historical Quarterly 10 (1941): 247; Lisa Miles, "A Land of Her Own: Independent Women Homesteaders in Lyon and Coffey Counties, Kansas (1860-1870)," (M. A. thesis, Emporia State University, 1993), 64, 102, 104.

35. Linda Mae Krogman Curtis, Arrington Heights (Privately printed, 1977), 16.

36. Stephenson, "The Political Career of General James H. Lane," 133. The cited information appears to be an editor's note by William E. Connelley.

37. Blackmar, Kansas, vol.1, 458; Malin, "Beginnings of Winter Wheat Production in the Upper Kansas and Lower Smoky Hill River Valleys," 247; Walter Prescott Webb, The Great Plains (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1931), 184-185, 188-193, 200-201; Graham, "The Kansas State Board of Agriculture," 793-795.

38. Hurt, Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie, 65.

39. Alexander S. Johnson, "Slaves in Kansas Territory, " 20 April 1895, Johnson Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; Connelley, ed., The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska, *passim*; Richard W. Williams, With the Border Ruffians: Memories of the Far West (London: Hazel, Watson, and Viney, 1908), 98; Rush Elmore to Major [A. S.] Elmore, 8 February 1859, Rush and Susan Elmore Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

40. Henry Miles Moore, Early History of Leavenworth City and County (Leavenworth, Kansas: Samuel Dodson Book Co., 1906), 50; E. E. Winchell to F. G. Adams, 26 September 1886, James Winchell Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

CHAPTER TWO

SEEKING FORTUNES IN LAND AND SLAVES

Although scholars have produced an immense amount of historical work on territorial Kansas, they have given its slaveholders little attention. This inattention is significant, for southerners had established slaveholding in the region even before the organization of Kansas Territory. New arrivals to Kansas Territory found a land where chattel ownership was the established precedent. Southerners among them were motivated primarily by a frontier materialism in which slaveholding was an integral part. Although most southerners who came to Kansas did not own slaves, a few had managed to acquire them, and this slaveholding contingent assumed leading economic positions in the territory. However, any analysis of slaveholding in Kansas must begin with those masters who lived in the area before the creation of Kansas Territory in 1854, as well as their perceptions of the "peculiar institution."

Despite the notoriety of Kansas' struggle over the peculiar institution, preterritorial residents had established the practice of slaveholding region in the 1840s and slavery quietly existed until the opening of Kansas to white settlement. Army officers used slaves as servants and many of the missionaries, traders, and government officials attached to the various Indian tribes owned slaves as well. Not to be left out, some Indians possessed slave property, normally as an outward sign of assimilation and adoption of white society.

Despite this early existence, slavery was still a negligible practice. Few white slaveholders lived in the future territory and even within the native tribes, with whom more slaves resided, slavery was not economically important. Only after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act did a significant number of slaveholders come to Kansas.[1]

The largest influx of masters into Kansas occurred from 1854 to 1856, the earliest years of Kansas's territorial existence. The prospects for implementing slavery in this period appeared reasonably good, and masters came to the region in a steady fashion. Zu Adams, a turn-of-the-century researcher, said of the slaves and masters in Kansas that "The more one comes to consider the pro-slavery struggle in the territory, it is evident that a large percent came during the first two years of settlement."[2] The *Squatter Sovereign*, a strong proslavery periodical published in Atchison, verified this contention in February, 1855: "Within a month past there has been a large accession to the Slave Population in Kansas. In this immediate neighborhood several newcomers have settled, and in most instances brought several Slaves with them."[3]

The outbreak of violence in the territory eventually brought an end to this immigration. Security of slave property became uncertain and potential slaveholding immigrants hesitated to come to Kansas. Their entry slowed to a trickle and after the year 1857 Kansas's slave population actually declined. In that year the free-state voters won the elections for the legislature, wresting away political control of the territory from the proslavery forces. This prompted many masters to leave Kansas Territory and those who remained often divested themselves of their human property. This loss of political control ultimately doomed the hopes of creating a new slave state, but a few proslavery hotspurs

persevered in the effort to establish the peculiar institution until Kansas's admission to the Union as a free state in 1861. Indeed, a handful of slaveholders remained in the territory with their bondspeople even after the passage of an antislavery law in 1860.[4]

Despite its relatively brief existence, a far greater number of slaves and owners lived in Kansas Territory than has previously been assumed. Although the incompleteness of statistical information and the fragmentary nature of the manuscript sources do not readily permit an exact set of figures, one can compile an estimate of the total number of slaves and slaveholders. The 1855 territorial census, the best source of statistical information on Kansas, recorded 192 slaves in the territory, owned by eighty masters. Estimates from territorial residents frequently concurred with this figure. Both Governor Robert Walker and Thomas H. Gladstone, an Englishman in Kansas, estimated that between two and three hundred slaves resided in Kansas and the latter believed them owned by less than fifty persons.[5] The actual totals, however, proved significantly higher. A survey utilizing the a combination of the census, many primary sources, and a few secondary works revealed 507 slaves, owned by 172 masters, lived in Kansas at one time or another. A handful of these masters and slaves lived in preterritorial Kansas but left or emancipated their slaves prior to 1854. These were, however, very few in number and counterbalanced by another small group of masters and slaves whose residences and status were not clearly identifiable from the available records; some of these were probably legitimate residents. Finally, several Kansans owned slaves but did not bring them into the territory, had relinquished them previous to the census, or came from slaveholding families.

The discrepancy between these figures and census totals deserves analysis. The census, taken in February, 1855, occurred very early in the territory's history before many of the masters had come to the territory; evidence demonstrates that the numbers of slaves and masters increased greatly after the 1855 enumeration. In the 1890s, former abolitionist John Speer, reminisced with a former proslavery opponent, Dr. J. N. O. P. Wood, about the numbers of slaves in Kansas. Wood provided him with "a list of slaves and their masters . . . and his opinion that there were 400-500 slaves in Kansas." On another occasion, the two men "compared notes on our personal knowledge of slaves in Kansas, and we counted over 400---and quit." Speer wrote of the 192 slaves in the census that "not over half of them [were] entered."[6]

A far greater number of slaves lived around the town of Atchison, Kansas, than indicated by the census. According to that enumeration, a total of ninety-eight slaves lived in districts ten through sixteen, a land mass that included Atchison and all of the settled territory north of the Kansas River. However, Atchison residents who had lived in the territorial period indicated that approximately ninety slaves resided around that town alone. Such a number is especially striking given that Atchison was in the fifteenth census district specifically. This district tallied only ten slaves in the 1855 census.[7]

Other locales experienced similar increases after 1855. The census placed most of Jefferson County within the thirteenth census district; census-takers listed only eight slaves within this district in 1855. An 1857 census of Jefferson County, however, listed sixty-nine slaves living within its borders. Less dramatic examples of increase occurred within the sixth district in southeast Kansas, where ten slaves appeared in the 1855 tallies. A 1924

publication claimed that Fort Scott, lying within district six, alone contained thirty slaves. In Allen County, also within the sixth district, lived five masters who owned a total of ten slaves, yet none of these masters appeared in the 1855 enumeration.[8]

The inaccuracy of the census resulted from additional factors. The frontier nature of Kansas probably made accurate census-taking difficult at best and the threat of violence affected it even further, despite relatively peaceful times in 1855. Indeed, some proslavery persons refused to provide information about themselves to the census-takers in at least one district, only compounding the census's unreliability. John Speer recalled that many slaveholders did so out of fear of reprisals by free-soil residents, claiming "it was about as dangerous to enter a slave by a slave holder as for an anti-slavery man to sign his name as 'Abolitionist.' "[9] Fry McGee, a seventh district slaveholder living at 110 Creek near Osage City, would neither give his name nor allow a tally of others in the area, offering instead to the census-taker a list he himself compiled. Other residents of the seventh district refused to provide information about themselves and Mobillon W. McGee, Fry's slaveholding brother, complained to Governor Reeder that census-takers deliberately concealed proslavery people. Whether the cheating was a fault of the McGee's or the census-taker, either case demonstrates the weaknesses of the census as a definitive source of statistics on slaveholding.[10]

Nor does the census provide a description of typical masters in the new territory. Kansas masters were similar to most of those living in the South in the size of their chattel holdings. Over half of southern masters possessed five or fewer slaves in 1850 and seventy-five percent owned less than ten. Kansas slaveholding was even more limited to

the smallest and most common masters. 87% of all masters in Kansas owned five or fewer slaves and 93% owned less than ten. Only eleven Kansas masters had ten or more slaves, and of these, only two had twenty or more. Kansas masters, on average, owned only 2.9 bondsmen each, as compared with neighboring Missouri where masters in the interior river counties owned an average of 6.1 slaves. Had they lived in the southern states, most of these Kansans would have occupied the lowest echelons of the slaveholding class, and even the wealthiest were hardly plantation aristocrats.[11]

Indeed, the slaveholding elite of the South did not remove to Kansas The largest slaveowner in the territory was a Kentuckian, James Skaggs. Neighbors recalled twenty-seven slaves in his possession, though less-reliable sources listed him with only fourteen. Most of these slaves apparently entered Kansas after the 1855 census, for that enumeration listed him with only two slaves. One unconfirmed report claims that Rush Elmore, a territorial judge from Alabama, owned sixty slaves. This report was probably false since no confirmation exists and Elmore's own letters directing the sale of his bondsmen mentioned only a dozen. Lydia Alma Haag in her research of the census found only fourteen in his possession and speculated that Elmore had hired these slaves, if they even existed.[12]

Regardless of the number of slaves he owned, Rush Elmore was an exceptional slaveowner. He was from the deep South; by contrast, most other Kansas slaveholders came from the states of the border South. Gunja SenGupta's analysis of the 1855 census found sixty-three slaveholders with identifiable origins, forty-six of whom came from Missouri, seven from Kentucky or Tennessee, and four from Virginia or Maryland.[13]

These slaveholders, like southern people in general, followed a common migration pattern that took them steadily westward with little latitudinal deviation. Slaveholder Isaac Monday and his wife Lucy came to Kansas as missionaries before the territorial organization. The Monday's place of birth was Virginia, but the 1855 census listed children from Virginia, Missouri, and Kansas, a tell-tale indication of their migratory path. The Mondays' slaves included a woman from Virginia, a man from Missouri and three minors from Kansas Territory. Like the Monday family, the first settlers at the Mosquito Creek settlement in Doniphan County had lived in northwest Missouri in the 1840s. Prior to that time, they had resided in Tennessee.[14]

An excessively strong desire by southerners for material advancement, sated primarily through the acquisition of land and slaves, was the primary cause of this westward movement. Materialism, not ideological conviction, inspired most southerners who came to Kansas Territory. Men like Axalla J. Hoole, a South Carolinian who came to Kansas out of devotion to the "great cause" of southern slavery, were exceptional. Observing other southerners as they passed through Kansas City, Missouri, on their way to the territory, Hoole discovered that they had motivations vastly different from his own. "Everyone seems bent on the Almighty Dollar," he observed, "and as a general thing, that seems to be their only thought."[15] Historian James Oakes wrote of slaveowners that "Land and slaves became the two great vehicles by which slave holders achieved their ambitions of fortune."[16] For those southerners who did not yet own slaves, acquiring them became the goal. Oakes noted that a region in Tennessee with "few slaves" that nevertheless contained many persons who did not want slavery to be abolished in Kansas

Territory. One of these poor whites hoped to enter the slaveholding class someday and he opposed abolition in Kansas because he would have to relinquish possession of any chattels acquired before moving to the new territory.[17]

Rare indeed was the southerner whose misgivings about the moral dimensions of slavery hindered hopes of upward mobility. William Walker, a Wyandotte chief of mixed white and Indian ancestry, recorded in his journal entry for January 1, 1847, the purchase of his first slave, despite some moral discomfort about his entry into the slaveholding class: "In Harrisonville, [Missouri] I this day bought at public sale a female slave about 32 years of age, named 'Dorcas.' If I have erred in this act, may God in his infinite mercy forgive me, though I feel no condemnation for the act." Moral guilt did not preempt future purchases for only a month later he described another attempt to purchase a slave: "Wrote to James Dunwoodie, making him an offer for his slave, 'Ben.' " Dunwoodie apparently refused, so Walker eventually purchased Dorcas's husband.[18]

Though southerners like Walker, primarily Missourians but also residents of other southern states, entered frontier Kansas optimistically hoping to accumulate slaves, land also proved attractive to them. In their obsession to become wealthy, southern people flocked to public land sales in Kansas. Though outnumbered by northerners at the sales, southerners were the largest purchasers of land tracts at these auctions. Many others chose to become squatters; indeed, an 1854 article said of them that "great numbers are daily visiting the territory from the Southern States and are selecting lands *which they intend to hold* until the Indian titles are fully extinguished, and then secure their claims . . . [A]lready there is scarcely a foot within ten miles of Fort Leavenworth but what has been

'staked out' and 'claims laid' and that, too, by Slavery propagandists."[19] Southern land seekers swallowed up so much of Kansas that in 1862, a year into the Civil War, Senator and former Indianan James H. Lane complained that "We have in Kansas a larger proportion of rebel property than any other state in the Union."[20] While Lane's remark was probably an exaggeration, frontier Kansas did offer men like Thomas Bayne, a Kentucky master, hopes of gaining land. In Kansas Bayne saw his "boyhood dream of owning a section of land amidst timber, with fields of corn and blue-grass, and raising pedigreed horses, cattle and hogs come true."[21]

Such land seekers often exhibited astounding drive, ingenuity, and covetousness in the quest for wealth. Richard Williams, a youthful, proslavery Englishman who had originally settled in Virginia, came to Kansas Territory seeking his fortune despite previously owning a farm and mill in that state. Before his departure, Williams sold these valuable assets, a move that demonstrated the seriousness of southerners in their quest for wealth. Williams also collected payments from several debtors, taking in one instance three slaves in lieu of cash. Becoming a slaveholder gave him a brief sense of moral unease, but not enough to prompt any refusal of the human property and he was soon on his way to Kansas with three slaves, two thousand dollars in cash, and a wagon with a horse team.[22] Upon arriving in Kansas Territory, Williams hired out his chattels and immediately acquired various land claims for farming and speculation. He successfully sold several of these claims and also acquired a saloon that he promptly sold to avoid becoming a victim of violence from his armed clientele.[23] His only setback was taking a

business partner who incurred heavy financial losses, thus ending the Virginian's stint as a master as he had to sell his chattels to cover the debts.[24]

Williams's activity and covetousness of property typified southern people of the period. Land and slaves were the prevailing means of advancement and personal gain, and Williams acquired both as circumstances permitted. He also worked a host of menial labors and odd employments in order to earn cash, a common practice among southern whites without slaves. Moreover, Williams's brief status as a slaveholder was not uncommon; the economic situations of these persons fluctuated wildly and they acquired and sold slaves as their fortunes dictated.[25] Other Kansans experienced this phenomena, sometimes in an effort just to get to Kansas. Several families at Mosquito Creek had owned slaves in their native Tennessee. At least one of these families sold its two bondspeople to raise the cash for the original move to Missouri, and all of these families were slaveless by the time they moved to Kansas Territory.[26]

The tendency to acquire and subsequently relinquish slaves diminished as the status and affluence of the slaveholder increased. Middle-class masters in the South were far less likely to leave the slaveholding class in part because they often had multiple sources of income. Dual careers and varied economic activities helped protect them from financial calamity. Because they were not dependent on success in only one endeavor, they were less likely to relinquish slaves. Normally employed in business or the professions, such masters were often more economically stable.[27]

In the life of the South, these middle class masters were the dominant force in politics and economics. James Oakes wrote of this class of people that "The significance

of middle-class slave holders derived . . . from their economic power, their broad control of the slave labor force, and their political activity. . . [If] there was any single class of men that set the tone in the Antebellum South, surely this was it."[28] Unlike in the South, however, these Kansans were less distinctive as a group. The frontier was a social leveler and most frontier people, slaveholding and not, experienced at least some economic struggle. Though the distinctions between social classes were much more muddled in the new region than in the established South, some individuals were clearly on a slightly higher plane than others. In the struggle for Kansas these persons, while not wholly dominant, played leading roles and affected the nature of the proslavery movement in the territory.

The sons of James H. McGee, Sr., blurred the distinctions of social class.[29] Though the elder McGee never lived in Kansas (he died in 1838 after a ten-year residence in Kansas City, Missouri), he owned at least two slaves; some of his sons also acquired them and brought them to Kansas Territory.[30] Whether they had acquired slaves, all of the McGee's bore the marks of frontiersmen, land speculators, farmers, politicians, and businessmen The brothers' zeal for the proslavery cause in Kansas was matched only by their zeal for advancement and material gain. Mobillon W. McGee, a slaveholder, maintained a mercantile business in Westport and attended Missouri land sales with his father and his brother, Fry. Mobillon, who eventually held a seat in Kansas Territory's first legislature, purchased a claim near Burlingame, Kansas.[31] An acquaintance of yet another brother, E. Milton McGee, described him as the "most influential and entrepreneuring man of Kansas City." Another 1890 description of "Milt" McGee called him "a man full of energy and a strong advocate of slavery."[32]

Fry McGee, the owner of three slaves, was very much like Milt in his economic ambition and was quite willing to participate in proslavery activities of dubious ethical and moral virtue. After an unsuccessful attempt to settle in Oregon, Fry selected a claim at 110 Mile Creek in Osage County, choosing the site because it encompassed the ford used by traders on the Santa Fe Trail. Fry dreamed of creating a city on this premium claim and accordingly built a toll bridge across the creek, erected a sawmill, and constructed an inn for the travelers. Not content to cater to travelers on the trail, McGee cultivated seventy acres of land and raised hogs and cattle in his pastures. In these various efforts, Fry could count on the labor of his three slaves, including a woman and child, who provided kitchen help, and "a boy of about fourteen years who . . . was handy all around."[33] Fry McGee soon realized his fervent hopes for wealth and prosperity. He had to enlarge his tavern to accommodate the numerous travelers and, at twenty-five cents a wagon, McGee's toll bridge brought him twenty to thirty dollars a day from merchant caravans traveling the trail. McGee's proslavery activities eventually earned him a sacking by free-state marauders, and the fact that the raiders ran off with two thousand dollars in goods and twenty draft animals more than suggests his prosperity.[34]

While success was likely for masters in Kansas, it proved particularly so for those slaveholders like Fry McGee, who capitalized on trade opportunities. Thomas N. Stinson, who was slaveless upon arriving in Kansas, opened a mercantile firm; profits were soon sufficient to allow him to purchase a slave named Moses and eight hundred acres of farmland.[35] At Council Grove, profits were also good for Seth Hays, the owner of a slave woman named Sallie. Hays, who had come to Kansas before the territory's organization,

shrewdly located his trading post at the point where merchant caravans on the Santa Fe Trail forded the Neosho River. While Hays's trading with the Kansa Indians had been profitable, outfitting the caravans proved especially lucrative. An observer said of Hays that "He is making money hand over hand."[36] H. T. Wilson, who owned seven slaves, had likewise been in Kansas prior to territorial organization as a sutler at Fort Scott. Wilson's business had been efficient and profitable and became even more prosperous with the arrival of swarms of immigrants after 1854.[37] This was precisely the case for the mercantile post of William F. Dyer of Ozawkie. Dyer wisely located his business on the military road connecting Fort Riley and Fort Leavenworth, a good location that became even better with the arrival of settlers.[38]

The example of the Reverend Thomas Johnson, who likewise capitalized on trade, demonstrates virtually all of the characteristics of middle-class Kansas masters. This Methodist minister came to Kansas Territory as a missionary to the Shawnee Indians. Described as "a wheeling-dealing frontier entrepreneur," the former Missourian had the great fortune to be near both the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails. Johnson was able to sell farm products from Shawnee Methodist Mission to travelers, and he augmented his profits by using the cheap labor of his slaves and unpaid Indian children. Johnson also relied on a salary for his missionary work and he received a stipend for each Native American child enrolled at the mission school. Johnson's material success was so great that critics complained that a man of God should not enjoy such a large amount of worldly wealth. Johnson responded to this moral criticism with a hackneyed, materialistic reply that his impoverished childhood excused him from living in such a condition as an adult. He

routinely stated to his critics that his wealth had been obtained honestly and that he could provide a record of his earnings if anyone doubted his integrity.[39]

Any such record would have included land and slaves. Receipts show Johnson to have been involved in land speculation during the territorial years, and every two or three years he purchased a young slave woman in hopes that she would marry and bear offspring. Johnson always purchased these women in Missouri, where slavery was legal by statute, rather than purchasing them in unorganized Kansas, where no such statute existed. His care ensured that his claim to them had "no legal defect." Such calculated reasoning was also evident in Johnson's desire to remove the Indian tribes from Kansas Territory, despite his many years of missionary activity with the Shawnee. Hoping to acquire choice portions of the Indian reserves, Johnson traveled to Washington, D. C., on one occasion to lobby for their expulsion.[40]

Other men associated with Thomas Johnson shared his desire for acquiring chattel property. Major R. W. Cummings, an Indian official and neighbor of Thomas Johnson, purchased slave couples in order to add their offspring to his holdings. The strategy earned him fifteen slaves by the time he left the area in 1850. Alexander Johnson, the son of Thomas Johnson, also acquired slaves in a steady fashion, some by birth and others through purchase. He recounted that "I started in with one slave and soon had to buy another one to keep him happy. I presume I had about a dozen by the time of emancipation." Alexander did not neglect the acquisition of land for he became the owner of two farms, one in Missouri and one in Kansas.[41]

The relative affluence of slaveowners separated them somewhat from other Kansans of southern heritage. In a society where wealth was scarce, ownership of even one slave represented a greater affluence that many proslavery Kansans desired but had yet to obtain. However, the degree of separation between slaveholders and nonslaveholders was not as extreme as in the plantation South. The blurring of socioeconomic distinctions that so often occurred on the frontier lessened the gap between slaveholders and nonslaveholders, though not entirely. Slaveholding in Kansas was associated with leadership, but the distinctions between the slaveholders and nonslaveholders were frequently hazy. Most importantly, the degree of separation was not extreme enough to produce an elite class based solely on slaveholding. Above all, both slaveholders and nonslaveholders were frontier capitalists struggling for land and slaves, though at slightly different stages of advancement.

