

## Knee Deep in Blood

*The art of war is simple enough. Find out where your enemy is. Get at him as soon as you can. Strike him as hard as you can, and keep moving.*

—Ulysses S. Grant

BETWEEN THE WASHINGTON and Blue Townships in Jackson County nine miles south of Independence, Missouri, a small band of mourners made their way to the Smith Cemetery, a small plot of ground just east of the abandoned farm of Jordon R. Lowe. Darkness had already settled in, and a slight rain was starting to fall. A Union picket nearby was sitting around a campfire, but no one made a move to inquire about the heavily armed men in the cortege moving ever so slowly down the dirt lane. The men were leading an ox-drawn wagon. Three small wooden caskets containing the bodies of three young girls were seen loaded in the back. Accompanying their caskets was a satchel of trinkets and dry goods the girls had earlier bought in Kansas City. There was at least a company of guerrillas escorting the pall. Also accompanying the group was a number of civilians, friends, relatives, and neighbors of the slain. Muffled cries could be heard coming from the wake following the wagon.

The group had been quickly assembled. On August 13, 1863, Federal soldiers retrieved the bodies of the young girls from the rubble of their former prison and placed them in rough-hewed coffins. Early the next day relatives of the young girls rode to Kansas City and retrieved their remains from the Union authorities. The girls were hastily buried in one mass grave, laid together side by

side, with only wooden markers to note the date of their death. Two weeks earlier, the girls had been delivering a wagonload of produce in Kansas City and were returning home when they were arrested for "aiding and abetting enemy forces." The girls' husbands, brothers, and cousins all rode with Quantrill. Other girls were also imprisoned. Two of them were sisters of Jim Vaughn, who had been executed by Gen. James G. Blunt on May 29 in Kansas City. Vaughn's sisters had been imprisoned at Fort Leavenworth but brought to Kansas City and put with the rest of the women prisoners. Guerrilla Bill Anderson had just removed his sisters from Kansas where for a year they had lived at various places, stopping finally with the Mundy family on the Missouri side of the line near Little Santa Fe. The parents of the Mundy family were dead. One of their sons was in General Sterling Price's Southern army, and three daughters were at home: Susan Mundy Womacks, Martha Mundy, and Mrs. Lou Mundy Gray, whose husband was probably with the guerrillas. The Mundy girls and the three Anderson sisters were arrested as spies.

They were confined in a building that served as a jail. Later the building was undermined by soldiers of the Ninth Kansas Jayhawker Regiment who served as provost guards in town. "The first guard was a detail from the 12th Kansas Regiment and was strict with the women." Captain Frank Parker and Sergeant George M. Walker with Company C, Eleventh Kansas Jayhawker Regiment, were stationed in Kansas City and were given orders to have their men serve as the prison guards. Many of these soldiers were found to be from Lawrence, which later helped precipitate its destruction. In only a few days after the supporting structure of the prison was cut away by the soldiers, the building collapsed. Five girls were killed: a Mrs. Wilson, Josephine Anderson, Charity McCorkle Kerr, and sisters Susan Crawford Vandever and Armenia Crawford Selvey. The last three girls were carried back to the Smith Cemetery for burial. Fourteen-year-old Josephine Anderson was taken to the Union Cemetery, less than two miles from her place of death and only a short distance from where she had formerly been living with friends. Mrs. Wilson, mortally wounded in the jail collapse, died from her injuries a few days later and was laid to rest elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

The guerrillas had made this sad trip before. The Ninth Kansas



*General Thomas Ewing, commander of the District of the Border, was in charge of Jayhawkers who plundered freely in Missouri. A board of Federal officers met, acknowledging that Ewing and his subordinate officers were all guilty of a conspiracy to rob and murder innocent Missouri citizens. Ewing was eventually transferred to another military department in Southeast Missouri. (Greg Walter Collection)*

Regiment was the same regiment that had suffered a disastrous defeat by Quantrill's men south of Kansas City on June 17, just weeks earlier. Three of Quantrill's men had been slain during the skirmish. Quantrill had ordered Captain George Todd to take seventy men and attack a Federal patrol south of Kansas City. Major Luin K. Thacher, stationed in Paola, Kansas, was ordered by General Thomas Ewing to move three companies of the Ninth Kansas Jayhawker Regiment to his headquarters in Kansas City. Ewing had just been appointed commander of the District of the Border consisting of the state of Kansas and the two western tiers of Missouri counties north of the thirty-eighth parallel and south of the Missouri River. There were already 3,000 troops in the District of the Border and another 3,000 in the Department of Kansas. There were Union soldiers stationed north of Kansas City in Parkville, Leavenworth, Weston, Iatan, Atchison, and St. Joseph, and at nearly every county seat in Northern Missouri, and in the border counties between Missouri and Kansas south to the Arkansas line.

Previously Ewing had recruited and organized the Eleventh Kansas Jayhawker Regiment that was presently serving in Kansas City and had been the prison guards for the murdered girls. Almost as soon as Thacher received the dispatch instructing him to transfer his companies from Paola to Kansas City, spies relayed the news to Quantrill's headquarters. Captain Henry Flesher would be leading



*Major Luin K. Thacher lived in Lawrence and was an officer in the Ninth Kansas Jayhawker Regiment. During the summer of 1863 he was in charge of three companies stationed in Westport, Missouri, where his unit suffered a humiliating defeat by Quantrill's men. Thacher's soldiers were responsible for the murder of five young Southern girls, just days before the Lawrence raid. (Kansas State Historical Society)*

Company A and a portion of Company K along the Westport to Kansas City road. Ewing had only recently placed Federal companies every twelve to fifteen miles apart from Kansas City to Mound City, Kansas. These outposts were to pass patrols from post to post at hourly intervals and report any guerrilla activity to Ewing's headquarters. Ewing assured Union sympathizers along the border that he would have a thousand soldiers constantly patrolling every road and path and would make the roads run red with the guerrillas' blood. He assured the nervous citizens that these strategically placed outposts would secure Kansas from guerrilla attacks.<sup>2</sup>

Captain Flesher's men came leisurely riding down the lane. It was late afternoon and the soldiers had been in the saddle since morning. They were hoping to

avail themselves of a short respite at Westport before continuing to Kansas City. The guerrillas under Todd were waiting behind a stone wall covered in thick underbrush that lined the road. Being only four miles from their main garrison in Kansas City the blue-coated soldiers relaxed and unwisely let down their guard. Many had their heads drooped over their saddles. Some were laughing and talking with each other, not realizing the dangerous trap they were entering.

Others had their legs thrown over their horses' necks, trying to find a comfortable position in the hot summer sun.

Quantrill's men had been sitting in ambush for most of the day and were becoming restless from inactivity. Only the discipline they had learned from years of guerrilla warfare and the confidence they had in their leaders kept the guerrillas patiently waiting for their quarry. Most of the time the intelligence information they received proved accurate, and today was no exception as they soon saw a long line of Federal cavalry coming up the road. Guerrilla horses began pawing the ground in anticipation. At Todd's signal the men stood to horse, mounted, and awaited his final order. When the Federal column came abreast of the ambush site Todd hollered out a familiar order for all to hear, "Charge! Kill 'em boys! Kill 'em!" The guerrillas didn't need further orders. They knew instinctively what to do next. With pistols in both hands they charged the startled Federal column.

After quickly attempting to fire a volley at the charging horsemen the Federal soldiers looked to their officers to see whether to make a stand or make a run for it. But fear took control, and the thought of safety in the garrison in Kansas City seemed more alluring than continuing the struggle. As horses reared and screamed and the cries from wounded men filled the air each guerrilla continued to take calm and careful aim at the enemy. In the ensuing skirmish thirty-three Federals poured out their blood on the dusty road. The Federal report stated, "The guerrillas were finally repulsed, but with very serious loss to Capt. Flesher's command."<sup>3</sup>

It was a close hand-to-hand encounter. Fletcher Taylor and his best friend Daniel Boone Scholl made the charge together. Scholl was the first man to fall. In horror Taylor watched Boone's horse, a new one he had only recently acquired, become unmanageable in the fight and charge through the enemy line. A Federal soldier turned to fire as Boone rode past, the bullet striking him in the back exiting through his belt buckle. Fellow guerrilla Frank James saw Boone's predicament but was too late to help. James did manage to shoot the Federal who had killed his friend. Next, Alson Wyatt, bravely firing his pistols at the blue-coated targets in the midst of the struggle, was also struck down and mortally wounded.

As the remaining soldiers fled the battle the guerrillas gave chase.

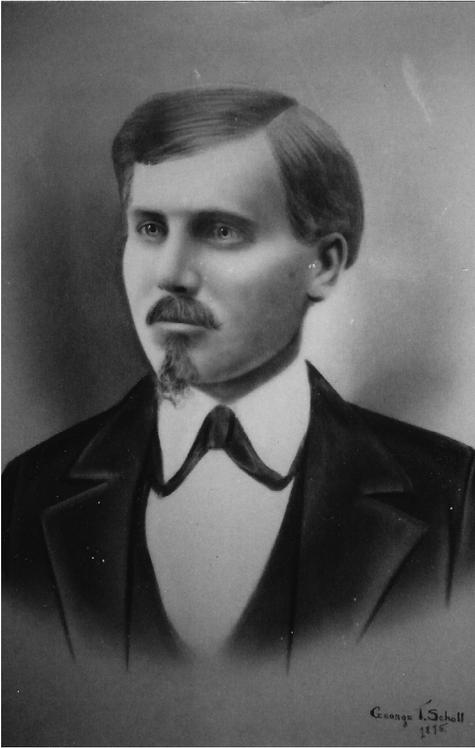
A short distance beyond a Federal infantry regiment heard the noise of battle and watched in horror as their fleeing comrades stampeded past them chased by gaily-dressed horsemen. When the guerrillas saw the infantry unit they drew rein, trying to decide what to do next. Captain Ferdinand Scott raised himself in his stirrups. As he was watching his prey escape a Federal sniper took aim, the bullet striking Scott in the neck. Both Scholl and Scott died quickly. They were taken to the Smith Cemetery and hastily buried in their saddle blankets. Wyatt was placed on his horse and carried to a friend's house where he passed away the next morning.

Quantrill was saddened when his men returned and relayed the news. Even though the ambush had been successful it had been a costly one. He had lost three of his best fighters. Quantrill was heard to comment, "One of my men is worth fifty of the enemy."

As was his custom Quantrill as the leading spirit among the band spoke some comforting words to the families of the deceased, honoring them for the sacrifice they had made for the Cause. When Quantrill spoke about Ferdinand Scott he described him as being devoid of fear. "Under fire no soldier could be cooler; he won the love of his men first, later, their adoration."<sup>4</sup> Commenting about Boone Scholl, Fletcher Taylor said, "Boone was one of the most gallant soldiers we had and the day he was killed we rode together four of us in the front. The last word I heard him say as he fell out of ranks [was] 'I am done for.'" His cousin Boone Muir and Dick Berry carried him from the field.<sup>5</sup> Boone was described as six feet, three inches tall. Author John Newman Edwards said that Boone was "destined to give up a dauntless young life early for the cause he loved best, won the respect of all by a generosity unstained of selfishness and the exercise of a courage that in either extreme of victory or disaster remained perfect in attribute and exhibition. None were more gentle than he; none more courteous, calm and kindly. When he fell, liberty never required upon its altar as a sacrifice a purer victim."<sup>6</sup> In honor of Boone's sacrifice Quantrill took one of his pistols, engraved it with his name, and presented it to the grieving Scholl family.

### A Guerrilla Council of War

NOW ONE MONTH LATER the guerrillas were standing once again beside



*This is a war-dated photo of guerrilla George T. Scholl who lost a brother, Daniel Boone Scholl, in a skirmish just a few weeks prior to the Lawrence raid. George T. Scholl rode with Quantrill in every operation up to the time Quantrill departed for Kentucky. (Patrick Marquis Collection)*

the graves of their loved ones. But this time it was not to pay respect to a comrade lost in battle nor for a man who had braved bullets defending his home and family against cruel Jayhawker attacks. This time it was for innocent girls cut down in the bloom of life; arrested then murdered by Federal guards who were detailed to protect them, serving a government that had stooped to the lowest depths of depravity and brutality. This was the result of the Federal authorities who had recently stepped up their efforts and were now waging war against women.

Each one of Quantrill's men knew what was expected of him when he became a guerrilla fighter. They all knew that the brutality they had experienced from the Kansas Jayhawkers was intolerable to a free people and was the main cause for their joining

and another would suffer terribly from her wounds to her dying day.

Guerrilla Nathan Kerr's wife Charity was killed. Brothers William, Marshall, Marion, and Riley Crawford lost two sisters killed. Guerrilla Thomas Harris's sister Nannie was mangled in the jail collapse. Guerrilla James E. Mundy's sisters Susan and Martha, and his married sister Mrs. Lou Mundy Gray, were imprisoned along with William Grindstaff's sister Mollie, but somehow each of them miraculously survived. The Federals arrested Susan Vandever because her husband and brother-in-law rode with Quantrill and because her husband was responsible for having personally killed a Captain Sessions during a skirmish in Richfield, Missouri, on May 19, 1863. As a result, guerrilla Thomas Vandever lost his wife in the jail collapse and his brother Louis lost a sister-in-law. The murdered girls and those who were injured were kin to many others of those riding with Quantrill. Thomas J. Hall was on Quantrill's July 6, 1862, roster. His sister was arrested along with the other Southern girls, but she survived the jail collapse.

