



© Painting by Ernest Umer, "Blood Stained Dawn"

As seen by a Federal officer

By Wiley Britton

In the latter part of the fall of 1862, a good many of the guerillas who followed the leadership of Quantrill went south and participated with the Confederate forces under General Hindman in the Prairie Grove campaign. When the Confederate army was driven south of the Arkansas River and from Western Arkansas, these bandits commenced drifting back to the Missouri River counties in small parties, and by the early part of February, 1863, had become so numerous in Jackson County that they were able to concentrate in a short time a force of upwards of a hundred strong. During the winter, the 5th Regiment Missouri State Militia Cavalry, under Colonel W. R. Penick, was stationed at Independence, Pleasant Hill, and Harrisonville, and detachments from those points were busy scouting in those counties, now and then coming in sight of and chasing two or three bandits from the house of a Southern family. But in February, after these knights of the brush had for some time been drifting back from the South in small parties, they commenced to concentrate in larger bodies for the purpose of doing mischief on a larger scale. Colonel Penick received information of their movements and of the position of their camp, and immediately sent out from Independence fifty men, under Lieutenant D. A. Colvin, who came upon them about two o'clock in the afternoon, February 8th, and attacked them vigorously, and in the running fight, which lasted about half an hour, killed eight men, wounded two, and captured all the horses and most of the arms of the bandits, and sustained a loss of one man in the skirmish.

The President's emancipation proclamation had recently liberated a good many slaves in the slave States, and there was a great deal of discussion as to whether the Negro, or "contraband," would fight as a soldier. Colonel Penick determined to try the experiment and sent along a colored man, at his own request, with Lieutenant Colvin's

detachment, and the officers and men of the detachment reported that he acquitted himself in the most creditable manner, receiving a severe wound in the shoulder.

As spring advanced, the bandits increased in numbers and boldness, and it was not always easy for the Federal scouts to locate their camps, or to ascertain the number of men they had in any neighborhood. Reports coming to Colonel Penick that a considerable force of guerillas were concentrating in the vicinity of Blue Springs, about twelve miles east of Independence, on the 22^d of March he sent out a detachment of fifty men and one piece of artillery, under Captain H. B. Johnson, 1st Missouri State Militia Cavalry, who attacked a superior force of the bandits, and after a desperate fight with them was driven back with a loss of nine men killed and three wounded. The loss of the enemy in the action was not ascertained. They scattered immediately after the fight into the thick wooded section along the brake of Little Blue River and the Sni Hills, where they concealed themselves until they were ready for another movement, and until they were joined by their old leader, Quantrill, from the South.

When General Schofield determined to advance his lines south to the Arkansas River, he was obliged to take troops from different points in Missouri and send them to the front to reinforce Steele and Blunt in their movements against Little Rock and Fort Smith. As his forces advanced, the territory to be occupied increased, with a decreasing number of troops to occupy it, thus giving guerilla bands better opportunities to increase and concentrate for any movements they desired to make. Most of General Price's troops in Arkansas were from Missouri, and after his defeat at the battle of Helena, he was put upon the defensive and since there was no longer a prospect that he would be able to make a movement north for some time, a large number of his men were permitted on some pretext or other to return to their homes in Missouri. They were generally in small parties of three or four to half a dozen men together; they knew the towns in Missouri in which the militia was stationed; they knew the roads on which there was little travel through desolated sections, and by traveling at night and going around the camps or the towns where the militia were stationed, were able to reach points a hundred miles or so in the interior of the State without detection. They could not stay at their homes or in any neighborhood very long without their presence being known to either the militia or the guerillas, and they naturally fell in with the guerillas, with whom they operated in many instances. Not only enlisted men of the Confederate army returned thus clandestinely into the State, but officers even up to the rank of colonel. These hardy veterans, who were inured to the service, and who had lost very little of their bitterness towards Union men, after a little rest were ready to join the guerillas in the most daring adventures.