The historian Eugene Genovese considered the plantation South to be a stable society dominated by elite, paternalistic slaveholders. Kansas does not fit that mold and probably could not have with its chaotic violence and the instability that characterized frontier regions. Rather, the situation in Kansas was more akin to the ideas of the historian James Oakes, who argues that a classical, liberal philosophy dominated the slaveholding South. In his view, southern people were agrarian, laissez-faire capitalists valuing individualism, upward mobility, and equal opportunities for whites. In that, they differed little from northern or middle-western residents, including those in Kansas. Slavery did not make frontier Kansas into the plantation South.[42]

Indeed, if the territorial legislature and its enactments are any indication, Kansas lacked the features of a paternalistic society dominated by a slaveholding elite. The composition of this body was largely nonslaveholders, although the slaveholding faction was extremely influential. The Bogus Legislature's attempts to regulate slavery do not indicate that such a society existed or even that one was in the making. Slave codes, in the paternalistic model of Genovese, were elaborate means of separating free whites from enslaved blacks. Kansas's slave code lacked this element of social separation and was limited to preventing slave rebellion and abolitionism. Indeed, the grant to the state legislature of very limited powers to regulate slavery under the proposed Lecompton Constitution was the closest proslavery leaders ever came to setting up such a device.[43]

Though the social structure of Kansas does not seem to fit Genovese's model of southern society, his work on the attitudes slaveholders towards their slaves is applicable to Kansas. Southern slaveowners considered the peculiar institution beneficial to slaves, a critical factor in the justification of the practice. The common feeling among white southerners, and most other Americans, was that black people were naturally inferior to whites, and as freedpeople, they were doomed to extinction. They held that slaves were incapable of taking care of themselves and their enslavement offered them civilization, Christianity, and cultural enlightenment.[44] Furthermore, whites envisioned themselves in a paternalistic relationship with their slaves. The white conception of that relationship was one of "mutual obligations" in which masters provided material necessities to slaves and, in return, received labor and loyalty from their bondsmen. In this view, masters formed a

kind of family with their chattels. Slaves chose their condition and remained there out of "faithfulness--obedience internalized as duty, respect, and love."[45]

Kansas masters appear to have held similar views of their slaves. In Richard Williams's case, such a belief appears to have been based on blind faith and the projection of his own thoughts onto his slaves. The Virginia yeoman wrote of his slaves that, "Strange as it may seem to those whose ideas of slaves, and slave-owners, have been formed by 'Abolition' literature, my young darkies went with me cheerfully and willingly and were quite as excited at the prospect of new life in the West as I was myself." In the same utterance, Williams contradicted himself by declaring: "What their ideas on the subject were, or what they expected to find when they reach the goal, I know not. . . . A complete change from the past and new conditions of life we all looked forward to I suppose."[46]

Other Kansas masters declared enslavement to be salutary to their chattels. Benjamin F. Stringfellow frequently extolled slavery as a blessing. As the secretary of the Platte County [Missouri] Self-Defensive Association, a grass-roots organization dedicated to making Kansas a slave state, Stringfellow repeatedly declared slavery a "positive good" that Kansans would be well advised to adopt. Stringfellow also published a defense of the peculiar institution entitled *Negro Slavery No Evil; or the North and the South*, an apology frequently cited by those on both sides of the slavery question, even at the national level.[47] Benjamin's brother, Dr. John H. Stringfellow, though not a slaveholder himself, worked closely with his sibling to publicize the benefits of slavery in the *Squatter Sovereign*. John wrote critically of free-state newspaperman James Redpath that "[S]ave

his freesoil principles, we would be willing to 'hitch to him.' We sincerely hope that after residence in a Slave State, and seeing what a blessing to the slave the institution is he may be yet persuaded to look not through a 'glass darkened'." The *Squatter Sovereign* claimed paternalistically that bondage kept slaves happy and asserted chattels lived better than Africans and northern free Negroes.[48]

Convinced that slaves held the same views of bondage and were even happy with their condition, Kansas masters placed a great amount of trust and responsibility with their slaves. Richard Williams safeguarded his cash by having Ann, his slave girl, watch its hiding place. Indian agent R. W. Cummings allowed his slave to transport government silver payments to the Indians unsupervised; an act of disobedience would have had severe consequences for Cummings' career. Like Cummings, James Skaggs placed a large amount of money as well as his personal property in the hands of his slaves upon his departure from the territory, trusting that the slaves would transport it unsupervised to his new home. Both Alexander and Thomas Johnson also made frequent absences from their homes, leaving their property in the charge of their chattels. Thomas even made an arrangement with his slave, Jack, to watch over each others' family in the event the other died in the Civil War.[49]

That slave loyalty was not particularly high in Kansas did not prevent Kansas masters from espousing the paternalistic concept of obligations to their bondsmen and under the Lecompton Constitution, such responsibilities would have been compulsory. In one of the few limitations placed on slaveholding in the proposed constitution, the delegates declared that

> They [the legislature] shall have the power to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity, to provide for them necessary food and clothing, to abstain from all injuries to them extending to life and limb, and in case of neglect or refusal to comply with the direction of such laws, to have such slave or slaves sold for the benefit of the owner or owners.[50]

Some masters spoke openly of responsibilities to their hands, not needing any legal mandates to compel decent treatment. After purchasing "a female slave about 32 years of age named Dorcas," William Walker wrote in his journal that "I shall endeavor to come up fully to what was said by the auctioneer who sold her, . . . 'Now, Dorcas, you have a good and kind master.' "[51] For Thomas Bayne of Jefferson County, the meeting of paternalistic obligations absolved him from any wrongdoing as a master. Defending his actions, Bayne declared that

> I am not ashamed of having owned Slaves. Of Course we Knew That we had a great responsibility to our hands but was willing to meet it--we was not like Northern people concerned Solely by prophet [sic] and gain[.] it was not just prophet--but was rather convenient to have your own labor. But it is of no use to write on This Subject--the northern people don't now under Stand whot Slavery was and never will.[52]

Assumptions of slave loyalty and contentment led masters to attribute acts of disobedience and resistance by slaves not to their dissatisfaction with the system but to the influence of abolitionists. The *Squatter Sovereign* claimed free-state people were the cause of disloyalty in slave property: "Prior to the shipment of the filth and scum of the Eastern cities our property was secure and our slaves contented and happy." The paper spoke of a local slave that became unruly and "shows evidence of discontent" after an abolitionist suggested to her that slavery was illegal. When an Atchison slave drowned herself in the Missouri River, the editors attributed the act to the suggestion of an

abolitionist that death was a better alternative to enslavement. The paper warned that "Circumstances have transpired within a few weeks past, in this neighborhood, which place beyond a doubt the existence of an organized band of abolitionists in our midst. We counsel our friends to keep a sharp lookout lest their valuable slaves may be induced to commit acts which may jeopardize their lives."[53] These feelings of slave loyalty were so ingrained in the slaveholders' mind that some refused to believe that their bondspeople would abandon them willingly. Axalla J. Hoole wrote from Douglas, Kansas, that "One of our neighbors missed a Negro fellow and supposes he has been carried off by the Abolitionists. He thinks that they had to carry them off by force, as he does not think the Negro would go off willingly. They have tried to induce a good many to run away."[54]

Because they had convinced themselves that slaves had accepted their enslavement willingly, slaveholders placed blame for disloyalty on abolitionists and other free-soilers in the territory. Paternalism relied on a hopeful belief that by treating slaves decently, they would reciprocate with loyalty and docility. Slaveholders had difficulty admitting that perhaps the slaves were not as contented with their condition as they seemed. A surprisingly large number of slaveholders had come to Kansas seeking their fortunes, yet professed obligations toward their slaves. Had the slaveholders somehow failed to fulfill their obligations? The rise of slave disloyalty in Kansas suggests either slaveholders had failed to honor the traditional commitments or paternalism was ineffective as a means of ensuring slave loyalty.

NOTES

1. [Ab]zu[ga] Adams, "Slaves in Kansas," 28 September 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; Leland George Smith, "The Early Negroes in Kansas" (M. A. thesis, University of Wichita, 1932), 14, 29.

2. [Ab]zu[ga] Adams, "Slaves in Kansas," 28 September 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2.

3. "Slaves in Kansas," Atchison [Kansas] Squatter Sovereign, 2 October 1855.

4. Ibid., 2; Smith, "The Early Negroes in Kansas," 33, 40; C[harles] E[stabrook] Cory, "Slavery in Kansas," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 7 (1901-1902): 236. The final report for the 1860 United States census reported that only two slaves lived in Kansas in that year. Gary L. Cheatham has found the "original census enumeration records" reveal at least thirteen slaves in Kansas territory in that year. The schedules given to the census-takers offered no way to list slaves in the tallies and the census-takers did not inquire about slaves in their interviews. Cheatham believes that several slaves were incorrectly listed as free persons in the census and gives several examples from "other sources" to support his conclusion. See Gary L. Cheatham, " 'Kansas Shall not Have the Right to Legislate Slavery Out': Slavery and the 1860 Antislavery Law," An article forthcoming in Kansas History.

5. [Ab]zu[ga] Adams, "Slaves in Kansas," 28 September 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2; Lydia Alma Haag, "Slavery Agitation and Its Influence on the State of Kansas" (M. S. thesis, Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, 1934), 49-51; Gunja SenGupta, For God and Mammon: Evangelicals and Entrepreneurs, Masters and Slaves in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1860 (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1996), 120; Kansas Territorial Census, 1855, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

6. John Speer, "Accuracy in History," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 6 (1900): 68; Idem, "Slaves in Kansas," Topeka Capital, February, 1897, in "Kansas Clippings," Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 217-218.

7. Kansas Territorial Census, 1855, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; H. L. Stein, to G[eorge] W. Martin, 31 May 1903, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 1-2.

8. "Centennial History of Jefferson County," Oskaloosa [Kansas] Independent, 1 July 1876, in "Kansas Clippings," 37-38; Kansas Territorial Census, 1855, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; and Mary L. Barlow, The Why of Fort Scott (Privately Printed, 1924), 25; A. T. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas (Chicago: by the author, 1883), vol. 1, 667.

9. John Speer, "Slaves in Kansas," Topeka Capital, February 1897, in "Kansas Clippings," Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 218.

10. James R. McClure, "Taking the Census and Other Incidents in 1855," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 8 (1904): 235, 238.

11. James Oakes, The Ruling Race: A History of American Slave Holders (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 52; Haag, "Slavery Agitation and Its Influence on the State of Kansas," 66-70; SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 121. Haag and SenGupta drew similar conclusions about the size of Kansas slaveholders. All of the statistics about Kansas slaves were calculated from the information on the tallies in Appendix One.

12. Haag, "Slavery Agitation and Its influence on the State of Kansas," 66-70; Kansas Territorial Census, 1855, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; John Speer, "Accuracy in History," 67; William H. Sears, "Negro Slavery in Douglas County," Lawrence [Kansas] Journal-World, 13 March 1933, in "Kansas Clippings," vol. 7, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 37; Rush Elmore, to Albert S. Elmore, 13 January 1859, Rush and Susan Elmore Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas. Eyewitness accounts of James Skaggs can be found in Tho[ma]s R. Bayne, to Zu Adams, 11 September 1896, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; Marcus Linsay Freeman, "A personal narrative of his experiences as a slave," History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

13. SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 120-123

14. Kansas Territorial Census, 1855, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; and Morris W. Werner, "Mosquito Creek Settlement, Doniphan County, Kansas," The Kansas Heritage Server, [Web Page]; http://history.cc.ukans.edu/heritage/werner/mosquito.html [Accessed 28 October 1998].

15. Axalla John Hoole to [Thomas Stanislaus Hoole], 3 April 1856, in William Stanley Hoole, ed., "A Southerner's Viewpoint of the Kansas Situation, 1856-1857: The Letters of Lieu. Col. A. J. Hoole, C. S. A.," Kansas Historical Quarterly 3 (1934): 44; Axalla John Hoole, to John A. Brunson, 21 December 1856; in ibid., 150-151.

16. Oakes, The Ruling Race, 41, 73.

17. Ibid., 230.

18. William Walker, Journal, 1 January 1847, in William E. Connelley, ed., The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska (Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Company, 1899), 194; William Walker, Journal, 26 February 1847, in ibid., 195; Cory, "Slavery in Kansas," 239.

19. James Fishback, "Sound the Alarm," New York Tribune, 4 July 1854, in "Kansas Clippings," vol. 7, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 19.

20. Ibid., 80; Paul Wallace Gates, "Land and Credit Problems in Underdeveloped Kansas," The Kansas Historical Quarterly 31 (1965): 48-49; Congressional Globe., 37th Cong., 2nd sess., 16 July 1862, p. 379; quoted in ibid., 48-49.

21. Nora Bayne, to A. E. Van Petten, 11 September 1926, Nora Bayne Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 1.

22. Richard W. Williams, With the Border Ruffians: Memories of the Far West (London: Hazel, Watson, and Viney, 1908), 59, 76.

23. Ibid., 76.

24. Ibid., 96, 105.

25. Oakes, The Ruling Race, 40, 52.

26. Morris W. Werner, "Mosquito Creek Settlement, Doniphan County, Kansas," The Kansas Heritage Server, [Web Page]; http://history.cc.ukans.edu/heritage/werner/mosquito.html [Accessed 28 October 1998].

27. Oakes, The Ruling Race, 57-59, 63.

28. Ibid.

29. The numerous McGee brothers were extremely transient frontiersmen, frequently wandering in and out of Kansas on personal, financial, and business matters. Some of them apparently kept residences in Missouri as well. These characteristics make it difficult to distinguish them from one another, causing confusion among both contemporary accounts and, as this author will personally attest, subsequent scholarship. This problem is alluded to in Andrew Theodore Brown, Frontier Community: Kansas City to 1870 (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1963), 99. Brown's work provides a substantial amount of detail about James H. McGee Sr. and his sons. The best genealogical listing of the numerous McGee's, including some of their wives and children, is in Nettie Grove to William E. Connelley, 17 May 1920, James H. McGee Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

30. James H. McGee Sr.'s slaveholding is documented in Brown, Frontier Community: Kansas City to 1870, 33. A documentation of Fry McGee as a Kansas master is the account of W. F. Eckart to Charles R. Green, 30 October 1903, W. F. Eckart Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas. The 1855 Kansas Territorial Census lists Mobillon W. McGee as owning one slave in Kansas.

31. Brown, Frontier Community: Kansas City to 1870, 33; C. R. Green, "The McGee Genealogy," 26 December 1903, Fry P. McGee Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 1.

32. "McGee Crossing," in "Osage County Clippings," vol. 2, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 90-91; A reference to E. Milton McGee copied from the "Old time Reminiscences," Kansas City Globe, 10 February 1890, Robert McClure Snyder Collection, Mss. 3524, folder 110, State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri, Columbia; Nettie Grove to William E. Connelley, 17 May 1920, James H. McGee Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

33. W. F. Eckart to Charles R. Green, 30 October 1903, W. F. Eckart Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 1; "McGee Crossing," in "Osage County Clippings," vol. 2, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 90-91.

34. "Harris Tavern is Rich in Legend and History," Topeka Journal, 6 August 1927, in "Osage County Clippings," vol. 2, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 182; "McGee Crossing," in ibid., 90-91.

35. James L. King, History of Shawnee County Kansas and Representative Citizens (Chicago: Richmond and Arnold, 1905), 557; Louise Barry, ed., "Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals," Kansas Historical Quarterly 32 (1966): 231-232.

36. The United States Biographical Dictionary (Chicago and Kansas City: S. Lewis and Co., 1872), 39; Kansas State Historical Society, The Kansas, The Santa Fe Trail, and Council Grove, ([Topeka, Kansas]: Creative Productions), Video recording, Kaw Mission Museum in Council Grove, Kansas.

37. The United States Biographical Dictionary, 39; Ralph Richards, "The Forts of Fort Scott and the Fateful Borderland," Fort Scott [Kansas] Tribune, 8 February 1941, in "Kansas Clippings," Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 33.

38. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol. 1, 500.

39. Keith Wilson, Jr., "Reverend Johnson's Shawnee Mission Was Highly Profitable," Kansas City Star, 6 April 1980, in "Kansas Clippings," vol. 4, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 104.

40. Ibid.; Alexander S. Johnson, "Slaves in Kansas Territory," 20 April 1895, Johnson Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 1-4; Richards, "The Forts of Fort Scott and the Fateful Borderland," Fort Scott [Kansas] Tribune, 11 February 1941, in "Kansas Clippings," Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 36; and Land and slave receipts, Alexander and Thomas Johnson Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

41. Alexander S. Johnson, "Slaves in Kansas Territory," 20 April 1895, Johnson Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 1-4.

42. Eugene Genovese, The World the Slave Holders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), viii; and Oakes, The Ruling Race, xi.

43. The Statutes of the Territory of Kansas, 715-717; Lecompton Constitution (1857), art. 7, secs. 1-4; in Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol. 1, 163.

44. Eugene Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 85-86, and *passim.*

45. Ibid., 5, 76, 97.

46. Williams, With the Border Ruffians, 59-60.

47. Lester B. Baltimore, "Benjamin F. Stringfellow," Missouri Historical Review 62 (Fall 1967): 17-18, 21, 23-24.

48. Atchison [Kansas] Squatter Sovereign, 4 September 1855, 1.

49. Ibid., 79; Tho[ma]s R. Bayne to Zu Adams, 11 September 1896, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2-3; [Ab]zu[ga] Adams, "Slaves in Kansas," 28 September 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 1-6.

50. Lecompton Constitution (1857), art. 7, secs. 1-4; in Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol. 1, 163.

51. William Walker, Journal, 1 January 1847, in Connelley, ed., The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, 194.

52. Tho[ma]s R. Bayne to Zu Adams, 11 September 1896, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2-3.

53. "Watch the Abolitionists, " transcript of editorial originally appearing in the Atchison [Kansas] Squatter Sovereign and taken from the Personal Recollections of Pardee Butler (1889), Atchison County Historical Society, Atchison, Kansas, 1-2.

54. Axalla John Hoole to [Elizabeth Euphrasia Hoole], 12 October 1856, in William Stanley Hoole, ed., "A Southerner's Viewpoint of the Kansas Situation, 1856-1857: The Letters of Lieu. Col. A. J. Hoole, C. S. A.," Kansas Historical Quarterly 3 (1934): 67.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SLAVES OF KANSAS

Because Kansas masters proclaimed paternalistic obligations to their chattels, the scholar has a unique opportunity to test masters' sincerity of commitment to paternalism in the face of frontier hardships. The competitive, often cash-poor frontier environment presented masters with temptations to ignore or compromise the customary practices of paternalism. How slaveholders actually behaved in such conditions allows for conclusions about their sincerity and depth of commitment to these obligations. Frontier Kansas also allows the scholar to evaluate paternalism's ability to achieve slave loyalty and control, as Kansas slaves encountered a strong abolitionist presence in the territory, a situation that offered them many opportunities to abandon their masters. Since paternalism in theory was essentially a reciprocal relationship, the response of slaves to the efforts of the master allows the historian to determine if paternalism did indeed bind masters and slaves into a cohesive, if uneasy, society. Under paternalistic logic, slaves remained loyal and docile to masters who provided them with basic necessities and relatively humane treatment.[1] Beginning with housing, one of the more basic obligations of paternalism, this examination of Kansas slavery evaluates the effectiveness of slaveholders in fulfilling their expressed obligations to provide for their slaves, and the response of the slave population to their paternalistic efforts.

The rugged conditions of frontier life normally meant housing that was of a crude and rough nature for everyone, slave or free. Axalla J. Hoole, a visitor to Kansas in 1856, boarded with Paris Ellison, a Douglas County slaveholder with "four or five Negroes." Hoole described the housing of Kansas residents, including Ellison's chattels: "The people in this Territory have very poor houses, generally built of logs with rock chimneys. The one we are boarding in is three log houses built in a row--the middle one of which is the one in which the Negroes stay."[2] Like Paris Ellison, D. E. Bowen, another Douglas County slaveholder, resided in a log domicile and his slaves lived near him in quite similar fashion. Abolitionist John Armstrong, a neighbor of Bowen, later recalled of Bowen's slaves that "The negros [sic] built a little caboin [sic] out about ten rods from the house. All of the buildings were of logs. The house was what is called a double log house, two rooms and an open space between."[3] Indeed, Aunt Sallie, the slave of Indian trader Seth Hays, not only resided in a log cabin that doubled as a trading post, but shared the home with her owner.[4] Rush Elmore's slaves also lived in log cabins, one for each slave family. For a time Judge Elmore and his wife also lived in such a cabin; however, the couple eventually abandoned their one-room domicile in favor of an "imposing home."[5] Master Blake Little lived in relative opulence compared to other Kansans. Little and his wife occupied the second floor of the officers quarters in the abandoned military post at Fort Scott, while the slaves occupied the floor below them.[6]

In housing their slaves, Kansas masters generally followed traditional southern customs. Slaves imported to Kansas in the territorial period probably experienced little difference in their housing compared to that of their former homes. Slave cabins were

hardly luxurious, but the masters, unless they were of the wealthiest tier of society, normally lived in housing as crude and spartan as that of their chattels. Furthermore, among the smaller and less wealthy southern slaveowners, masters and slaves commonly lived close to one another, sometimes -- as with Aunt Sallie and Seth Hayes -- in the same domicile. Kansas masters were not unusual in maintaining such practices; most important, Kansans did not overcrowd their slaves, generally following the prevailing southern custom of allowing families to live in separate dwellings.[7] Kansas bondsmen seem to have endured housing conditions much like those of their counterparts in the South.

In discussing their clothing, Kansas slaves often spoke positively of the efforts of their masters in providing for them. Their remarks, though few in number, indicate providential, rather than neglectful, masters. Marcus Linsay Freeman, a slave of Thomas Bayne of Jefferson County, considered his former owner to be kindly and generous: "He would buy cloth for himself and me off the same piece of goods."[8] Malinda Noll, a slave of a Fort Leavenworth army officer, considered herself to be "well-clothed."[9] John Armstrong, an underground railroad conductor, who had slaves for neighbors and encountered many slaves as escapees, confirmed the reports of Kansas slaves. He remembered them as "dressed comfortably in home made clothing made by themselves."[10]

While in general the slaves were adequately clothed in Kansas Territory, a few of them did suffer from cold weather. One settler reported the slave woman of Fox Booth to be hatless in "piercing cold," but she "picked up a cast off cap while in the neighborhood and went running off after her master and his ox team."[11] In November, 1856, John Vanderhorst and his "negro boy" were among the members of a hunting party caught in a

severe blizzard. Vanderhorst and the other hunters suffered from hypothermia and frostbite severe enough to require amputation of feet and toes; the slave avoided permanent injury because he had been left in the relative security of the party's base camp, "although he suffered a good deal from the severity of the cold and anxiety for his master and friends."[12] While this slave escaped permanent injury, such was not the case of Pompey and Nero, two of Judge Rush Elmore's fourteen slaves. In the bitter winter of 1855-1856, these slaves avoided work by allowing themselves to become frost-bitten. The severely debilitating damage exposed the bones of their feet.[13] In Pompey's case the damage was permanent; as late as 1859, Elmore could still write that "Pompey is badly frosted and not worth so much."[14]

In these incidents available evidence does not conclude whether these particular Kansas slaves suffered by their masters' negligence. Pompey and Nero inflicted the damage upon themselves intentionally, while John Vanderhorst and his companions suffered as least as much as his slave. As for the slave of Fox Booth, hatlessness might well have been her own fault. Even if Booth and Vanderhorst were neglectful, the clothing standard of Kansas slaves remains on par with that of southern regions. In the South, masters typically clothed the slaves to meet only the minimal needs of their chattels, a condition that sometimes left them with insufficient clothing for spells of unusually cold weather.[15] Kansas masters did at least that well, if not better.

Unlike the indications of clothing standards of Kansas chattels, the available records give only bits of information about the feeding of slaves. E. Milton McGee owned a "broken-down crippled eighty-year-old negro" named Ephraim of whom he once

remarked that "I am tired of feeding a worthless nigger." McGee did feed him, though, until he intentionally lost the slave in a poker hand to a naive opponent who did not realize that "boy," the racist term McGee used in betting Ephraim, could mean something other than a youthful male slave.[16] Malinda Noll considered herself "well fed" and stated her masters "allowed me everything."[17]

More information is available to draw conclusions about the overall health and medical care Kansas slaves. One old citizen recalled a slave woman with a facial tumor; she presumed it fatal since she heard nothing of her after 1857.[18] Axalla J. Hoole, writing in the spring of 1857, described generally sickly conditions in the territory that proved fatal for a slave of Paris Ellison:

> Mr. Ellison had a Negro woman that died yesterday; she had been sick for a long time. . . . The Negro left an infant about a fortnight old, the poorest little object you ever saw. It does not weigh more than three pounds. There has been a great deal of sickness here in Douglas this spring, mostly from colds.[19]

A slave of Major R. W. Cummings, a preterritorial Indian agent, had a toothache that he grumbled about frequently. Cummings' son, aggravated by the slave's constant fussing, administered a cure that ended the complaints once and for all. As Alexander Johnson remembered: "One of the Major's sons said he could cure him. He threw him on the ground, put a corner of an iron wedge on the tooth, and took an axe and knocked the tooth out."[20]

William Walker arranged for much less violent medical attention for his slave woman, Dorcas, who suffered from an unknown ailment. On May 21, 1848, Walker wrote in his journal, "Dr. Hewitt called to see Dorcas. Bled her." Such treatment, perhaps

no less barbaric than the toothache cure, was certainly better intentioned. Bleeding was a standard medical procedure of the day; whites employed the technique on themselves and quite commonly administered it to slaves throughout the South. William Walker himself allowed Dr. Hewitt bleed him on two separate occasions.[21]

These various incidents do not lead to the conclusion that Kansas masters were less benevolent than their southern counterparts in feeding and caring for slaves. Starvation or neglect of health care were rare in the South, little reason exists to conclude that such behavior occurred in Kansas.[22] Perhaps the silence of former free-state crusaders and abolitionists in their recollections of the brutality in Kansas slavery is meaningful. At least one historian has concluded that critics of the peculiar institution, who were quite vocal in their attacks, spurred more humane treatment of slaves in the South. The apparent silence of their Kansas allies suggests that, in these particular aspects of Kansas slavery, there was little to condemn.[23]

In summarizing their overall living conditions, Kansas slaves lived much like that of slaves in the southern regions and could expect provisioning sufficient for survival. This fact has significant historical value since small slaveholders living in the frontier regions faced a two-fold enticement to cut corners on their slaves' provisions. Small slaveholders had lesser amounts of cash and capital than the large plantation owners, and the highly competitive economy of the South constantly tempted these masters to skimp on the well-being of slaves.[24] Frontier places like Kansas Territory, where cash and specie were normally in short supply, only compounded this temptation, yet it appears that few Kansans succumbed. The slaves of Kansas could expect provision of basic necessities

to be comparable to that of their former homes and probably noticed that masters met the customary material obligations even though they lived in spartan and rustic conditions themselves.