Cousins John McCorkle, Thomas Harris, and George Wigginton stood with the rest of the mourners consoling each other. Standing with his head bowed McCorkle glanced up and saw the still fresh grave of his brother nearby. John had been on patrol with his brother Jabez several weeks earlier in the Blue Hills when Jabez' rifle accidentally fell from his saddle, going off and striking him in the knee. He lingered in pain for several days before finally succumbing to his wound on June 2, 1863. Now McCorkle was mourning his dear young sister who had been foully murdered after being arrested and held by Union authorities. As he pondered on the Federal atrocity McCorkle told those around him that he could stand no more.

The guerrillas were blind with rage. Many wanted to ride out on their own and strike the first Federal force they encountered. Only the mastery of Quantrill's leadership held the men together. Their lives meant nothing to them if they were not allowed to avenge their loved ones. With a calming voice Quantrill made them aware that he had been making plans for quite some time for a military operation that would bring the Federal authorities to their knees. He would need each man to keep a cool head and trust in his leadership. Quantrill's men knew "he kept his own counsel until the last

moment, and even then he had but few confidants.” One who was present stated, “Quantrill’s raid on Lawrence was consummated in retaliation for the inhuman treatment of Southerners in Missouri by Kansas Jayhawkers. No Confederate, whether of Quantrill’s command or not, ever fell in the hands of Kansans in any of the border counties of Missouri and came out alive.”<sup>7</sup>

As the funeral service came to an end Quantrill instructed his adjutant to pass the word to every guerrilla and every Southern man old enough to carry a gun to meet at Captain James Perdee’s farm on the banks of the Blackwater River in Johnson County, Missouri, forty miles southeast of Independence and sixty miles from the Kansas line. Everyone knew when Quantrill gave an order it would be immediately obeyed. Quantrill’s adjutant Lieutenant William Gregg reported, “The men were scattered over three Missouri counties, the bulk of them being in Jackson. Captains of various companies were



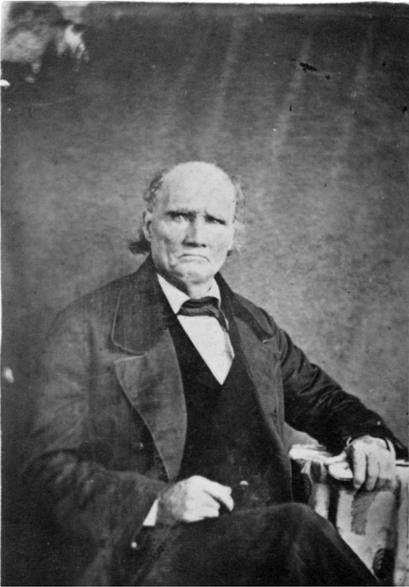
*The Perdee campsite is the place where Quantrill’s three hundred guerrillas camped prior to the Lawrence raid. Here Quantrill formulated his plans and put together the “Death Lists” and the list of “Buildings to Be Destroyed.” (Author’s Collection)*

called together and ordered to concentrate their forces.”<sup>8</sup> They were instructed to bring their best equipment, all the guns and ammunition they could gather, and a good horse freshly shod. They were also to bring a three-day supply of rations. Quantrill’s own company immediately rode to the Cummins’ settlement, twenty-four miles southeast of Independence. The night of the rendezvous was dark and stormy as the guerrillas continued on to Captain Perdee’s where all the men finally came together.

The next day Quantrill called a council of war with his officers. It was decided that he would send a letter to General Thomas Ewing in Kansas City, demanding that Ewing release the women who had escaped death in the prison collapse instead of sending them to the Gratiot Street Prison in St. Louis as Ewing had originally intended. Quantrill said that if his request was not immediately complied with, he and not the Yankees would be responsible for the consequences. Quantrill pressed a local citizen to bear the note to Ewing. It was said that when the officer to whom the note was addressed read it, he “threw it on the floor and rubbing it under his foot bade the bearer to go and tell Quantrell and his outlaws to go to Hades and do their worst.”<sup>9</sup>

Guerrillas who had not been at the funeral began gathering the very next morning from orders they had received from those who had attended the funeral. Some came riding in by twos or in small groups of up to ten. They made their way into the dense woods surrounding the Blackwater River coursing its way past the nine-hundred-acre farm of Captain Perdee. The Reverend Theodore M. Cobb remarked that Quantrill’s men “were all young and from the best families in the State, they were intelligent, fearless, and desperate. They had seen their homes burned, their families turned out doors and many of their kindred and friends murdered in cold blood.”<sup>10</sup>

When the guerrillas of Johnson County, Missouri, gathered at Perdee’s it was with a feeling of a just retaliation. Their county seat of Columbus and fifty homes had been completely destroyed by Captain Clark S. Merriman of the Seventh Kansas Jayhawker Regiment on January 9, 1862. The same sense of anger and resentment could be felt by the fifty guerrillas from Cass County who joined Quantrill along the banks of the Grand River bottoms before crossing the



*James Morgan Walker was a wealthy Missouri farmer from Blue Springs, Jackson County, Missouri. Before the war, Kansas Jayhawkers raided his farm intent on plundering his thoroughbred horses, mules, money, and slaves. Quantrill foiled their plan, marking him as an enemy and putting a price on his head. Walker's home was later burned to the ground and all his property taken back into Kansas. This is the only photo of Morgan Walker known to exist. (Anne Jacobberger Collection)*

state line into Kansas. Cass County before the war enjoyed a population of more than 10,000 people. By the start of the Lawrence raid there were only 600 surviving citizens.

As the guerrillas arrived they picked out a good campsite and built a fire in which to cook their meals. The Blackwater River provided water and a nearby gristmill provided both food and feed for the men and their horses. Quantrill was already there, and the guerrillas who began arriving observed him busily making plans and consulting with his subordinate leaders. The officers were quartered in tents, while the men slept on the ground. The campsite was a good one, surrounded by deep woods and an ample supply of water. Quantrill instructed some of the first men who arrived to ride to the Morgan Walker farm in Blue Springs and bring back several barrels of gunpowder he had hidden in a small cave in Walker's woods. The gunpowder had been placed there and kept ever since the guerrillas captured it during the August 11, 1862, victory over Lieutenant Colonel

James T. Buel's forces at Independence. Now Quantrill had need of it. Anticipating that he needed more than just powder, Quantrill sent Andrew Jack Liddil into Independence in disguise to purchase more than two hundred big Colt revolvers, and a quantity of pistol ammunition and a large quantity of percussion caps from R. L. Fraser, an army sutler who kept everything that soldiers needed.<sup>11</sup>

Word of the atrocity in Kansas City had spread quickly. Every citizen within miles had already heard about the guerrillas' female relatives being murdered by Union troops. The Federals had never achieved a victory over the guerrillas. The arrest and confinement of the guerrillas' female relatives had come about because of the Union's failure to root out and destroy the guerrillas from along the border. Since organizing his first band of guerrilla fighters Quantrill and his men had proved to be as elusive as phantoms, disappearing into the timber whenever a Union patrol caught sight of them. Oftentimes the guerrillas would fire a volley and withdraw down narrow bridle paths before the Federal soldiers could consolidate their forces and pursue. If they were followed the guerrillas would divide their forces, forcing the Federals to do the same. As if by some pre-arranged signal the guerrillas would come together, circle around their pursuers, and strike their rear guard when least expected. All the Federals had time to hear was a wild Rebel yell and catch a glimpse of charging horsemen bearing down on them at top speed, pistols blazing from both hands. Without time to form line the soldiers usually sought self-preservation by spurring their horses into a full retreat back to the safety of their garrison. Few made it back. For those who stood to fight the end came quickly. Some of those who chose flight managed to make a mile or two before they were run down and shot from their saddles. Surrender was not an option.

When the guerillas returned with the barrels of gunpowder they made themselves busy preparing as much ammunition as each man could carry. Quantrill also made himself bullets with a bullet mold made for him by a local blacksmith from Oak Grove and given to him in 1861. The mold made six .44-caliber bullets at a time.<sup>12</sup>

### Quantrill's Officers

QUANTRILL'S MAIN COMPANY, including the company of Captain George Todd who had just participated in the Westport skirmish, were the first to arrive in camp. By the evening of August 18, most of the men had arrived. Lieutenant Gregg remarked, "The command consisted of five companies under Captains Blunt, Pool, Jarrette, Todd and Anderson, with some other small contingents, amounting to 294 men."<sup>13</sup>



*Captain George A. Todd. At the beginning of the war, Todd's father was put in prison for refusing to help build Federal fortifications. Todd had joined General Sterling Price, and when his enlistment was over he came home and was thrown in jail. When he was released, he joined Quantrill, becoming his second-in-command. (Emory Cantey Collection)*

Scotland and had come to Kansas City by way of St. Louis from Canada in 1859. The family consisted of five persons; the father, the mother, one daughter, and two sons, Tom and George, the latter being the youngest of the family. The father and Tom were practical stonemasons and worked at the trade while George, then about eighteen years of age, and of small stature, about 5 feet 8 inches, was

Others filtered in during the night. Also present were Colonels John D. Holt from Vernon County and Boaz Roberts from Barry County, recruiting officers from the regular army who joined in with a handful of men, along with other guerrilla leaders George Shepherd and Richard Maddox. Before this time Quantrill still enjoyed a reputation of renown. Author George Miller said, "Quantrill's peculiar methods of warfare, enabled him with fifty to one hundred men, to keep two or three thousand men on the special duty of watching for him; and even then he usually turned up where he was not expected."<sup>14</sup>

The officers who led the guerrillas were personally familiar with the Jayhawkers' atrocities. Captain George Todd was an early guerrilla recruit. George along with his father and brother were educated in the profession of civil engineering and bridge building. They were from

a helper. He had blue eyes, auburn hair, and fair complexion. At the beginning of the war the Todds were building bridges and structures around Kansas City. When the war started the Federals asked George's father to help the army build fortifications along the border. When he refused he was thrown in prison and put on a diet of bread and water. The cold and dampness of the prison disabled the elder Todd, and he became unable to care for himself. Neighbors had to come to his cell and help feed him.

George had already joined Colonel William M. Roper's regiment in the Missouri State Guards, fighting at Carthage, Wilson's Creek, and Lexington in 1861 as an artilleryman, but when he returned home he was thrown into jail. After his release and seeing the treatment his father was given by the Federals he joined Quantrill in January 1862, eventually becoming Quantrill's second-in-command. It was this incarceration and that of his father that turned him against Union authority. An acquaintance remarked that he possessed a large amount of personal courage due to his early association in Price's army. It was said that he bore the mark of nine different wounds on his body. Todd wore a rich Federal coat, pants, top-boots, and cap, admirably set off by a belt containing a pair of elegant six-shooters. Those who personally knew him said, "He makes the best fighting captain in the whole command. He is chivalrous but not rash; prudent but daring, and always successful both in attack and strategy." Guerrilla Jim Cummins described Todd. "My beau ideal of a man was George Todd, who always seemed to me to be a great general."<sup>15</sup>

Lieutenant William H. Gregg was twenty-two when he joined Quantrill and had a reputation among the guerrillas for his skill in throwing a Bowie knife. He was known for the ability to open up a "Fed" at twenty paces with this weapon as a projectile.<sup>16</sup> Gregg was born near Stony Point in Jackson County between the upper reaches of the Sni-a-Bar Creek and the Little Blue River. He found that it was Colonel Charles Ransford Jennison, the leader of the Jayhawkers, who had shot his uncle, David Gregg, for being a Southern sympathizer. Gregg's own mother was also abused by Jayhawkers. She wore her watch and other jewelry concealed in the bodice of her clothing, but the Jayhawkers finally discovered the watch chain about her neck. They tore her dress open, robbed her, almost choking her to death in



*Colonel Charles Jennison. Even before the war, Jennison murdered men who expressed sympathy for slavery. He personally killed several family members of Quantrell's men besides plundering throughout Missouri. In his own words, Jennison said he had "grown stoop-shouldered carrying plunder out of Missouri in the name of liberty." (Rick Mack Collection)*

him stole every one of the family's horses, slaughtered every pig they owned, and seized the family's slaves, money, jewelry, and even their bedclothes. After learning about this incident, Gregg immediately sought out Quantrill and joined his command. Elizabeth Hook later recalled:

Everybody was happy and prosperous. . . . but it was not until 1862 that the horrors of war were realized. I had never known a sorrow or a care until one day a company of Federal soldiers came to our home with wagons in which they loaded the negroes and their belongings;

trying to release the chain. Written accounts state: "In January, 1862, seventeen of Jennison's Kansans had been at the senior Gregg's house, and had cruelly hanged and almost choked to death the inmates, and also poured out two casks of wine. Gregg was coming home that night. He had four men, only one of them armed. The seventeen men fought Gregg, captured two of the unarmed, and shot them after surrender. Gregg and the one man drove them back and saw the two men shot. The day after the two men were killed Gregg saw fourteen houses burned at one time."<sup>17</sup>

Gregg also found that the father of his fiancée Miss Elizabeth Hook had been jailed. In addition, the Federals who jailed

the negro men were mounted on my father's horses and forced to ride them away. Colonel Jennison came down from Kansas, robbed, murdered, and burned everything in his way. Mother had spun and woven five pairs of blankets; had only recently before had them scoured, and these Redlegs took every one of them, placing them under their saddles.

