

### THE POTTAWATOMIE MASSACRE

*After the sack of Lawrence, John Brown, four of his sons, and two other men, executed five proslavery men at Pottawatomie Creek on May 24, 1856. None of the five—Allen Wilkinson, William Sherman, James Doyle, and his two sons, William and Drury Doyle—had owned slaves or had been involved in the Lawrence events. A resident of Franklin County, where the massacre took place, James Hanway, a friend of Brown's and a member of his eldest son's militia, wrote of the massacre in his journal. At the time, Brown's involvement was not widely known.*

Killed on Saturday night May 24, 1856 3 men of the name of Doyal—Wm Sherman & Wilkinson—the latter received 6 wounds each one would have proved fatal old man Doyal was shot through the head & stabled in the heart. & his 2 boys where disheated cut about the hands—the younger boy's hands were mangled as if he had held up his hands to defend himself from the blows of the saber—Shermans head was cut by a saber blow, and other.

five men murdered in one night. enticed from their houses with the promise of being kept from violence, as prisoners of war—lead a few rods from their doors then killed. one was flung in the Creek down the bank. (Wilkinson) he was post master—The murderers inquired for Henry, but he was away from home hunting up his cattle this saved his life—At Sherman they seized 3 other men with him took them all out from the house asked them their names, and as they had no knowledge of them, told them to go back again. The question now is who has performed this frightful tradagy men names are whispered—no positive knowledge—Mrs. Doyal discribed 2 of the men, which discription is exactly that of Mr. Wilkinson—a man who lives at Shermans for several years says he did not know any of them altho he has lived here 2 yrs and knows most people on the creek. The settlement is plunged into a perfect commotion. A meeting of the settlers was held on the 26 and they mutaley agreed to protect each other from foreign or internal foes all men of real good sense, condemned this midnight assassinations and also the killing of men who are attending to their concerns—one murder by the opposite side, only makes another on the other—

the supposed caused which made the Doyal family the victims, is that the old man & his 2 sons, caled on a man who kept store near Shermans—and told him to pack up his goods, moved off his claims in 5 days or they would kill him—Morse did not move but is still at home, he was arrested by a body of men & as their was no evidenced against him he is at large. Sherman it is said as repeatedly treated to shoot & exterminate free state men, and as the news of the fall of Lawrence raised a red flag, which was said he ment to intimate that war was commenced & he was in for it—Wilkinson appears to have been a very violent & imprudent

man making threat of killing & burning & his wife is a fine woman, sick at the time of the murder and told the Dr. that she has frequently urged him to be more quiet—but could not do it—it appears from general opinion that they were extreme men, and very obnoxious to the free state men—thus violence breeds violence. Again: No sooner the news of the destruction of the Hotel at Lawrence and the two printing presses, than the Border Times a violent paper published at Westport after given a short statement of the pillage & destruction of Lawrence, comments thus—it says—“This is right, nuisances should be suppressed” and then recommends the pro-slavery party of the Ty to drive and exterminate every “black hearted abolitionist & drive them from out of the Ty.”

they advocate assasination—and now that 5 persons have been murdered on their side perhaps they will learn that such hellish sentiments when carried into effect, will work equally to the destruction of the pro slavery men of the territory. Such men are the immediate instigators of all such bloody tragadies as we have witnessed—they should be held responsible at the bar of public opinion

James Hanway Collection 372, Kansas State Historical Society.

### KANSAS AS AN OUTPOST IN A LARGER WAR

*David Rice Atchison represented Missouri in the Senate from 1843 to 1855, after which he dedicated himself to ensuring that Kansas join the United States as a slave state. He encouraged the enthusiastic participation of Missourians in the first Kansas elections and became active in the Law and Order Party, formed to further this goal. Issued less than two months after the arrival of the Buford expedition (which had brought Southerners to the territory with promises of free transportation, a year's support, and forty acres of land), this 1856 appeal tried to draw more settlers to the territory, recognizing that the four hundred settlers who had accompanied Jefferson Buford would be insufficient.*

### THE VOICE OF KANSAS—LET THE SOUTH RESPOND.

APPEAL BY THE LAW AND ORDER PARTY OF KANSAS TERRITORY TO THEIR FRIENDS IN THE SOUTH,  
AND TO THE LAW-ABIDING PEOPLE OF THE UNION.