All over Missouri and in the western counties of the State in particular, the humane policy of the Government was shamefully abused by the Southern people in harboring guerillas and in encouraging guerilla warfare. In those counties the people were almost equally divided on the issues of the war, but as that section was almost constantly overrun by the Southern forces until Price was driven out of the State at the battle of Pea Ridge, nearly all the Union men fled to Kansas for safety and enlisted in Kansas regiments. Indeed, in some Kansas regiments whole companies were raised from Missourians, and in several regiments perhaps nearly one half of the men were from that State. Besides the men who enlisted in Kansas regiments, those counties furnished thousands of men for Missouri regiments in the Federal service. There were many influential men in Kansas who had a large following, and who asserted that there was no loyalty in Missouri, and were in favor of cleaning out everything over there. So strong was this feeling of cleaning out everything in Missouri manifested in one Kansas

regiment that General Halleck ordered it into the field east of the Mississippi. Unquestionably, officers with these views were unfit for conducting military operations in Missouri.

After the Southern forces were driven from the State, there was now and then a suggestion in regard to adopting a rational policy for dealing with the guerillas, but nothing was done in that direction. The policy suggested was to remove all Southern families in Western Missouri south of the Federal lines. In a number of cases loyal militia officers had suggested to Southern families who were known to harbor guerillas that it would be better for them to move south, and they generally acted upon the suggestion, for they knew that noncompliance meant the destruction of their property. It would not have been difficult to have ascertained the political status of all families, and it would have been less expense to the Government to have removed all Southern families south than to maintain the large force that was required to deal with the guerillas; besides, it would have saved hundreds of lives on both sides. If the Southern families had been removed, the guerillas could not have subsisted in the country. Of course such a policy would have entailed many hardships upon the families sent south, but the Confederate authorities would have been obliged to provide for them, and this fact would probably have brought General Price to a sense of his folly in inaugurating guerilla warfare, and led him to have discouraged it in other parts of the State. Union men from the Southern States who had left their homes to join the Federal army would have been very thankful if the Confederate authorities had allowed or assisted their families to move within the Federal lines. In some of the counties of Western Missouri, the Southern women were so active in aiding the guerillas that they stood guard or picket for them while eating in their houses. While the bandits received such encouragement as this from the women it was almost impossible to drive them out of a section well adapted by nature for their operations. As a rule, the loyal militia of the State were better qualified and more successful in hunting down the bandits than the troops from other States, and had they been armed with a pair of revolvers and the best repeating rifles, as some of the cavalry regiments of some of the States were, they would have been much more successful. Every one knew that the guerillas were armed with two or three revolvers and a rifle or carbine each. More than once complaints were made by militia officers to their superiors of the inefficiency of their long, muzzle-loading guns; that after discharging a round they were left almost helpless in the presence of a foe heavily armed with revolvers and carbines or rifles of the newest models. In several instances guerilla leaders had managed to draw the fire of the militia at long range, and then turned and charged them before they had time to reload, inflicting severe loss upon them. Knowing their disadvantages in this respect, many of the militia officers and men purchased their own revolvers for use in the service.

Early in June, Brigadier General Thomas Ewing, Jr., of Kansas, was assigned to the command of the District of the Border, with headquarters at Kansas City, Jackson County, a county in which Quantrill, the leader of the guerillas in that section, had made his rendezvous most of the time when in Missouri. General Ewing was a man whose associations and training, and whose familiarity with the principal recent events on the Border, made him a very competent officer to administer the affairs of the new district, and he was probably as free from bias towards Missouri as any man who could have been selected from Kansas. He was selected for this important position because it was believed that he would feel a special interest in protecting the Border counties of Kansas from guerilla incursions from Missouri, of which there had been frequent threats. His

district embraced the Border counties of Missouri and Kansas, extending about ninety miles south of Kansas City.