While their minimal needs might have been met by the master, there were some features of Kansas that were not as bright as in the South. Kansas's sparse population was not conducive to white family life; for black slaves, the problem was even more severe. Particularly in the preterritorial period, few slaves or free blacks lived in the area and the pool of potential mates was thus small. Amazingly, in spite of the difficulties, even the slaves in Kansas before the organization in 1854 managed to overcome demographic obstacles and attained marriage and family life.[25]

Alexander Johnson's earlier Kansas recollections include several examples of insistent demands by slaves for family life. Johnson recalled the slave women of Major R. W. Cummings successfully badgering him to purchase their husbands. Alexander himself had to purchase a wife for his first slave in order to keep him contented. Thomas Johnson, Alexander's father, encountered a similar problem with his "body servant," a remarkable slave affectionately called Uncle Jack. As Alexander recalled: "After father bought him . . . he had formed the acquaintance of a very beautiful mulatto woman . . . living in Howard County, Missouri. Her name was Charlotte. Uncle Jack married her and then father had to buy her to satisfy Uncle Jack."[26]

After 1854, Uncle Jack might have had a good chance of finding a mate in Kansas, rather than in Missouri. Gunja SenGupta's analysis of the 1855 census found a semblance of a "black belt" clustered around the Kansas-Missouri River system.[27] This settlement

pattern had originated in the preterritorial period since most non-Indian peoples lived around the forts and Indian missions along these rivers. Attracted by the "deep alluvial soil" and the "well-timbered" lands, new arrivals flocked to the Kansas-Missouri River system, bringing with them enough slaves to form a discernible slave belt.[28] This band darkened somewhat as slaves continued to enter after the 1855 enumeration. Atchison and Jefferson Counties experienced noticeable increases in slave populations after the 1855 census. Likewise, enough slaves lived in Douglas County for John Armstrong to remember them as a normal part of the neighborhood. These slaves, concentrated along the two major river systems, had some contact with one another since at least two marriages occurred among them. Certainly this was the case with Charity and Bob, the respective properties of Thomas Bayne and James Skaggs. These Jefferson County slaveholders settled on neighboring claims and before long their slaves entered matrimony. In a second incident of nuptials, Sam, a slave of Judge Rush Elmore, wed a woman owned by Thomas Johnson.[29]

Slave marriages such as these stood a greater risk for separation than those from the southern regions. While Southern masters frequently violated norms against separating loved ones through sale, their Kansas counterparts were at least as likely, if not more so, to break apart a family bond.[30] Masters like Thomas Bayne kept families together; Bayne upheld the sanctity of the marriage pact by allowing Charity to accompany Bob to Texas after Bob's master decided to move there.[31] On the other hand, Rush Elmore allowed the fragmentation of his slave families. While not wanting the youngest children separated from their mothers, Elmore sold the oldest children and adults

away from one another. Expediency clearly subordinated any of Elmore's notions of the inviolability of the family bond: "I would prefer them to be sold in families; but if they will sell better by separating the larger children only[,] do so." In another set of instructions Elmore directed:

> I do not feel inclined to separate [Violet] and Harper and I would prefer Webster & Malinda to go with her also, but I do not make this an ultimatum. . . . Sam is large enough to be separated if you deem it necessary. Sell to the best advantage for cash or bills of exchange .[32]

Malinda Noll came to Kansas already separated from her husband, after having witnessed the selling away of her sisters, parents, and sons previous to her marriage. Of these devastations she declared: "You have no idea what it is to be parted; nobody knows but them that's seen and felt it."[33] Ann Choteau, who had been free before being kidnaped from her Illinois home as a girl, arranged with her masters to purchase her freedom, but her owners broke the promise. While in Missouri, Ann began to insist that the illegal conditions of her original enslavement entitled her to freedom, and even consulted lawyers regarding the matter. In retaliation for this consultation, her masters sold her three children away to Texas.[34]

Gunja SenGupta, analyzing the 1855 census, believed that most Kansas slaves had not been parted, basing her conclusion on the "balanced sex ratio" and large numbers of minors among the tallies. However, the cases of Malinda Noll and Ann Choteau as well as the yet-to-be discussed cases of Uncle Jack and Lewis Choteau show that previous separation was indeed possible. Two-thirds of the approximately eighty masters listed in the census tallies owned one or two slaves. Separation might well have caused this,

though extensive data to confirm or deny the hypothesis is lacking.[35] Most Kansas slaves came from other locales, and undoubtedly some of them left behind loved ones. Finally, slaves owned by small masters did have a greater chance of being separated from family. As in the South these slaveholders proved more susceptible to financial problems than the plantation owners and sometimes had to part their chattels to stabilize their economic situation.[36]

Even if they had not endured a previous separation, one ultimate peculiarity of the Kansas situation meant that some unlucky slaves would indeed be sold away from family. The failure of slavery in the territory meant masters had to rid themselves of their property if they wished to remain in Kansas after 1861. Masters emancipated some lucky slaves, but others turned to the sale to capitalize on then-favorable market conditions for slaves. In Missouri, slaves commanded extremely high prices in 1857 and Missourians exported many of them to the deep South for good profits. Kansas masters wishing to dispose of chattels could sell them to buyers advertising in western Missouri newspapers, or they could sell them to individuals willing to take them out of the territory.[37]

Some of these buyers were undoubtedly slave traders. Several of these merchants worked the Kansas-Missouri border assembling slaves into gangs for sale, and these peddlers rarely hesitated to fragment families since it was easier to satisfy the wants of customers if they did so.[38] Slaveowner Richard Williams remembered a slave trader assembling one such gang at Independence, Missouri.[39] John Doy, a Lawrence abolitionist imprisoned in Platte County, Missouri, remembered that "During our imprisonment

numbers of slaves were lodged in the jail by different traders who were making up gangs to take or send them South."[40]

At least one trader came into Kansas itself to purchase a slave of Thomas Johnson. A boarder at the Shawnee Methodist Mission saw a mysterious visitor who meticulously examined a slave woman named Lindy, reportedly pregnant by one of the minister's sons. The boarder said of the trader that

> He raised her skirts and bared her limbs. After some minutes spent in this examination he said she was apparently all right, but a certain heaviness in the abdominal regions seemed to have attracted his attention . . . The slave driver, for such as he was, took Lindy to Texas.[41]

A few slaves attempted to find relatives and to rejoin families broken up through previous sales and relocations. Malinda Noll's first contact with James Redpath, the "Roving Editor" who recorded her story, occurred because she thought the newspaperman might be able to help locate her son.[42] Uncle Jack, the old slave of Thomas Johnson, went to great effort to regain his lost family after the war. Jack, who by this time was a widower, asked the Johnson family to write to the Methodist minister at his old Virginia home to learn if the children of a former master were still living. Through them, Jack learned that his first wife and two children were alive in Washington, D. C., and the Johnsons soon arranged for a move to the nation's capital. Mrs. Alexander Johnson recalled that "Jack was wild to go . . . [and] made great preparations, and one would have supposed him a young lover preparing for his wedding journey. Fanny bought him a ham which he proceeded to boil on her stove, but he was so excited that he took it out two or three times before it was done."[43]

Lewis Chouteau, property of the famous Plains traders Pierre and Cyprian Chouteau, found himself in the unfortunate situation of being married to two women simultaneously. Lewis had been in Council Grove, Kansas, in the late 1840s before returning with his masters to Missouri. Before his manumission and subsequent reentry into Kansas, Lewis married a slave named Hulda, but a sale separated them from one another. Hulda eventually tracked Lewis to Council Grove only to find that he had mistakenly presumed her dead and was happily remarried to another former slave, Vina. The three ex-slaves worked out a solution the problem; Vina received the home and Hulda, since she had been the original recipient of the marital vows, took Lewis to the other side of the settlement to live. The women apparently liked the arrangement well enough, for an eyewitness condescendingly noted that "They bore no malice to one another, and each settled into her new environment in a spirit that would do credit to the white race." Lewis's sentiments seem to have been different. The observer also remembered that Lewis, a carter, constantly whistled while working, but after the agreement between Vina and Hulda, "Lewis Choteau still plied his trade, but never whistled again."[44]

While Kansas slaves had a very real chance of being separated from loved ones, any conclusions about the harshness of Kansas slavery must be balanced with the consideration that this possibility faced virtually all slaves in the United States at the time. Kansas probably differed from the South only in the frequency of occurrence. While separation was a likely experience for them, Kansas slaves were probably less likely to experience the harsh and brutal violence characteristic of chattel slavery in the United

States. A commonly held and striking view of the peculiar institution in Kansas, held even by Kansans utterly convinced of slavery's evil, was its relative mildness. The sources for C. E. Cory's turn-of-the-century-research into Kansas slavery unanimously proclaimed its benevolence. Modern scholars, including Gunja SenGupta and Joanna Stratton, proposed similar hypotheses on slave treatment. Cory and Stratton both reasoned that masters brought slaves into Kansas Territory primarily as human propaganda rather than for profit motives. Without the driving force of economic gain, harsh and brutal treatment of the bondspeople was unnecessary.[45] This reasoning is rather weak since personal gain was the primary reason to bring slaves into the territory. A better explanation for the relatively mild treatment was the absence of staple crop production in the region. Traditional southern crops of tobacco, hemp, and cotton were highly suited to gang labor, a practice that tended towards harshness. As Gunja SenGupta correctly concluded in her analysis of Kansas slavery: "[M]ost slaves that we know of appear to have done almost everything but cultivate hemp and tobacco." Rather than engaging in staple crop production, Kansas slaves did a multitude of other tasks, many of them associated with frontier life.

Indeed, domestic work and the tasks of the small farm, rather than the great plantation occupied Kansas slaves.[46] Rush Elmore's description of two slaves on his farm suggests the typical work performed on these lands. "I think Wert is as fine a boy as I have ever seen," Elmore declared, "he can drive a two horse wagon, any n[umber] of cattle, work and plough. Abram has ploughed a little, he did this kind of work last season."[47] Wert was not the only slave to have herded cattle. Tom Reynolds decided that Fox Booth's slave woman would be an able cattle herder and promptly swapped a white

stallion for her.[48] After an 1854 trip to Kansas Territory, a Boston newspaper correspondent described Thomas Johnson's home as "beautifully situated and surrounded by extensive grounds, which appear well-cultivated. The wilderness here already begins to 'blossom as the rose. It is slave labor, however, on which he depends, for . . . he has for years owned and worked a large number of negroes."[49] On April 18, 1848, William Walker recorded in his journal that he "Commenced to breaking up my new ground . . . Got Mr. Peery's black boy Elijah to drive, and I held the plough, and a mammoth one at that." Three days later Walker recorded that he was "Harrowing my field preparatory to planting corn . . . Elijah furrowing out the corn ground."[50] A master at Fort Scott hired out to his hands for a haying project. These slaves disappointed their new employer because "[T]hey were put to work but when the employer came back to the field he found the men lying in the shade."[51]

Besides agricultural labor, a large proportion of bondsmen performed domestic work. The high percentage was visible enough that the Reverend C. B. Boynton exaggerated that "the total amount of the work done by slaves is very meager. Few if any field hands were brought onto the territory. Most of them are house servants."[52] Although the numbers so employed were not nearly as high as he believed, domestic labor was a significant employer of Kansas slaves, though the character of their labors varied greatly. Indeed, some of the newly-elected members of the Bogus Legislature used slaves as servants to do their "personal work" while they were camped at Pawnee.[53] Seth Hays used Aunt Sallie as a housekeeper and personal servant for himself and his adopted daughter. Aunt Sallie also helped in his trading post, prompting one traveler to write in

1858 that she "roasted coffee, made cakes, and gave us pickles and sauerkraut as relishes."[54] At the Big Springs hotel, a slave named Liza cooked for guests "with her little piccaninny crawling around her feet on a dirty dirt [sic] floor."[55] Daniel R. Anthony, a Kansas journalist, boarded at the home of Doniphan County slaveholder William Matthews, noting in his journal that "He has an [A number one] Black cook--gave us good coffee Tea--Chicken Ham Biscuit & Butter & Same with corn cakes for Breakfast . . . Left Matthews at 7 a. m. With blessings on the beloved institution of Black cooks."[56]

Uncle Jack, like Matthew's slave, was a cook at the Shawnee Methodist Mission and Thomas Johnson placed Charlotte, Jack's wife, in charge of the milking. Reverend Johnson frequently left the mission to attend to business and always left Jack in charge, even in later years when Alexander, Johnson's son, had grown to adulthood and was able to manage the place himself. Jack took great pride in these assignments and an 1855 visitor to the Mission remembered him as a "an active gray-headed negro, who acts the major domo of the establishment." Since Mrs. Johnson was also frequently absent, Jack and Charlotte became foster parents to the Johnson children.[57]

Other slaveowners assigned their children to the care of slaves. A slave helped to raise the children of the half-Cherokee David Harland, one resident remarked that "[H]is nine children remember their 'black mammy' almost as well as they do their own mother."[58] For Kitty Hays, the adopted daughter of Seth Hays, Aunt Sallie was the only mother the girl ever knew, for her stepfather remained a bachelor his entire life.[59] For the owners of Malinda Noll, the child care responsibilities given to her nearly produced disaster. Malinda's mistress once struck her on the head with a broomstick, though

Malinda held the woman's baby in her arms. Malinda contemplated murdering the infant in retaliation: "I had a good mind to throw her child into the fire, but I restrained my temper and didn't say a word to her."[60]

As witnessed in Malinda's case, the frontier could be highly conducive to cruelty and inhumane acts toward slaves despite the lack of plantations and the relatively good care given to Kansas bondspeople. Just as cash-poor, competitive frontier conditions tempted masters to skimp on the material provision of slaves, such conditions could incite Kansas masters to brutality. In an effort to increase profits, masters, particularly the less wealthy ones, sometimes ignored social norms against harsh treatment. The accounts of violent acts in Kansas, however, are not clearly connected to attempts by the masters to increase profits, although abuse for such reasons likely occurred.[61]

Kansas masters clearly employed violence, and were quite capable of committing excessively mean and cruel actions. Suspected of murder, Aunt Cely, a slave of Fort Riley, found herself strapped to a log and inching toward a moving saw blade in an attempt to extract a confession from her. Cely's desperate cries of innocence even in this perilous situation convinced her interrogators that she was truthful and they promptly freed her.[62]

Other incidents and recollections show that ill-treatment was not unusual in the territory. Marcus Linsay Freeman remembered his master, Thomas Bayne, as a kindly man, but said of James Skaggs, the neighboring master, that "Old man Skaggs was a pretty rough old man."[63] At Lecompton, a Fourth of July celebration held by the town turned ugly for the slaves assigned to cook the beef for the festivities. They ruined the

meat after becoming engrossed in watching Colonel Henry T. Titus, a slaveholder from Kentucky, parading on horseback in full military uniform. One participant recalled: "Their masters were too full [of alcohol] at first to notice the condition of the cooking, but when it did dawn on their clouded intellects, they felt insulted, and charged on the cooks who fled in dismay for the river."[64]

What happened to these slaves in the end is not known. The lash was a possibility since the rather mild tone of Kansas slavery did not abrogate the use of the whip in the territory. Grafton Thomasson, described as a "rough-Drunken brutal gentleman of the old school," administered a whipping to his slave woman, prompting her to commit suicide by drowning.[65] A slave woman living on the Marais des Cygnes river, in a decidedly more moderate protest of a lashing, escaped to Lawrence with the unhealed wounds on her back plainly visible.[66] One of Rush Elmore's slaves refused to let anyone but Elmore himself whip him, an implication that the judge employed the lash on occasion.[67] Malinda Noll received a whipping as a result of the ongoing dispute with her mistress. Of her mistress, Mrs. Hinkle, Malinda remembered that "We got along well together the first two or three years. She did not begin to get ugly till she began to have children." Jealous of Malinda's friendly relationship with Mr. Hinkle, Malinda's mistress resorted more than once to violence with a broomstick. One attempted beating resulted in a whipping:

> She [Mrs. Hinkle] boasted to Aunt Jennie (her husband's other slave), that she had struck me once and would keep it up now . . . [O]ne morning, she got angry at me, seized a broom, and attempted to strike me with it. I seized a hold of another, and made at her. She didn't dare to strike. She told her husband about it. He tied me up, stripped me, and lashed me, till the blood rained off my back and arms.[68]

Violent incidents like these suggest that the bondage experience in Kansas Territory was similar to those of other regions. These sorts of incidents happened everywhere in the South and violent acts in Kansas were not distinctive in any sense. If based on a paternalistic model of the peculiar institution, the relatively good treatment of Kansas slaves should have resulted in a reciprocal show of loyalty to their masters. For paternalism to exist as a system, the slave had to play a critical role of reciprocation between himself and the master. Because frontier slavery was primarily a relationship between individuals, rather than an established social system, the institution was subject to circumstance and even interruptions. In Kansas, far more than the plantation South, slaves possessed the power to influence the terms of slavery and freedom. On the Kansas frontier, slaves would contribute greatly to the ultimate demise of slavery itself.[69]

Not all slaves made overt effort at attaining their own freedom. Indeed, the slaves of the Johnson families came close to the ideal of slave loyalty and reciprocal behavior. Uncle Jack and his wife Charlotte repeatedly refused offers of freedom and took them only once Kansas became a free state. Jack, by now a widower, maintained steady contact with the Johnson's after his emancipation, visiting them once or twice a year. Jack also made it a habit to visit whenever a death, marriage, or other significant event happened in the family, once nursing Mrs. Johnson for a year while she suffered from a terminal illness. During his visits, he assumed his traditional role of domestic boss, giving orders and running the daily life of the home.[70]

Alexander Johnson, not surprisingly, remembered Jack's life as "one of devotion to my father's family and children for fifty odd years." Yet Jack's relationship with the

Johnson's was not entirely one-sided. Whether from paternalistic benevolence or weak will, the Johnson's always found their pantries considerably less full after these visits; Jack procured goods from them as he saw fit. Alexander recalled that "He would examine the meat house, cellar, buttery, etc. an[d] lay out whatever he wanted[:] ham, bacon, apples, potatoes, eggs, [and] butter . . . . He would never ask us for any of these provisions. He would never conceal the fact that he took them, but laid them out as if it was his right."[71]

While still enslaved, Jack and Charlotte even convinced Thomas Johnson to provide passes and money to visit some of Jack's relatives in Virginia. While on the trip, Jack also went to the nation's capital to see John Whitfield, Kansas Territory's congressional delegate, whom Jack had befriended in Kansas. Whitfield introduced his old friend to "prominent abolitionists" and even the President, James Buchanan (or Franklin Pierce). The story of the visiting slave made the city's newspapers. Jack and Charlotte soon ceased communications with the Johnson family, however. Alexander explained:

> At home we heard nothing from him. We awaited awhile and father came to the conclusion that Uncle Jack had got strapped. Sure enough, at the end of two or three months silence a very meek letter came saying that they had spent all of their money and that he had been reduced to whitewashing to keep their heads above water. They had been clothed in broadcloth and fine dresses on their departure and had held their heads pretty high . . . it was a great humiliation to reach these extremities. Father sent the money and they returned a very meek couple. They never asked for another trip abroad.[72]

The other slaves of the Johnson families imitated this practice of dependence and securing goods from their masters. This behavior probably resulted from weak character on the part of the Johnsons coupled with very mild treatment. The family does not appear to have treated any of them cruelly and Jack's extraordinary charisma demonstrates how

they could manipulate the family members. The other slaves owned by the various other members of the Johnson family took advantage of the situation. After leaving them to manage his Kansas farm alone, Alexander's slaves became a constant burden for him, frequently wasting supplies and tools. The problem grew sp pronounced that Alexander, when his slaves told him that the abolitionists had been attempting to get them to escape, suggested that they go with them since they were causing him so much expense. Even after emancipation the slaves made a nuisance of themselves. "When the state came in free in 1861," he recalled, "I told them they were free and so they went, but often came borrowing of me. They never begged."[73]

Feelings of contentment, affection, and duty occasionally existed between some masters and slaves and they probably modified impulses to disloyalty or flight. Dr. Robinson of Atchison considered his slaves to be part of his own family and they in turn were "very devoted to their master." On one occasion Robinson returned from an extended absence and found the slaves gathered to greet him. Aunt Sue, Robinson's "mammy," embraced him and showered the doctor with kisses.[74] Julia Ann Stinson came home from boarding school after the deaths of both parents to find the family slaves dutifully keeping house.[75] Finally, an acquaintance of Blake Little of Fort Scott once described his slaves as the "happiest people in the country."[76]

Since slaveholders assumed their chattels were happy and contented, they had little reason at the opening of the territory to be concerned about the security of their human property. Newspaper propaganda reinforced this assumption. The *Leavenworth Herald* declared Kansas's political future securely in the hands of proslavery forces by April,

1855. Rejoicing over the election of Governor Whitfield as territorial delegate to Congress, the paper gleefully exhorted slaveowners to enter the territory: "Come on southern men. Bring your slaves and fill up the territory. Kansas is saved. Abolitionism is rebuked."[77] In January, 1855, Benjamin F. Stringfellow was already claiming that

> Is it safe to take slaves to Kansas now? Of this there can be no doubt. They are less likely to escape than from Missouri; are further from the underground railroads and hiding places of the abolitionists; while the people of the Territory are more on the alert, and watch more closely those who would steal them.[78]

Kansas slaves, by running away in large numbers, soon proved such premature proclamations to be hopelessly incorrect and premature. Lawrence abolitionist Richard Cordley estimated that $100,000 worth of slave property escaped through the city, the center of underground railroad activity. While such a figure is probably unverifiable, it was no secret to anyone, white or black, that Lawrence was a safe haven for fugitives. Slaveholder George W. Clarke immediately assumed that Judy, his escaped slave, had taken refuge there.[79] Popular folklore also indicated that the activity in the Lawrence area was substantial. Two kinds of slaves reputedly lived around the town: those in bondage willingly and those on the underground railroad.[80]

Though centered in Lawrence, the underground railroad activity was substantial throughout Kansas and slaves had no trouble capitalizing on it. Richard Cordley could declare with some truth that "Every slave for a hundred miles knew the way, knew the stations, and knew their friends."[81] Robert Tracy, a pioneer of Doniphan County, also reminisced of the fugitives living near his home: "There were a great many slaves in the county at the time. . . . [A] large number of the negroes escaped from their masters and

there were thrilling pursuits to catch them and bring them back."[82] With good reason, a novelist in the 1880s chose to include an escaping slave among her list of "characters . . . carefully chosen to represent the various types of men and women who met upon the Kansas Plains."[83]

Another telling fact about the frequency of slave escape is that the best manuscript sources on slaves in Kansas come from abolitionists, especially those running the underground railroad. These conductors helped to make freedom far more attainable for Kansas slaves than for those in other regions. That they were effective is undeniable. According to one estimate, only one of every 1,500 Missouri slaves successfully escaped in the years 1850-1860 and the national average in that time was approximately one out of every 5,000.[84] Of the 507 slaves known to have lived in Kansas Territory, at least thirty-seven of them successfully escaped (See Appendix A). This amounted to nearly one of every fourteen Kansas slaves; a successful escape was over one hundred times as likely in Kansas than Missouri. The frequency was undoubtedly higher since this calculation derived only from accounts that identified the master of the escapee. Many other accounts do not identify the slave or the master and were not included in the tallies. Even with this conservative result, the escape rate for Kansas was extremely high.

The influence of Kansas abolitionists becomes more pronounced when contrasted with slave behavior prior to their arrival in the territory. Slaves of the preterritorial period (who did not encounter abolitionists with any frequency) could be counted on to stay with their masters more often despite receiving a great amount of independence and personal freedom. Malinda Noll contrasted the period before 1854 with the territorial years by

declaring that "Slaves didn't long for freedom in those days. They were quiet and had plenty of privileges then."[85] Malinda's slight exaggeration bolsters by the lack of any significant agitation or unruliness in the preterritorial slave population. Prior to 1854 only three recorded incidents of escape exist. Two slaves of Joseph Parks, a Wyandotte chief, fled on the backs of two of his best horses "in 1849 or thereabouts." Parks caught up with them in Iowa but sympathetic Iowans intervened, forcing Parks back to Indian Territory with neither slaves nor horses.[86] Similarly, William Walker recorded in his January 22, 1848, journal entry that"F[rancis] A. H[ick]'s negro ran away. He and John Lynch gone in pursuit of him." Walker also composed a couplet commemorating the event that suggests the slave returned to his owner: "Niggur Sambo run away. Didn't come back till Saturday."[87] Walker himself had a slave wander away in a probable escape, though he attributed the incident (perhaps wishfully) to mental illness. Walker wrote on September 6, 1852, that "Some[time] in the night our negro boy, Henry, left his bed and mysteriously disappeared. He had been complaining of illness. . . . He had wandered off three miles. He could give no rational account of himself. He must have been deranged."[88]

The relative rarity of such acts prior to the Kansas-Nebraska Act was not confined to Kansas alone, for slaves in western Missouri became increasingly inclined to escape after Kansas became a territory. Beginning with the opening of Kansas Territory in 1854 and lasting until the end of the Civil War, steadily increasing numbers of Missouri bondsmen entered Kansas seeking the safety of Lawrence and other free-state towns.[89] In 1858, Julia Lovejoy, a free-state settler about to enter Kansas, encountered two slaves at the American Hotel in Kansas City, Missouri. The slaves' mistress, Mrs. West, told Julia

that selling her slaves was an unthinkable proposition, "[N]othing would tempt us to part with them," she declared, "they were brought up with me from childhood. Their mother belonged to my father for years." Katherine, one of the slaves, did not share such a strong sense of family for "associating with Northern people for three years" prompted her to escape to Lawrence, although she was eventually captured and sold to the deep South.[90] Such escapes by Missouri slaves were much rarer before 1854; the arrival of free-state immigrants provided an opportunity for potential escapees that had not been present previously.[91]

Such a unique opportunity was even greater for slaves already in Kansas Territory. Rather than squander such a chance for freedom, some Kansas slaves escaped upon learning that their owners planned to leave Kansas. In a frequently quoted story, Morton Bourn, a Virginian, lost faith in the security of slave property in Kansas and decided to return home with his chattels. His slave, Tom, persuaded him that out of duty to the proslavery cause, they had to persevere. The ruse worked perfectly; Tom and a dozen other slaves of Mr. Bourn escaped on the underground railroad only two weeks later.[92] In 1859, Duff Green of Monrovia, Kansas, recognizing that slavery was about to end in the territory, sold his slave woman and her infant to a slave trader. While waiting at an Atchison hotel for a riverboat to take them south, she slipped away from the slave peddler and went to Canada on the underground railroad.[93]

Other Kansas slaves expressed desires of escape and emancipation, but for a variety of reasons did not achieve freedom through flight. Personal bonds, like those of Uncle Jack and Charlotte to Thomas Johnson might well have influenced some decisions

to remain. For Rush Elmore, one loyal slave prevented the escape of all of them. Elmore's neighbor recalled that "About 1857 or [185]8, the abolitionists threatened to take all the Negroes, and had made plans to do it on a certain night, but Violet wouldn't go with the others so they all stayed."[94] Some slaves, like the nine-year-old servant of the Rawlston's of Leavenworth, had no real choice but to remain with their masters. This glib-mouthed youngster could not realistically leave his owners, so he resorted to frightening his mistress by singing songs about free-state crusader James Lane.[95]

Only the efforts of slaveholders prevented more bondspeople from making good their escapes. Two proslavery men, with the aid of a bloodhound, tracked a "stoutly built colored man of 23 or 24" to an underground railroad conductor's cabin. Hearing the cries of the approaching animal, the fugitive slipped to the woods with an axe given to him by the conductor for protection. This provision proved fortunate, for the slave had to dispatch the hound with a blow from the axe to keep the animal from attacking him.[96] Robert Tracy recounted an escape of a group of slaves that resulted in the death of one of them. Pursuing proslavery men caught up with the fugitives, but a group of abolitionists arrived on the scene. A half-hour standoff between the whites ensued, the slaves caught "between the devil and the deep blue sea." The slaves ended the standoff by fleeing for the woods, but the proslavery men again caught up with them. One of the slaves drew a knife and turned on his attackers. This produced mixed results for Tracy reported that "So effectively did he wield the weapon that one of the white men was killed and one Negro also was killed. The free state men saved the others from slaughter."[97]