During the summer of 1863 Jayhawkers again visited her neighborhood. "Our homes were ransacked and jewelry, money, in fact, everything they could carry away was taken."<sup>18</sup> Kansan William G. Cutler, who later wrote *The History of Kansas* in 1883, readily admitted, "The proslavery men suffered heavily; indeed, many of them were completely impoverished by the oft-repeated visits of their hungry, and rapacious neighbors."

The summer of 1863 saw the enemy more savage if possible than ever before. Jayhawkers killed numerous old men and boys. Lieutenant Gregg said, "There could have been no better argument for the people to flock to Quantrill than the dastardly acts of the enemy." Gregg told anyone who would listen the sobering facts about why the raid on Lawrence was being made.

Jennison, Lane, Burris, and many other marauding bands under leaders of lesser border fame had visited various Missouri border counties, and never left the state without murdering, plundering and devastating the homes of a greater or less number of our citizens, and to kill, it was only necessary to know that a man sympathized with the south, but as to robbing, they robbed everybody without distinction, and they often laid waste whole districts. I counted thirteen houses burning at one time on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of January, 1862. This burning was done by Jennison's men, although government officials said Jennison was not a U. S. officer and had no authority, yet he carried the U. S. flag and was often assisted in his forays by troops stationed at Independence and other stations in Jackson and adjoining counties. These parties until early in sixty three did not haul away much household plunder, contenting themselves with such as blankets, quilts[,] wearing apparel[,] and jewelry. Such articles as they could carry on their horses, but they usually went back to Kansas well loaded with such articles as I have mentioned.

One Kansas lieutenant admitted, "Kansas was filled with horse and 'nigger' thieves."<sup>19</sup>

Like many others, Gregg initially joined Price's army and returned home when his enlistment expired. In 1862 when Quantrill headed to Richmond, Virginia, seeking a colonel's commission of partisan rangers, Gregg was put in charge of Quantrill's company and led the guerrillas during the battle of Prairie Grove, Arkansas. In the initial cavalry battle, just before dawn, Quantrill's guerrillas led a furious charge upon a 1,200-man column of Federal cavalry. Within thirty minutes the Federals were routed from the field, losing twenty-three wagons, three standards, including the regimental flag of the Seventh Missouri Cavalry, and 218 men captured from four different Federal cavalry regiments. Of the standards captured, all were taken by Quantrill's command. For his part, Lieutenant Gregg was recognized in General Joseph Shelby's official report for the manner in which he led his men. Gregg later recounted being in sixty-five battles and skirmishes during the war.<sup>20</sup>

Gregg's younger brother, Jacob Franklin Gregg, also joined Quantrill's company. It was said of him, "He shot equally well with each hand." After he and his father were released from prison because his brother was riding with Quantrill, seventeen-year-old Jacob joined Price in the Missouri State Guard. Returning to Missouri after his enlistment was over, he went to Clay County in April 1862 and met Frank James, joining John Jarrette's company, then rode with George Todd, where he was currently preparing for the Lawrence raid. Jacob became a lieutenant like his brother, and it was said of him that he was "true to his friends and implacable to his enemies." During one skirmish in Jackson County he and several other guerrillas were surrounded by Federals at the home of Richard White. When the Federals commanded them to surrender, Jacob answered, "Never," in a voice that might have been heard a mile, "Never, while there is a leg to stand on or a bullet to kill. Look out, for we are coming." Saying this, the five guerrillas shot their way out of the house and to safety.<sup>21</sup> William Gregg's brother-in-law, James A. Hendricks, served under him as a lieutenant. In 1860 Hendricks was listed as a merchant owning a store near Stony Point in Jackson County. While he was living there, Jayhawkers came through and pillaged his store of all its wares. He joined Quantrill in December 1861, becoming one of his earliest members.

Lieutenant James L. Bledsoe rode in with a number of Confederate soldiers recently returned from Price's army. Bledsoe had fought



*James Anderson was a lieutenant in Quantrill's band of guerrillas. Jim and his brother Bill joined Quantrill after Federals hanged their father and uncle on March 12, 1862, in retaliation for Quantrill's raid on Aubry, Kansas, five days earlier on March 7, 1862. One year later Federals murdered Jim and Bill's fourteen-year-old sister Josephine and threw their other two sisters in prison. (Emory Cantey Collection)*

in Kansas at the start of the war, selling forage to the government at Fort Leavenworth. Following Quantrill's March 7, 1862, raid on Aubry, Kansas, a Federal patrol rode to the home of the Andersons a few days later, knowing them to be Southern sympathizers. The soldiers wound up hanging William's father and uncle. By March 12, Bill and his brother Jim were both riding with Quantrill. All he had left was a brother and two sisters who had miraculously survived the jail collapse. His sister Martha's legs were horribly crushed and crippled

alongside Quantrill's men at the battles of Cane Hill and Prairie Grove in Arkansas. Many guerrillas fought in the regular Confederate army but joined Quantrill's force for safety when returning home on furlough or on sick leave. Bledsoe was an officer in Shelby's Fifth Cavalry Regiment. His brother, Colonel Hiram M. Bledsoe, was Price's chief of artillery. Other officers also began arriving. Captain William Anderson rode in with about thirty to forty men. Jim Cummins said that Anderson was the most "desperate man I ever knew." Anderson was described as "nearly six feet tall, of rather swarthy complexion and had long, black hair, inclined to curl. He wore a big black hat with a plume in it. [His] shirt was black, with open breast and gold braid bordering it. He carried two revolvers in his belt and two on his saddle."<sup>22</sup>

An unusual event made a guerrilla out of William Anderson. He had been living



*The William Anderson Family. Inscribed inside the photo case is the phrase "William Anderson family, Council Grove, T. K." (Territory of Kansas). Standing, left to right: Josephine, Jim, Mary, Charlie (baby), Bill, and Martha. Seated, left to right: Tom Anderson (Jim and Bill's first cousin and son of William's brother Thomas who lived in Council Grove as well. This boy went with the children to Missouri and was the one who ran and notified the guerillas when the Anderson girls were arrested), William (father), and Martha (mother). The image is dated 1859-1860, just prior to the mother's death. It is the only image of the Anderson family extant. (Emory Cantey Collection)*

for life, and Molly suffered serious back injuries and facial lacerations. Martha was only ten years old, while Mollie was sixteen at the time of the collapse. Both girls would carry their battered bodies and emotional scars for years to come. When asked why he joined Quantrill, Anderson replied, "I have chosen guerrilla warfare to revenge myself for wrongs that I could not honorably revenge otherwise. I lived in Kansas when this war commenced. Because I would not fight the people of Missouri, my native State, the Yankees sought my life, but failed to get me. [They] revenged themselves by murdering my father, [and] destroying all my property."<sup>23</sup> The Federals would soon regret their wanton actions against the Anderson family. Together with his brother James, William Anderson would cut a devastating path of death and destruction through Missouri, striking any and all Union soldiers and Federal outposts they could find.



*Captain Fletcher Taylor was sent into Lawrence to spy out the city prior to the raid. After returning and reporting to Quantrill, Taylor was given the honor of leading the column on the expedition.* (Emory Cantey Collection)

of the smartest of them all and it was he who piloted the way into Lawrence.”<sup>24</sup> When Taylor returned from his mission, he was assisted by another scout, John M. “Doc” Campbell, who helped him lead the way into Lawrence.

Captain John Jarrette joined Quantrill early in 1862. Jarrette was born in Nelson County, Kentucky, and was living with a Charles Dawson in the 1850 census. By 1860 Jarrette was living in the Big Cedar Township in Jackson County, Missouri. He married Josephine Younger on May 8, 1860. He soon enlisted his brother-in-law Coleman Younger in his company because, as Jarrette told his brother-in-law, “Cole, your mother and your sister told me to take care of you.” Jim Cummins said that Quantrill had utter confidence

First Lieutenant Archie Clement was Bill Anderson’s second-in-command and was said to be the brains behind the outfit. A Federal militiaman by the name of Harkness killed his youngest brother and burned down the home of his mother. Archie then rode off to fight with Quantrill. At age seventeen Archie became a lieutenant in Anderson’s company. Archie originally hailed from Kingsville in Johnson County, Missouri. He was small of stature, blond with gray eyes, and sported a perpetual smile. Lieutenant Fletcher Taylor was also in Anderson’s company and was the only officer who did not ride in with the rest to prepare for the raid on Lawrence. He had been given a special mission by Quantrill and had not yet returned. Taylor was described by his fellow guerrilla Jim Cummins who said, “Fletcher Taylor was one

in Jarrette, and when extra work was to be done Jarrette was called on to take the lead.<sup>25</sup>

Besides being blood relations, many of the guerrillas were related by marriage. Captain Richard Yeager married Martha J. Muir, sister of Boone Muir, just before the war started. Yeager came from a prominent and wealthy family; his father was the presiding judge of the Jackson County Court and operated a freighting business. While returning from a freighting expedition on one of his father's wagon trains, Yeager found that Jennison and his Jayhawkers had pillaged his father's farm and stripped it of everything they could carry off. Afterward Captain James W. Christian, James Lane's business partner, held a public auction on his farm one mile northwest of Lawrence. He received \$9,000 for 200 head of horses and mules, 300 cattle, and 400 sheep. The livestock was all "confiscated" from Missouri farms.<sup>26</sup> Yeager rode off to join Quantrill. His father was arrested and thrown into prison in St. Louis. Federals also arrested Yeager's wife and her parents' family with the understanding that they would be sent to Fort Leavenworth. Also in Yeager's company were brothers Dan and William Vaughn, with Dan serving as a first lieutenant. Their brother Jim had been recently executed in Kansas City.

In a few days Lieutenant Andy Blunt rode in with about one hundred men. Blunt joined Quantrill in April of 1862. His first battle as a guerrilla was against Captain Albert P. Peabody's forces at the Samuel C. Clark farm where he fought a hand-to-hand duel with a Federal cavalryman. A few days later he was wounded at the Lowe house fight where he was captured along with Joseph Gilchrist. After Lowe and Gilchrist were taken prisoners, the Federals lined the two guerrillas up and shot them. In the volley Gilchrist was killed and Blunt received a broken arm. Instead of finishing him off, the Federals carried him back to Independence where Dr. P. H. Henry, a Southern doctor, nursed him back to health then helped him to escape. Later Blunt participated in every skirmish and battle in which the guerrillas were involved, always in the forefront of the assault. Many of the men believed him a better shot than Quantrill. It was said of him that no one knew his history. He asked no questions, and he answered none. Some guerrillas found it offensive to have to shoot Yankee prisoners when given the order by Quantrill. Some only felt justified in taking



*Dave Poole. Quantrill's company had grown to such proportions by 1863 that he divided his command under able leaders such as Captain Francis Marion "Dave" Poole. Jayhawkers had murdered Poole's uncle, plundered his property, then burned down his home and murdered his brother-in-law. (Emory Cantey Collection)*

a life in open battle, but not Blunt. Blunt and his family had been so victimized by the Jayhawkers and their attacks that he took whatever opportunity he could find to seek revenge.<sup>27</sup> During the winter of 1862 Blunt accompanied Quantrill to Richmond where Quantrill sought a commission to operate along the border as a colonel of partisan rangers.

Another of Quantrill's officers, Captain Dave Poole and his brother John, joined after Jayhawkers killed their uncle Archibald Poole, plundered his property, then burned down his home and murdered their brother-in-law. Poole's full name was Francis Marion Poole. His parents were from South Carolina. One of Poole's best friends remarked of him, "He was one of the bravest men I have ever known. As a soldier he was as dashing as Murat, and the wilder the charge and the more desperate the odds the better it pleased him. He had many splendid qualities, and was as honest as he was brave."<sup>28</sup>

Captain George W. Shepherd and his brothers Frank and Oliver lived in Big Cedar Township in the Valley of the Little Blue, eight miles south of Independence, Missouri, when the war started. They were kin to James Pendleton Shepherd, Jr., who founded Independence and whose Negro slaves constructed the first courthouse. Like many other families they were set upon indiscriminately by Kansas Jayhawkers and robbed of all their possessions. George was twenty-one when he rode in to take part in

the Lawrence raid. He had been with Sterling Price at the battles of Wilson's Creek, Prairie Grove, and Pea Ridge and later with Quantrill when he routed Union forces at the battle of Independence on August 11, 1862, and so joined Quantrill as an experienced officer. The brothers were all riding with Quantrill when he returned from Texas in the spring of 1863. They joined to avenge the murder of old men and young boys by Federals in Jackson County and were riding beside Quantrill when he was wounded in a skirmish near their home south of Independence.