One of the Committee (Col. Buford) places the manuscript in our hands, and we commend it to the serious attention of the readers of the Review. The cause is one to which, without loss of a single day, every Southern man should contribute. Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia, have been lavish in their aid. The loss of Kansas will give to the enemies of Southern institutions a victory more signal and more important than has yet been won over us. To avert the mischief, prompt and concerted action at the South is only needed. Those familiar with the state of affairs in Kansas know that it can only be abolished by the supineness of the people of this section, whose all is at stake in these contests.

The undersigned, at a recent meeting of the party, were constituted a committee, charged, among other things, with the publication of this address.

That a state of insurrection and civil war exists among us is abundantly evident: the "law and order party" on the one side, opposed on the other by the abolitionists, sent out and sustained by the Emigrant Aid Societies of the North. . . .

In territorial politics, the question of free or slave State has swallowed up every other. The abolitionists on the one hand, in accordance with their early teaching, regard slavery as the greatest possible evil; they deem it a monstrous national crime, which their false theories of government impute equally to every portion of the confederacy, and thus believing themselves individually responsible for its existence, they feel bound each to struggle for its overthrow; to such extremes have wicked demagogues stimulated their fanaticism, that their perverted consciences justify any mode of warfare against slaveholders, however much in violation of law, however destructive of property or human life, and however atrociously wicked it may seem to others. . . . And with them it is no mere local question of whether slavery shall exist in Kansas or not, but one of far wider significance, a question of whether it shall exist any where in the Union. Kansas they justly regard as the mere outpost in the war now being waged between the antagonistic civilizations of the North and the South; and winning this great outpost and stand-point, they rightly think their march will be open to an easy conquest of the whole field. Hence the extraordinary means the abolition party has adopted to flood Kansas with the most fanatical and lawless portion of northern society; and hence the large sums of money they have expended to surround their brother Missourians with obnoxious and dangerous neighbors.

On the other hand, the pro-slavery element of the "law and order party" in Kansas, looking to the Bible, find slavery ordained of God; they find there, as by our law, slavery made "an inheritance to them and their children forever." Looking to our national census, and to all statistics connected with the African race, and considering, too, their physical, intellectual, and moral natures, we see that slavery is the African's normal and proper state; since, in that state, that race multiplies faster, has more physical comfort, less vice, and more moral and intellectual progress than in any other.

We believe slavery the only school in which the debased son of Ham, by attrition with a higher race, can be refined and elevated; we believe it a trust and guardianship given us of God for the good of both races. Without sugar, cotton, and cheap clothing, can civilization maintain its progress? Can these be supplied without slavery? Nay, in the absence of slave institutions, must not social distinctions supervene among the free to the detriment of republican equality? This is no mere property question, but a great social and political question of races; it is not a question of whether A. or B. shall be owner, but of whether the slave, still having

a master, shall still be a working of whether the South shall still mendicants and vagabonds; a shall sink to the level of the fi and political equality, and fratress. Fanaticism must defend to protect them, and ultimately make and administer laws—in down to their level, to taint o no time can redeem us. Thus the two parties, and not less sustain and uphold the laws, t ate and set them at defiance; territorial laws . . . ; indeed, m in the service of process . . . ; t and published the proceeding resist, even to blood, the terri of the public revenue.

According to testimony Committee, they have secret carrying out their abolition members are bound by the n not excepting even murder a Ossawatimie, on Pottawatta perpetrators cotemporaneous w of these crimes; six victims, v beside four others missing fr the six, one was Allen Wilki and postmaster at Sherman that of being a law and order from the side of a sick and in as they said in the name of th stricken wife, with fiendish h cut off, his scalp torn from h Such is the sworn evidence Congressional Investigating and brother, and Mr. Doyle at their respective homes or Doyles' also had his fingers incredible as these things tr