It was generally known in the northern part of General Ewing's district that Quantrill and most of his men had spent the winter south with Price's army, but early in May, Lieutenant Colonel Walter King, 4th Missouri State Militia Cavalry, commanding at Lexington, ascertained through a spy that the noted guerilla leader had returned to his old haunts on the Sni Hills in the eastern part of Jackson County, with forty men, and intended to spend the summer in Western Missouri, conscripting and recruiting; that with the men of four or five other guerilla leaders in that and adjoining counties he could raise about 150 men.

In the latter part of May, Major W. C. Ransom, 6th Kansas Cavalry, made a scout from Westport to Big Creek, near Pleasant Hill, and reported that he had several skirmishes with small parties of Quantrill's men in which he killed twelve of the bandits and lost one man killed; that he pursued the other bandits until they joined the main force under Quantrill, 150 strong, posted in a good position in the Sni Hills; that after receiving a reinforcement he drove the guerillas from their position, but was unable to pursue them on account of high waters. He also reported that he was convinced that the guerillas could concentrate a force several hundred strong on any point in that section within a few hours. That he had not overestimated the strength of the bandits was shown in the fact that, on the evening of the 17th of June, Captain Henry Flesher, 9th Kansas Cavalry, with part of his company, was attacked in the edge of the timber about a mile south of Westport by a force of upwards of two hundred guerillas, who killed fourteen and wounded four of his men. In that neighborhood the farms were enclosed with stone fences, and the bandits got behind the stone walls and delivered their fire with deadly effect, and as Captain Flesher was in a lane with a stone fence on each side he was unable to form his men until he got to the end of the lane, in the meantime suffering heavy loss.

Lieutenant Colonel Bazel F. Lazear, 1st Missouri State Militia Cavalry, commanding at Lexington, adopted a plan of dealing with the bandits of his section that produced good results. This plan was to fight the guerillas according to their own tactics. He knew the neighborhoods where they had friends, and which were frequented by them. It was known that small parties of the bandits were in the neighborhood of Wellington, a little town on the south side of the Missouri River, above Lexington, and Colonel Lazear sent out fifty men, under Lieutenant J. H. Smith, of his regiment, to watch the roads for the guerillas. About one o'clock in the morning, the bandits came along, having just robbed a store in Wellington, and Lieutenant Smith's detachment fired upon them, killing three. In the early part of July, General Ewing received information from every part of his district in Missouri of the activity of the guerillas, and that they were increasing in numbers, some of his officers estimating that as many as one thousand had passed through Bates County, going north, during the last three months. Colonel Edward Lynde, 9th Kansas Cavalry, commanding at Paola, Kansas, made a scout into Bates County, Missouri, and burnt eleven houses belonging to Southern families, ordered the families out of the country, and drove off nearly all of their cattle, horses, and sheep. Shortly afterwards, Butler, the county town, was evacuated by the Federal troops, and the guerillas, in retaliation, burnt a large part of the place, particularly the property of Union men.

It was an unfortunate policy that permitted Kansas troops stationed in Kansas to go into Missouri and burn the property of Southern people and drive off their stock, for it was certain to arouse the resentment of those against whom such severe measures were

taken. If there was a necessity for the destruction or confiscation of the property of these people, it should have been done by the loyal militia of some other section of the State, or by troops who were not their neighbors. To have removed these families south of the Federal lines and left them among their friends could not justly have caused complaint; but to destroy and take away their property and leave them in the midst of their ruin, where they would probably have an opportunity of avenging their grievances, was certainly a bad policy.