Captain Richard P. Maddox and his brothers George, William, and Tom came from a well-to-do family. Their father Larkin owned two to three thousand acres of the best farmland in Jackson County, some two hundred to three hundred head of fine mules and horses, and about sixty Negroes. The elder Maddox took an active part in the hostilities before the war, which made him especially hated by the Kansans when the war started.

Hence, when the rebellion broke out and the Kansas troops under Jennison and Lane marched into Missouri in 1861, old Maddox and his sons were early victims of their hatred and revenge. The "red-legs" made a descent upon the Maddox "ranch", carried off their mules, horses and other stock, burned their houses, barns, Negro quarters, cribs and out-houses of all descriptions and took away with them all the Negroes on the place. They would doubtless have exterminated the last Maddox on the face of the earth if they could have laid hands on them, but the sons fled to the brush and the old man found it convenient for him to make a certain visit to the "loyal" state of Kentucky. It is said that George Maddox joined Quantrill at Blue Springs in June of 1861 and fought with him in every fight until Quantrill left the State. George carried on his body the scars of thirteen wounds received while fighting under Quantrill. The elder Maddox ventured back to Missouri before the close of the war but was speedily nabbed and lodged in the Independence jail where he languished many months among the bushwhackers and lice.

Colonel John D. Holt, a Southern recruiting officer under orders of General Price, was camped with Quantrill and under his protection. Holt had been a regular officer in Elliott's Ninth Missouri Cavalry but

had been ordered into Clay County, north of the Missouri River, to recruit. Quantrill had suggested to Holt that he continue on to Clay County to pick up his new recruits then meet him at a prearranged time and place along the Missouri border where they would join forces for the raid. Holt could use his recruits to bolster Quantrill's forces and to serve as lookouts and guards to cordon off the town once they arrived. Holt had his own reasons for seeking revenge on the Jayhawkers. Thirty days after being organized in Kansas City the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry ventured south and burned Nevada City in Vernon County on May 26, 1863. Captain Anderson Morton in command gave the citizens twenty minutes to vacate their homes and property. Holt owned a large hardware store in Vernon County, which was put to the torch and his home plundered and his family insulted. Historians have admitted, "Every raid meant a robbery and plundering, maybe a house-burning and a murder. The booty obtained was held to be property acquired and when these pirates of the prairies returned to their homes after a successful foray, they were greeted with joyful acclaim."<sup>29</sup>

### Jayhawker Rampage

THERE HAS NEVER BEEN an estimate of the total number of innocent Missouri citizens killed, but community after community reported losses by the score. Throughout Missouri and Northern Arkansas, chimneys marking the sites of destroyed homes were called "Jennison's Monuments."<sup>30</sup> One Jayhawker in particular, Peter Jackson Bryant of Kansas, boasted of his illegal exploits. "In July our Captain raised a company and went into the army, and I mustered about 50 men and went into Missouri. All the difference between us [was] he jayhawked under cover of Uncle Sam and I under a lieutenancy from Governor Robinson. I marched when I damned pleased; he, when he was told to. I kept my plunder if I chose; he didn't. I took my pay as I went along; he, when he could get it. I have disbanded my squad; he has got to stick until war is over."

One guerrilla officer noticeably missing was Captain John Thrailkill. Thrailkill was originally from Holt County in Northwest Missouri. He could empathize with his fellow comrades who had



*Captain John Thraikill. At the start of the war, Federals invaded the home of Thraikill's fiancée and killed her invalid father. As a result of this brutal assault, she went insane and died shortly afterward. To avenge her death, Thraikill made a vow of revenge and joined Quantrill, but he was not part of the raid on Lawrence, Kansas. (Emory Cantey Collection)*

possible than ever before. They had killed numerous old men and boys." Besides the remembrances of a large number of citizens killed during the summer of 1863 there were also the vivid memories and recollections of dozens of communities plundered in Western Missouri, many of them being wiped out of existence by the Jayhawkers from Kansas. Not only that, but Jayhawkers also destroyed entire families, killing every male in the household and completely destroying family lines forever. After Fort Sumter in South Carolina was fired upon by the Confederates in April 1861, beginning the Civil War, many Union men began to move out of Missouri. Many of them enlisted in Kansas regiments and returned

just lost their sisters and wives in the jail collapse. At the start of the war twenty Federal militiamen invaded the home of his fiancée and killed her invalid father. As a result of this brutal assault, she went insane and died shortly afterward. To avenge her, Thraikill joined Quantrill, but not before making a solemn vow at his sweetheart's grave: "Blood for blood; every hair in her head shall have a sacrifice." Thraikill eventually killed eighteen of the twenty men who caused his fiancée's death but there were more of his enemies to be found in Lawrence. If it wasn't for the fact that he had recently been captured on July 19 and placed in prison Thraikill would have undoubtedly been on the raid.<sup>31</sup>

William Gregg remembered that prior to the raid "the enemy had been more savage if

as Union soldiers, leading Jayhawker attacks on their former neighborhoods.

While in Missouri on a Jayhawker expedition John A. Martin of the Eighth Kansas Regiment recruited in Lawrence wrote to his sister.

The country around is a desolation; the ravages of war have laid waste the fields, and ruins mark the spot where once stood costly houses. I have seen since coming down here, the effects of civil war terribly portrayed. West Point [Missouri] was once a thriving town, with large stores, elegant private dwellings, and a fine large hotel. Now soldiers are quartered in the dwellings and horses occupy the storerooms. The hotel was burned down three days ago. The houses are all torn to pieces, plastering off, mantles used to build fires, and doors unhinged. I presume the place will be burned as soon as the troops leave. All around . . . the same scenes of ruin and devastation greet the eye. Large farms, with crops ungathered, barns and stables falling to pieces, houses deserted, fences torn down, and stock running loose and uncared for. From West Point to Jonesville I saw not a house occupied and I have been all over the country about here without meeting with a half dozen habited dwellings.<sup>32</sup>

The chief of all Jayhawkers, as everyone knew, was Charles Ransford Jennison. Born in New York, Jennison migrated westward, settling first at Osawatomie and then in Mound City, Kansas. Many abolitionist emigrants came to Kansas from New York though the state had known its share of slavery atrocities. Before the war one of every five New York families owned slaves. Slave traders were well known to the city's business community; some ranked among the city's most prominent members. More slave trade expeditions were organized and financed in the city than in any other place in the world. John Speer, a newspaperman from Lawrence, remembered Jennison as "a roisterer, a reckless, drinking man, and a gambler." Upon arriving in Kansas, Jennison immediately threw in his lot with the notorious John Brown. After first accompanying Brown on raids into Missouri before the war, he began conducting his own attacks on proslavery settlers on both sides of the border.

All too often, indiscriminate plundering characterized these attacks, as was the case when Jennison attacked Independence,

Missouri, in the fall of 1861. Independence provoked Jennison's enmity because the town was the first in the state to raise the Confederate flag. On the day it was raised a large group gathered. A cannon signaled the moment that the flag reached the top of the staff, and afterward a large celebration was held. For this seemingly innocent act of patriotism Jennison crossed the border with his Jayhawkers and pillaged the town. Jennison said of the citizens, "They shall be treated as traitors, and slain wherever found; their property shall be confiscated and their homes burned, and in no case will any be spared either in person or property."<sup>33</sup>

Something of a glamour surrounded Jennison in those days; he had been conspicuous as a leader in the early days of border troubles, and his Jayhawkers had inflicted damage on the proslavery sympathizers that ranged all the way from blood to loot; indeed, he carried the latter to such an extent that the pedigree of most Kansas horses, it was said, should have been recorded as "out of Missouri by Jennison."<sup>34</sup>

Lieutenant Colonel Basel F. Lazear, a Federal officer serving in Missouri, wrote to his wife, describing the conditions around Independence following several of Jennison's raids, saying that it was "one of the prettiest towns I ever saw and this is the finest country up here I have ever seen in Missouri but it is a waste now but few people living here and full one third of the houses burnt and I would not be surprised if by fall they would not all be burnt and the country entirely desolated."<sup>35</sup>

A year later Jayhawkers were still pillaging the town. Jacob Hall recounted what his family experienced from Jayhawkers while he was away on a trip to Washington, DC. They "cursed the whole family. Proceeded to take the two mules, all the oats, all the hay, 35 or 40 tons, all the old corn about 1,000 bushels, all the peaches, apples, grapes, sweet and Irish potatoes, cabbage and all the other vegetables in the garden." Mrs. Hall lamented, "There has been no improvement in the things here. Worse than ever. If I could leave home I would go to Kentucky and remain until the war was over."<sup>36</sup>

On November 4, 1861, Jennison issued a proclamation to the people of Jackson, Lafayette, Cass, Johnson, and Pettis counties, warning, "Every man who feeds, harbors, protects or in any way

gives aid and comfort to the enemies of the Union will be held responsible for his treason with his life and property." In actual practice little or no distinction was made between loyal and rebel Missourians, and Jennison and his subordinate officers and men were said to have appropriated by far the greater part of the confiscated property to their private use or sale in the black markets of Leavenworth and Lawrence. Eventually Jennison was accused by Federal authorities and brought to trial after seizing "a large amount of forage and a number of horses for his brigade." He permitted his acting brigade quartermaster to prepare vouchers as if the forage and horses had been purchased, and that he had approved the vouchers, "knowing the same to be false and fraudulent," and that having captured about 140 head of cattle, "from alleged enemies of the United States," he permitted his acting brigade quartermaster to turn the cattle over "to unauthorized parties with the intention of converting the proceeds of such cattle to private use." Jennison received thirty dollars a head for the cattle. Part of the plunder was turned over to his brother, Alonzo Jennison, who accompanied the Jayhawking expeditions in an unofficial capacity.<sup>37</sup>

In late November 1861, Jennison's Seventh Kansas Jayhawker Regiment was stationed four miles south of Kansas City. When they were ordered to West Point, Missouri, thirty-five miles south, every house and barn along their line of march except one was burned. When they arrived in West Point, the town was plundered, thirty homes were burned, and twelve men were killed for being Southern sympathizers. Local citizens reported, "West Point fell an early victim to the Kansas raiders and the town was almost wiped out of existence. Its stores were looted and houses burned. The office of the *West Point Banner*, which had incurred the enmity of the Kansas men, was looted and type and machinery scattered and destroyed. The other towns suffered, but to a less extent."<sup>38</sup>

### Quantrill's Reconnaissance and Intelligence

QUANTRILL WAS SELDOM in ignorance of the enemy's movements, and whenever it was apparent to him that he could engage them under advantageous circumstances he never failed to benefit from the

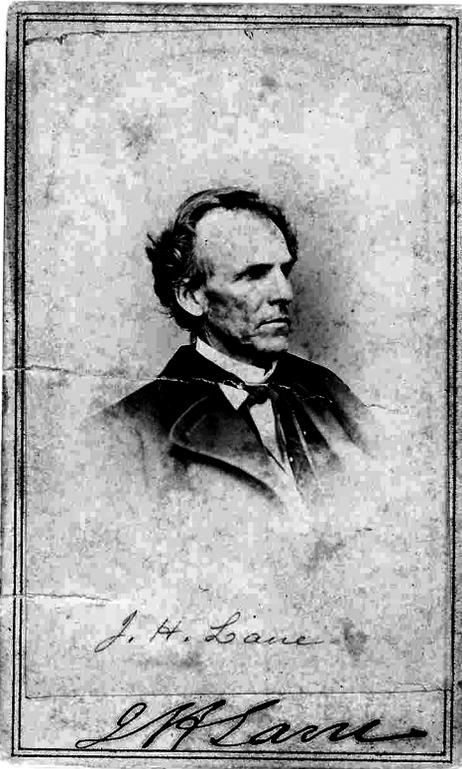
opportunity. Even some strong Union men acted as his spies so utterly disgusted were the citizens with the conduct of the Federals who were carrying on indiscriminate murder and robbery.<sup>39</sup>

Acting on orders from General Shelby and General Price, Quantrill sent spies into Lawrence frequently during the summer of 1863 in anticipation of a planned raid on Kansas. Even Hovey Lowman, editor of the *Lawrence State Journal*, was aware of Quantrill's activities in the area. "For three months previously, Quantrell had been threatening Lawrence, and had gathered a force twice before with the well known purpose of leading it against the city."<sup>40</sup>

Quantrill's spies observed that there were periodic scares and musterings of the militia without the coming of the guerrillas; after the fears subsided, the militia was demobilized, and Union army units ordered elsewhere as the inhabitants reverted to a false sense of security. It was well known that "nearly every able bodied man served in the Lawrence Rifle Guards"<sup>41</sup>

There were even citizens in town who were known to keep in regular communication with Quantrill. Following the raid some staunch Union men went so far as to claim, "Spies were in town all night, indeed it is placed beyond peradventure that the mother of a certain Banker of Lawrence, who secured all his valuables the night before the raid, spent weeks with his family in Lawrence, and made a map of the town giving names, residences and location of those who were to be killed and their homes burned, marking them thus—'Kill and Burn,' or 'Burn,' as if the property belonged to a sympathizer only 'Kill.' This map was taken by this heinous woman to Kansas City, and Quantrill and his lieutenants entertained day and night in the greatest possible seclusion in her parlor, where they had the maps explained preparatory to the [raid]."