Even with protection and aid, these slaves' escape attempts were risky endeavors. Escapees, if not caught by slave hunters, still ran the risk of falling into the hands of proslavery settlers, unsympathetic Indians, and even some free soil whites who lacked qualm about turning escapees over to their masters. Indeed, even in Kansas kidnappers captured free blacks and sold them into slavery.[98] Occasionally even sincere abolitionists refused to aid slaves in their escape efforts. Under the laws of the Bogus Legislature, aiding fugitives was a capital offense, and abolitionists were understandably hesitant to attempt such heroics if they lacked a good chance of success. John Armstrong, despite actively serving as a conductor on the underground railroad, refused to take the slaves of his neighbor, D. E. Bowen, out of Kansas Territory after he judged the attempt too perilous.[99] Abolitionist minister Amos Finch told of an escapee who found her way to Lawrence but her arrival did not result in freedom. Lawrence residents became alarmed when she brazenly strolled the city streets for two days and turned her over to proslavery people out of fear "that it was a plot layed [sic] by the slaveholders to get some provocation against the place, that they might fall upon it and destroy it."[100]

Incidents such as these probably prompted slaves to less risky means of attaining freedom. Gunja SenGupta found contracting for freedom with the master a rather frequent practice.[101] Ann Choteau hired out to several employers with the stipulation that some of her wages be set aside for her purchase. One of these men, Indian trader Samuel Lewis, purchased Ann and her two children and freed them all a year later.[102] One of Rush Elmore's bondspeople contracted with his master to work out his freedom, but this seemed to make him more inclined to run away. As his time for his emancipation neared,

the slave became less and less satisfied with his enslavement. Elmore continually reminded him to be patient, lest the slave leave before the arranged date and thus void the contract and jeopardize his legal freedom.[103]

Even the most trustworthy slaves found ways to undermine the institution of slavery. Buck Scott, a slave of a Mr. Bishop of Lecompton, hired out his time at Lawrence and many proslavery Kansans considered him a model of fidelity. These labels of loyalty proved misapplied in Buck's case. His movements between proslavery Lecompton and antislavery Lawrence allowed him to inform Lawrence residents of impending raids by Lecompton marauders. A later writer summarized the high risk and great effectiveness of Buck's activities in thwarting these proslavery activities: "They could not make a move without its being known in this manner. Poor Scott would have not lived a day had they known what he was doing."[104]

The overall frequency of disloyalty in Kansas Territory greatly exceeded other slaveholding regions of the U. S., even though Kansas masters largely met the material needs of slaves and treated them as well or better than those in other regions. Though the paternalistic interpretation of slavery suggests that decent treatment maintained order in the slave population, the theory of paternalism appears to have failed miserably on the Kansas frontier. Examples of loyalty were far less frequent than they should have been under a paternalistic model of slavery. Even the most well-treated slaves were susceptible to disloyalty. Indeed the Johnson family slaves, whose relations with their owners probably came closest to the paternalistic model, were not entirely loyal themselves. Indeed, one slave was a constant troublemaker for them and once the Civil War engulfed

the region he cheerfully led pro-Union Jayhawkers to the location of the family's hidden livestock and valuables.[105]

Placed in a land of sparse settlement that in itself facilitated escape, Kansas slaves were close to free soil and had easy access to people willing to help them achieve freedom. While free-state whites have long been credited with destroying slavery in Kansas Territory, the slaves, most specifically the fugitives, also must be given a share of credit for defeating the proslavery cause. The insecurity of slave property greatly hampered the effort to establish slavery in the territory; such insecurity was possible in large part because of the slaves' willingness to leave their masters. This loss of control by the masters coincided with their loss of political control of the territory. The masters were in a favorable position to establish the legal and social institutions necessary to form a viable slave state. Politically, the slaveowners assumed roles in Kansas Territory that were extremely conducive in furthering their own interests in the struggle over the peculiar institution. Though the proslavery forces would ultimately fail, they held the political power for a substantial amount of time in Kansas Territory. Proslavery forces achieved and maintained this power in no small part because of the influence of Kansas masters in territorial politics.

NOTES

1. Eugene Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 5-7.

2. Axalla John Hoole to [Elizabeth Stanley Hoole], 14 April 1856, in William Stanley Hoole, ed., "A Southerner's Viewpoint of the Kansas Situation, 1856-1857: The Letters of Lieu. Col. A. J. Hoole, C. S. A.," Kansas Historical Quarterly 3 (1934): 46.

3. John Armstrong, "Reminiscences of Slave Days in Kansas," [1895], History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 5; Gunja SenGupta, For God and Mammon: Evangelicals and Entrepreneurs, Masters and Slaves in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1860 (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1996), 122.

4. Stephen Chinn, "Seth Hays--Council Grove on the Santa Fe Trail," Kansas Heritage Server, [Web Page]; http://history.cc.ukans.edu/heritage/families/sethhays.html. [Accessed 19 July 1999].

5. John Sedgewick Freeland, "Personal reminiscences of the slaves of Rush Elmore," [1895], History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 5; Society, Topeka, Kansas, 3; SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 123; Andrew Reeder, Journal, 5 May 1856, in F. G. Adams, ed., "Governor Reeder's Escape from Kansas," Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society 1 (1886): 13; William H. Sears, "Negro Slavery in Douglas County," Lawrence [Kansas] Journal World, 13 March 1933, in "Kansas Clippings," vol. 7, Kansas State Historical Society. Topeka, Kansas, 37.

6. Ralph Richards, "The Forts of Fort Scott and the Fateful Borderland," Fort Scott [Kansas] Tribune, 28 February 1941, in "Kansas Clippings," Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 60; Mary L. Barlow, The Why of Fort Scott (Privately Printed, 1924), 25.

7. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, 524, 532.

8. SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 124; Marcus Linsay Freeman, "A personal narrative of his experiences as a slave," History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

9. James Redpath, The Roving Editor: or, Talks with Slaves in the Southern States ([Unknown publishing location]: A. B. Burnett, 1859; reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968), 319.

10. John Armstrong, "Reminiscences of Slave Days in Kansas," [1895] History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 5.

11. Glenda Riley, ed. "Kansas Frontierswomen Viewed through Their Writings: The Diary of Chestina Bowker Allen," Kansas History 9 (Summer 1986): 87.

12. Albert Morrall, "Brief Autobiography of Dr A. Morrall," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society 14 (1918): 136-139. The quotation is taken from a copy of an article, "Terrible Sufferings on the Plains," that Morrall included in his narrative. The article originally appeared in the St. Louis Republican.

13. John Sedgewick Freeland, "Personal reminiscences of the slaves of Rush Elmore," History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 1; E. E. Winchell to F. G. Adams, 26 September 1886, James Winchell Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas. This is also discussed by several other sources including SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 122-123.

14. [Ab]zu[ga] Adams, "Slaves in Kansas," 28 September 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 16; Rush Elmore to Albert [S.] Elmore, 24 January 1859, Rush and Susan Elmore Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

15. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, 550.

16. Dewitt C. Goodrich, "The Exodus to Kansas in 1855," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society 12 (1911-1912): 390. E. Milton McGee maintained residences in Missouri and Kansas Territory. This particular incident took place at McGee's tavern in Westport, Missouri.

17. James Redpath, The Roving Editor, 319.

18. Fannie E. Cole to Zu Adams, 20 October 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2.

19. Axalla John Hoole, to [Elizabeth Stanley Hoole], 24 May 1857, in Hoole, ed., "A Southerner's Viewpoint of the Kansas Situation, 1856-1857,"167.

20. Alexander S. Johnson, "Slaves in Kansas Territory," 20 April 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2.

21. William Walker, Journal, 11 August 1846, in William E. Connelley, ed., The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska (Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Company, 1899), 192; William Walker, Journal, 21 May 1848, in ibid., 247; William Walker, Journal, 23 August 1848, in ibid., 259; Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, 227.

22. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, 227.

23. For a summary of the effects of abolitionism on southern slavery, see Ibid., 50-57.

24. Kenneth Stampp, "The Historian and Negro Slavery," American Negro Slavery: A Modern Reader, in Frank Otto Gatell and Allan Weinstein, eds., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 223-225.

25. For a good description of family life among southern slaves see Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, 451-455.

26. Alexander S. Johnson, "Slaves in Kansas Territory," 20 April 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2-4.

27. SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 118-119.

28. Richard W. Williams, With the Border Ruffians: Memories of the Far West (London: Hazel, Watson, and Viney, 1908), 97.

29. SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 118-119; Mildred Elmore Duncan, ed., "Incidents in the Life of Rush Elmore," 1949, Rush and Susan Elmore Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 47; Marcus Linsay Freeman, "A personal narrative of his experiences as a slave," History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2.

30. Genovese, Roll, Jordan., Roll, 453-454.

31. Marcus Linsay Freeman, "A personal narrative of his experiences as a slave," History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2.

32. Rush Elmore to Albert S. Elmore, 13 January 1859, Rush and Susan Elmore Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; Rush Elmore to Albert [S.] Elmore, 24 January 1859, Rush and Susan Elmore Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

33. Redpath, The Roving Editor, 312-315.

34. [Noble L. Prentiss], " 'Aunt Ann's Story': More Than Thirty Years in Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly 35 (1969): 90-91.

35. SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 119-120; Lydia Alma Haag, "Slavery Agitation and Its Influence on the State of Kansas" (M. S. thesis, Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, 1934), 67-69. According to SenGupta, nearly half of the sixty-three masters clearly identifiable in the census owned only one chattel. Haag's analysis found fifty-one of eighty-one masters with one or two slaves. My own examination of the census found 47 of eighty masters with one or two.

36. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, 9.

37. R. Douglas Hurt, Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 226; Advertisements for slaves from Missouri newspapers, Robert Snyder McClure Collection, Mss. 3524, folder 112, State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri, Columbia; Pryor Plank to George W. Martin, 12 February 1907, Pryor Plank Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2.

38. Hurt, Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie, 233; Joanna L. Stratton, Pioneer Women: Voices from the Kansas Frontier (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981), 238.

39. Williams, With the Border Ruffians, 74.

40. John Doy, The Narrative of John Doy of Lawrence, Kansas (New York: Thomas Holman, 1860), 59.

41. E. F. Heisler, Interview by an unknown individual, 5 December 1905, Heisler Miscellaneous Collection, folder Heisler E. F. 39665, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka Kansas, 8-9.

42. Redpath, The Roving Editor, 307.

43. Alexander S. Johnson, "Slaves in Kansas Territory," 20 April 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 7-8.

44. R. M. Armstrong, "Sixty Years in Kansas and Council Grove," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society 16 (1923-1925): 556-557.

45. C[harles] E[stabrook] Cory, "Slavery in Kansas," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 7 (1901-1902): 242; SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 122; Stratton, Pioneer Women, 237.

46. SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 123.

47. Rush Elmore to Albert [S.] Elmore, 13 January 1859, Rush and Susan Elmore Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

48. Cory, "Slavery in Kansas," 241.

49. Martha B. Caldwell, ed., Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School (Topeka, Kansas: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1939), 81.

50. William Walker, Journal, 20 April 1848, in Connelley, ed., The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, 243.

51. Untitled newspaper clipping, in "Kansas Clippings," vol. 2, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 257.

52. Research notes listing statements and observations of C. B. Boynton, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas. For another quote by Boynton expressing the same idea see SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 121.

53. Robert W. Richmond, "The First Capitol of Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly 21 (1954-1955): 323.

54. Stephen Chinn, "Seth Hays--Council Grove on the Santa Fe Trail," Kansas Heritage Server, [Web Page]; http://history.cc.ukans.edu/heritage/families/sethhays.html. [Accessed 19 July 1999]. This traveler, Louis Boyse, claimed that Hays freed Sallie by 1858, though verification of her emancipation was unavailable. It is presumable that Sallie did similar work in the trading post before and after her release from bondage.

55. Cory, "Slavery in Kansas," 236.

56. Daniel R. Anthony, to Dear Brother, 17 August 1857, in Edgar Landsdorf and Robert W. Richmond, eds. "Letters of Daniel R. Anthony, 1857-1862," Kansas Historical Quarterly 24 (1958): 19.

57. Alexander S. Johnson, "Slaves in Kansas Territory," History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 4, 7; Caldwell, ed., Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School, 81. A similar discussion of the Johnson's and Uncle Jack can be found in SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 119.

58. Irene G. Stone, "The Lead and Zinc Field of Kansas," Kansas Historical Collections 7 (1902): 244.

59. Evelyn and Ted Wilkerson, Miss Kittie Hays: Grand Lady of the Frontier (Hillsboro, Kansas: Hearth Publishing, 1994), 7, 16.

60. Redpath, The Roving Editor, 320.

61. Stampp, "The Historian and Southern Negro Slavery," 223-225; Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, 7-8; Clement Eaton, The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860 (New York: Harper Brothers, 1961), 83.

62. Cory, "Slavery in Kansas," 241. This incident is also discussed in SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 126.

63. Marcus Linsay Freeman, "A personal narrative of his experiences as a slave," History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2.

64. Description of a Fourth of July celebration at Lecompton, Kansas, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

65. C. W. Rust, to Geo[rge] W. Martin, 14 June 1909, Atchison County History Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2-3.

66. Cory, "Slavery in Kansas," 236.

67. John Sedgewick John Sedgewick Freeland, "Personal reminiscences of the slaves of Rush Elmore," [1895], History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2.

68. Redpath, The Roving Editor, 319-321.

69. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, 5; Charles Grier Sellers, Jr. "The Travail of Slavery," in American Negro Slavery: A Modern Reader, eds. Allan Weinstein and Frank Otto Gatell (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968), 191.

70. SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 119; [Ab]zu[ga] Adams, "Slaves in Kansas," 28 September 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 5; Alexander S. Johnson, "Slaves in Kansas Territory," 20 April 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 4-6.

71. Alexander S. Johnson, "Slaves in Kansas Territory," 20 April 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 5-9.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid., 6-7; [Ab]zu[ga] Adams, "Slaves in Kansas," 28 September 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 6.

74. Hilary Heim, "Ancient Gravestones on Abbey Lands Tell Story of Dauntless Pioneers," Raven Review, October 1945. This publication was the newspaper of St. Benedict's College of Atchison, Kansas, since renamed Benedictine College.

75. Julia Ann Stinson, Interview by [Zu Adams], 21 April 1906, Stinson Collection, Box 2, Kansas State Historical Society, 5.

76. Rev. Cyrus R. Rice, "Experiences of a Pioneer Missionary," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society 13 (1915): 312.

77. Leavenworth [Kansas] Herald, 6 April 1855; quoted in Linda Mae Krogman Curtis, Arrington Heights (Privately Printed, 1977), 15-16.

78. Benjamin F. Stringfellow, "Kansas--Slavery," New York Semi-Weekly Tribune, 30 January 1855, in "Kansas Clippings," vol. 1, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

79. [Ab]zu[ga] Adams, "Slaves in Kansas," 28 September 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 11.

80. William H. Sears, "Negro Slavery in Douglas County," Lawrence [Kansas] Journal-World, 13 March 1933, in "Kansas Clippings," vol. 7, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 38.

81. Richard Cordley, Pioneer Days in Kansas (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1903), 135; Richard B. Sheridan, "From Slavery to Freedom in Kansas: The Influx of Black Fugitives and Contrabands into Kansas, 1854-1865," Kansas History 12 (Spring 1989): 29-31.

82. Robert Tracy, "Statement of Robert Tracy," in Illustrated Doniphan County: Supplement to the Weekly Kansas Chief, ed. Henry J. Calnan and Walter B. Montgomery (Troy, Kansas: By the editors, 1916), 296.

83. Mary A. Humphrey, The Squatter Sovereign, or Kansas in the 50's (Chicago: Coburn and Newman, 1883), title page.

84. Hurt, Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie, 257-258.

85. Redpath, The Roving Editor, 313.

86. William Hobbs, "The Friends' Establishment in Kansas Territory, " Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 8 (1904): 254.

87. William Walker, Journal, 28 January 1848, in Connelley, ed., The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, 228.

88. William Walker, Journal, 6 September 1852, in ibid., 358.

89. Sheridan, "From Slavery to Freedom in Kansas: The Influx of Black Fugitives and Contrabands into Kansas, 1854-1865," 29-31.

90. Julia Louisa Lovejoy to [the editor of the Boston Zion's Herald], 28 February 1859, in Louise Barry, ed., "The Letters of Julia Louisa Lovejoy, 1856-1864," Kansas Historical Quarterly 16 (1948): 50.

91. John G. Haskell, "The Passing of Slavery in Western Missouri," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 7 (1902): 33.

92. William H. Sears, "Negro Slavery in Douglas County," Lawrence [Kansas] Journal-World, 13 March 1933, in Kansas Clippings, vol. 7, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 38; SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 125; Cory, "Slavery in Kansas," 236.

93. Isaac Maris to F. G. Adams, 22 July 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2; [Ab]zu[ga] Adams, "Slaves in Kansas," 28 September 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 6-7.

94. John Sedgewick John Sedgewick Freeland, Personal reminiscences of the slaves of Rush Elmore, [1895], History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 3.

95. [Ab]zu[ga] Adams, "Slaves in Kansas," 28 September 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 14.

96. Mrs. J[ames] B. Abbott, "Reminiscences of Mrs. J. B. Abbott, Desoto, Kansas, " 1 September 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2.

97. Tracy, "Statement of Robert Tracy," in Illustrated Doniphan County, ed. Calnan and Montgomery, 296.

98. [Ab]zu[ga] Adams, "Slaves in Kansas," 28 September 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 7; Louise Barry ed., "Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals," Kansas Historical Quarterly 30 (1964): 552; Julia Louisa Lovejoy to [the editor of the Boston Zion's Herald], 28 February 1859 in "Letters of Julia Louisa Lovejoy," 49-50.

99. John Armstrong, "Reminiscences of Slaves Days in Kansas," [1895], History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2; Cory, "Slavery in Kansas," 239.

100. Amos Finch to Bro[the]r Jocelyn, 3 July 1855, Amos Finch Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 4.

101. SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 124.

102. [Noble L. Prentiss], "'Aunt Ann's Story': More Than Thirty Years in Kansas,"90-91.

103. John Speer to [Zu Adams], July 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

104. Charles S. Gleed, "Samuel Walker," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 6 (1897-1900): 266. Buck's contracting is also noted in SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 124; John Speer, "Accuracy in History, "Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 6 (1900): 67.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SLAVEHOLDERS AND POLITICS

The political events in territorial Kansas have received much attention from scholars and are well known. One area that has received little attention is the role of slaveholders in the political events of the territory. This chapter examines that role and adds a new perspective to the numerous studies of politics in Bleeding Kansas. Slaveholding was frequently associated with leadership and political influence in Kansas Territory. Within the proslavery ranks, slaveholders wielded a disproportionate amount of authority and leverage in both local and territorial politics and used a variety of paths to achieve their leadership roles. Residence in Kansas before its official organization as a territory was often a springboard to political influence, particularly for those masters who had been there long enough to acquire wealth, establish homes or businesses, or make political connections. Political influence was easily obtainable even for masters who arrived after the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, however, and a few of the more fortunate slaveholders had already achieved political clout and influence in other locales. In any case, Kansas slaveholders, though greatly outnumbered in the proslavery party by nonslaveholders, appropriated a surprising portion of the leadership roles and political positions in Kansas Territory.

While opportunities for leadership and political office were available for those who entered after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, slaveholders of the preterritorial period frequently assumed the most prominent positions of Kansas Territory. Their established roots and accumulations of wealth became natural springboards to influence and leadership in the new territory. The successful business careers of masters like Alexander and Thomas Johnson, H. T. Wilson, and William F. Dyer all began in preterritorial Kansas, and all became important in proslavery politics. The Johnsons served in the territorial legislature while Wilson was a member of the Lecompton Constitutional Convention. As for William F. Dyer, his substantial success as a trader in preterritorial Kansas made him an important figure in the proslavery party during the territorial period. While never elected to an important territorial office, Dyer did serve as a delegate in two preterritorial political conventions held just before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.[1]

These two conventions, both held in 1853 to form a "Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," were the major stratagems of the preterritorial residents wishing to enhance and protect their economic interests. Indian officials, missionaries, and the chiefs of the "civilized" Indian tribes of the region recognized that the proposed Transcontinental railroad was not likely to be located in an unorganized territory. If legitimized by Congress, such an organized government would aid them greatly in obtaining the lucrative rail line. Organizing the "Nebraska Territory" would also open the region to large-scale white settlement, greatly increasing the values of lands owned by the various tribes and the few whites in the area.[2]

The strategy of organizing a government was also protective in nature, particularly for the Indian tribes. The various "civilized" Indian nations shrewdly ensured themselves of premium land prices if the government compelled them to sell their lands, a distinct possibility even though these tribes had been largely assimilated into Euro-American culture.[3] Protection of slavery was also a concern for at least one of the delegates, Wyandotte chief William Walker. For Walker, a slaveholder himself, the Kansas-Nebraska Act was too ambiguous in guaranteeing security for the slave property held by the Indians in the region, despite revisions to the bill ensuring that protection:

> I wish here to state a fact that you may not be aware of, that slavery has existed in what is now 'Kansas Territory,' and still exists, both among Indians and whites regardless of the exploded M[iss]o[uri] Comp[promise] . . . How will this description of Indian 'property' be protected if the change in D[ouglas]'s bill, so clamorously called for be made? Will that clause in the First section which provides 'That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of person or *property* now pertaining to the Indians in the said Territory' protect them in their right to this kind of property? To my mind this is not so clear.[4]

If the composition of the two delegations are any indication, Walker would have had little reason to worry about the security of his slave property under the "Provisional Government." While the total number of delegates in the first convention held at Wyandotte is uncertain, nine slaveholders, including William Walker and William F. Dyer, were included in a listing of twenty-six delegates, and several of the remaining delegates bore the surnames of slaveholding families.[5] The slaveowners, though compromising only a third of the delegates, held three of the five available leadership positions at the convention. William Walker served as the convention's Secretary, while James Findley and William F. Dyer formed a quorum on the resolutions committee. In the most important

result of the convention, the delegates selected a five-person government for "Nebraska Territory," and the slaveholding faction won three of the five positions in this body. William Walker received the position of Governor, while Isaac Monday and Matthew R. Walker were elected Councilmen, forming the quorum on what was a three-person legislature.[6]

The new government immediately organized and oversaw a second convention at Kickapoo to elect a delegate to Congress. In this convention, the slaveholders had much less representation than at Wyandotte. Besides the three slaveholding officials of the "Provisional Government" who oversaw the proceedings, four other slaveholders were among the twenty-four delegates: William F. Dyer, Thomas Johnson, Robert W. Wilson of Fort Riley and Colonel Hiram Rich of Fort Leavenworth. Despite the lessened influence of the slaveholders, the delegation elected Thomas Johnson as the representative to Congress, thus granting the lobbying power of the "Provisional Government" to a slaveowner.[7] William Walker wrote that Johnson got his victory because he had the support of "the Federal Government, the presence and active support of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Military, the Indian Agents, Missionaries, Indian Traders, &c. A combined power that is irresistible."[8]

Political connections, such as those of Thomas Johnson, as well as business connections were advantageous after the organization of Kansas Territory in 1854. Johnson himself won a seat in the infamous Bogus Legislature. Extensive business connections carried another master from the Kickapoo convention, Colonel Hiram Rich,

to leadership and influence in Kansas Territory. Rich was a sutler at Fort Leavenworth and one chronicle said of him,

> By reason of Colonel Rich's business at the post he was asked to identify himself with every association or business organization that had to do with aiding in making Kansas a slave state, or to acquire some of the cheap lands which the opening of the territory promised . . . He knew everybody in the Platte Purchase and every Missourian who came to this side never failed to call on the Colonel.[9]

The sutler's home was a popular gathering place for proslavery residents, in part because of the Colonel's willingness to serve liquor. Rich's financial dealings and inebriating hospitality brought a modest political reward. Rich was a popular speaker for the proslavery cause and was appointed as a postmaster.[10]

Political influence was not dependent on preterritorial residency, however, and new arrivals capitalized. Fry McGee, like Colonel Hiram Rich, relied on liquor. The bountiful availability of liquor at McGee's tavern near present-day Osage City made it a popular gathering place for proslavery residents, and McGee became a minor leader in the proslavery ranks. McGee's clientele included a band of desperadoes responsible for violence and terror against free-state citizens and service of such a group was not without its consequences. McGee's willingness to tolerate the band prompted free-state marauders to sack the tavern.[11] Richard Williams, a Virginian with no previous political experience, arrived in Leavenworth with his three slaves and discovered "their possession gave me quite a status in the city!" Williams soon afterward joined "a company of mounted Rangers. . . . and was at once elected orderly sergeant myself."[12] While leadership was new for men like McGee and Williams, Benjamin F. Stringfellow was very

familiar with it. A former Attorney General of Missouri and a prominent figure in the proslavery political circles of western Missouri, Stringfellow continued his advocacy of slavery after coming to Atchison, Kansas, to practice law in 1855. Though he did not hold office in Kansas, Stringfellow's writing and speaking gave him as much influence in territorial politics as any slaveholding Kansan.[13]

For many slaveholders, leadership meant service in formal capacities, virtually all of it as part of the effort to acquire or maintain political control of Kansas Territory for the proslavery faction. For instance, two slaveholders, William H. Tebbs and William Matthias, organized and served as officers for a meeting to prepare for the election of Kansas Territory's first Congressional delegate. The influence of slaveholders at this meeting did not end with Tebbs and Matthias for it took place at the home of Thomas Johnson.[14]