So strong was the feeling of a considerable number of Kansas officers and troops that there was no loyalty in Missouri, that in the latter part of November, 1862, Colonel C. W. Adams, 12th Kansas Infantry, entered the State at Kansas City, and marching down through Jackson County without calling on Colonel W. R. Penick at Independence, commenced taking the property of the loyal militia and Union men, as well as that of the secessionists. Complaints immediately came pouring in to Colonel Penick of the depredations that were being committed by the Kansas men, and he communicated the facts to his superiors and asked for instructions. General Richard C. Vaughan, commanding that military district, was at once authorized to disperse the Kansas troops and recover the property which they had taken from citizens of Missouri, and collecting a force of about four hundred loyal militia and two pieces of artillery, came up with Colonel Adams and formed in line of battle across the road with his artillery in position. After some correspondence, the Kansas troops stacked their arms, Colonels Adams and Hays were arrested, the property which they had taken given up, and their men escorted to the State line by the militia. Such incursions as this by Kansas troops intensified the resentment of the secessionists, and General Ewing had not been in command of his district many weeks when he commenced receiving information through his scouts and spies that the guerillas were threatening to sack and destroy Olathe, Paola, Mound City, and other towns along the eastern border of Kansas. They had already threatened Lexington, Independence, and Harrisonville, Missouri, and after Colonel Penick's 5th Regiment Missouri State Militia Cavalry was withdrawn from his district in June and mustered out, Ewing's force was so much weakened that he was obliged to have his troops evacuate several towns in the Border counties of Missouri to strengthen his stations along the State line to prevent the guerillas from making incursions into Kansas.

Part of Pleasant Hill was burnt by the bandits only a few days after it was evacuated by the Federal soldiers, and in the latter part of July, the General received information that they were concentrating in the Sni region, in the western part of Lafayette County, for the purpose of making a raid on Lawrence, Kansas. He at once ordered Colonel James McFerran, 1st Missouri State Militia Cavalry, commanding at Lexington, to take a sufficient force and march into the locality where the guerillas were reported to be concentrating, and disperse them.

Leaving Lexington late in the night of August 6th, with 150 men and three pieces of artillery, Colonel McFerran arrived at the designated locality the next day, having on the march come in sight of several small parties of the bandits, who fled on his approach. He ascertained that the guerillas had not concentrated, although the heavy rainstorm of his first night's march and his presence in the neighborhood had prevented their concentration at that time. When General Ewing heard of Quantrill's intention of making a raid on Lawrence, he had a company of infantry stop there for about a week until his troops had dispersed the bandits. He was constantly advised of their movements and plans after they were dispersed, but could not hear that they were making any preparations for a raid into Kansas.

The Federal officers were thoroughly impressed with the notion that the concentration of the guerillas, several hundred strong, meant that they had determined to strike a severe blow at some point. On the morning of August 20th, Lieutenant Colonel Lazear, who was at Warrensburg with parts of three companies of the 1st Missouri State Militia Cavalry, received information that Quantrill, with 250 bandits, had passed twelve miles north of that place on the 10th, moving west. Colonel Lazear at once dispatched couriers to Lexington and Harrisonville, asking that all the troops that could be spared from those places meet him at Chapel Hill the next morning at daylight, and with 100 men immediately started for that point. He formed a junction next morning near Chapel Hill with Major A. W. Mullins, 1st Missouri State Militia Cavalry, who had 126 men, but was delayed until evening waiting for a detachment from Lexington, having in the meantime ascertained that Quantrill had the day before passed that point going in the direction of Kansas. On the morning of the 20th, Quantrill was joined by 50 men from the Osage, about ten miles west of Pleasant Hill, on the headwaters of Grand River, and at noon that day set out on his raid into Kansas, entering the State five miles south of Aubrey just before sunset, with 300 men, heavily armed and well mounted. There were two companies of the 9th Kansas Cavalry stationed at Aubrey, Kansas, a mile or so from the State line, under Captain J. A. Pike; two companies of the same regiment at New Santa Fe, Missouri, on the State line twelve miles north, under Captain Charles F. Coleman; and parts of two or three companies at Coldwater Grove, Kansas, about twelve miles south of Aubrey, near the State line, under Lieutenant Colonel Charles S. Clark, 9th Kansas Cavalry, commanding troops on the Border. These troops were required to keep up a constant patrol along the Border, besides scouting in the Border counties of Missouri, to obtain information in regard to the movements of guerilla bands.