Others also affirmed this information. "Names and houses were marked prior to their coming in." Hovey Lowman later stated, "He [Quantrill] had spies going and coming constantly to and from the city, and knew much more accurately than most of its citizens just the preparations that were made for his reception. He was doubtless at all times in possession of as perfect a knowledge of the exact condition of the city, whether it was guarded or not, whether its citizens slept soundly nights and pursued their avocations through the day



*General James Lane incited his fellow Kansans to invade Missouri for plunder. "When you march through a state you must destroy the property of the men in arms against the Government; destroy, devastate, desolate. This is war. Ours is an army of volunteers who must not be judged by the rules applied to regulars."* (Greg Walter Collection)

missouri and burn him at the stake. Since before the war Lane had been offering a heavy reward for Quantrill's head. Some say it was as much as \$50,000.<sup>43</sup>

After analyzing all of the intelligence information he had gathered Quantrill began laying his plans. Secrecy was paramount for a

undisturbed by a thought of danger, or whether they were aroused by rumors in the air, to such a state of watchfulness as to preclude the idea of a surprise, as were its chief officers."<sup>42</sup>

The citizen Quantrill most sought in Lawrence was Senator James Lane, said to be the "head devil of all the burning and killing in Jackson County." With Congress not in session Quantrill hoped that Senator Lane would be found in town. Lane led the first organized band of Union Jayhawkers into Missouri. It was also Lane who originally laid out the "Lane Trail" of safe houses located in Kansas so runaway slaves could escape from Missouri and avoid proslavery settlements. Quantrill was often heard to remark, "I would like to meet him, but then there would be no honor in whipping him. He is a coward. I believe I would cowhide him." Quantrill told others his intention was to capture Lane and bring him back to Mis-



*John T. Noland was born in 1844. He was one of several black men who served under Quantrill. Noland showed himself a brave soldier by his conspicuous actions during the first battle of Independence and the battle of Lamar. At Noland's funeral all his pallbearers were white. He was described as "a man among men." His gravestone in Woodlawn Cemetery in Independence denotes his service with Quantrill as a scout. (Emory Cantey Collection)*

successful campaign. There were at least three Negroes in Quantrill's company. All of them were highly trusted and respected. One in particular went through the entire war with the guerrilla company. John T. Noland was a black man who had been with Quantrill from the start. He was described as "a brave, resourceful fellow." Federals once offered him ten thousand dollars to betray Quantrill, but he replied with scorn. He served as Quantrill's hostler and gathered information for Quantrill from his contacts with other Negroes located around Jackson County. Noland sensed something big was in the works and asked Quantrill to let him ride along in the ranks as a private soldier. Noland admired Quantrill because he said that Quantrill trusted and depended on him. Quantrill pulled him to the side and confided in him. "John, if I let you go with us once, your usefulness will be gone. I want you for another purpose."<sup>44</sup>

Quantrill assigned his trusted aide to make a perilous journey. He asked Noland to go to Lawrence and spy out the situation. Noland did not cower from the responsibility, he welcomed it. Noland said,

I being a colored man I had the advantage of any white man as a spy. . . . It was then the Col. [Quantrill] sent for me to meet him on the Little Blue River, and it was there that I received my final instructions, which was to find out the number of soldiers quartered in Lawrence, and if there were any in the vicinity. I started for Lawrence about the 12<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> of August, arriving there I found some colored people there but did not mix with them for fear of recognition. I only spent one day and one night in Lawrence. I counted one hundred and forty soldiers camped about the town.

Quantrill gave him a brace of Colt Navy revolvers, some money, and a good horse. He made his way from Independence and on into Lawrence.<sup>45</sup>

Noland was captured twice along the way. The first time was by some of Quantrill's own men who did not recognize him. Noland had a passport from Quantrill sewn in the lining of his coat but he disliked cutting it out, so they took him to the brother of his master who identified him. The second time was by some Union soldiers who caught him as he was returning riding a horse with a Federal saddle. He explained that during a skirmish some soldiers left the horse in a thicket and in his haste to get away he mounted it and rode off. It was lucky he was not searched for his pockets were full of pistol caps he had acquired for Quantrill's men. The soldiers did find a hundred dollars on his person. His master was summoned and questioned. Mr. Noland explained that John should have money because his master had always given him a good chance to prosper. In the years following, Noland was cautious in what he admitted to concerning the raid. He was afraid of public criticism if he were to admit that he returned prior to the raid so he often repeated, "I did not see the Colonel or make any report to him until after his return from Lawrence."<sup>46</sup>

Two other black men in Quantrill's company, Henry Wilson and John Lobb, were also sent into Lawrence to spy out the situation. Wilson served as Quantrill's bodyguard because he didn't drink, was dependable and a good shot, and because he promised Quantrill he would stick to the end. Wilson was kidnapped by Jayhawkers early in the war and was on his way to Kansas when he escaped. Wilson who lived near Independence chose to remain in Quantrill's band rather than accept his freedom. He told those around him, "I

observed with my own eyes, the stealing, plundering and burning of homes of the people of this county by bands of 'red legs' even to the enticing of slaves into Kansas. I joined Quantrill when Master Wilson moved to Texas to run the blockade at Independence, carrying supplies to Quantrill and his men." He said he ran for miles without stopping until he found Quantrill.

Wilson was also one of Quantrill's best spies because he could slip into a village without alarming the occupants and secure significant information. Quantrill assigned him to go to Lawrence and find out the conditions as to the town's defenses. Wilson recalled, "I was really only a boy and small for my age when I went into Lawrence as a scout. I was barefoot and had my pants rolled half way to my knees. I begged cornbread for a poor nigger boy and got a good lay of things." It was said that Wilson was shot seven times during the war and always dressed his own wounds.<sup>47</sup>

John Lobb was also sent into Lawrence, but William Gregg remembered, "Lobb did not get back before we had started. He met us on the way and told us that Lane had left town."<sup>48</sup>

Because of his jocular personality and easy manner Quantrill asked Lieutenant Fletcher Taylor to also spy out the situation in Lawrence. Taylor's subterfuge was to pose as a land speculator and cattle trader. He was to stay several days at the Eldridge House Hotel, the most notable guest quarters in town, and spend his money liberally, playing the part of a wealthy hospitable gentleman, and gather names of those Federal soldiers making the hotel their headquarters. For years the hotel was used as a fort before it was even finished. Lawrence citizen Richard Cordley said, "It was used for military purposes, and was made quite comfortable as headquarters. Several of the companies used it as a 'barracks' for the accommodation of the 'army.'"

The Eldridge House Hotel itself was a formidable structure, three stories tall with an initial cost of \$20,000. It was one of the largest and most luxurious inns west of the Mississippi River. The building was the principal hotel in town, holding sixty patrons at the time of the raid. After it was first destroyed in 1856, Shalor Eldridge employed Benjamin Johnson to rebuild it for a cost of \$80,000. Situated on the corner of Massachusetts and Winthrop Streets, it was constructed as a fort ready for any emergency with a roof parapeted

for defense and portholes every six feet apart built into the façade for firing. It extended one hundred feet on the east front and one hundred and seventeen feet on the north. The walls were eighteen inches thick and the basement walls two feet thick. It stood four stories tall and was the most imposing structure in all Lawrence. The ground-floor windows were all protected by iron grills. The rooms were large and imposing. The ballroom was big enough to hold a hundred persons and could accommodate forty-eight couples dancing at one time. The yard in the rear was enclosed with a strong fence eight to ten feet high. Across the street the Lawrence militia kept their cannon “shotted and ready for any emergency.” If there were to be a defense of the town it would logically be the Eldridge House Hotel where the defenders would naturally muster. If even a small number of Lawrence citizens could arm themselves from the armory across the street and find safety behind its walls, getting to them inside the hotel would be costly.

James D. Faxon, a clerk in Brinton F. Woodward’s drugstore located next to the Eldridge House Hotel, said, “During this period which was the time of the war business was good. Some army supplies were bought there and occasionally there would be quite a number of soldiers quartered there.”<sup>49</sup> Lawrence newspaper editor and militiaman Hovey Lowman readily admitted, “Well filled, by efficiently, armed and resolute men, with a brave and cool-headed leader, such a building would, so it seems, be a fortress of most dangerous defensive power against two or three hundred cavalrymen armed with weapons no more efficient in assault than revolvers.”<sup>50</sup>

Taylor’s other mission while he was in Lawrence was to find out the names of any Jayhawkers and Redlegs in town, including the number of soldiers and what military units were stationed there and where they were bivouacked. Especially wanted were the Redlegs. There were never less than fifty of them, nor more than a hundred. Little was known of them until the spring of 1863. They were not enlisted soldiers. They dressed in citizens’ clothes, and the red leggings were a sign of recognition to each other. They were employed by the generals in command, and were carried on the payrolls at seven dollars each per day. They gained prominence when Generals Thomas Ewing and James G. Blunt organized a body of scouts to

operate on the Missouri border. They were recognized by the government as fully as any captain, colonel, or general. The Redlegs soon acquired an evil reputation. Their organization became one of professional thieves, robbers, murderers, and arsonists, attacking anyone who had sympathy for the South or anyone who had any type of wealth or possessions they coveted. Even General Blunt admitted, "The organization embraced many of the most desperate characters in the country, while the inducements of easy gain had allured into it many persons who, in ordinary time, would never have consented to be connected with such an enterprise. Officers, soldiers and citizens had become infected until the leaders became so bold as to defy interference with their operations."<sup>51</sup>

### **Lawrence, Kansas: Redleg Capital**

NAMES OF KANSAS REDLEGS are rarely found in official muster records. The organization was a loose one comprised of men who joined simply for adventure and plunder, wanting to operate under no military constraints. They were simply freebooters and criminals of the worst sort, who would kill and plunder knowing they would suffer no repercussions. Their headquarters were in Lawrence, and they were in close association with the citizens and other military units stationed there. A Lawrence citizen recalled, "We in Lawrence came into very close touch with the soldiers of the Union. We saw a great deal of them during the four years. Squads and detachments, regiments and brigades, were constantly passing through the state, often remaining for days and weeks in camp among us."

Most of Lawrence's citizens had served or were serving in the army or militia. "Whole neighborhoods were found without a single able-bodied man left." It was common knowledge that "half the men of Kansas were in the army, or at the front in some capacity, and that an overwhelming proportion of the home men were in office, either in the civil or military service of the United States or state government."<sup>52</sup> Even Kansas writer A. C. Nichols wrote, "Many Kansans were assigned to formal fighting, but others were incorporated under local commands and fought the war out in the same roles, now legalized, that they had played in the curtain-raiser."<sup>53</sup>

Next to the Eldridge Hotel the most notable hotel in town was the Johnson House Hotel located about a block to the southwest on Vermont Street. It was a large three-story stone building. Rates were one dollar a day or four dollars a week. The stage line arrived and left there daily to all parts of the territory. Everyone was aware that Colonel George Hoyt, the noted Redleg leader, made this hotel his headquarters, and his Redlegs filled the hotel's stable to capacity with stolen horses from Missouri. Stealing horses was a priority during a Jayhawker raid due to the lucrative market. A Jackson County citizen wrote a letter describing the practice. "Stealing horses is quite a common occurrence here, but by reason of the close proximity of the state of Kansas which furnishes them a place of retreat, as well as a market for such stolen stock their arrest and detection is exceedingly difficult." It was an easy matter for the Jayhawkers to obtain horses. C. C. Spalding from Westport remembered, "Every man and woman, especially young men and young ladies are supposed to have a saddle and bridle if no other personal property. On this border, traveling on horseback, to town, to church, to court, to school, and to the dance, is the favorite mode of traveling. It is not only a habit with the old and the young people, but it is an amusement, a luxury enjoyed by every one."<sup>54</sup>

George Hoyt was small of stature, only weighing seventy-five pounds. He came to Lawrence as a lawyer and was described as "a combination of ambition and cruelty." Hoyt started out as a lieutenant in Company K of the Seventh Kansas Jayhawker Regiment commanded by John Brown, Jr. He later served as Jennison's aide-de-camp, and the two became inseparable companions. Hoyt resigned his commission on September 3, 1862, to take up Jayhawking full time. The adjutant general of the state of Kansas remarked, "The company and regiment was well rid of him when he resigned."<sup>55</sup> Later at a public meeting in Paola, Kansas, Hoyt was seen "dressed in a suit of black velvet, red sheepskin leggin[g]s reaching to the knees, a red silk handkerchief carelessly thrown around his neck, and a military hat with a flowing black plume. At his waist was an embossed morocco belt carrying a pair of ivory-mounted revolvers." Other descriptions of him portray him as wearing a wampum skirt and fringes and Indian ornaments similar to his partner in crime, Charles Ransford Jennison

One eyewitness saw “[George] Hoyt without a word of explanation or warning, open fire upon a stranger quietly riding down Massachusetts Street. He was a Missourian whom Hoyt had recently robbed.” Another eyewitness recounted, “The Lawrence livery stable was usually full of stolen horses. One day I saw three or four Redlegs attack a Missourian, who was in town searching for his lost property. They gathered about him with drawn revolvers, and drove him off very unceremoniously.” A Lawrence citizen recalled, “Nobody dared to interfere with them because they did not hesitate to shoot inquisitive and troublesome people.” Hoyt was especially hated by Southerners for having defended John Brown during his trial for treason. When not at the Johnson House Hotel, Hoyt could be found at the home of Lieutenant Henry S. Clarke.<sup>56</sup>

With General Ewing’s blessing Hoyt was put in charge of a group of Redlegs known at the time as “detectives” to root out disloyal sentiments among the citizens. As Hoyt’s Redlegs grew in size and scope, detective papers would become one of their most powerful tools. Lieutenant Cyrus Leland, Jr., an officer on Ewing’s staff, admitted that Ewing always had fifteen Redlegs on his payroll, among them Theodore Bartles, George Kingsley, and J. G. Losee, who was Jennison’s business partner in stolen trade operating out of Leavenworth. Bartles had already gained an unsavory reputation as a noted thief. In July 1862 many of the leading citizens of Wyandotte County, Kansas, formed a vigilance committee to stop an outbreak of robbery and horse stealing, which the civilian law enforcement officials were powerless to halt. The committee believed the “Six Mile House,” owned by J. A. Bartles and his son, Theodore, had become a “den of thieves, operated by a gang of Red Legs.” When citizens attempted to arrest Bartles he was protected by troops sent out by General Blunt. Afterward Bartles joined the staff of George Hoyt at the Johnson Hotel in Lawrence.