The influence of slaveholders on Kansas politics extended to participation in election fraud and other voting anomalies of the territory. In the November 28, 1854, election for the territorial delegate to Congress, Governor Reeder designated the homes of several slaveholders as voting sites. This obviously invited trouble but an undeveloped, sparsely-populated region such as Kansas offered few alternative sites for locating ballot boxes. The homes and businesses of preterritorial Kansans, most of whom were proslavery, were frequently the only suitable locations for holding elections, and some of these Kansans owned slaves. Five masters hosted ballot boxes and four of these served as official judges of the proceedings at their homes. Three other slaveholders, and possibly a fourth, supervised the casting of ballots, though their homes were not voting sites.[15]

Three of the nine districts with fraudulent returns were the homes of slaveholders, and all of them experienced flagrant cheating. Fry McGee, host and judge of the seventh district, witnessed 584 illegal votes in a precinct with fifty-three actual voters. At Paris Ellison's home near Douglas, site of the second district poll, illegal votes outnumbered eligible voters 226 to 35. H. T. Wilson hosted the sixth district poll at Fort Scott and, with the assistance of slaveowner Thomas Arnett, also judged the proceedings. Seventy-six of the votes cast in this district were fraudulent.[16]

These persons undoubtedly knew the voters were not *bona fide* residents of Kansas, particularly someone like Fry McGee. The sparse population of McGee's seventh district left little doubt that the voters did not reside there. The Congressional committee that investigated the Kansas troubles reported that this was "a remote district, where the settlers within many miles were acquainted with one another."[17] The testimony before the committee also verified that Fry McGee was personally involved in the misconduct; McGee prevented a free-stater from casting a ballot and willfully let a known Missourian substitute for him as election judge.[18] At the home of Paris Ellison, residents actually recognized some of the voters as Missouri residents. The Congressional committee declared of this band, which elected two of the judges itself, that "On the day before the election, large companies of men came into the district in wagons and on horseback, and declared that they were from the state of Missouri, and were going to Douglas to vote." Indeed the committee's description of the corruption in the fourth district could have been applied universally to all voting districts, including those monitored or hosted by

slaveholders: "They [the border ruffians] did not conceal that they were residents of Missouri, and many of them were recognized as such by others."[19]

Slaveholders also became involved in the widespread fraud of the March, 1855, election of the territorial legislature. Fry McGee, again serving as a judge, watched idly while his brothers led the illegal activities. E. Milton McGee had recruited Missourians to come to the polling site and two more of the numerous McGee brothers led them to the ballot box in a grand "procession" complete with waving banners.[20] As many as 400 illegal voters camped near Thomas Stinson's home near Tecumseh, site of the third district poll, two days before the election. This could not have been unnoticed in a place with only 101 registered voters, particularly after the experiences with fraud in the 1854 election. All of the districts experienced this problem in the March, 1855, elections, and it was even easier than in 1854 to determine that Missourians were illegally voting. Many border ruffians "had white ribbons in their button-holes to distinguish themselves from the settlers."[21] Slaveholders participated in and sanctioned this illegal activity with little reservation. In 1856, a fellow proslavery partisan described Paris Ellison as "the most enthusiastic Proslavery man I have met with."[22] As a judge at Bloomington, Ellison was enthusiastic enough to encourage unregistered border ruffians to vote. His two fellow judges were not so compliant. A large band of border ruffians, after conducting a straw vote in which they elected slaveholder Thomas Johnson as governor of Kansas Territory, demanded to vote but the two stalwart judges refused even when threatened by "500 or 600 of them." Ellison tried to convince them to allow the fraud and even pointed out that the Missourians were preparing to inflict physical harm for further refusal. Whether that

possibility would have come to pass will be forever unknown. The impatient Ellison snatched up the ballot box and presented it to the ruffians, shouting triumphant cries for his home state of Missouri and holding the box above his head in a victorious pose. After the presentation, Ellison witnessed 316 illegal ballots.[23]

In Doniphan County, a mob intimidated the free-state candidates into stepping down and the band rejoiced when a Stringfellow brother forced one of the deposed candidates to proclaim his dismissal.[24] After the mob chose two of its own as replacements for the deposed judges, Benjamin F. Stringfellow urged the ruffians to the ballot box, where they elected a "proslavery ticket."[25] Whether present at the event or not, slaveowner Cary B. Whitehead, a Doniphan County slaveowner, clearly approved this behavior. Whitehead planned to show his gratitude and approval of the Missourians by naming his next son "Border Ruffian."[26]

With attitudes like Whitehead's, proslavery residents (whether slaveholding or not) were unlikely to voice doubts or reservations about the dubious nature of the polling. Many Federal authorities were sympathetic to the proslavery cause and were in most cases quite willing to aid it in any way they could. "Washington officialdom," in the words of scholar Paul Wallace Gates, granted federal appointments only to individuals willing

> to foster the growth of the Democratic party and to make sure that the territory would be Proslavery . . . [T]he territorial officials were to favor immigration from slave states, to frighten away immigrants from free communities, to control the elections of local officers, of members of the legislature and of territorial delegates to Congress by stuffing ballot boxes, and to turn speculative opportunities to friends of the government.[27]

Of these various appointments, the federal judiciary was probably the most important and Judges Rush Elmore and Samuel D. Lecompte, both slaveholders, formed a quorum on this body. From this position they were able to aid the territorial legislature in a dispute with Governor Andrew Reeder. Reeder vetoed the Bogus Legislature's relocation from Pawnee to Shawnee Methodist Mission, contending that under the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the power to locate the government resided in the governor alone. On this basis, he argued that any legislative gathering or action occurring away from his designated location of Pawnee was invalid. Though Elmore and Lecompte admitted the case was out of their jurisdiction, "the immense magnitude of the interests involved" compelled them to declare the gathering at Shawnee Methodist Mission a "constitutional legislative assembly." In their explanation they further declared that "It may be true that this [nonjurisdiction] is technically the fact, but we could not conceive ourselves justified in reposing upon this defense [of nonjurisdiction], when, that greatest of evils, anarchy, might exist rampant upon our soil." With their opinion Elmore and Lecompte effectively endorsed political cheating and fraudulent government. Furthermore, the declaration of these two slaveholders clearly demonstrated that the courts would not oppose the Bogus Legislature in its task of establishing a government favorable to proslavery interests.[28]

From its outset, the Bogus Legislature was an overwhelmingly proslavery body. Twenty-eight of its thirty-nine members were proslavery, ten of them slaveholders, while the remaining eleven legislators were free-state residents. These last men were the true victors in their respective districts, though the proslavery voting judges had denied them their election certificates. Governor Reeder heard the appeals of these men and

sympathetically overturned the results in their districts, granting them election certificates on his own initiative. Reeder's efforts were ineffectual as the proslavery faction of the Bogus Legislature denied the free-staters their seats anyway. In both the House of Representatives and the Council, the committees established to examine the credentials of legislators refused to accept the free-state men. Slaveholders were involved in the denials of the both committees, though the nonslaveholding, proslavery legislators would have probably taken this action without them.[29]

In the House committee, Alexander Johnson and William G. Mathias, the committee chair, represented the slaveholders and they were joined by two proslavery representatives and a free-state citizen, S. D. Houston of the eighth district on the extreme western edge of the settled portion of Kansas. In justifying the denials, the four proslavery members, over the dissent of S. D. Houston, noted that the free-state members of the legislature had received their election certificates from Governor Reeder and promptly declared these certificates to be void, since the Kansas-Nebraska Act permitted the governor to set aside election results only in the event of a tie. "[I]t is not pretended on the part of the governor," the committee proclaimed, "or any other gentleman claiming seats in this house, that a tie occurred. . . . Upon what ground, then, were these elections set aside and certificates refused?" The committee members then declared that seating "could be governed only by the return of the judges who held and conducted the election." Under this interpretation, the legislators seated proslavery partisans carrying obviously fraudulent certificates.[30]

The Council committee, consisting of slaveholders Thomas Johnson and William Richardson as well as nonslaveholder A. M. Coffey, followed reasoning similar to that of the House committee. The Council committee dismissed the charges of election fraud, claiming that "If we should admit that illegal votes were polled, it by no means follows that all votes cast for the gentlemen on the proslavery ticket were illegal, or that they did not receive a majority of the legal votes cast." This response was hackneyed enough, but more absurdities followed. The committee soon came "to the conclusion that the election for members of the legislative assembly held March 30, 1855 was legal."[31]

Such reasoning was purely sham, but the other proslavery members of the Bogus Legislature accepted it with little apparent reservation. Of the legislators who had been elected in the frauds, none refused their positions, protested the results, or even expressed reservations about the voting and judging irregularities. That they would remain silent, if they did not outwardly support such dishonesty, is not surprising. Most of the Bogus Legislators were young or middle-aged Missourians; a fourth were less than thirty and only five of the final thirty-nine were over fifty. Normally young and middle-aged southern men such as these were extremely covetous of slaves. At least ten of the original twenty-eight proslavery legislators owned bondspeople, and two replacements for the free-staters did as well, giving slaveholders twelve of the thirty-nine legislative seats. Virtually all of the other proslavery legislators, although they did not own slaves, supported slavery, seeing the peculiar institution as a way to prosperity and wealth; some of them aspired to become elite planters. Finally, the strong self-interest and extreme desires for material advancement so characteristic of such men drove their political

decisions. Indeed, the legislators stood to gain from the spoils and fruits of their dishonest victory and this gave them every reason to overlook blatant fraud in the elections.[32]

As for the slaveholders specifically, they held twelve seats of the twenty-nine available positions in the legislature, an amount of influence that greatly exceeded their actual numbers in Kansas Territory. The 1855 census taken just a month earlier listed only eighty masters in the entire territory, while the number of "free males" who could be identified as coming from slave states was just under 1,700.[33] A closer examination of the legislature's officers shows that the slaveholding element occupied many of the most important leadership positions, assuring a strong voice for slaveholding interests in the territory. In the Council, Reverend Thomas Johnson of Shawnee Methodist Mission, who owned six slaves, served as President while Richard R. Rees, a Leavenworth lawyer with one slave, was President *pro tem*. The House did not have any slaveholders. However, its Speaker was Dr. John H. Stringfellow, the brother of slaveholder Benjamin F. Stringfellow. John and Benjamin came from a strongly proslavery family and John sympathies for the cause found constant expression is his newspaper, the *Squatter Sovereign*. The legislators enlisted the help of two other individuals who were either slaveholders or members of slaveholding families. Cary B. Whitehead, who held two slaves, served as the Doorkeeper. Furthermore, Sergeant-at-Arms Charles Grover of Leavenworth, though not a slaveholder himself, was the brother of legislator D. A. N. Grover, who the owner of two slaves.[34]

Strongly influenced by slaveholding interests, the legislature began a series of enactments and appointments that both solidified the hold of proslavery forces on Kansas

and also promoted their own financial interests. One of the first actions of the legislature after the expulsion of the free-state representatives was its move from Pawnee, Kansas, to Thomas Johnson's Shawnee Methodist Mission. Conditions in the frontier community of Pawnee were far too primitive for conducting government and the new location was safely away from a cholera epidemic that hit the region. However, the removal also placed the territorial legislature at the home of one of the largest and most important slaveholders in Kansas Territory, and the new location was advantageous for the legislators' business and political interests. Lying near the Missouri-Kansas border, the Mission was in close proximity to their economic and political power bases. Scholar Robert W. Richmond would write of the move:

> The primary objective of the legislature was to have the seat of government moved to the eastern part of the territory. Since most of the members were from the border towns with interests in Missouri they wanted the administrative center located where their strength lay.[35]

The legislators also strengthened the hold of the proslavery forces by appointing all officials in the territory. They filled Kansas with sheriffs, justices, postmasters, and all sorts of other minor officers committed to the cause of the peculiar institution in the territory. Slaveholding was concrete evidence of such a commitment and slaveholders frequently received these appointments, though the vast majority of them went to proslavery Kansans without slaves. For example, in Doniphan County the legislators designated Cary B. Whitehead as sheriff, but also appointed a nonslaveholding probate judge and two county commissioners who did not own slaves. In its appointments for Calhoun County, the legislature designated Perry Fleshman, the owner of one slave, as

justice of the peace and James Kuykendall, the owner of two slaves, as a probate judge. However, the rest of the county's appointments went to nonslaveholders. Likewise, Alexander Johnson served as probate judge in the county that bore his family name, while Joseph Parks, a Shawnee Indian chief with three slaves, served as a county commissioner. However, Johnson County's other commissioner and its sheriff did not own slaves.[36] These appointments show that slaveholders had much influence at the local levels; their lack of numbers did not prevent them from obtaining a strikingly large portion of these positions. While slaveholders were too few to monopolize these appointments altogether, the Bogus Legislature granted enough of them to the masters to ensure that slaveholding interests were well represented at the local levels.

The frontier nature of Kansas provided especially fertile soil for establishing the dominance of proslavery views. "Special Laws" among the enactments of the Bogus Legislature incorporated towns and established roads, ferries, bridges, and other internal improvements that clearly favored proslavery residents, including slaveholders.[37] Suspicious promotions hint that slaveowners associated with election fraud benefitted from the improvements. Lawmakers established roads to Fry McGee's trading post, authorized a ferry for Thomas Stinson, and placed roads near the trading post of George and William F. Dyer, the latter of whom owned two slaves. George Dyer, though probably a nonslaveholder, hosted and judged the proceedings at Ozawkie in 1854 in which a border ruffian band drove free-state voters from the polls. The legislature chartered Paris Ellison's ferry across the Kansas river and incorporated the town of Douglas. This action benefitted Ellison as well as George W. Clark and Mobillon W.

McGee. All three of these masters had been town organizers and the town lay entirely within Ellison's claim. Many grants and enactments also went to nonslaveholders, linking the legislature and the rest of proslavery peoples together. Thomas Gladstone, a visitor to Kansas, declared these appointments and improvements a reciprocal arrangement that bound four or five hundred people to the legislature, creating a "monopoly of power." By contrast, free-state people and locales rarely received or benefitted from these enactments.[38]

The tendency on the part of legislators to reward themselves and other prominent proslavery people with enactments appears to have included railroads. Railroad grants went out to seven of the legislators with slaves. Rush Elmore and Samuel D. Lecompte, who had asserted the legality of the assembly, also received grants as did several other prominent slaveholders who were not part of the legislature. Nonslaveholders were not shut out from these by any means, though even these people tended to be quite prominent members of the proslavery party. This sort of activity extended beyond railroads into virtually all aspects of frontier development. As one later scholar of this assembly has concluded, "This legislature created a joint-stock company, chartered prospective railroads giving them unheard-of privileges, and the charters and corporate trusts they bestowed on themselves. . . . [A]fter legislating themselves into every office and financial prospect possible, [they] adjourned."[39]

Such enactments were extremely important in frontier life. Not receiving them left residents at a severe economic disadvantage. Just how important these enactments were can be seen in the proslavery town of Kickapoo, which competed with Atchison and

Leavenworth for government facilities. The town wanted a "permanent economic base" and looked to the legislature to provide it in the form of a prison, county seat, or the designation of the future state capital. The town put two thousand dollars into the effort to secure the designation, offered grants of land for a prison, and even bribed the legislators with town plots in hopes that the prison would be established there. All of these efforts failed. Atchison and Leavenworth received these appointments, and Kickapoo faded away.[40]

While favoring the interests of the proslavery forces, the legislators did not hesitate to bolster the peculiar institution itself, especially since their own interests were tied to slavery. They quickly asserted the right to slaveholding in Kansas because of "an exclusive interest in the institutions and laws which are to exist among us," and stated that territorial laws should be "stimulated by the absorbing interest we must feel in them rather than by . . . the citizens of other States . . . who have no stake with us in the results " The legislature condemned the "destructive spirit of abolitionism" as "productive of aught but evil," and maintained that it could absolutely control and rule on slavery in any way whatsoever. "[A] Territorial Legislature . . . may temporarily prohibit, tolerate, or regulate slavery in the Territory," it proclaimed, "and with all the force and effect of any other act, until repealed by the same power that enacted it." The legislators reasoned that because Kansas was a territory and not a state, citizens were not entitled to the rights of free speech normally granted by state constitutions; this justified placing a gag rule on abolitionist and antislavery speech in Kansas.[41] The legislators as a group were eager to legalize slavery and it probably was not surprising that Richard R. Reese, a slaveholding

lawyer from Leavenworth, wrote the 1855 bill that established hard labor and capital punishment as the penalties for crimes against the peculiar institution.[42]

Although they legalized slavery through the legislative process, the arrival of slaveholders in Kansas prior to the opening of Kansas to settlement established an important precedent for proslavery people. The early arrivals assumed that their ownership of slaves was perfectly legal and that feeling carried over to the territorial period. William Walker, a Wyandotte chief and a slaveholder himself, spoke of the preterritorial settlers, "White people going into the territory by the authority of the government in the character of Indian Agents, licensed traders, mechanics, teachers, and missionaries hesitate not a moment to take slaves with them, regarding it a slave territory."[43] Another writer declared that " [I]t is well to remember that Thomas Johnson had lived in Kansas more than twenty years before the question of the political status of the region was raised and during that period none but Missourians or at least westerners were resident there. To them doubtless the movement from New England resembled an invasion."[44] These people assumed Kansas to be their own and their way of life its future. H. T. Wilson claimed a share of lands of Fort Scott when the post was abandoned by the military. He made the claim under the Preemption Act of 1841 even though the region was still officially closed to white settlement.[45] These early occupants established a precedent that Kansas was a slave region and this feeling carried over to the territorial period.

One 1855 census-taker discerned this feeling among proslavery people. "It was a constant source of irritation to the Missourians to see the stream of northern men pouring into the territory, and all kinds of threats were made against the invasion of a country

which they claimed belonged to southern men, and of right should be settled by them with their slaves."[46] This movement was disturbing to virtually all proslavery people in Kansas because southern whites saw in the peculiar institution an insurance against their own enslavement. This feeling was extremely strong among the lowest classes of whites because they were closest to the slaves and could become so degraded themselves. Many southerners believed that slavery was a natural condition; some persons had to be slaves while others had to be masters. They were fearful of wage labor and the industrial capitalism in the North because the horrifying conditions of the factories seemed to be a form of white enslavement. The enslavement of blacks guaranteed that lower-class, white southerners would never become slaves to an elite group of capitalists like those in the North.[47]

People without "productive property" were much more likely to suffer such a fate. Southern whites, therefore, safeguarded their personal autonomy by acquiring the basic components on which southern agriculture was founded, land and slaves. Abolition was a frightening prospect for southerners because it threatened the process of acquisition that ensured their personal liberty, and also removed the institutional barrier between the races, a galling development for a strongly racist society.[48]

The ideological importance of black slavery and material acquisition in preventing enslavement existed along a general view that permitted violence against the aberrant. As the historian Bill Cecil-Fronsman noted, "Southern white culture maintained that communities had a right to unite to drive out those who deviated from accepted codes of conduct."[49] In Kansas the critical norm was the custom of slaveholding already in the

territory. Benjamin F. Stringfellow made just this claim in trying to rouse southern people to come to Kansas:

> From the law there can be no danger. Slaves are now and have been for years in the Territory, so that slavery, in fact, is already established. I need not say to you that no lawyer, unless he is an Abolitionist, will pretend that any positive law is necessary to make slavery legal . . . Although slavery existed in the old states, in not one was a law ever enacted to establish it. Laws have been passed recognizing its existence after it had an existence, never to establish it before it existed.[50]

The Squatter Association of Doniphan County, with five slaveholders as members, declared "that we recognize the institution of slavery as already existing in this Territory, and recommend to Slaveholders to introduce their property as early as practicable." The Association also declared "that we will afford protection to no abolitionist as settler of Kansas Territory."[51] Near Salt Creek in Leavenworth County in 1854, several such squatter's associations in Kansas banded together into the Kansas Squatter's Society. The Society promptly declared its "right of expelling from the Territory, or otherwise punishing any individual, or individuals, who may come among us, and by act, conspiracy, or other illegal means, entice away our slaves, or clandestinely attempt in any way or form to affect our rights of property in the same."[52] Benjamin F. Stringfellow himself declared violence perfectly acceptable in making a slave state.[53]

They would indeed employ violence, but proslavery Kansans also utilized all available political means to establish slavery and these methods were not completely exhausted. The slaveholders were influential in virtually all such efforts, including the famous Lecompton Constitution. This document was the last real hope for establishing the peculiar institution in the territory. Although all of the delegates at the Lecompton

constitutional convention were strong proslavery men, the convention included an influential, slaveholding minority. At least twelve of the fifty-nine delegates listed in an 1857 article were slaveholders and two more of the delegates had brothers with slaves.[54] Besides these individuals, Judge Samuel D. Lecompte was present at the proceedings; Lecompte may have even presided over the convention briefly.[55]

Lecompte's companions were primarily from the slaveholding states of the upper South. Scholar Robert Johannsen found that over half of the delegates listed Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, or Tennessee as their place of birth. Another twelve were born in the remaining slave states. Although not all of the delegation enjoyed a southern nativity, virtually all had lived in the South at some point in their lives and, for all but six delegates, a slave state had been their previous home.[56]

The delegates were youthful, politically inexperienced, and utilitarian in their attitudes toward the peculiar institution. Thirty-seven were under forty years of age and eighteen of these were not yet thirty. With such youth, it is not surprising that only a handful of the delegates had extensive political experience, though seventeen had held an office at either the local or territorial level. This was typical of members of frontier political conventions, however, and their political experience was tempered by their roles as social and economic leaders in the territory. At least three were ministers, ten were lawyers, and six were newspaper editors. Economic development was a concern for many of them and several were responsible for crucial internal improvements in the territory, including "maintaining ferries" and managing roads. Their support for slavery was also a

matter of simple economics. They supported slaveholding in Kansas because it offered possibilities for profits.[57]

All of the delegates, including the nonslaveholders, had stakes in the proceedings. In most cases the delegates had come to Kansas before 1856, and some had been in the region prior to territorial organization. Consequently, they had already invested considerable amounts of time, effort, and resources in creating a slave state. As for the nonslaveholders, they had no chance of fulfilling hopes of acquiring slaves or advancing into the planter class in a free Kansas, and their slaveholding companions demonstrated quite tangibly that a slaveholder could prosper in the territory. Presumably they would have rid themselves of their slaves had ownership been unprofitable. The masters themselves had even more to lose than the nonslaveholders, since they faced the additional possibility of losing their slaves if Kansas became free. At the very least, the convention offered them a chance to safeguard their investments in chattel property.[58]

The slaveholding contingent was well represented in the convention leadership, ensuring that the masters would have plenty of opportunity to protect their slaves. Rush Elmore and William Walker were reported to be two extremely active delegates at the convention. Elmore served on the slavery committee, along with nonslaveholders John Calhoun and Hugh M. Moore. Besides writing the sections of the Lecompton Constitution that pertained to slavery, the committee, at Elmore's lead, was instrumental in getting the document to Kansas residents for popular ratification.[59]

This was a point of great controversy for the delegates and new political developments in Kansas Territory only heightened the tension. Though they had organized

themselves in September of 1857, the delegates sat idle until the territorial elections commenced a month later. The results of the election evidenced a major change in the political scene of Kansas Territory; free-state residents captured the legislature. This clearly signaled that free-state residents were now a majority in the territory, and would presumably reject a proslavery constitution submitted for popular ratification.[60]

Slaveholders led both sides in the fierce debate over submission. Blake Little, a slaveholding physician of Fort Scott, led the faction that wished to bypass the submission of the document altogether. Rather than risk its rejection by Kansas voters, this faction hoped to present the Lecompton Constitution, complete with a clause legalizing slavery, to Congress for acceptance. Rush Elmore, backed by John Calhoun and Hugh M. Moore, opposed this plan. All three realized that Congress would not approve the Constitution unless it was submitted to the Kansas people in some fashion and they feared that a rejection might precipitate disunion in the South. It was probably not coincidental that Elmore and Calhoun, who were particularly strong unionists, were two of the few Lecompton delegates with substantial political experience and Washington connections; they understood the political stakes of the convention quite well. Faced with the problem of convincing free-state voters to approve a proslavery constitution, the committee swayed a slim majority of the delegates to permit voting on the "Constitution with slavery" and the "Constitution with no slavery." The first option was straight-forward enough and would have given the peculiar institution the same legal status as that of the southern states. The second option, however, was a misleading ruse that freed no slaves. It allowed territorial masters to keep their bondsmen upon Kansas's admission into the

Union, consigned the progeny of slaves to perpetual bondage, and left whites free to buy and sell slaves at will. The second choice placed only one real limit on slavery, a ban on the importation of slaves from other states. Even this limitation was rather hollow since the slave population in North America was self-propagating and Kansas slaves were presumably quite capable of increasing their numbers on their own.[61] The Atchison *Freedom's Champion*, a free-state newspaper, commented succinctly about the "choice" presented to voters: "John Calhoun's mode of submitting the Kansas swindle to a vote, was to permit the people to say: '*Constitution with Slavery*' or, '*Constitution without Slavery*.'-- but in fact Constitution *and* Slavery, whichever way they should vote."[62]

The Lecompton Constitution's virtual guarantee of security for chattel property is quite easily understood in light of the convention's influential slaveholding minority. Besides protecting their property in any outcome, the masters would have enjoyed an exceptional legal status under the Lecompton Constitution. Article VII, Section 1 read: "The right to property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction, and the right of the owner of a slave and its increase, is the same and is as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever." The document forbade emancipation without the consent of masters and, in that event, required financial compensation.[63]

The slaves themselves received a few entitlements under the Lecompton Constitution. They were given the right to a trial by jury in crimes more severe than petty theft. They also had some protection from arbitrary brutality as well. Persons who endangered the life or limb of a slave were to be punished as if the victim had been white, except in the case of revolts. Finally, the Constitution reserved for the legislature the

power to compel humane treatment of slaves but the document did not enact any specific measures.[64]

Indeed, such measures were never enacted in Kansas because voters defeated the Lecompton Constitution. The defeat marked the end of the hopes for slavery in Kansas Territory since free-state residents had now gained the majority in Kansas. A few masters remained in Kansas Territory after the final defeat of the document in Congress in 1858, but their time as Kansas slaveholders was coming to an end. Events in Atchison demonstrated this reality clearly. The owners of the rabidly proslavery *Squatter Sovereign* sold out in 1857 to a free-state resident.[65] Reminiscing in the 1920s about her childhood in territorial Atchison, a Mrs. Krings remembered that free-state residents became the town's political majority in the late 1850s. These Atchisonians refused to dock a steamboat carrying slaves for Kansas Territory, a noteworthy event for a town that had been a proslavery stronghold.[66] Despite the loss of their political advantage, a vocal minority of proslavery people still persevered and even achieved some limited success. As late as January 4, 1861, less than a month before Kansas's admission to the Union as a free state, these individuals successfully challenged the constitutionality of a free-state law banning slavery in the territory.[67] Such a late political victory was meaningless, however, since territorial law was superseded less than a month later when Kansas entered the Union.