At half past five o'clock in the evening of the 20th, Captain Pike, at Aubrey, received information of the presence of Quantrill on Grand River, about eight miles east, with a large force of guerillas, estimated as high as 700 men, and he at once dispatched messengers notifying Colonel Clark at Coldwater Grove, Captain Coleman at New Santa Fe, Major L. K. Thatcher at Westport, and General Ewing at Kansas City. An hour and a half later, Captain Pike received additional information that Quantrill had just crossed the line into Kansas five miles south of Aubrey, with a large force, moving west, and again immediately dispatched messengers to Colonel Clark and Captain Coleman to report the fact, and called in his scouting parties. Instead of pursuing the guerillas at once and harassing their rear, Captain Pike waited for Captain Coleman to arrive from New Santa Fe, which caused a delay of about five hours in commencing the pursuit. Captain Coleman arrived at Aubrey about eleven o'clock that night, and with 180 men immediately started in pursuit of the marauders, striking their trail about five miles south of the station. He followed their trail about three miles and then lost it in the darkness, and lost about two hours time before finding it again. On his arrival at Gardner, he ascertained that they had passed that place about midnight, six hours ahead of him, marching in the direction of Lawrence, eighteen miles distant. He urged the citizens to speed the information west and south, and then pressed forward as fast as the tired condition of his horses would permit, and in a short time saw the smoke from the burning of Lawrence.

In preparing for the expedition, Quantrill had his men mounted upon the best horses in the country, and so timed his movements that he could reach Lawrence from the point where he crossed the State line into Kansas near Aubrey in a single night's march. He met with no opposition or delay, and though the country through which he marched

a distance of about fifty miles was mostly settled up, only a single effort was made to alarm the people in his front and at Lawrence of his approach, and he reached that place at daylight on the 21st and commenced his fiendish work of murdering the citizens and plundering and burning the city. Having received no warning of impending danger, the people at that early hour were mostly in their beds asleep, and as the bandits on entering the town scattered out to the different houses, it was impossible for the citizens to concentrate in any considerable numbers for defense. In this defenseless condition, on being called to their doors, or in their flights to escape, they were shot down in the most fiendlike manner. No pleading of wives to spare their husbands, or of mothers to spare their sons, had any effect upon the wicked hearts of the desperate outlaws, and they continued their carnival of murder, robbery, and burning of property until ten o'clock, when they left town, marching southeast in the direction of Brooklyn, having killed 140 men, burned 185 buildings, and robbed most of the stores and banks of the city. Senator J. H. Lane, who resided in Lawrence, and whom the bandits would like to have caught, received notice of their presence in the city in time to escape, and, after a few hours, rallying about one hundred citizens, attacked their rear near Brooklyn.

In the meantime, Captain Coleman had reached a point six miles southeast of Lawrence, and was overtaken and relieved from command by Major P. B. Plumb, General Ewing's Chief of Staff, who had just arrived from Kansas City with about fifty men, who had been hastily collected by Captain Cyrus Leland, Jr., 10th Kansas Infantry. This force was in a short time joined by about 150 militia or citizens, who had been collected by Senator Lane for the pursuit of the bandits.

On taking command, Major Plumb turned south in the direction of Baldwin City, and when near that place saw from the smoke that the bandits were burning Brooklyn. He knew from the reports of his scouts and from the dust and smoke left in the wake of the outlaws that they were moving south on the Lawrence and Fort Scott road, and at once moved rapidly in a southwest direction to intercept them on that road. He came up with their rear near Brooklyn, formed in line before twelve o'clock, and after a skirmish in which both sides fired several rounds, the bandits broke into column and joined the main force. In this skirmish Major Plumb was able to bring up only a part of his force, on account of the exhausted condition of his horses, most of them having been continually in motion since nine o'clock the night before, and the last three miles urged forward on a charge to come up with the bandits.