After selecting a crew of the most notable cutthroats along the border, Hoyt started plundering on a large scale. Historian Stephen Starr said, “The Red Legs were not the kind of military body that keeps records and makes reports,” and added, they “stole, robbed, burned, and killed indiscriminately, and not in Missouri alone.” Solomon Miller, a staunch Unionist, expressed his disgust over Hoyt’s

activities. "A system of terrorism was practiced upon loyal citizens by means of deputy marshals, so-called detectives, and desperate, irresponsible men under other guises, to keep them to the wishes of Lane. They first despoiled men of known disloyal sentiments and when that harvest was exhausted they began to make disloyal men, that is, they would trump up charges of disloyalty and proceed to steal their horses." Another method was to accuse unfriendly persons of owning stolen horses, then seize the animals and retain them for their own use or profit.<sup>57</sup>

Writing from Leavenworth, Kansas, C. M. Chase, a pro-Union journalist for the *True Republican and Sentinel* of Sycamore, Illinois, defined the Redlegs and the various forms of Jayhawkers who operated in Missouri and Kansas. "Jayhawkers, Red Legs, and Bushwhackers are everyday terms in Kansas and Western Missouri. A Jayhawker is a Unionist who professes to rob, burn out and murder only rebels in arms against the government. A Red Leg is a Jayhawker originally distinguished by the uniform of red leggings. A Red Leg, however, is regarded as more purely an indiscriminate thief and murderer than the Jayhawker or Bushwhacker."

Benjamin Johnson, known as one of the town's more strident abolitionists, owned the Johnson House Hotel besides owning a farm eight miles outside of town. He was also a man who split no hairs when it came to who he liked and who he allowed in his hotel. The year before when he learned that a number of Missourians had signed his registry and were in town looking for their stolen property, the irate innkeeper collared the men and kicked them into the street with the warning not to come back. John Speer, editor of the *Lawrence Republican*, laughingly wrote, "If you're from Missouri, and you're looking for strayed property, give the Johnson House a wide berth."<sup>58</sup>

When the Redlegs were in town, the men of Lawrence would come to the hotel to listen to them brag about the number of Missourians they had killed and the amount of plunder they had acquired from the wealthy slave owners across the border. At most any time there were usually a dozen men registered as guests; most notable among them being: John W. Blatchly; John L. Bridges, known mostly by his nom-de-plume "Beauregard"; and Joseph B. Swain, who had ridden with Lane during the destruction of Osceola, Missouri. Previously they had



*Captain Henry E. Palmer was an officer in Lane's Brigade and took part in the destruction of Osceola, Missouri. (Kansas State Historical Society)*

served as scouts, not on government payroll but simply as private citizens. In compensation for their service they were allowed to keep all captured property, including weapons, horses, mules, and other livestock, all of which could be readily sold for cash. Soon Swain and his men became less concerned with the political sympathies of their victims and more interested in their own financial gain. However, as long as they provided some service to the Union, sympathetic Federal authorities were willing to ignore their transgressions.<sup>59</sup>

Stories of Jayhawkers terrorizing the Missouri border were numerous. Redleg Joseph B. Swain, described as Jennison's "right-hand man," and seven of his followers made a nighttime raid on the home of a Missouri farmer named Lawrence. The party demanded the man turn over to them all his money and silverware. Lawrence said he could not comply with their demand as he had sent all of his money to a bank in Canada for safety. Dragged to a nearby tree with a rope around his neck, Lawrence was repeatedly hauled into the air and strangled as Swain tried to extract the location of his wealth. When Lawrence failed to produce the goods, the men ransacked his home, smashing open locked drawers, emptying trunks, and ripping open mattresses. In the parlor they found the coffin of Mrs. Lawrence, who had died that day, resting across two chairs. In the words of Jayhawker Henry E. Palmer: "One fellow suggested that maybe money was hid in the coffin, and with that he knocked off the lid of the casket and searched for gold. A ring on the finger of the dead woman attracted his attention, and whipping out his bowie knife he cut off the finger to release the ring. Before leaving, this gallant party of Union defenders said to the terror

stricken daughters: "If you want to plant the old lady, drag her out, for we are going to fire the ranch." Unaided they dragged the coffin from the burning home.<sup>60</sup>

Even some Union officers were disgusted at the Redlegs' activities. Ironically General Blunt, military commander for the District of the Frontier who employed several Redlegs in his command, stated, "I found the country on the border of Kansas and Missouri overrun with bands of marauders, thieves, and robbers, styling themselves 'Red Legs.' Their organization was so formidable, and their depredations committed with such impunity, as to have become the terror of all law-abiding and honest men. No man's life or property was secure for a moment. The civil law was powerless to arrest and punish them." Author William Connelley wrote: "Every thief who wanted to steal from the Missouri people counterfeited the uniform of the Red Legs and went forth to pillage." Captain Henry Palmer of the Eleventh Kansas Jayhawker Regiment summed up the Redlegs' activities by explaining that three hundred Redlegs were "sworn to shoot rebels, take no prisoners, free slaves, and respect no property rights of rebels or their sympathizers."<sup>61</sup>

### Fortress Lawrence

LAWRENCE WAS A BUSTLING recruiting center for the Union army, but many did not know the underlying hostility in the way men were recruited. Lane's speeches harangued men to enlist in his brigade. "Men, we want you to let your families take care of themselves. Let everything go: you have no rights that we are bound to respect." Another source reported, "Men were persuaded or driven into the service against their own inclinations, leaving their families destitute and dependent upon the precarious charity of neighbors for subsistence, and misery and starvation deplorable in itself and disgraceful to Kansas has resulted." Several Kansas regiments "had been organized by misrepresentation; and men enlisted in many cases at the point of the bayonet."<sup>62</sup>

Twenty-two men of the Fourteenth Kansas Jayhawker Regiment were bivouacked in tents on the east side of Massachusetts Street in the southeast portion of the city, and another twenty soldiers of

the Second Kansas Colored Infantry were camped a little further south on the other side of Massachusetts Street. These soldiers were recruits who had enlisted in the service but had not yet been mustered into their respective units. They were expecting to be sent to the front any day. Captain Leroy J. Beam, the enrolling officer in charge of the white recruits, lived in town. Beam offered a five-dollar reward for anyone bringing in a new recruit. Samuel S. Snyder, serving as an officer in the Second Kansas Colored Regiment, was in command of the newly enlisted Negro soldiers. Union army chaplains were put in charge of escorting Negro contrabands taken in Missouri back to Lawrence and arming them for Lane's Black Brigade. As a result, Snyder was one of the most wanted men on Quantrill's list. It was Snyder who induced slaves to leave their masters while ordering them to take as much plunder from their owners as they could carry. Besides stealing horses and livestock they even took carriages and wagons to haul the plunder back into Kansas.

Missourians feared their former slaves more than the white Jayhawkers. One Missourian stated, "Our wives and daughters are panic stricken, and a reign of terror as black as hell itself envelops our county." When the war started, Missouri had one hundred thousand slaves, worth about thirty-five million dollars. Besides the slaves who were "enticed" to accompany the Jayhawkers back into Kansas, thousands of other slaves ran off, wandering the countryside, often in the train of Union troops who both cared for them and exploited them.<sup>63</sup>

Early on in the war Lane led his Negro brigade on a raid into Missouri. The October 13, 1862, *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported, "Last night a detachment of General Jim Lane's Free Negro Brigade attempted to cross the river from Wyandotte, Kansas, it is thought, for the purpose of making a raid upon the citizens of Clay County, Mo., when they were met on the Missouri bank by a company of the Missouri State Militia and driven back. Several shots were fired, but little damage was done to either party." Lane was trying to pay back Clay County for an earlier proclamation it had made: "The citizens of Clay County, are solemnly pledged one to another that they will not suffer traitors to her institutions to concoct and give utterance to their contemptible fanatical abolitionism to prevail, at any future time."<sup>64</sup>

A newspaper article in August of 1863 stated that Lawrence had a population between 2,500 and 3,000. Besides the regular soldiers who were expected to be encountered during the raid, almost the entire male population of Lawrence served in the local militia. Pastor Richard Cordley of the Plymouth Congregational Church was also in the Lawrence militia. He admitted that Lawrence had a “vigorous and effective military organization.” Cordley acknowledged: “The company to which I belonged was a rifle company, and comprised a large portion of the business and professional men of the place. Instead of accepting the muskets furnished by the state, we had armed ourselves with the most improved repeating rifles, mostly Spencer rifles. . . . The ranks of the militia companies were full, and everybody rallied, and rallied promptly. There were merchants and ministers, lawyers and doctors, laboring men and men of leisure, all shouldering their muskets, and taking their place in the ranks.” Cordley noted that even the previous pastor Samuel Y. Lum fought alongside the Lawrence militia. His members all attended church services heavily armed.

In fact at one time the Plymouth Church in Lawrence was turned into a barracks for the militia. The church was sixty feet long by forty feet wide. It could comfortably seat three hundred and fifty people and was often used as a station on the Underground Railroad. Cordley confessed that even his house was used as a meeting place for the military officers. One Union soldier in Lawrence recalled, “All that summer Lawrence had from two to three hundred militia, well drilled and well armed with plenty of ammunition. The militia was drilled every day; pickets were stationed on every road that led to town.”<sup>65</sup>

Quantrill wanted Fletcher Taylor to find out the names of the main troublemakers in town plus the location of their residences. Many individuals were already known from previous years of Jayhawker raids into Missouri. Their businesses had prospered from the sale of stolen goods, and these businesses were to be marked for destruction as well as the homes that were well furnished with stolen Missouri property. Though at one time there may have been some honest merchants in Lawrence, it was hard to compete against businesses selling stolen property. Therefore the honest merchants fell in with their fellow tradesmen and succumbed to the temptation to profit from ill-gotten gains.



*General George W. Collamore. Collamore was mayor of Lawrence at the time of the raid and secured arms from General Thomas Ewing for the city's defense. Before becoming mayor in March of 1863, Collamore served as the quartermaster general for the state of Kansas but was relieved of command by Governor Charles Robinson on suspicion of fraudulent practices with state funds. (Kansas State Historical Society)*

time. It had been rumored that Quantrill would arrive about the "full of the moon" which would have been near August 1. The word was relayed through General George Deitzler who had received a letter from Major Charles G. Halpine, chief-of-staff to Major General David Hunter. His younger brother had succeeded in getting into Quantrill's organization while camped on Sni-a-Bar Creek. Halpine wrote,

Richard Cordley divulged, "Lawrence was more prosperous during the first three years of the war than she had been the three year's preceding," and the criminal activities of Jayhawkers were to be credited. Writer Lucien Carr called Lawrence a "mere fence-house for stolen property" once owned by Missourians. "Lawrence was a den of thieves, Jayhawkers, renegade Missourians, and abolitionists of every degree. Here lived and flourished on their ill gotten booty hundreds of depre-dators and plunderers of Southern men; here was got three million dollars worth of army stores and supplies."<sup>66</sup>

At night when Taylor got back to his room at the Eldridge Hotel he was to sit down and make a complete map of the area, targeting businesses and residences slated to be destroyed.

During the first part of August, Mayor George Washington Collamore received verifiable information that Quantrill was planning a raid on the city at any

“Quantrill is coming at the light of the moon.” Deitzler then relayed the information to Mayor Collamore. Josiah Trask called Collamore “our nervous mayor.” Collamore was a small man described by fellow citizen Richard Cordley. “He [Collamore] was a very active man with a good deal of executive ability, and had an air of self-sufficiency which made him want to do everything his own way and made other people disposed to stand aloof from him.” Others described him as being a very reticent, peculiar, and careful man.