That Union had already been broken by secession. Kansas assumed her statehood just as the nation entered into four years of bloodshed over the peculiar institution. Kansas had already experienced bloodshed over slavery; the political fighting in the

territory existed simultaneously with a vicious and sometimes bloody guerilla conflict. In the political conflict the slaveholders held a great deal of influence, and they played a prominent role in the violent side of Kansas as well. "Bleeding Kansas" was a fitting description of Kansas Territory and her slaveholding citizens helped make it so.

NOTES

1. James C. Malin, The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Bros., 1953), 200.

2. Ibid., 179, 186; William E. Connelley, ed., The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska (Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Company, 1899), 23-24.

3. Connelley, ed., The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, 23-24.

4. William Walker to [O. H. Browne], [1853], in ibid., 57.

5. Connelley, ed., The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, 33-35, 77. Besides William F. Dyer, other slaveholders present at the first convention included William Walker, Matthew R. Walker, Isaac Monday, James Findley, Thomas Johnson, Francis A. Hicks, and Baptiste Peoria. It is possible that other slaveholders may have been included. Connelley noted that the Garret family of the Wyandotte tribe owned slaves; among the delegates were Charles B. and Joel Garret. Furthermore, either D. A. N. or Charles Grover, both Leavenworth lawyers, served in the delegation; the former was a slaveholder.

6. Ibid., 35-36. While such a small government was probably inadequate for administering to the needs of a state, it would have given Kansas Territory a recognized, honestly-elected government from its outset. The lack of a clearly legitimate government contributed greatly to the turmoil of "Bleeding Kansas"; by ignoring the "Provisional Government," Congress might have passed over the best opportunity for political stability in the territory.

7. Malin, The Nebraska Question, 186-187, 189. Also included among the delegates were George Dyer, the brother of slaveholder William F. Dyer, and Reverend Joel Grover, the father of slaveowner D. A. N. Grover.

8. James Malin gives a fuller version of Walker's statement in The Nebraska Question, 192-193. The transcript of the original can be found in Connelley, ed., The Provisional Government of Nebraska territory and the Journals of William Walker, 388-389.

9. Henry Shindler, "When Slaves Were Owned by Kansas Army Officers," Leavenworth [Kansas] Times, 13 October 1912, in "Kansas Clippings," Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 101.

10. Ibid.

11. "McGee Crossing," in "Osage County Clippings," vol. 2, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 90-91.

12. Richard W. Williams, With the Border Ruffians: Memories of the Far West (London: Hazel, Watson, and Viney, 1908), 76, 83.

13. Henry Miles Moore, Early History of Leavenworth City and County (Leavenworth, KS: Samuel Dodson Book Co., 1906), 273.

14. "Pro-Slavery Meeting," Atchison [Kansas] Squatter Sovereign, 14 August 1855, 1.

15. A. T. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas (Chicago: by the author, 1883), vol. 1, 87-89. Slaveholders who hosted ballot boxes, with their districts in parentheses: Paris Ellison (2), Thomas Stinson (3), H. T. Wilson (6), Fry McGee (7), Thomas Johnson (17). Wilson and McGee also judged the events at their homes. While not hosting ballot boxes, three other slaveholders served as judges: Thomas B. Arnett (6), W. H. Tebbs (13), and R. C. Bishop (11). The proceedings at the thirteenth district took place at the home of George Dyer, the brother and business partner of slaveholder William F. Dyer. George Dyer also helped to judge the proceedings there.

It should also be noted that Thomas Huffaker served as a judge of district eight. A preterritorial missionary, Huffaker's name appears on an 1853 receipt for the sale of a slave, now in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society. It is likely that the receipt refers to him since the residents of the region at that time were extremely few in number. No other sources, however, verify Huffaker as a slaveholder. For this receipt see: Bill of sale transferring a slave named Cynthia to Tho[ma]s S. Huffaker, 31 May 1853, Alexander and Thomas Johnson Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

16. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol. 1, 87-98, 476.

17. William O. Blake, History of Slavery and the Slave Trade (Columbus, Ohio: H. Miller, 1861), 681.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., 679-680; Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol.1, 87-98, 476.

20. Andrew Theodore Brown, Frontier Community: Kansas City to 1870 (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1963), 99.

21. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol. 1, 87-98, 476; Blake, History of Slavery and the Slave Trade, 684.

22. Axalla John Hoole, to [Elizabeth Stanley Hoole], 14 April 1856, in William Stanley Hoole, ed., "A Southerner's Viewpoint of the Kansas Situation, 1856-1857: The Letters of Lieu. Col. A. J. Hoole, C. S. A.," Kansas Historical Quarterly 3 (1934): 45.

23. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol. 1, 87-98, 476; Blake, History of Slavery and the Slave Trade, 686-687.

24. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol. 1, 473.

25. Blake, History of Slavery and the Slave Trade, 602.

26. B. Harding, to [Zu Adams], 9 September 1895, History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 1.

27. Paul Wallace Gates, "Land and Credit Problems in Underdeveloped Kansas," The Kansas Historical Quarterly 31 (1965): 41-42.

28. Andrew Reeder, "Veto Message," 21 July 1855 in F. G. Adams, ed., "Governor Reeder's Administration," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 5 (1896): 211; Rush Elmore and Samuel D. Lecompte, "Opinion of the Supreme Court," in ibid., 214.

29. Kansas Territorial Legislature, House, Committee on Credentials, Report on the Committee on Credentials of the House of Representatives, [4 July 1855], in Adams, ed., "Governor Reeder's Administration," 186-188; Kansas Territorial Legislature, Council. Committee of the Council on Credentials, Report of the Committee of the Council on Credentials, in ibid., 184; Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, 102. Other documents related to these dismissals can also be found in volume 5 of the Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society.

30. Kansas Territorial Legislature, House, Committee on Credentials, Report on the Committee on Credentials of the House of Representatives, [4 July 1855], in Adams, ed., "Governor Reeder's Administration," 186-188; Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, 102.

31. Kansas Territorial Legislature, Council, Committee of the Council on Credentials, in Adams, ed., "Governor Reeder's Administration," 184; Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, 102.

32. Gunja SenGupta, For God and Mammon: Evangelicals and Entrepreneurs, Masters and Slaves in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1860 (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1996), 39; Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol.1, 101-102, 796; and Robert W. Richmond, "The First Capitol of Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly 21 (1954-1955): 323. Slaveholding legislators in the House of Representatives were: Alexander Johnson, William H. Tebbs, William G. Matthias, and H. B. McMeekin. Slaveholding legislators in the territorial Council were: Thomas Johnson, John W. Foreman, D. A . N. Grover, Richard R. Rees, and William P. Richardson. George W. Ward and Mobillion W. McGee joined the House of Representatives after the expulsion of the free-state elect.

33. Kansas Territorial Census, 1855, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 41.

34. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol.1, 101-102; Kansas Territorial Census, 1855, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; Notes on Doniphan County Slaves, [1895], History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; Bill Cecil-Fronsman, "Death to All Yankees and Traitors in Kansas": The *Squatter Sovereign* and the Defense of Slavery in Kansas," Kansas History 16 (Spring 1993): 25-27. Carey B. Whitehead would hold a position in a future proslavery legislature. See Gary L. Cheatham, " 'Kansas Shall not Have the Right to Legislate Slavery Out': Slavery and the 1860 Antislavery Law," An article forthcoming in Kansas History.

35. SenGupta, For God and Mammon, 39; Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol.1, 101-102, 796; and Richmond, "The First Capitol of Kansas," 323. Events in Pawnee can be found in Christopher Phillips, Damned Yankee: The Life of General Nathaniel Lyon (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 81-102.

36. Thomas H. Gladstone, The Englishman in Kansas: or Squatter Life and Border Warfare (New York: Miller and Company, 1857), 268-269; and [F. G. Adams, ed.], "Executive Minutes," Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society, 3 (1886): 92-99.

37. The Statutes of the Territory of Kansas (1855), 7-11.

38. Ibid.; Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol. 1, 309-310, 500; Gladstone, The Englishman in Kansas, 270.

39. Frank W. Blackmar, ed., Kansas, (Chicago: Standard Publishing Co., 1912), vol. 1, 201; Ibid., vol. 2, 537-539. Legislators receiving railroad grants: H. D. McMeekin, Thomas Johnson, D. A. N. Grover, William P. Richardson, John W. Foreman, and Richard R. Rees. Other slaveholders receiving railroad grants: Judge Samuel D. Lecompte, Judge Rush Elmore, Peter Abell, and Thomas N. Stinson. Cyprian Choteau,who had been a slaveholder in the preterritorial period, and Charles Grover, the brother of D. A. N. Grover, also received these grants. Prominent nonslaveholders to receive such grants: John Calhoun, Lucien J. Eastin, Samuel J. Jones, Johnston Lykins, and David Lykins.

40. Rita Napier, "Economic Democracy in Kansas: Speculation and Townsite Preemption in Kickapoo," Kansas Historical Quarterly 40 (1974): 365.

41. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol. 1, 102-104; The Statutes of the Territory of Kansas, (1855), chapter 151, secs. 11-12.

42. Moore, Early History of Leavenworth City and County, 246.

43. "Matters in Kansas and Nebraska," Clippings from New York papers, in "Kansas Clippings," vol. 7, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 28.

44. James Anderson to Kirke Mechem, 12 May 1938, Shawnee: Anderson Collection, History of Indians folder, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 4.

45. Ralph Richards, "The Forts of Fort Scott and the Fateful Borderland," Fort Scott [Kansas] Tribune, 17 February 1941, in Kansas Clippings, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 42.

46. James R. McClure, "Taking the Census and Other Incidents in 1855," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 8 (1904): 238.

47. Cecil-Fronsman, " 'Death to All Yankees and Traitors in Kansas', " 25-27; Eugene Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 85-86; Kenneth Stampp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), 419-421, 425-426.

48. Cecil-Fronsman, " 'Death to All Yankees and Traitors in Kansas'," 26-28; Stanley M. Elkins, "Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959; reprint, New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1963), 61-62.

49. Cecil-Fronsman, " 'Death to All Yankees and Traitors in Kansas'," 32.

50. "Kansas--Slavery," New York Semi-Weekly Tribune, 30 January 1855, in Kansas Clippings, vol. 1, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

51. Martha B. Caldwell, "Records of the Squatter Association of Whitehead District, Doniphan County," Kansas Historical Quarterly 13 (1944-1945): 19-21, 23; Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol. 1, 472-473. This group was probably not as strongly proslavery as other squatter's associations for it contained several free-state members and declared the "possession of land claims" as the group's primary interest. Proslavery interests were dominant, however, and the association included these slaveholding members: Daniel Vanderslice, James Whitehead, John Whitehead, Cary B. Whitehead, James O'Toole, and Joseph Crippen.

52. Liberty [Missouri] Democratic Platform, 7 September 1854, in Malin, The Nebraska Question, 363-365.

53. Moore, Early History of Leavenworth City and County, 82-83.

54. These person, with residences in parentheses, were: Joseph H. Barlow (Paris, Linn County), Rush Elmore (Tecumseh), J. T. Hereford (Atchison), M[ilton] E. Bryant, Jesse Connell (Leavenworth County), Daniel Vanderslice (Calhoun County), James Kuykendall (Calhoun County), Alexander Bayne (Jefferson County), William Walker (Johnson County), Blake Little (Ft. Scott), H. T. Wilson (Ft. Scott), and William Matthews (Doniphan County). Harvey Foreman (Iowa Point) and George Hamilton (Ft. Scott) were brothers of slaveholders John W. Foreman and Charles Hamilton, respectively. A complete listing of the delegation can be found in Preston B. Plumb, "The Roll of Infamy," Emporia Kanzas News, 21 November 1857, in Edgar Landsdorf, Nyle H. Miller, and Robert W. Richmond, eds., Kansas in Newspapers (Topeka, Kansas: Kansas State Historical Society, 1963), 35. An excellent analysis of the Lecompton convention can be found in Robert W. Johannsen, "The Lecompton Constitutional Convention: An Analysis of its Membership," Kansas Historical Quarterly 23 (1957): 231-243.

55. T. M. Lillard, "Beginnings of the Kansas Judiciary," Kansas Historical Quarterly 10 (1941): 95. Lillard's claim that Lecompte presided over the hearings has not been substantiated though he was probably at the convention.

56. Johannsen, "The Lecompton Constitutional Convention," 233-242. The statistical information was compiled from Plumb, "The Roll of Infamy," Emporia Kanzas News, 21 November1857, in Langsdorf, Miller, and Richmond, eds., Kansas in Newspapers, 35.

57. Johannsen, "The Lecompton Constitutional Convention," 233-242.

58. Ibid.," 240-241.

59. Ibid., 238-239; "How the Constitution is Submitted to the People," Atchison [Kansas] Freedom's Champion, 5 June 1858.

60. L. Ethan Ellis, "The Lecompton Constitution," Journal of Rutgers University Library 3 (1940): 58-59.

61. Ellis, "The Lecompton Constitution," 59-60; Johannsen, "The Lecompton Constitutional Convention," 231-243; John A. Martin, "Biographical Sketch of Judge Rush Elmore," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 8 (1903-1904): 435-436; Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, 5.

62. "How the Lecompton Constitution is Submitted to the People," Atchison [Kansas] Freedom's Champion, 5 June 1858.

63. Lecompton Constitution (1857), art. 7, secs. 2-4 in Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, vol. 1, 163.

64. Ibid.

65. Cecil-Fronsman, " 'Death to All Yankees and Traitors in Kansas'," 33.

66. Gilbert Wolters, interview by the author, 25 May 1997. St. Benedict's Abbey, Atchison, Kansas. Wolters interviewed Mrs. Krings, a distant relative, circa 1926, as part of a research project on steamboating in Kansas. As for the steamboat, it traveled a few miles north of Atchison where it emptied its cargo of slaves.

67. Gary L. Cheatham, "'Slavery All the Time or Not at All': The Wyandotte Constitution Debate, 1859-1861," Kansas History 21 (August 1998): 167-170, 187.

CHAPTER FIVE

"BLOODY KANSAS":

SLAVEHOLDERS AS VICTIMS AND PROTAGONISTS

For the slaveholders of Kansas, the prospects of implementing slavery in Kansas Territory appeared bright in 1854. Their optimistic hopes began to fade with the arrival of the first free-state settlers in the territory. The results of the guerrilla war put an end to them altogether. Kansas masters were much involved in the fighting both as victims and as perpetrators. Kansas slaveholders found themselves receiving the worst that free-state combatants could offer, but they gave the same severity of maliciousness in return. Kansas slaveholders also contributed significantly to the proslavery cause by serving as leaders and organizers of violence. Their efforts were insufficient, however, and free-state activities drove many of them from the territory. These expulsions did serious damage to the efforts of the proslavery Kansans to perpetuate the peculiar institution preparatory to statehood.

In 1854 and 1855, however, proslavery people in the territory had little reason to doubt that Kansas would become a slave state. They had several reasons for their optimism. The proslavery populace, composed mostly of Missourians, held a voting majority. Preterritorial settlers had already established a precedent for slaveholding in the newly-created territory. Finally, a presumption existed for the constitutional right of

slaveholders to take slaves where they wanted.[1] The last of these was particularly slow to die. As late as 1859 at least one Kentucky family, bringing five slaves, came to Kansas believing the Dred Scott decision guaranteed rights to slave property.[2]

Despite the challenges that the arrival of free-state immigrants presented to the territory, most Kansas slaveholders optimistically to their beliefs that the peculiar institution was going to be established in Kansas. These optimistic views did not immediately disappear and they kept hope even in the face of the numerous political difficulties that plagued their cause. Although the political situation did deter some of them, in many cases only the ultimate political defeat of slavery led them to abandon the ranks. As late as August, 1857, a year before the final rejection of the Lecompton Constitution, free-state journalist Daniel R. Anthony described Doniphan County slaveholder William Matthews as "a proSlavery man--a first rate fellow who believes Slavery is a divine institution and that it will yet be established in Kansas."[3]

Unlike Matthews, however, the confident assumptions of some slaveholders began to erode as free-state immigrants arrived in the territory and the erosion only accelerated as Kansas slaves seized this new opportunity for freedom. Slaveholders reacted to the new arrivals with alarmed threats, polemics, and assertions of property rights. Samuel N. Wood, a free-state publicist and abolitionist, wrote in a July, 1854 letter that

> Slaveholders finding, with all their threats and bullying, that Northern men could not be scared or kept out of the territory, are now trying to control the public sentiment, and contend that we have no right to exclude slave property from the Territory, and that it stands in precisely the same relation as other property.[4]

The free-soil sentiments of the new arrivals were a very real threat to the personal property of the slaveholders and a small, though an ever-increasing feeling of consternation began to appear among them. A month earlier, Wood noted that the arrival of antislavery immigrants had spawned the first doubts about the security of slave property in the territory. "A few slaveholders already have moved in with their slaves," Wood editorialized. "[Free-state] settlements have commenced, slaveholders have become frightened, already we hear---*'they will not trust their slaves there!'* "[5] Wood's last assertion was an exaggeration for many confident slaveholders did, in fact, bring their slaves to Kansas Territory and many remained with them for the next few years. Nevertheless, Wood's assertion that slaveholders were beginning to experience their first doubts is essentially correct. This was just the case with one Missouri slaveholder who, in 1854, quickly abandoned his attempt at settlement when he discovered New England abolitionists living on his claim. A free-state newspaper correspondent wrote:

> The very spot on which the Worcester colony had been located had been selected by a Missourian for a plantation, but when he arrived there with his negroes and found these young men on the spot full of hostility to the institution, he wisely turned his back, and crossed over into the State where his property was safe.[6]

Events such as these were still rare in the territory and did not occur enough to prevent the number of slaveholders and slaves from increasing in the early part of the territorial period. However, these emigrations became ever more frequent as the Kansas conflict escalated. The free-state presence helped liberate enough slaves that eventually only the most foolhardy masters brought them to Kansas. Abolitionist minister Samuel Adair, reminiscing in 1903, summarized the cumulative effects of liberation activity by

stating simply that "Slave holders & pro-slavery [people] were afraid to bring them [slaves] here."[7]

Those days were still in the distance, and in spite of the new worries about the security of slaves, most slaveholders planned to stay in Kansas. Prudent masters took steps to safeguard their property, though some risked keeping them in Kansas as usual, and a few masters even granted freedom to a small number of lucky slaves. Masters who wanted to keep their property but did not wish to risk their security in the territory simply transported them out of Kansas to the safety of acquaintances and family. Charles Eckart, a former employee of Fry McGee, remembered that "Several times . . . McGee took them to Missouri, on suspecting a raid from the Abolitionists, and returned them back when things quieted down."[8] Missouri, however, was not altogether safe for slave property either, and a good many slaves undoubtedly experienced a fate similar to those of Atchison, Kansas. Based on his conversations with former Atchison slaveholders, researcher H. L. Stein wrote in 1903, "for fear of loosing [sic] them their owners sen[t] them hastily to Missouri & and those able to sell them done [sic] so--not taking any risk with them."[9] In 1856, a Mississippian "with a number of slaves" took a similar course of action: "Very early he decided that the sentiment against slavery was too strong in the territory so he slipped over into Missouri and disposed of them."[10] Such sales carried risks; in 1858, an enraged antislavery mob lynched a Mr. Scott of the town of Trading Post for selling his slaves in Missouri rather than manumitting them.[11]

Another sale of slaves had unfortunate, but not deadly, consequences for the buyer. One master saw that slavery was soon to end in Kansas and decided to relinquish

his two slave girls, aged seven and eleven. This master swindled a free-state man by convincing him to exchange his sawmill in exchange for the two slaves. The new owner decided to convert his human capital to cash and took them to Platte City, Missouri, for sale. He was much chagrined when he received only eleven hundred dollars for the girls, roughly the price of a prime male hand and far less than the value of his mill.[12]

For some masters, remaining in Kansas was not desirable at all and they simply exited Kansas Territory. Cary B. Whitehead, the owner of two slaves in 1855, persevered until "the Slavery question was settled," and then immediately left for Missouri, but not before swapping his land claim for an additional family of slaves. Whitehead, according to a neighbor, stubbornly refused to ever live in a free state, but antislavery activities also motivated his departure for he hoped to "prevent the abolitionists from stealing his negroes."[13]

As the conflict in Kansas intensified, the region became less and less attractive to slaveholders and leaving Kansas, as Whitehead did, became a more attractive option. At the very least, slaveholders could expect vilification from their free-state neighbors. "The organs of free soil," one proslavery newspaperman recounted, "are vociferous in their abuse. . . . It needs no small courage to settle in that region as a slaveholder when the certain reward of such an adventure is the abuse and calumny of the Northern free soil press."[14] James Redpath, the famous "Roving Editor," confirmed this assertion by labeling Judge Samuel D. Lecompte as "subservient to the will of tyranny."[15] Benjamin F. Stringfellow was "denounced as a coward poltroon" and described as the "the Devil a monk would be."[16] An article discussing the delegates of the Lecompton Constitutional

convention labeled Judge Rush Elmore "unscrupulous and designing" and full of "animal passions." The article deemed William Walker "completely broken down by intemperance," and Blake Little's speeches were "not remarkable for correct pronunciation or good grammar." Finally the critique of the nonslaveholding Catholic chaplain of the assembly was probably just as offensive to slaveowners as it was to priests:

> A Convention of felons would not have been complete without a drunken Priest to mumble over prayers to the bloody god of Slavery. . . . [Father McGhee] is a course, fat, pussy, sleek, sensual looking man of about of about sixty. With his hands complacently folded over his protuberant stomach, his red nose glistening, oily cheeks shining, and little cunning eyes twinkling, he looks the embodiment of a slaveholder's religion--a fit chaplain for such an assembly.[17]

When foul words turned to foul deeds, slaveholders could expect particularly ill treatment from free-staters. There was a kernel of truth in the proslavery "yarn" that told of an immigrating slaveholder who felt it necessary to arm his slaves as his personal bodyguards. The slaveowner needed the armed guard because he planned to pass by Lawrence on his way into the territory.[18] This was in reality a regional phenomena. Kansas marauders singled out Missouri slaveholders "when the infuriated Kansas free-state men practiced retaliation" for earlier proslavery raids, and did likewise to those in Kansas Territory.[19] In fact, John Brown himself helped to liberate at least one Kansas slave.[20] Morton Bourn of Douglas County was the victim of free-state raiders in 1856. The raiders relived him of guns, horses and tack, and even his "grocery stores," and then ordered him to leave. Bourn recounted that "They said that the war was commenced; they were going to fight it out, and drive the pro-slavery people out of the territory. . . . I believe they treated me so because I was a pro-slavery man."[21]

The raiders of Morton Bourn's home demanded his exit, and he, like many other slaveholding Kansans, complied with the demand. "These men," Bourn testified for congressional investigators in 1856, "said that I must leave in a day or two. Or they would kill me or hinted as much. . . . I left for fear of my life and that of my family."[22] "Mr. Jones of Palmyra," the owner of two slaves, allegedly spied on his free-state neighbors, earning him a visit from an antislavery band who forced him to leave Kansas with his belongings. The free-state raiders gave his slaves the opportunity to live in freedom, but the slaves, both of whom were adolescents, chose to leave with their master. Like Jones, Judge John Yocum of Franklin County, abandoned Kansas after "having his life menaced" by abolitionists, but not before they relieved him of his chattels.[23] John Armstrong, an underground railroad conductor, described how free-state marauders expelled D. E. Bowen of Douglas County from the territory. Bowen's willingness to supply liquor to proslavery ruffians proved to be his undoing:

> Bowen kept a grocery store and [gr]oggery. Some pro-slavery people lived above me. They would get drunk and come and threaten me. I told the Lawrence men about it, and one night Capt[ain] Randlet and a party of free state men in Lawrence ca[m]e . . . and cleaned out Bowen's whiskey, and gave him orders to leave. . . . Randlet's men gave Bowen's family three days in which to leave.