constituted a committee to address the matter. It is abundantly evident that the abolitionists of the North . . . have been swallowed up every inch with their early teaching of a monstrous national responsibility to every portion of the globe. They are responsible for its descent to such extremes as have perverted consciences and led to much in violation of the law, however atrociously. It is no mere local question of Kansas, but of far wider significance, involving the Union. Kansas they justify as a necessary outpost between the antagonistic interests of this great outpost and the rest of the country. The secession party has adopted a course of opposition to the Union of northern society; to surround their brother in law and order party" in the South; they find there, as by the children of the South. Looking at the African race, and the relations between the two races, we see that slavery is the cause, that race multiplies and degenerates, and that moral and intellectual progress is arrested. The oppressed son of Ham, by attacking the slave, we believe it a trust and duty. Without sugar, cotton, and tobacco, what can be supplied? Can these be supplied by the slave, must not social distinctions be maintained? Can republican equality? This is no question of races; it is not a question of whether the slave, still having

a master, shall still be a working bee, and not an idle drone in the hive; a question of whether the South shall still be a land flowing with milk and honey, or a land of mendicants and vagabonds; a great question of races; a question of whether we shall sink to the level of the freed African, and take him to the embrace of social and political equality, and fraternity; for such is the natural end of abolition progress. Fanaticism must defend its beneficiaries—first, by sending the federal army to protect them, and ultimately by giving them the right to bear arms, vote, testify, make and administer laws—in short, the right to eat out our substance, to pull us down to their level, to taint our blood, and bring us to a degradation from which no time can redeem us. Thus radical and marked the difference in theory between the two parties, and not less so their difference in practice; while we, in good faith, sustain and uphold the laws, the abolitionists on the other hand, in effect, repudiate and set them at defiance; with open disloyalty they assert the invalidity of the territorial laws . . . ; indeed, more than once, they have openly resisted the marshal in the service of process . . . ; they have repudiated payment of taxes, and have held and published the proceedings of large public meetings in which they resolved to resist, even to blood, the territorial laws, and especially the laws for the collection of the public revenue.

According to testimony under oath lately given before the Congressional Committee, they have secret military organizations for resisting the laws and for carrying out their abolition designs upon Kansas—organizations in which the members are bound by the most solemn oaths to obey their leaders, in all cases, not excepting even murder and treason. . . . By such banditti the murders near Ossawatimie, on Pottawattamie creek, were committed; declarations by the perpetrators contemporaneous with their foul deeds indubitably show the parentage of these crimes; six victims, whose bodies have been found, fell in that massacre, beside four others missing from the neighborhood, and not yet heard from. Of the six, one was Allen Wilkinson, Esq., a member of the territorial Legislature and postmaster at Shermanville; sick with the measles, for no other offence save that of being a law and order man, he was dragged at midnight from his bed, and from the side of a sick and imploring wife, by a band of abolition assassins, acting as they said in the name of the great northern army; within hearing of the terror-stricken wife, with fiendish barbarity, he was flayed alive, his nose and ears were cut off, his scalp torn from his head, and then he was stabbed through the heart. Such is the sworn evidence of his widow lately tendered in Westport before the Congressional Investigating Committee. . . . Besides Wilkinson, Wm. Sherman and brother, and Mr. Doyle and two sons, were proved to have been murdered at their respective homes on the same night and by the same band; one of the Doyles' also had his fingers and arms cut off before he was finally dispatched. Incredible as these things may seem, they unquestionably happened in Kansas

Territory in the latter part of last month; yet what is more incredible, but not less true, is the undeniable fact that these outrages are not, as some pretend, the mere extravagances of a few irresponsible individuals, but on the contrary are justly chargeable to the abolition party, as the legitimate fruit of their party measures and party discipline, and as naturally resulting from the public teachings, advice, and counsel of their chief men and most distinguished leaders. . . .