Before becoming mayor in March of 1863 Collamore served as the quartermaster general for the state of Kansas but was relieved of command by Governor Charles Robinson on suspicion of fraudulent practices with the state’s funds.<sup>67</sup> Whenever Collamore received news about an intended raid the citizens were quietly called out, armed, and converted into soldiers. Two or three militia companies were ordered from the country, and they, when joined with the armed citizens, made a formidable force. Collamore kept his information secret for if it was known that the city was in a perfect state of defense it would have kept Quantrill from coming, and the Kansans were anxious to do battle with the guerrillas. This last call-up of soldiers was well remembered since it was the last alarm sounded before the famous raid. Governor Robinson remarked that many militia members laughingly would say, “With one round the Missourians would fly like frightened hares.”<sup>68</sup> Richard Hinton recalled the defensive posture of Lawrence: “The men and boys of Kansas, every one capable of carrying a musket, responded speedily to the call to arms.”<sup>69</sup>

Five earthen blockhouses were built at different approaches to the town. Each militia company was given charge of one of these blockhouses, and a portion of the company slept in them every night. “There were, therefore, always fifty men or more ready for immediate service. These were intended as a nucleus around which the rest could rally as they came.”<sup>70</sup>

The blockhouses commanded the entire business portion of the town. When they were first built the blockhouses were constructed by the soldiers who “spent their time during the day in throwing up earth works at the most exposed points. These earth works were circular, and some of them one hundred feet in diameter. The largest was at the crossing of Massachusetts and Pinckney streets. This was intended as a

place of refuge for the women and children in case of an assault. It was built of hewn timbers, banked up with earth, and a deep trench dug all round it. It was five feet high. Another was at the crossing of Massachusetts and Henry streets arranged for cannon. A third was near New Hampshire Street, north of Henry. Another located on Kentucky Street overlooked the ravine and the last one on the corner of Massachusetts and Winthrop Street was equipped with a howitzer manned by Captain Thomas Bickerton and William Crutchfield.<sup>71</sup>

Each of these defenses was in the charge of an officer and had a contingent of troops assigned to its defense. During drill there were fully six hundred men within the entrenchments, and two hundred or more were armed with Sharps rifles. "When the men were in the trenches with their guns, the women were making bullets for them at home."<sup>72</sup>

"It was not considered possible that a force could pierce the lines of General Ewing, evade his scouts, and penetrate fifty miles into a populous region and attack the third town of the State, without notice of the raid being given in season to prepare for defense."<sup>73</sup> When the town first expected an attack editor Hovey Lowman remarked, "The cannon, full-shotted, watched for the enemy down Massachusetts Street. Pickets, both foot and mounted, were sent out, and they guarded the approaches to the town, both day and night, ten miles out. A large force, armed and equipped for the field was marching through its streets before those outside of the militia companies were aware of the import of the movement."<sup>74</sup>

### **The Mission of Quantrill and His Spies**

BACK AT QUANTRILL'S CAMP his spies were equipped and sent off on their mission. Quantrill left instructions for his remaining officers to keep well concealed and make sure the men were kept busy making cartridges and caring for their horses. An arduous journey lay ahead, and a good horse and a good supply of ammunition would be needed. The guerrillas' horses were fed chiefly on grain and were as gaunt and ready as greyhounds. Quantrill had been making contingency plans for quite some time, considering a raid on the "Yankee Town" of Lawrence. It was not that Lawrence had not been warned. In response to Jayhawker atrocities in the spring of 1863, "Quantrell issued a

proclamation to the Federal forces of Kansas that if they did not stop burning and robbing houses, killing old men and women, he would in return come to Lawrence at some unexpected time and paint the city blacker than Hades and make its streets run with blood.”<sup>75</sup>

If he were to strike Lawrence it would have to be soon. A telegraph line was being constructed by the Kansas Pacific Railroad and would be completed in a matter of weeks. Also construction of a bridge across the Kaw River, also known as the Kansas River, was begun in the spring of 1863 by a Chicago concern and was slated to be completed by December. Lee C. Miller remembered, “Quantrell was the quickest man to see a mistake on the part of the enemy I ever saw and to take advantage of it. It mattered not how difficult an undertaking might appear he went at it with full confidence of accomplishing it, and he seldom failed.”<sup>76</sup>

Two weeks previously Quantrill with two of his most trusted men rode as far as Eudora, eight miles east of Lawrence, to reconnoiter the area and to spy out the situation himself in anticipation of a future raid. William Gregg said, “Quantrill didn’t want to make [the] raid. He held off for months, but the old men clamored for revenge on the ‘red legs’ of Kansas. He told them of raids by the Redlegs on Missourians, insulting our mothers and our sisters and setting fire to our homes. Finally us boys were as strong as our fathers for revenge.”<sup>77</sup>

The little town of Eudora was settled in 1857 by a colony of Germans who did not ingratiate themselves well with their fellow settlers. Additionally a large percentage of soldiers and citizens living in Lawrence were German. They had been induced by the New England Emigrant Aid Society through German agents to migrate to the new Kansas Territory. Most had never taken the oath of citizenship and did not speak the English language. One historian noted, “They [the Germans] associated with the English speaking people in so far as they were forced to do so in their business, but they never felt that they had the same ideals.” Germans made up 15 percent of the Union army, and a large percentage of them could be found in and around Lawrence. Germans were one of the first groups to raise the Missourians’ ire early in the war. When the first shots were fired in Missouri at Camp Jackson in St. Louis, it was German troops who fired on an unarmed crowd, killing twenty-eight men, women, and children, and wounding a hundred more.

The Germans were despised for being mercenaries and devoid of genuine patriotism, in direct contrast with Southern soldiers who were fighting for home and principle. A Saline County newspaper wrote, "The army of occupation is principally composed of German mercenaries, willing tools in the hands of aspiring demagogues who are building their fortunes from the fragments of the temple their own hands have destroyed, that of constitutional liberty." One Federal officer added, "My command is made up largely of Germans, and it has been very hard to restrain them from depredations on people known as Southern sympathizers."<sup>78</sup>

Because of his earlier days in Lawrence, Quantrill couldn't gamble on riding any farther west for fear that he might be recognized. He was well known in Lawrence and during his time there became unpopular with the straight-laced Massachusetts men, described as "hypocritical and mercenary" although the womenfolk remarked: "[Quantrill] had lovely manners, never forgot to remove his hat in the presence of ladies and always made himself agreeable to them. The townsfolk remembered that some of the girls missed [Quantrill's] pleasant smile and good manners. During his reconnaissance he reacquainted himself with the roads leading into town and was able to scrutinize any obstacles he would have to contend with."<sup>79</sup>

Quantrill determined that the easiest place to slip past the Kansas border would be between Aubry and Coldwater Grove. It would be a treacherous journey getting his men past the Federal outposts unobserved. He determined to ride mostly at night. During this lone expedition he made a determination how long the march would take, how much time his men could spend accomplishing their mission, and the route they would use to get back to the safety of Missouri.

The wooded Wakarusa River passes through the town of Eudora before emptying into the Kansas River. The Wakarusa, though narrow, barely twenty yards wide, is deep, and its bottom and high banks are composed of a stiff, sticky mud that renders the passage of a horseman a very difficult and dangerous undertaking. Before the raid there were only two bridges over the Wakarusa; one was at Eudora, and the other south of Lawrence called Blanton's Bridge. It was named after Napoleon Bonaparte Blanton who also had a blacksmith shop and sold groceries and whiskey next to his house,

which also served as an inn. Before the war free-state forces built fortifications and rifle pits surrounding the bridge. Midway between the two bridges was a ford called Blue Jacket's Crossing. Quantrill knew there were only three avenues of escape out of Lawrence, and only one, Blanton's Bridge, could afford a quick withdrawal back to the safety of the wooded hills and deep ravines of Jackson County. Quantrill found a difficulty with crossing the Wakarusa River at Eudora as his escape route. It involved a wooden bridge that could easily be destroyed, and a nearby blockhouse might be a formidable object to pass; therefore Blanton's Bridge was the more desirable choice as a crossing. The surrounding country and its roads were thoroughly explored so that no unforeseen difficulty might delay the quick withdrawal that would be necessary. With his scouting mission completed, Quantrill and his escort easily slipped back past the Federal outposts.

There were at least a hundred Federal cavalry assigned by General Ewing located in each outpost along the border. Soldiers of the Ninth Kansas Jayhawker Regiment manned many of the posts. Most of the time Colonel Edward Lynde, commanding officer of the regiment, stayed with the headquarters element at the small hamlet of Trading Post. Major Luin K. Thacher was in charge of three companies of cavalry at Westport. Captain Joshua A. Pike with two cavalry companies was at Aubry. Company G was stationed at Harrisonville. Captain Charles F. Coleman with D Company was at Pleasant Hill; while three other companies of cavalry were in Little Santa Fe, Paola, Olathe, and Rockville. All had one company of infantry, while Coldwater Grove, thirteen miles north of Rockville, had Company E, a cavalry company of the Ninth Kansas Regiment commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Charles S. Clark. The outpost at Little Santa Fe was important because it consisted of two general stores, a shoe store, a blacksmith shop, a post office, and a saloon. Trails from Kansas City, Westport, and Independence met there coming through the Blue Valley. Its location on the state line made it possible to transact business in the public room of the main building either in Missouri or Kansas. One of the stores was built by Jim Bridger, the famous explorer, mountain man, trapper, and scout.

With the large number of men at his disposal Quantrill would

require both the use of deception and boldness, knowing that the outcome of his raid was dependent on perfect timing. He planned on leaving his campsite posing as a large Federal force. Most of his men wore blue uniforms, and these he would have riding in front of the column. The men would ride leisurely so as not to arouse suspicion. Along with this deception he would assign a large number of pickets in front and on the flanks of his marching column with instructions to ride back to the main body every few minutes and report any suspicious activity. With the time constraints involved Quantrill knew he would have to ride through Missouri during daylight, but for safety's sake his ride to Lawrence would have to be made during the hours of darkness. If they could make it to the Kansas border unobserved the guerrillas would camp for a few hours and get some rest among the heavy timber along the Grand River in Cass County, four miles from the Kansas line. From there Quantrill and many of his men were familiar with this part of Kansas and if needed they could press guides to assist them for the remaining fifty-five miles to Lawrence.

### **Quantrill's Well-Laid Plans**

QUANTRILL LAID HIS PLANS WELL. He knew that this operation would be a "one-fell-swoop" on his Kansas enemies. He planned on striking any known individual Jayhawkers along the way who would not imperil his mission. If successful in Lawrence, he would withdraw fighting, striking at known targets along the way back to Missouri. Nothing on this scale had ever been attempted before for its daring and audacity. Finally the information about attacking Lawrence was divulged to his officers. When he learned of the intended target Lieutenant William Gregg told those afterward that if their women relatives had not died the raid would not have taken place. "You may imagine what a sensation this dastardly, heinous crime cast over the followers of Quantrill, and in my estimation, only for this cowardly act, the raid on Lawrence never would have occurred."<sup>80</sup>

Quantrill patiently waited for the return of his spies to hear their reports. On his way back to Missouri, Fletcher Taylor stopped at a farmhouse, four miles from Lawrence. The host believed Taylor to be a genuine, first-rate Federal, and soon became very communicative. He

told Taylor the number of raids he had made into Missouri and the amount of plunder brought off, that he belonged to the gang of Red-legs whose only occupation was depredating upon Southern men and robbing promiscuously.<sup>81</sup>

John Noland at last returned a little ahead of Taylor and Wilson. They went directly to Quantrill and made their reports. Quantrill used the intelligence information to put together a list of guilty individuals and objectionable houses that would be sought out when they arrived in Lawrence. Taylor also had a map showing the residences of wanted men and a map of commercial buildings and businesses that had provoked so much trouble for Missourians over the past two years. Quantrill had enough copies made so that each assigned squad would have no trouble ferreting out the individuals and places marked for destruction. The list was long, but Lawrence had always been known as “the home of Jim Lane, the headquarters of the Red Legs, the chief station on the Underground Railroad, the Abolitionist capital of the West, the recruiting ground for Jayhawkers and Union soldiers. Lawrence had been the Free State fortress and Abolitionist capital since the first settlement of Kansas Territory.” The Reverend Richard Cordley, who himself openly violated the Fugitive Slave Law by employing a runaway slave woman as his housekeeper and cook, readily admitted that Lawrence “had its soldiers and its officers, its arms and its unwritten laws.”<sup>82</sup>

Taylor and Noland were each asked by Quantrill to brief the officers after breakfast on August 19. The sun had not yet risen when they finished eating their morning meal. The two men stepped to the middle of the group and began their report. Noland’s mission had been to present himself as a free black man and gain the confidence of any runaway slaves in Lawrence, obtaining any valuable information he could from them. Lawrence citizen Major James Abbot claimed that Lawrence was the best advertised antislavery town in the world where fugitives were sure to receive sustenance, sympathy, and encouragement. Noland found out where the way stations were for the Underground Railroad in Lawrence and who was aiding the slaves to escape. Most of the stations for the Underground Railroad were located at farms just outside Lawrence, mostly in the heavily wooded Wakarusa bottoms.