The attackers carried Sharp's rifles and Bowen feared the weapon's great power and range. Rather than experience the famous rifle's capabilities first hand, Bowen bolted for Missouri with his family and slaves.[24]

The retaliation by Randlet's men against Bowen was not an uncommon event in Bleeding Kansas. Nasty treatment by free-staters resulted frequently in retaliation for

similar wrongdoings committed by the masters, though slaveholders who restrained themselves were not necessarily exempt. In Paris Ellison's case, his own actions invited trouble. Mr. Ellison had his home "fixed up as a fort" and he had been storing weapons there for a proslavery militia. A free-state band arrived while Ellison had left his wife and children at home. Brandishing guns, the band demanded to search the premises. In this particular instance, a couple of tenants were at the residence and their armed presence eventually deterred the search.[25]

Colonel Henry T. Titus provides a good example of the kind of treatment free-staters gave many masters. Titus, one of the most extreme and notorious perpetrators of proslavery violence, found himself a victim of his own methods when free-state guerrillas attacked his home, a log fortress built specifically for fighting. After a brief skirmish in that left Titus wounded and captured, Samuel Walker, one of his captors, wrote in an editorial, "[T]hat Titus was especially offensive to the Free-State party, was attributable to his brutal inhumanity toward them. . . . When Col. Titus's house was attacked it was with the full determination of taking his life." Walker also noted that Titus's captors "seemed unrelenting in their determination" to execute him and the Colonel lived only because of his successful plea to Walker for mercy. The victorious free-state attackers had to content themselves with torching Titus's home and all of his property.[26]

Titus's associate, George W. Clarke, suffered a similar fate for his activities against free-state citizens. Clarke headed a band of proslavery bandits that terrorized southeast Kansas during the 1856 guerrilla war. Free-state residents repaid Clarke by raiding his home. Clarke wrote of the incident that "I had not . . . even the time to carry off a change

of clothing for my family . . . . My house was plundered of everything valuable, including clothing, bedding, furniture and provisions."[27] This did not deter Clarke's enthusiasm for participating in violent activity and he remained in Kansas until 1858 or 1859 when vengeful free-state residents made it "too hot for him." William Margrave, a free-state judge who knew Clarke, said of him, "He was a border ruffian of the worst kind. . . . If he wasn't killed before he got away from Kansas it was a mistake on the part of those who knew him."[28]

Like Clarke and Titus, other masters suffered property loss at the hands of antislavery forces. Fry McGee's election-rigging and general belligerence had caused problems for free-staters from the very opening of the territory, and his willingness to permit Jefferson Buford's South Carolina brigands to headquarter in his tavern led free-state marauders to sack the establishment. A later newspaper account of the incident stated boldly that "This was the end of the McGee regime in that locality."[29]

Such events did great harm to the effort to institute slavery in Kansas, and proved to be significant in the demise of slaveholding in the territory. Presumably, Kansas needed many masters and slaves for authentic vitality as a slave state; the exodus of masters and the liberation of slave property, either by abolitionists or on the initiative of the bondsmen, robbed the proslavery forces of both necessary components. This process began immediately after the opening of the territory and increased in magnitude as the territorial years progressed.

Slaveholders, however, were not going to let this happen unchallenged. Seeing in the activities of abolitionists a treasonous rejection of the customary support for slavery

and the southern way of life, the Bogus Legislature quickly designated aid to fugitive slaves a capital crime. Richard R. Rees had little difficulty with such a stiff punishment. As chair of the Committee on the Judiciary, Rees defended the punishment's severity:

> [W]hen we view the offense in its peculiar bearing at this time, it assumes more the character of treason against the laws than an ordinary crime which but effects the parties immediately interested . . . It is an offense the frequent recurrence of which, we may well imagine, might light the bonfires of a civil war, and result in bloodshed more fearful than a thousand murders.[30]

From the very beginning, slaveowners were extremely vocal in advocating or condoning violence against the traitorous free-state people. An 1855 resident of Pawnee, Mrs. R. V. Hadden, described the first few days of the Bogus Legislature's activities there: "One fiery advocate of slavery who came to Pawnee, attended by his slaves, threatened the lives of those who wanted to make Kansas a free state." In the same breath the speaker castigated his fellow legislators for working on the Sabbath.[31] Abolitionist Frederick Starr, Jr., wrote to his father that Peter Abell was murderously enraged at the abolitionists in Kansas for allegedly enticing his slave to escape. Starr said in his letter: "Ought not every Emigrant of the emigrant aid society meet speedy death in Kanzas[?] Mr. Abell says so & says he 'will help hang every one on the first tree.' "[32]

Other slaveholders went on public record supporting violent acts against free-state opponents. Judge Samuel D. Lecompte chaired a "public meeting" that sought to protect slaves from free-state liberation. After issuing proclamations against slandering proslavery people and causing friction between "the master and the servant, " the assembly sadly warned free-state people of the dangers of disobedience: "[A]s much as we deprecate the

necessity to which we may be driven, we cannot be responsible for the consequences." The United States Congressional investigation of the Kansas troubles would later comment on this meeting, noting that a slave-holding federal judge, supposedly neutral, "assisted at a public and bitterly partisan meeting, whose direct tendency was to produce violence and disorder."[33] Richard R. Rees, at the time a member-elect of the Bogus Legislature, presided at a similar gathering that exalted one of the more celebrated acts of violence on an abolitionist: "Resolved, that we heartily [e]ndorse the action of the committee of citizens that shaved, tarred and feathered, rode on a rail, and had sold by a negro, W[illia]m Phillips the moral perjurer."[34]

Rees's fellow slaveholders were guilty of plenty of individual and spontaneous acts of savagery like that inflicted on William Phillips. Colonel Henry T. Titus bludgeoned Samuel C. Pomeroy in a Kansas City courtroom.[35] In an 1857 letter, then-Governor John Geary recounted how Rush Elmore assaulted John Kagi, an associate of John Brown, after Kagi "used his [Elmore's] name in a matter offensive to that gentleman." The enraged judge "commenced an assault upon him with a cane, striking him a blow over the head. . . . The Judge, who was also armed with a revolver, then fired three times at Kagi, who was running off, one of the balls lodging in his side, just beneath the skin."[36] Governor Andrew Reeder once remarked that Benjamin F. Stringfellow, a native Virginian, was not a gentleman. Upon hearing of the insult, Stringfellow challenged the governor to a duel. When Reeder refused to take the challenge, Stringfellow punched him to the ground.[37]

Benjamin F. Stringfellow demonstrated that Kansas slaveholders were more than willing to aid and carry out more organized forms of violent activity. Together with John,

his nonslaveholding brother, Benjamin advocated organized brutality for the proslavery cause. The Stringfellows freely financed guerrilla bands; among their contributions was a five-hundred-dollar grant to Jefferson Buford, the founder of Palmetto.[38] A South Carolinian, Buford recruited a number of young men from his home state to settle in Kansas. After founding the Palmetto colony in 1856, Buford and his men raided and pillaged the free-state settlers. This group was so active in the fighting that "it was not until the following year that . . . [they] undertook to make of Palmetto anything but a camping place."[39]

Both Stringfellow brothers led guerrillas themselves. Among the participants in the 1856 "sack of Lawrence" were the four hundred militiamen under the command of Benjamin F. Stringfellow. John Stringfellow, who as editor of the *Squatter Sovereign* had called for leveling the town, was himself at Lawrence in command of the Kickapoo Rangers. This famous militia group, besides helping to loot Lawrence, periodically prowled the Kansas countryside in murderous forays against free-state settlers.[40] As for Benjamin, his role as a leader in the proslavery marauding was not unusual for Kansas masters. Already political and financial leaders of the proslavery Kansans, they frequently assumed similar roles in the ranks of proslavery combatants. Plenty of them joined the Stringfellows at the destruction of Lawrence, including Benjamin F. Stringfellow's law partner, Peter Abell. The owner of one slave, Abell served the proslavery militia as a colonel.[41] The Bogus Legislature sent one of its slaveholding members, William Richardson, to Lawrence as a commissioned general in the territorial militia. Colonel Henry T. Titus, while not a legislator, was also at Lawrence heading the Douglas County

militia. Besides this action, Titus led his men into some of the more bitter fighting of the 1856 guerrilla war.[42]

Titus' commission reveals the influence of the Bogus Legislature on the fighting. That assembly commissioned many of the various proslavery militia units that roamed Kansas. All of the legislators, including those without slaves, strongly desired a slave state and parceled out the various commissions to persons willing to fight for that aim. Presumably the slaveholding members sanctioned these commissions since the appointees' willingness to fight for slavery aided their own personal stake in the slavery question. The remarks of Governor John Geary in 1856 show the great trouble caused by these selections. Geary contended that the greatest of the "existing difficulties" in the territory was "the influence of men who have been placed in authority, and have employed all the destructive agents around them to promote their own personal interests, at the sacrifice of every just, honorable, and lawful consideration." The legislators were included in his indictment since they had authorized "armed bodies of men who . . . perpetrate outrages of the most atrocious character under shadow of authority from the territorial government."[43]

Slaveholders also participated in less organized forms of violence. Atchison slaveholder Grafton Thomasson, after his slave woman's suicide by drowning, refused to retrieve the body. When free-state reporter J. W. B. Kelly criticized his inaction, Thomasson savagely beat the newspaperman. Subsequently, Thomasson's attention turned to the Reverend Pardee Butler, an avowed abolitionist who had ruthlessly criticized slaveholding. Thomasson headed a mob intending to tar-and-feather the abolitionist.

Lacking sufficient feathers, Thomasson's mob substituted cotton, and after application left the brave, if imprudent, minister afloat on a raft in the Missouri River.[44]

Kansas masters led other less successful acts of mob violence. Governor Reeder, recently expelled from office and hiding to escape capture in a Kansas City hotel, described E. Milton McGee's attempt to seize G. W. Brown, another free-state citizen hiding there: "A mob of 30 or 40 assemble[d], headed by Milt. M'Gee, who came into the hotel, and going by mistake to O. C. Brown's room, they dragged him out and took him down town--discovered their error and let him go." McGee apparently learned that Reeder was hiding there for the Governor wrote that he heard McGee and other proslavery men discussing plans to seize him, a plan thwarted by the presence of newly-arrived free-state guards. Throughout the ordeal McGee and other proslavery men looking for Reeder put his life in great peril; during his seclusion, he wrote a will in which he spoke of "being in danger of being murdered by a set of vile ruffians and outlaws who are outside the restraints of law, order, decency, and social obligations."[45] The attempts to seize Reeder ultimately failed as did Judge Rush Elmore's attempt to seize a reporter. The newspaperman wrote of the "the plot laid for me by . . . Elmore and other Stringfellow men" in 1857:

> "For once . . . the mob, with Elmore at its head, made a rush for the place I was supposed to be, with the avowed purpose of assassinating me. They, however, soon found that the d--- abolution [sic] reporter wasn't there. The Hon[orable] Judge, however, sent me his compliments in a gentlemanly manner . . . with the very pleasant information that he intended shooting me at the first convenient opportunity."[46]

In analyzing these acts of leadership, one small group of Kansas masters appears repeatedly. All of these persons were involved in leadership capacities and included among the groups members were many of the most radical extremists of the proslavery people, such as Benjamin F. Stringfellow, the numerous McGee brothers, Colonel Henry T. Titus, George W. Clarke, and Charles Hamilton, the culprit of the Marais des Cygnes massacre. While Hamilton's eventual notoriety would be greatest, the others likewise earned notorious reputations by participating prominently in the more celebrated bloodlettings in Kansas. Besides sharing similar reputations, these men were loosely connected to each other through business and political activities. Ideology also provided a sense of unity for these masters. In some cases, they had strong ideological connections to the South or to southern institutions that factored into their motivations for fighting.

Benjamin F. Stringfellow had strongly publicized Kansas to the southern people, proclaiming her the all-important slave state that would guarantee the future vitality of the peculiar institution and the South.[47] His brother John was no less enthusiastic about the proslavery cause, despite not owning slaves; as editor of the *Squatter Sovereign*, John labored under the motto "The South and her Institutions." From these two men, both of whom were active participants themselves, one can trace a web of contacts that linked them to the leaders of the proslavery movement, particularly the more violent slaveholders as the McGee brothers, Colonel Henry T. Titus, George W. Clarke, and Charles Hamilton.

The Stringfellows had at least a small connection to the McGee brothers through the Bogus Legislature, of which both John Stringfellow and Mobillon W. McGee were members. The connection to the legislature in itself brought many of the other more

influential slaveholders and other leaders of the proslavery party together. For example, Rush Elmore led a hunting expedition that included legislators William Richardson, H. J. Strickler, and Frank Marshall. All three of these men were also generals in the territorial militia. As legislators, all helped to commission Colonel Henry T. Titus in the militia system. The degree of personal association among these men is not altogether certain, but it is noteworthy that all participated in the Lawrence incident as troop commanders. In any case, McGee and Titus both had exceptionally strong loyalties to the South; McGee had previously roamed the deep South recruiting proslavery settlers for Kansas Territory and a newspaper correspondent once remarked of Titus that "He admitted to me that Kansas . . . must be made a Slave State to preserve the balance of power, and that the South would have it at any cost."[48]

Through their joint ownership of a slave woman named Ann, Titus was associated with George W. Clarke, another notorious perpetrator of maliciousness. Clarke's murder of free-state settler Thomas Barber in 1855 was one of the earliest and more cold-blooded killings in Bleeding Kansas.[49] In this murder, Clarke and an accomplice ambushed the victim as he walked down a road. Clarke failed in two other murder attempts against free-state residents. In the first instance, onlookers succeeded in restraining Clarke after he pointed a revolver at Charles Robinson, a Lawrence resident destined to become the first governor of the state of Kansas. On a second occasion Clarke's plan to assassinate a free-state citizen failed when Judy, his slave, warned the victim of the plot. Clarke's activities as a guerrilla fighter in Linn County and as head of the land office brought him into contact with the Charles Hamilton. While it does not appear that Clarke participated in

the Marais des Cygnes killings, both men were local leaders in the proslavery forces of southeast Kansas.[50]

Hamilton's strong sectional loyalties and convictions were important in his actions. Hamilton came to Kansas Territory as a recruit of E. Milton McGee. This Georgian brought with him a strong expectation that Kansas settlers had obligations to follow the basic customs of southern society, particularly slavery. Upon arriving in Kansas Territory, Hamilton settled at Trading Post along with two brothers, one of whom would serve in the legislature, and sixteen slaves. The new arrival's background as a true southern gentleman quickly became apparent; to aid his strong political ambitions, Hamilton constructed a horse track to entertain the local residents with racing and cultivated their votes with a generally flashy manner of living.[51]

Hamilton, like many other southern aristocrats, *expected* these persons to reciprocate with support for both his political ambitions and the peculiar institution. Voters fulfilled the first by electing him to minor political office, but he was subsequently voted out of office once the free-state settlers gained a majority in the area. As his political opportunities slipped away, the chances of establishing slavery in the territory likewise diminished as the new arrivals poured into Kansas Territory. Hamilton responded by harassing free-staters, promising brutality to persons who opposed the adoption or implementation of the Lecompton Constitution. William P. Tomlinson, writing just a year after the massacre, described Hamilton's increasing belligerence:

> On various occasions, when meeting with his [free-state] neighbors . . . he threatened that he would have their *scalps* whenever he was compelled to leave Kansas with his slaves--that whenever it was definitely known that

> the Lecompton Constitution had passed Congress, there would be bloody work in the territory. All who did not go for it would be massacred or driven from Kansas, &c.[52]

The imminent rejection of the document prompted the already seething Georgian to vengeful rampage. With one exception, all victims desired a free Kansas and their preference for northern free labor conflicted directly with Hamilton's demand for popular support of slavery and southern institutions. Their rejection of Hamilton's demand made them traitors deserving of death. Treason also motivated Hamilton to include a Georgia acquaintance, William Hairgrove, among his victims. Though proslavery, Hairgrove's convictions were weak and he opposed the Lecompton Constitution altogether. A lack of zeal from a fellow southerner was galling enough, but Hairgrove's listlessness, contrary to Hamilton's demands for support, represented a personal affront to his southern conception of honor. Hairgrove's apparent rejection of not only the southern cause but of Charles Hamilton himself earned him a place among the victims. Hairgrove was more fortunate than the other victims for he survived his severe wounds by faking death.[53]

Hamilton's ghastly execution of the perceived offenders was the last important event of Bleeding Kansas, though it had little effect on the eventual outcome of the slavery struggle. Proslavery forces had already lost the war in Kansas Territory, a far cry from the optimistic hopes expressed by the slaveholders at the opening of Kansas Territory. The first doubts about the future of slavery in Kansas Territory coincided with the arrival of the free-state immigrants. In the ensuing guerrilla war, free-state settlers subjected the masters to vicious maltreatment Though the slaveholders led the proslavery forces and though they had little qualms about using violence and brutality of their own, many of

them were driven away or fled the territory. These departures proved devastating to the proslavery cause and only foretold the eventual fate of slavery in Kansas.

NOTES

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19. "Sketch of the Career of Gen. Robert B. Mitchell," LaCygne [Kansas] Weekly Journal, 3 May 1895, in William Elsey Connelley, ed., Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society 16 (1923-1925): 643.

20. William E. Connelley, "The Lane Trail," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society 13 (1913-1914): 270.

21. Congress, House, Committee on Kansas Affairs. Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives: Kansas Affairs, 34th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 200, serial 869, 1181-1182. Slaveholding defined loyalties with certitude and memories of slaveholding lasted even after the territorial conflict ended. Soldiers of the 5th Kansas regiment, a Union army unit threatened Judge Rush Elmore, despite his Unionist sympathies and the selling of his chattels prior to the Civil War. A neighbor of the judge wrote that "They considered that Judge Elmore was an unsafe man in the community and planned to hang him." See John Sedgewick Freeland, Personal reminiscences of the slaves of Rush Elmore, [1895], History of Slaves and Slavery Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, 3. Peter Abell, a slaveholder in Atchison during the territorial years was also a Unionist but many Kansans incorrectly assumed him to be a Confederate sympathizer. Abell had to flee Kansas or face death. See The United States Biographical Dictionary, Kansas Volume, 690. Ironically, bushwhackers with Confederate sympathies murdered Thomas Johnson. Because the former slaveholder supported the Union, they deemed him a traitor to the southern Cause." See Rev. J[oab] Spencer, "A Statement," 5 June 1906, Thomas Johnson Miscellaneous Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 2.

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33. William O. Blake, History of Slavery and the Slave Trade, (Columbus, Ohio: H. Miller, 1861), 700-701.

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CONCLUSION

Within Kansas Territory proslavery and free-state antagonists battled literally to the death over the fate of the peculiar institution. It is now appropriate to determine the meaning of the Kansas conflict in light of this research. First of all, this study suggests that slavery was indeed a direct factor in the making of Bleeding Kansas. Moreover, the destruction of slavery in the region was directly attributable to the activities of both free-state citizens and fugitive slaves. Finally, this research casts light on national events, particularly the breakup of the Union by secession. Before that national conflict can be discussed, however, it will prove helpful to examine the various factors that made Kansas Territory a place of violence, and also to examine the role of slavery in the Kansas conflict.

Land issues were of particular importance in the outbreak of violence in Kansas Territory. The earliest arrivals to Kansas, most of whom were proslavery Missourians, naturally settled the best lands of the region, those areas along timbered waterways. These Missourians frequently claimed as much land as they possibly could, often for no other reason than keeping the lands out of the hands of the free-state settlers. Such a situation invited trouble, for good land was vital for the economic well-being of any settler, including the free-staters. Many northern settlers, most of whom arrived in Kansas after the initial waves of Missourians, found themselves cut off from this vital resource.

Even if apathetic about slavery, these settlers still had plenty of reason to take up arms in Kansas.[1]

Even when good land was available for all, the process of acquiring and holding claims was confusing and ambiguous and became a motive for violence. Initially, squatting was the only method of securing a claim in Kansas and much of the initial settlement took place long before government surveyors completed the mapping of the new territory. These surveyors performed the task haphazardly and federal land offices did a poor job of administering the sales of newly-mapped lands. Compounding the problem, some settlers occupied Indian lands that were not yet open to settlement. Technically, these claims were invalid. Inevitably, the numerous ambiguities of land settlement spawned bickering over claims, outright claim jumping, and land fraud. Flared tempers and ensuing violence were probably inevitable in such a situation. Indeed, the precipitating event of the famous 1856 "Wakarusa War" was a murder over a disputed claim. The victim, free-stater Charles Dow, and the perpetrator, pro-slaveryite Franklin Coleman, had been arguing over the rights to a claim ten miles south of Lawrence, Kansas; their opposing views on the slavery question did not factor into the dispute. In November, 1855, an angry Coleman ended the feud by shooting Dow dead.[2]

Thereafter, guerrilla conflict enveloped Kansas and the weakness and ineptitude of the government only compounded the fighting. Many of Kansas's officials, whether elected or federally appointed, were weak or biased. Some of them occupied their positions out of personal interest and had little concern for the good of the territory. Finally, the numerous governors of Kansas Territory tended toward weakness and proved

unable to control the Bogus Legislature elected in 1855. With problems such as these, the chances of government putting an end to the violence were negligible.[3]

The inability of the governors to control the Bogus Legislature gave that body nearly free reign in Kansas Territory. Since the legislature doled out most political jobs and appointments in the territory, proslavery forces received virtually all of them. Historian James Malin noted that these small political jobs were important on the frontier income for struggling, cash-poor settlers. The near lock-out of free-state settlers from these badly-needed positions threatened their economic well-being. Such circumstances gave them plenty of reason to fight the proslavery forces.[4]

The various reasons so far presented all in some way contributed to the violent character of Kansas Territory. However, these reasons emerged in a conflict that was, at least in theory, about slavery. David Potter's analysis of Kansas found that while many factors contributed to the violence, slavery was the root cause. "For Kansas, locally," Potter asserted, "the war was a kind of bushwhacking contest between rival factions for the control of land claims, political jobs, and local economic opportunities, as well as a struggle over slavery."[5] Yet this was not a war over slavery in the abstract. At its very core, it was a fight over the real existence of the peculiar institution in the territory. Slaveholders led much of the fighting for the proslavery forces and found themselves singled out for the worst treatment that their free-state counterparts had to offer. An exasperated John Speer would later write that he and his free-state companions had fought against something far more real than proslavery ideology. "I was amazed to read in a magazine article," wrote Speer, "an expression dropped by one of the most eminent

litterateurs of this country, to the effect that he supposed there were never any slaves in Kansas. It is such utterances from such sources that hurt. What were we fighting about?"[6]

The willingness of Speer and others like him to fight against slavery was significant in the outcome of the contest. As later developments indicated, Kansas offered real possibilities for the eventual emergence of a staple crop. Slavery therefore failed in the territory because of the activities of free-state settlers and runaway slaves, not because Kansas was somehow unfit for slaveholding. There seems to be a solid foundation for the argument that free-staters and runaway slaves stole Kansas away from the proslavery forces.

Certainly the proslavery side had all of the initial advantages. Missourians and other settlers from the South led the initial waves of settlement into the territory, giving proslavery forces an initial voting majority, political control, and a nucleus of slaves and masters. All of these favorable conditions eventually changed, and this brought about the doom of the peculiar institution. Slaveholding stood little chance of being implemented in a tumultuous atmosphere that was dangerous to masters and advantageous for fleeing slaves.

To some degree, proslavery forces, including the slaveholders, brought about their own undoing by short-sightedly encouraging election fraud when they had a political majority. The blatant gerrymandering only galvanized and stiffened the resolve of free-staters to fight a holy crusade against slavery.[7] Later writing of the day when "armed invaders from Missouri seized the polls," former abolitionist John Speer declared: "That

was an all-sufficient cause for resistance; the man who would have fired a battery into one of those camps [of border ruffians] would have been as heroic a patriot as they who defended Lexington and Bunker Hill."[8]

The free-state victors quickly laid claim to all credit for the victory, describing themselves as saviors "who helped to free not only Kansas but a race." Kansas abolitionist Samuel N. Wood later wrote of the free-state settlers, "Kansas was the great school of freedom, and our early pioneers were the great teachers. Yes, the early Kansas pioneers made way for liberty. They made straight the paths for to-day!"[9] Such remarks, often erroneously dismissed by historians as nostalgic bits of sentimentalism, were in reality quite close to the truth. Free-state settlers, in assessing their role in Kansas' history, frequently uttered such proclamations; they were incorrect only in their failure to recognize huge blunder of proslavery forces at the election polls and the efforts of Kansas's slaves to free themselves.

Indeed, the slaves had much to do with the destruction of slavery in the territory. Besides reducing the slave population of Kansas Territory outright, their willingness to flee from bondage discouraged potential slaveholding immigrants from coming to the territory. Moreover, many of those masters who did come to Kansas subsequently left the territory out of fear of loosing their chattels. This was the slaves' contribution to the demise of the peculiar institution in Kansas . All too often, the paternalistic outlook of the masters failed to evoke in the slaves a sense of loyalty strong enough to withstand the lure of freedom. It was this failure, as much as the efforts of free-state crusaders, that defeated slavery in Kansas.