. . . we firmly believe that our party has a well established, decided, and increasing majority of actual settlers in the territory. This majority, however, we do not believe can be maintained unless something be done to give confidence to our friends, where they are few and weak in number. This can only be done by colonizing large settlements together, under one common head with absolute control; let, say from one to three hundred agriculturalists, mechanics, and laborers so settle together in some suitable point. . . . These measures of mutual defence and future progress, however, require means, and demand aid from our friends abroad. The colonists should be subsisted a reasonable time, and each individual furnished with adequate agricultural or mechanical outfit, so there can be no want of settlers coming and remaining at the points where they are most needed. Funds are required, and for these we call upon our Southern friends—upon all having a common interest—nay, we call on all loving justice and wishing equal rights to each State and section of the Union—we call on the honest free State man, who, sick of the agitation and strife brewed by the abolitionists, desires the restoration of peace and quiet to the country. These can be restored only by restoring to the weaker and attacked section the means of future defence, in restoring the sectional equilibrium disturbed by the measures of 1850. Fanatical aggression cannot be quieted by giving, but it may be by taking away the power to effect its ends. All fair minds who have looked this question full in the face, know and admit that it is not merely a question of whether Kansas shall be a slave State or not, but a question of whether the entire South shall not become the victim of misguided philanthropy. That man or State is deceived that fondly trusts these fanatics may stop at Kansas. To use that territory as the mere "key to the future"—the mere means of ulterior operations against the whole South—is unquestionably the settled policy of the ultra abolitionists, the head and soul of the aggression, and whose opinions in the end must leaven and control the whole body—the whole mass that acts with them. . . .

How can there be other than the most exasperated state of feeling between the two sections? How can civil war be avoided, when honorable committee men countenance such reckless mischief? Look the future in the face like men: if standing up to our rights, to our responsibilities, and to our trust, brings peace and security, so much the better; no other course can effect it. Send us men and means. We must have your help. . . . Friends of the cause must contribute according to their several gifts—we must not meanly abandon our birthright, and, without a

struggle, yield to gr  
this land of flowing  
America, and in ever  
Union is slave labor  
civilization, if we do  
Then rally to the re

David R. Atchison et al.  
Resources, Statistics, etc.

On January 25, 18  
with thirteen sla  
captured and jan  
Charles Doy was  
to five years in ju  
In these letters, I  
as chaplain for  
these events.

My dear friend, .  
Before this car  
befel the last exp  
get the facts just  
party consisted o  
citizens, with tw  
the river some 4  
teams crossed th  
in the passenger  
on entering a so  
surrounded by a  
blow & were tal  
been shipped fo  
& returned to L  
confinement in  
from Weston, (

struggle, yield to grasping monopoly this fairest Eden of our common domain—this land of flowing brook and fertile plain. Kansas is indeed the garden spot of America, and in every way adapted to Southern institutions; in no other part of the Union is slave labor more productive; and, in the present imperilled state of our civilization, if we do not maintain this outpost, we cannot long defend the citadel. Then rally to the rescue. . . .

DAVID R. ATCHISON [et al.]

June 21<sup>st</sup>, 1856.

David R. Atchison et al., "The Voice of Kansas—Let the South Respond; . . .," *De Bow's Review and Industrial Resources, Statistics, etc.* 21, 3rd ser., vol. 1 (Washington City and New Orleans, 1856), 187-94.

#### EPHRAIM NUTE ON THE DOY INCIDENT

*On January 25, 1859, John Doy and his son Charles left Lawrence, Kansas Territory, with thirteen slaves, intending to take them to Nebraska. However, the party was captured and jailed in Missouri for abducting slaves. After a trial in St. Joseph, Charles Doy was released, but John Doy was convicted in a second trial. Sentenced to five years in jail, he was freed by ten friends from Kansas on September 23, 1859. In these letters, Ephraim Nute, a Unitarian minister in Lawrence who would serve as chaplain for the First Regiment of Kansas Volunteers during the war, explains these events.*

Lawrence K.T. Feb 14, 59

My dear friend, . . .

Before this can reach you you will have learned something of the disaster that befel the last expedition from this place with fugitives, But you are not likely to get the facts just as they were & I will give you those of most importance. The party consisted of 13 col.<sup>d</sup> people (11 fugitives & 2 free by birth) with 3 of our citizens, with two teams (horses & wagons) The col<sup>d</sup> people were put across the river some 4 miles above this place about 2 o'clock in the morning, the teams crossed the ferry about 2 hours later & took the river road, after taking in the passengers they took the road toward Oscaloosa & about an hour after on entering a sort of defile between the bluffs & "the timber" found themselves surrounded by a party of armed & mounted men. They surrendered without a blow & were taken over into Missouri, the col<sup>d</sup> people, both free & slaves, have been shipped for the New Orleans market. One of the white men was released & returned to Lawrence the others, Dr John Doy & son, are now in close confinement in Platte city Jail awaiting their trial in charge of stealing a slave from Weston, (one of the 13). . . .