Taylor was next to speak and was congratulated for having such an easy time accomplishing his part of the mission. He had made a successful foray into enemy territory and had gained a great deal of valuable information. It was said that he had “been in the city, through it, over it, about it, and around it.”<sup>83</sup> Taylor also reported that there were many military units constantly passing through town. One of the main concerns was the number of soldiers the guerrillas could expect to find. There was a barracks for them located in the 800 block of New Hampshire Street. Quantrill’s men were always able to overcome great odds on the battlefield, oftentimes fighting and winning stunning victories when the odds against them were overwhelming. The *Lawrence Journal* had recently reported that Lawrence held more than five hundred fighting men and that a guard had been kept for miles in every direction about the town for months past. The town companies were joined by those from the country. The article went on to heap praise on the citizens of Lawrence who served in uniform, running the patrols that were keeping the city safe

There were two companies constantly patrolling. One company was led by Lieutenant Tobias J. Hadley of the Fifth Kansas Jayhawker Regiment, and the other by Major Edmund G. Ross, a citizen of Lawrence leading Company E, Eleventh Kansas Jayhawker Regiment. The *Lawrence Journal* praised Hadley’s efforts by stating, “No enemy can come within ten miles of Lawrence before we know it, with such men guarding us.” Hadley received his orders directly from the mayor, General George Collamore, who also served as the commander of the local militia. Collamore organized an effective military company and secured arms for them from the state.<sup>84</sup> Hadley’s brother, Major John M. Hadley of the Ninth Kansas Jayhawker Regiment, was on General Ewing’s staff in Kansas City. In early August he received a letter from his brother stating, “Quantrill would descend upon Lawrence at the time of the full moon in August.”<sup>85</sup> In response the Lawrence militia rolled out their cannon, and the town was picketed and patrolled for only a short time before they grew tired of the exercise and returned to their previous stations.

Colonel Francis B. Swift, who took part in the destruction of Osceola, Missouri, with Lane, was in charge of thirteen companies of militia in and around Lawrence. It was said by the local newspaper, “These



*Frank B. Swift was a printer, a member of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, and a captain in the First Kansas Jayhawker Regiment. During the Lawrence raid he was killed as soon as he was discovered. (Kansas State Historical Society)*

companies are well organized and armed, and are putting themselves in the best possible fighting trim by persevering in drill.”<sup>86</sup> Swift had taken an early part in the border troubles. He belonged to Company A of the Kansas Rifles, an early militia organization put together to protect the extra-legal abolitionist government in Topeka. The militia had often been called upon to respond to rumors of an intended invasion. Back in April, Swift had called out his militia companies but soon learned it was a false alarm. The papers reported, “The farmers left their work at a busy season of the year, and promptly responded to the order of Colonel Swift.” Swift also excelled as a journalist, extolling the most virulent articles in the *Kansas Tribune*.<sup>87</sup>

The newly elected governor of Kansas, Thomas Carney, encouraged Kansas towns and rural communities to raise home guard militia units. On May 28, 1863, the governor toured the counties of Kansas, helping to raise military companies for home protection. He contributed his own money to fund an additional 150 mounted men to support the regular troops in patrolling the country. The sheriffs of these counties, as well as those in the second-tier counties along the border, were authorized to reorganize their militias and secure arms from General Blunt, the commander of the military District of the Frontier or from the governor. When the governor visited Douglas County the *Lawrence Journal* observed:



*First Lieutenant George Ellis was in charge of Kansas troops across the Kaw River at Lawrence but was staying at the Redleg headquarters in the Johnson House Hotel during the raid. He ran away, managing to escape, but his clothes were full of shot holes as a result. (Douglas County Historical Society)*

“It is gratifying to know that companies are to be armed in such a manner as to be able to compete with the best armed invaders. We hope our local organizations will at once reorganize, so as to be ready for any emergency.”

The greatest fear of Kansans was an attack from Quantrill’s raiders. There were thousands of men serving in the local militias around Lawrence, and once they received word of an impending attack they were to be quickly gathered for defense. William Gregg responded by saying that there were no citizens in Lawrence at that time. “They were all soldiers, armed, equipped and ready for the fray.” On July 2, 1863, the *Lawrence Journal* announced how the men in town kept active: “Weekly meetings of the Lawrence

Volunteer Militia were being held at the armory for the purpose of drill, prize target shooting, and the regular transaction of business.”<sup>88</sup>

One Lawrence citizen, Lieutenant George Ellis, was in charge of a group of soldiers from Company I, Twelfth Kansas Jayhawker Regiment, guarding the north side of the Kansas River. If needed in town they would be expected to cross the ferry and join forces with those in Lawrence. The only other crossing of the Kansas River was either twenty miles above the town or thirty miles below it, too far

for a rescuing force to arrive in time. For his own comfort Lieutenant Ellis stayed at the Redleg headquarters in the Johnson House Hotel in Lawrence each night and returned to his command on the north side of the river each morning. Guerrilla Captain Kit Dalton stated, "In garrisoned towns the commanding officers lived in the city, enjoying all the luxuries that could be obtained of the intimidated people, leaving the soldiers in tented village arranged in the most advantageous places in case of an attack from the enemy."<sup>89</sup> For the past two or three weeks recruiting was going on the north side of the river for a company of sharpshooters for Lawrence. They were camped by the old Baldwin Mill.

### Quantrill's Plan of Attack

REGARDLESS OF THE BRAGGADOCIO coming from Lawrence, Quantrill continued with his plans. As Taylor and Noland spoke, the officers began to realize the overwhelming odds against them. The report from the spies lasted for quite some time. They had given a detailed house by house plan of the entire town. When Taylor and Noland finished speaking there was a hushed silence within the group. Quantrill's officers had just heard all the information that needed to be relayed. They had also heard Quantrill's personal report from his trip to Eudora two weeks earlier. Besides what Taylor and Noland had to say they also had information gathered from a myriad of other sources concerning Lawrence. As the discussion came to an end Quantrill broke in, telling his men, "You have heard the report, but before you decide it is proper that you should know it all. The march to Lawrence is a long one; in every town there are soldiers; we attack the town garrisoned by soldiers; we retreat through soldiers; and when we would rest and refit after the exhaustive expedition, we have to do the best we can in the midst of a multitude of soldiers."<sup>90</sup>

Quantrill had already expertly planned his withdrawal from Lawrence. Kansas was sparsely settled. It had no railroads, no telegraphs into the interior, and no thickly settled districts swarming with people. Most of it was prairie land with only scattered farms and settlements. Quantrill's retreat would be across open country, independent of roads. Many of Quantrill's men were familiar with the

Kansas prairies that were unobstructed by “any roads or fords, with a rolling country to traverse, as open as the sea.”<sup>91</sup>

Lawrence was not a defenseless town. Four hundred soldiers were said to be encamped on the other side of the river opposite the town. Two separate camps of recruits were stationed in the middle of the town. Cannon were placed in strategic places within the city limits, and an armory centrally located north of Winthrop Street served as a rallying place in case of emergency. The armory bell would be rung to alert the militia and call the men together. Although modern Federal arms were kept solely in the armory, the militia living in town had their own personal weapons with them. It was known that almost every man in town owned a Sharps carbine. This was the weapon of choice used by the Lawrence militia. It could fire thirteen rounds a minute, and keep it up for thirty-eight rounds before having to put in a fresh supply of caps, which would take from twenty to thirty seconds. Armed guards patrolled the town prior to the raid but were discontinued out of laxity immediately preceding the attack. Even though the raid was sprung on the unsuspecting town at first light, many of the militia had on their Federal uniforms and were armed with sidearms. An added incentive to attack Lawrence was General Thomas Ewing’s recent General Order No. 10 issued only four days after the murder of the female relatives of Quantrill’s men. It forced all citizens and their families who were willfully aiding the guerrillas to leave the district and the state with only their moveable possessions.

In their own minds the guerrillas counted the numbers of armed men who would be arrayed against them before adding up the costs. The odds seemed insurmountable. Quantrill reminded them, “The Kansans [have] been murdering and robbing our people for two years or more, and burned their houses by districts, hauled their household plunder, farming implements to Kansas, driven off their cattle, until forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. Lawrence is the great hotbed of abolitionism in Kansas. All the plunder or at least the bulk of it, stolen from Missouri will be found stored away at Lawrence. We can get more revenge and more money there than anywhere else in the State of Kansas.” Regarding the money they expected to get in Lawrence, Quantrill told them, “I want to compensate the people

who have divided their last biscuit with us and are still willing to do so. Now, my plan is that whatever money may be gotten in Lawrence shall be divided among the men with the instructions to give to these needy people very liberally.”<sup>92</sup>

Someone spoke up, commenting on the great distance and the thousands of soldiers in and around Lawrence, stating that the undertaking was simply too hazardous. To this comment Quantrill replied, “I consider it almost a forlorn hope, for if we go, I don’t know if anyone of us will get back to tell the story, but, if you never risk, you never gain.” Turning to his officers sitting in the circle in front of him, Quantrill addressed each one individually.

Looking each man in the eye Quantrill asked softly. “Come, speak out, somebody. What is it, Anderson?” Bill Anderson had been sitting quietly. His men remembered that Anderson “would become as wild as a maniac if the subject of Federals were brought up.” It was said that Anderson was the first man to propose to Quantrill to go to Lawrence. Anderson shouted back his reply, “Give me Lawrence or give me hell, but with one proviso, that we kill every male thing. She has sown the wind, let her reap the whirlwind.” Anderson told Quantrill that he “would take Lawrence or go to hell trying.”<sup>93</sup> Quantrill next turned to Dave Poole who replied with only a few words. “On to Lawrence. An eye for an eye.” George Todd finished his thought. “And a tooth for a tooth. Lawrence, if I knew that not a man would get back alive.”

Quantrill next turned to his adjutant William Gregg who spoke what was in his heart. “On to Lawrence, because Quantrill wills it. It is the home of Jim Lane; the foster-mother of the Red Legs; the nurse of the Jayhawkers.” Quantrill next pointed to George Shepherd who replied, “Lawrence, till Lawrence is no more.” Captain John Jarrette spoke up in turn. “Lawrence, by all means. I’ve had my eye upon it for a year. The head devil of all this killing and burning in Jackson County lives there. I vote to fight it with fire, to burn it before we leave it, just like Lane did Osceola.” Quantrill next asked for Dick Maddox’s opinion. “Sack Lawrence. Destruction and death to everybody there. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; God understands better than we do the equilibrium of civil war.” Colonel John Holt was next to speak. “Lawrence, and



*Henry Wilson was a Confederate Negro soldier who served as one of Quantrill's bodyguards. Quantrill sent Wilson into Lawrence before the raid to spy out the town. (Emory Cantey Collection)*



*John Lobb served as a scout and spy for Quantrill. In this photo dated July 25, 1863, he is shown mounted shortly before the raid on Lawrence. (Emory Cantey Collection)*

quick about it. Lawrence loves the black man. We'll give her a taste of the black flag." Following Holt's remark Dick Yeager had this to say. "Where my house once stood there is a heap of ashes. I haven't a neighbor that's got a house. Lawrence and the torch." Andy Blunt was next to add his opinion. "Count me in whenever there's killing. Lawrence first, and then some other Kansas town; the name is nothing." Surveying each face once again, Quantrill asked. "Have you all voted?" They answered in unison. "All." "Then Lawrence it is. Saddle up men!"<sup>94</sup>

Following the unanimous vote Quantrill laid out his method for the assault. On the ride to Lawrence they would dispatch any known Jayhawkers living along the way. If the outskirts of Lawrence could be

reached they would determine at the last possible moment whether an attack could successfully be made. Any large bodies of soldiers camped in town would be immediately assaulted. A small arsenal kept inside the Eldridge House Hotel and the hotel itself would be the first and primary objective to be targeted. If they were successful there, the next target would be the Johnson House Hotel, headquarters of Colonel George Hoyt's Redlegs. Both hotels were understood to be rallying points if the citizens feared a raid. If those two objectives could be successfully gained, then each of Quantrill's separate companies would be assigned different parts of the city, and individual squads would then seek out those most wanted. Those running about the streets would be assumed to be militia members trying to rally at their assigned rendezvous. These men would be dispatched without inquiring their identities.

Ironically, on the same day that the raid took place Confederate president Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation asking all Southerners to observe a day of "fasting, humiliation and prayer." On this day the president invited his countrymen to go to their "respective places of public worship" and to pray for divine favor "on our suffering country."<sup>95</sup>

The reasons were obvious. The South had suffered a number of heartrending defeats during the year 1863. The exception was Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, but the loss of Stonewall Jackson made the latter a bittersweet victory. Besides the audacious exploits of John S. Mosby in Virginia and John Hunt Morgan's daring raids into the states of Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio, the remainder of the year was a humiliating concern. The South's land mass was rapidly shrinking as the Federal juggernaut rolled forward, and the Southern attrition in men and arms made some Southerners begin guessing how much longer the war could last. The defeat of General John S. Marmaduke at Springfield, Missouri, on January 8, and his dubious raid on Hartville followed by a Confederate defeat at Arkansas Post a few days later, made Quantrill's Lawrence raid and the stunning victories he achieved afterward the only victories the South could claim in the Trans-Mississippi Department during the year.