The victory over slavery in the territory came at a great price to the nation, however. The Kansas issue further divided the northern and southern portions of the country against each another. In Congress, the Lecompton Constitution proved to be especially problematic in the accelerating sectional disunity. President James Buchanan, a Democrat, unwisely submitted the document to Congress even though the convention delegation had been selected by questionable means and the document itself had not been approved in its entirety by Kansas residents. This ultimately led to a split in the Democratic party along sectional lines. Southerners, ever hungry for a new slave state, demanded its passage, while northern Democrats generally opposed the document. This put northern Democrats in a serious dilemma. Northern "public opinion" demanded that such an undemocratic document be rejected, while their southern comrades demanded that they support the passage. "With this demand," writes historian Kenneth Stampp, "they [southern Democrats] overreached themselves and brought on a genuine uprising among northern rank-and file Democrats . . . and the Democratic party was split. The Republican victory in the 1860 presidential election was the result."[10]

The election of Lincoln in itself embittered many southerners, but even apart from the election, bad feelings emerged among southern people over the failure to establish Kansas as a slave state. At the time of Bleeding Kansas, the South chafed under abolitionist attacks about the morality and efficiency of its labor system as well as a weakening political strength relative to the North. Alarmed and upset, many southern people desperately wanted a new slave state added to the Union. By acquiring a new slave state, the South could reassure itself that its vitality as a section was equal to that of

the North. The failed battle to acquire that slave state, besides greatly polarizing the North and South and inflaming the passions on both sides, left increasingly angry southerners with yet another sign of their weakening as a section. If proslavery forces, not the free-staters, had been able to avoid or even win the Kansas conflict, however, the South might have won its new slave state.[11]

While a slave Kansas might not have averted secession entirely, it is not unreasonable to suggest that a new slave state might have placated southerners enough to at least delay secession. In light of this research, this was not an impossible outcome. Proslavery people had strong advantages at the beginning of the territorial period and it seems that Kansas offered a reasonable chance of success for staple crop agriculture. In any case, when southerners in Kansas Territory bungled the opportunity by permitting swarms of Missourians to vote illegally, free-staters and fugitive slaves ensured that there would be no recovery. Free-state activity drove the slaveholders, in spite of their economic and political influence, out of Kansas Territory. As for the slaves, they rejected any paternalistic attempts of control by the masters and instead chose to take advantage of a unique opportunity for freedom offered by Kansas. These conditions, not any unsuitable agricultural conditions destroyed the peculiar institution in Kansas. The destruction in the territory propelled southerners ever closer to a rebellion that ultimately destroyed slavery forever in the South.

NOTES

1. James Malin, John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1942), 498-508; Paul Wallace Gates, "Land and Credit Problems in Underdeveloped Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly 31 (1965): 48.

2. David M. Potter, The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861 (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 202-204; Kenneth Stampp, America in 1857 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 151; Gates, "Land and Credit Problems in Underdeveloped Kansas; Alice Nichols, Bleeding Kansas (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 49-50.

3. Malin, John Brown and the Legend of Fifty Six, 25; Stampp, America in 1857, 151.

4. Malin, John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six, 498-508.

5. Potter, The Impending Crisis, 217.

6. John Speer, "Accuracy in History," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 6 (1900): 67.

7. James Shortridge, "People of the New Frontier: Kansas Population Origins, 1865," Kansas History 14 (Autumn 1991) 176-177.

8. Speer, "Accuracy in History," 60.

9. Samuel N. Wood, "The Pioneers of Kansas," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 3 (1883-1885): 430-431.

10. Stampp, America in 1857, 280, 286-287, 330.

11. A good discussion of the importance of Kansas on the national scene can be found in Don E. Fehrenbacher, "Kansas, Republicanism, and the Crisis of the Union," in Major Problems of the Civil War and Reconstruction, ed. Michael Perman (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath, 1991), 104-117.

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Slaveholder	Occupation	Slaves Owned	Other Totals	Escapes
Abell, Peter T.	Lawyer	2		2
Arnett, Thomas B.	Hotel keeper	4		
Baptiste	Indian Interpreter	1		
Barlow, Joseph H.	Judge	2	3	
Bayne, Alexander	Farmer	2		
Bayne, Thomas	Farmer	3		
Beauchemie, Mackinaw	Indian Interpreter	2		
Bell, Stephen	Farmer	1		
Bishop, R. C.	?	1		
Booth, Fox	Farmer	1		
Bourn, Morton	Farmer	13		13
Bowen, D. E.	Tavern owner	10		
Brantley, Benjamin	?	2		
Briggs, R. P.	Farmer	1		
Bryant, Milton. E.	Farmer	4		
Brooks, Mrs. Mary	?	3	4	
Bulboni, Mrs.	?	1		
Burton, M.	?	1		
Cand, B. L.	Clerk	1		
Chandler, Richard	Farmer	1		
Chenault, John R.	Indian Agent	2		
Choteau, Cyprian and Pierre	Traders	2		
Clarke, G. W.	Land Officer	2		2
Cobb, T.	?	4		
Columbia, C.	Blacksmith	1		
Connell, Jesse	Farmer	1		
Crippen, Joseph	Farmer	1		
Crockett, W. C.	?	10		
Cummings, Major R. W.	Indian Agent	15		
Daughert, Harriatt	?	4		
Davidson, B. D.	?	1		
Davis, J. B.	Farmer	1	2	
Davis, John	Farmer	2		
Davis, Sylvester	Farmer	1		
Deaver, A. H.	?	5		

APPENDIX A

KANSAS SLAVEHOLDERS

Slaveholder	Source	Source
Abell, Peter T.	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 240-241.	Starr to his father, 19 Sept. 1854
Arnett, Thomas B.	1855 census	
Baptiste	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 66.	
Barlow, Joseph H.	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 238.	Smith, "Marais des Cygnes," 367
Bayne, Alexander	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	
Bayne, Thomas	Bayne to Adams.	
Beauchemie, Mackinaw	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 66.	Stinson interview, 2 April 1906
Bell, Stephen	1855 census	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 68.
Bishop, R. C.	Gleed, "Samuel Walker," 266.	
Booth, Fox	1855 census	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 241.
Bourn, Morton	Speer, "Accuracy," 61.	Cheatham, "Slavery," 171.
Bowen, D. E.	Armstrong, "Reminiscences," 2.	
Brantley, Benjamin	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 238.	
Briggs, R. P.	1855 census	
Bryant, Milton. E.	1855 census	
Brooks, Mrs. Mary	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 240.	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 69.
Bulboni, Mrs.	Haag "Slavery Agitation," 66.	
Burton, M.	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	
Cand, B. L.	1855 census	
Chandler, Richard	1855 census	
Chenault, John R.	Ferris, "Sauk and Foxes," 344.	
Choteau, Cyprian and Pierre	Sharp, "Homecoming," 596.	
Clarke, G. W.	Armstrong, "Reminiscences," 1.	Speer, "Accuracy," 64.
Cobb, T.	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	
Columbia, C.	McClure, "Taking the Census," 234.	
Connell, Jesse	Johannsen, "Lecompton," 234.	
Crippen, Joseph	1855 census	
Crockett, W. C.	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	
Cummings, Major R. W.	Johnson, "Slaves in Ks. Territory," 2.	
Daughert, Harriatt	1855 census	
Davidson, B. D.	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	
Davis, J. B.	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 67.	1855 census
Davis, John	1855 census	
Davis, Sylvester	1855 census	
Deaver, A. H.	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	

Explanatory Notes	Slaveholder
Kept one of his slaves in Weston, Missouri.	Abell, Peter T.
	Arnett, Thomas B.
	Baptiste
	Barlow, Joseph H.
	Bayne, Alexander
	Bayne, Thomas
	Beauchemie, Mackinaw
Listed as Stephen Bill in Haag tallies.	Bell, Stephen
	Bishop, R. C.
Sold the slave to a Mr. Reynolds	Booth, Fox
	Bourn, Morton
All ten slaves tried to escape	Bowen, D. E.
Listed as owning "several slaves."	Brantley, Benjamin
	Briggs, R. P.
	Bryant, Milton. E.
	Brooks, Mrs. Mary
	Bulboni, Mrs.
	Burton, M.
	Cand, B. L.
	Chandler, Richard
Left Kansas around 1852.	Chenault, John R.
	Choteau, Cyprian and Pierre
Owned one slave jointly with Henry T. Titus	Clarke, G. W.
	Cobb, T.
	Columbia, C.
Lifetime slaveholder, number is uncertain	Connell, Jesse
	Crippen, Joseph
	Crockett, W. C.
Left Kansas around 1850	Cummings, Major R. W.
	Daughert, Harriatt
	Davidson, B. D.
	Davis, J. B.
Not listed in Haag's census tallies	Davis, John
	Davis, Sylvester
	Deaver, A. H.

Slaveholder	Occupation	Slaves Owned	Other Totals	Escapes
Deets, James	?	5		5
Dofflemeyer, D.	Clergyman	3		
Donaldson	Hotel Keeper	1		
Dunbar	?	2		
Dunning, Paris	Farmer	1		
Dyer, William	Merchant	2	3	
Eckler, Charles	Farmer	3		
Ellison, Paris	Farmer	4		
Elmore, Rush	Judge	14		
Finch, Franklin	?	1		
Findley, James	Merchant	2		
Fleshman, Perry	Farmer	1		
Foreman, John W.	Farmer	1		
Gallagher, John	Farmer	2		
Ganther	?	1		
Garnett, Charles	Farmer	4		
Garret family	Farmers	1		
Gilbreath, James L.	Merchant	1		
Grace, John	Farmer	1		
Green, Duff.	?	2		
Green, H. T.	Lawyer	2		
Grover, D. A. N.	Lawyer	2		
Haley, Horace N.	?	1		1
Hamilton, Charles	Farmer	16		
Hammond, William	Army surgeon	1	2	
Handy, C. N.	Indian Agent	2		
Harland, David	Farmer	2	several	
Harris, Louis	Farmer	1		
Hayes, Seth M.	Trader	1		
Haze, Washington	Farmer	1	3	
Hereford, Joseph	Farmer	1		
Hicks, Francis A.	Farmer	1		
Hinkle, Levi	Army Officer	3		
Huffaker, Lucinda	?	1		
Humber, Numeris	?	2		

APPENDIX A

(CONTINUED)

Slaveholder	Source	Source
Deets, James	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 239.	
Dofflemeyer, D.	1855 census	
Donaldson	Speer, "Slaves in Ks.," 217.	
Dunbar	Andreas, vol. 1, 667.	
Dunning, Paris	1855 census	
Dyer, William	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	1855 census
Eckler, Charles	1855 census	
Ellison, Paris	1855 census	
Elmore, Rush	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 67.	1855 census
Finch, Franklin	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	
Findley, James	1855 census	
Fleshman, Perry	Cole to Adams, 20 October 1895.	
Foreman, John W.	1855 census	
Gallagher, John	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 241.	
Ganther	Cory, "Slavery in Ks," 238.	
Garnett, Charles	1855 census	
Garret family	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 239.	
Gilbreath, James L.	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 238.	
Grace, John	1855 census	
Green, Duff.	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 240.	Maris to Adams, 22 July 1895
Green, H. T.	Moore, "Early History," 271.	
Grover, D. A. N.	1855 census	
Haley, Horace N.	Cheatham, "Kansas."	
Hamilton, Charles	Early Border Life, Weekly Journal	
Hammond, William	Haag "Slavery Agitation," 66, 67.	1855 census
Handy, C. N.	Ferris, "Sauk and Foxes," 344.	
Harland, David	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 66.	
Harris, Louis	Cole, "Pioneer Life," 357.	1855 census
Hayes, Seth M.	1855 census	
Haze, Washington	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 240.	1855 census
Hereford, Joseph	1855 census	
Hicks, Francis A.	Connelley, "Provisional Gov't," 77.	
Hinkle, Levi	Redpath, Roving Editor, 314, 322.	
Huffaker, Lucinda	1855 census	
Humber, Numeris	Cheatham, "Kansas."	

Explanatory Notes	Slaveholder
	Deets, James
	Dofflemeyer, D.
	Donaldson
Listed as owning "several" slaves.	Dunbar
	Dunning, Paris
	Dyer, William
	Eckler, Charles
	Ellison, Paris
	Elmore, Rush
	Finch, Franklin
	Findley, James
	Fleshman, Perry
	Foreman, John W.
Listed as owning "several" slaves.	Gallagher, John
	Ganther
	Garnett, Charles
Members of Wyandotte tribe.	Garret family
	Gilbreath, James L.
	Grace, John
Green owned a mother and infant	Green, Duff.
	Green, H. T.
	Grover, D. A. N.
	Haley, Horace N.
	Hamilton, Charles
Became U. S. Surgeon General	Hammond, William
Left Kansas around 1850	Handy, C. N.
Cherokee Indian	Harland, David
	Harris, Louis
	Hayes, Seth M.
Other spellings: Hayes, Hays	Haze, Washington
	Hereford, Joseph
From a family of Indian slaveholders	Hicks, Francis A.
Sold one slave to a Major Ogden	Hinkle, Levi
	Huffaker, Lucinda
May have owned more slaves	Humber, Numeris

Slaveholder	Occupation	Slaves Owned	Other Totals	Escapes
Hunter, Luke W.	Doctor	1		
Huntington, John	?	4		
James, B. H.	Indian Agent	10		
Johnson	Farmer	4		
Johnson, Alexander	Farmer, surveyor	12		
Johnson, Thomas	Minister	6		
Johnson, William F.	Farmer	2		
Johnson, Mrs. H. P.	?	2		
Johnston, Mary	?	1		
Jones of Palmyra	Farmer	2		
Kerr, Leander	Army chaplain	1		
Kuykendall, Charles	Farmer	2	3	
Kuykendall, James	Judge	5		
Lamar, Thomas	?	1		
Laws, Alfred	Farmer	7		
Lecompte, Samuel D.	Judge	2		
Lewis, Samuel	Trader	1		
Little, Blake	Army Surgeon	2	6	
Lovelady, William	Sawyer or Lawyer	3		
Maclin, Sackfield	Army Major	1		
Matthews, Sarah	?	2		
Matthews, William	Farmer	3		
Miller, Jesse	?	18		
Million, George	Merchant	6		
Mix, Theo. M.	?	1		
Monday, Isaac	Blacksmith	6		
Moore, Henry	Farmer	1		
Morrow, A. J.	Farmer	3		
Murphy, John C.	?	4		
McCall, George	Major General	1		
McGee, Allen	?	1		
McGee, E. Milton	Tavern owner	1		
McGee, Fry	Farmer, Merchant	3		
McGee, Mobillon W.	Merchant	1		
McGrew, S. B.	Minister	1		

APPENDIX A

(CONTINUED)

Slaveholder	Source	Source
Hunter, Luke W.	1855 census	
Huntington, John	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	
James, B. H.	1855 census	
Johnson	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 69.	1855 census
Johnson, Alexander	Johnson, "Slaves in Ks. Territory," 2.	
Johnson, Thomas	1855 census	
Johnson, William F.	1855 census	
Johnson, Mrs. H. P.	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 69.	
Johnston, Mary	1855 census	
Jones of Palmyra	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 240.	
Kerr, Leander	Shindler, "When Slaves," 100.	
Kuykendall, Charles	Armstrong, "Reminiscences," 5.	
Kuykendall, James	Fisher, "Property Taxation," 189.	1855 census
Lamar, Thomas	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	
Laws, Alfred	1855 census	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 67.
Lecompte, Samuel D.	Letter from Judge Lecompte, 3	1855 census
Lewis, Samuel	Prentiss, "Aunt Ann's Story," 90-91.	
Little, Blake	Haag "Slavery Agitation," 66.	Kansas clippings, vol. 2, 255.
Lovelady, William	1855 census	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 68.
Maclin, Sackfield	Shindler, "When Slaves," 100.	
Matthews, Sarah	1855 census	
Matthews, William	1855 census	
Miller, Jesse	Cole, "Pioneer Life," 357.	
Million, George	Cory, Slavery in Ks.," 240.	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 68.
Mix, Theo. M.	1855 census	
Monday, Isaac	1855 census	
Moore, Henry	1855 census	
Morrow, A. J.	1855 census	
Murphy, John C.	Cheatham, "Kansas."	
McCall, George	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 66.	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 238.
McGee, Allen	Freeman, Personal narrative 2.	
McGee, E. Milton	Goodrich, "Exodus to Ks.," 290.	
McGee, Fry	Eckart to Green, 13 October 1903.	
McGee, Mobillon W.	1855 census	
McGrew, S. B.	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 238.	

Explanatory Notes	Slaveholder
	Hunter, Luke W.
	Huntington, John
	James, B. H.
Lived in ninth census district	Johnson
	Johnson, Alexander
	Johnson, Thomas
	Johnson, William F.
Listed as owning "several" slaves.	Johnson, Mrs. H. P.
	Johnston, Mary
	Jones of Palmyra
	Kerr, Leander
	Kuykendall, Charles
Acquired three slaves after 1855 census.	Kuykendall, James
	Lamar, Thomas
Listed as Albert Law in Haag census tallies.	Laws, Alfred
	Lecompte, Samuel D.
Hired out to several Kansans, emancipated	Lewis, Samuel
Sometimes misidentified as Dr. Hill or Bills	Little, Blake
	Lovelady, William
	Maclin, Sackfield
Listed as "Not Legible" in Haag's tallies	Matthews, Sarah
	Matthews, William
	Miller, Jesse
	Million, George
	Mix, Theo. M.
	Monday, Isaac
	Moore, Henry
	Morrow, A. J.
	Murphy, John C.
	McCall, George
	McGee, Allen
Slave kept in Westport, Missouri.	McGee, E. Milton
	McGee, Fry
	McGee, Mobillon W.
	McGrew, S. B.

Slaveholder	Occupation	Slaves Owned	Other Totals	Escapes
McGrew, William	Farmer	2		
McMeekin, H. D.	Merchant	1		
Newby of Crooked Creek	Farmer	6		
O' Toole, James B.	Farmer	4		
Palmer, Jefry M.	Farmer	2		
Parks, J. J.	?	2		
Parks, Joseph	Farmer	3		2
Parks, William	?	2		
Pascal	Farmer	1		
Patterson, Wiley	?	1		
Pemberton, M.	?	7		
Perry, Rev.	Minister	2		
Pitcher, G. D.	Farmer	3		
Rawlston of Leavenworth	?	1		
Randall, H. S.	Trader	2		
Ray, S. F.	Farmer	3		
Rees, R. R.	Lawyer	1		
Rich, Hiram	Army Sutler	2		
Rich, James	Farmer	4		
Richardson, William P.	Farmer	4		
Roberts, E. D.	?	6		6
Robinson,	Doctor	5		
Robinson, B. F.	Indian Agent	2		
Rogers, Mrs. Henry	Farmer	20		
Sater, Giles	?	1		
Sater, Henry	?	2	3	
Scarborough, George	?	1		
Simerwell, Robert	Mechanic	1		
Simpson, S. N.	?	1		
Skaggs, James	Farmer	27	14	
Skaggs, Thomas	Farmer	1		
Skinner, Phineas	Rancher	2		
Smith, Ezra H.	?	1		
Smith, Henry	?	3		
Smith, Margaret	?	1		

APPENDIX A

(CONTINUED)

Slaveholder	Source	Source
McGrew, William	1855 census	
McMeekin, H. D.	1855 census	
Newby of Crooked Creek	Maris to Adams, 22 July 1895.	
O' Toole, James B.	1855 census	
Palmer, Jefry M.	1855 census	
Parks, J. J.	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	
Parks, Joseph	Haag "Slavery Agitation," 66.	
Parks, William	Relic of Slavery, Kansas City Star.	
Pascal	1855 census	
Patterson, Wiley	Bourbon County, 1.	
Pemberton, M.	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	
Perry, Rev.	Holloway, "History of Ks.," 104.	
Pitcher, G. D.	1855 census	
Rawlston of Leavenworth	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 69.	
Randall, H. S.	1855 census	
Ray, S. F.	1855 census	
Rees, R. R.	1855 census	
Rich, Hiram	Shindler, "When Slaves," 100.	Carr "Reminisnences," 382.
Rich, James	1855 census	
Richardson, William P.	1855 census	
Roberts, E. D.	Cheatham, "Slavery," 170.	
Robinson,	Heim, "Ancient Gravestones," 67.	
Robinson, B. F.	1855 census	
Rogers, Mrs. Henry	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 66.	
Sater, Giles	Andreas, vol. 1, 667.	
Sater, Henry	Andreas, vol. 1, 667.	
Scarborough, George	Newspaper clipping	
Simerwell, Robert	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 67.	1855 census
Simpson, S. N.	Cheatham, "Kansas."	
Skaggs, James	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	Bayne to Adams.
Skaggs, Thomas	Centennial History of Jefferson Co.	
Skinner, Phineas	Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 69.	
Smith, Ezra H.	Cory, "Slavery in Ks.," 238.	
Smith, Henry	Morrill, "Brown County," 139.	
Smith, Margaret	1855 census	

Explanatory Notes	Slaveholder
	McGrew, William
	McMeekin, H. D.
	Newby of Crooked Creek
	O' Toole, James B.
Listed as T. M. Palmer in Haag tallies.	Palmer, Jefry M.
	Parks, J. J.
Shawnee Indian chief	Parks, Joseph
Listed as owning "several" slaves.	Parks, William
	Pascal
Purchased in 1857	Patterson, Wiley
	Pemberton, M.
Listed as owning "several" slaves.	Perry, Rev.
Listed in Haag tallies as L. D. Pritchen	Pitcher, G. D.
	Rawlston of Leavenworth
	Randall, H. S.
	Ray, S. F.
	Rees, R. R.
	Rich, Hiram
	Rich, James
Not listed in Haag's census tallies	Richardson, William P.
	Roberts, E. D.
	Robinson,
	Robinson, B. F.
	Rogers, Mrs. Henry
	Sater, Giles
	Sater, Henry
	Scarborough, George
Alternately spelled Simeswell	Simerwell, Robert
	Simpson, S. N.
Bayne and his slave, Marcus, listed 27.	Skaggs, James
	Skaggs, Thomas
	Skinner, Phineas
	Smith, Ezra H.
	Smith, Henry
	Smith, Margaret

Slaveholder	Occupation	Slaves Owned	Other Totals	Escapes
Stewart, T. H.	?	2		
Stinson, Thomas N.	Merchant,	1		
Story, H. M.	Mechanic	1		
Stringfellow, Benjamin F.	Lawyer	1		
Sweeney, [M. T.]	Farmer	1		
Talbott, Nathaniel	Clergyman	6		
Tebbs. W. H.	?	3		
Titus, Henry T.	?	1		
Thomasson, Grafton	Sawmill owner	3		
Trent, Fred	Farmer	1		
Tunnel, S. M.	Carpenter	1		
Unknown	Chaplain	2		
Vanderhorst, John	?	1		
Vanderslice, Daniel	Indian Agent	1		
Vaughn, A. W.	Merchant	1		
Wallace, John M.	?	1		
Walker, A. J.	Farmer	1		
Walker, Matthew R.	Farmer	1		
Walker, William	Farmer	2		
Ward, George W.	Farmer	1		
Wheeler, L. R.	?	2		
Whitehead, Cary B.	Farmer	2		
Whitehead, James	Farmer	1		
Whitehead, John A.	Farmer	2		
Williams, Dickson	?	1		
Williams, Richard	Farmer	3		
Wilson, H. T.	Merchant	7		
Wilson, Robert.	Merchant	2		
Wisman, James K.	Farmer	2		
Yocum, John	Judge	6		6
Young, Mrs. George L.	?	2		
172 Total Slaveholders		**507 Slaves**		**37 Escapes**

Explanatory Notes	Slaveholder
	Stewart, T. H.
Listed incorrectly as Kinson in Haag.	Stinson, Thomas N.
	Story, H. M.
	Stringfellow, Benjamin F.
	Sweeney, [M. T.]
	Talbott, Nathaniel
	Tebbs. W. H.
Owned jointly with George W. Clarke	Titus, Henry T.
One slave committed suicide	Thomasson, Grafton
	Trent, Fred
	Tunnel, S. M.
Army chaplain at Fort Riley	Unknown
	Vanderhorst, John
	Vanderslice, Daniel
	Vaughn, A. W.
	Wallace, John M.
Not listed in Haag's census tallies	Walker, A. J.
	Walker, Matthew R.
	Walker, William
	Ward, George W.
	Wheeler, L. R.
	Whitehead, Cary B.
	Whitehead, James
	Whitehead, John A.
	Williams, Dickson
	Williams, Richard
Listed in census as Hio T. Wilson	Wilson, H. T.
	Wilson, Robert.
	Wisman, James K.
Stolen by abolitionists	Yocum, John
	Young, Mrs. George L.

APPENDIX B

OTHER POSSIBLE KANSAS SLAVEHOLDERS

Slaveholder	Occupation	Slaves Owned
Bannon, W. O. and Briggs, Giles	?	3
Cabell, R. H. and Frederick, A. J.	?	2
Hart, J. M.	?	3
Herrod, C. or Staggers, Geo.	?	1
Hoole, Axalla J.	Farmer	0
Hornbeck of Fort Scott	?	1
Lebo, James	Farmer	3
Lewis, Edward	Farmer	3
McDaniel, Ann	?	1
McGillvia, George	Farmer	2
Peebles, Mr.	Dentist	1
Silvey, Thomas	Laborer	3
Turner, James	?	6
Vanwinkle, Ransom A.	Farmer	0
17 Total Slaveholders		**29 Total slaves**

APPENDIX B

(CONTINUED)

Source	Explanatory Notes
Calnan, "Illustrated Doniphan Co.," 22.	Bannon sold these slaves to Briggs in 1857.
Mechem, "Slavery in Kansas," 401.	Advertised for two fugitives Atchison.
Cory, "Slavery in Kansas," 237.	Willed three slaves to his wife, Elizabeth, in 1858.
14 Aug. 1858, Atchison "Champion."	One slave included in an estate settlement.
Hoole, ed. "A Southerner's Viewpoint."	Member of a slaveholding family.
18 Feb. 1941, Ft. Scott Tribune.	
Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 67.	Slaves surnamed Baker in census. Possibly masters
1855 census	Census text is uncertain.
1855 census	Not listed in Haag.
1855 census	The slaves, surnamed King, may have been masters.
"How Kansas Treated Pardee Butler"	Lexington, Missouri resident practicing in Atchison.
1855 census	Probably a "free Negro" who owned his family.
Haag, "Slavery Agitation," 67.	Census lists Turner and two others as "free Negroes"
Curtis, "Arrington Heights," 1.	Owned eight slaves before coming to Kansas.

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Marc Allen Charboneau
Signature of the Author

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