His march to Lawrence and the four or five hours he was in the city enabled Quantrill to obtain nearly enough good horses to remount his men, and remounted upon fresh horses they had a decided advantage over the Federal detachments, whose horses were nearly, and in many cases completely, exhausted from long and constant marching. After the 1st skirmish near Brooklyn, one company of the 9th Kansas Cavalry and the citizen militia, under Captain Leland, had a running fight all the afternoon with the guerillas until they reached the edge of the timber on Bull Creek, two or three miles west of Paola, about sunset, where the latter formed line of battle. During this chase, most of Major Plumb's cavalry were two or three miles in the rear of his advance, their horses being so nearly exhausted as to be unable to keep up. In this last stand made by the guerillas, they charged upon Major Plumb's advance, composed of volunteer militia, and drove it back upon a company of cavalry, which was coming up and which quickly formed in line to receive them. They approached near enough to exchange a few shots with the Federal cavalry and militia, and then retired, and as darkness was coming on, their trail was lost and was not found until two o'clock the next morning.

Lieutenant Colonel Clark, commanding troops on the Border, who, on hearing that Quantrill had gone in the direction of Lawrence, sent out men to arouse the citizens in all the towns in that section and in the country and to call them out, received information about five o'clock through a scout which he had sent out that Quantrill was advancing from the northwest on the road leading into Paola.

He immediately made arrangements to attack the bandits at the ford on Bull Creek, west of town, but as his men remained in position until some time after dark without hearing anything further from the outlaws, he sent out Lieutenant J. E. Parsons to ascertain if possible their position and movements. Lieutenant Parsons soon found Major Plumb with the troops and militia who had been in pursuit of the guerillas during the day, and who had lost their trail, and were speculating as to what direction they had taken. After some discussion it was decided to go into Paola and feed and rest until the trail of the bandits should be discovered by scouts or troops mounted upon fresher horses. Approaching within a few miles of Paola, Quantrill turned directly north, and, eluding his pursuers, stopped to rest five miles northeast of that place. His camp was alarmed by some Linn County militia searching for his trail shortly after midnight, and he moved on and soon met the advance of 150 men of the 4th Missouri State Militia Cavalry, under Lieutenant Colonel Walter King, who had been ordered down the line to intercept him. Colonel King ordered skirmishers thrown out to ascertain what troops were in his front, but the darkness and rough nature of the ground enabled the guerillas to escape, and their trail was not found by the Federal detachment that night. On his arrival at Paola at daybreak on the 22^d, Colonel King found Colonel Clark preparing to renew the pursuit with the troops and militia of Major Plumb's and Captain Leland's forces that had come in and rested there during the night, the trail of the guerillas in the meantime having been found. They had crossed Bull Creek, four miles north of Paola, and, continuing their march north and east, passed out of Kansas only a short distance from the point where they entered the State.

As it seemed probable that Quantrill was endeavoring to get back to his old haunts in the brakes and thickly wooded regions on the Big and Little Blue rivers in Jackson County, Missouri, to disperse his men, Colonel King returned as rapidly as practicable to take up a position to cut him off from that section. But the guerillas, after passing out of Kansas into Missouri, turned east to Grand River, where there was an extensive and thickly wooded region, and where they had their rendezvous before setting out on their raid into Kansas, and there, about noon on the 22^d, broke up into several bands, part going down Grand River, part going north and east, and many, nearly exhausted from constant marching and exertion the last two or three days, left their horses and took it afoot to conceal themselves in the thick brush in that section, until they could rest and recuperate.

After striking the trail of the guerillas north of Paola, Colonel Clark continued the pursuit to Grand River, Missouri, near the point where he ascertained that they had broken up into several bands; there he halted to rest his men and horses the balance of the day, and then divided his command to continue the pursuit and pick up stragglers.

Lieutenant Colonel Lazear, who promptly started in pursuit of the guerillas the moment he heard of their movement west, but who met with some delay in concentrating his detachments near Chapel Hill from such distant points as Lexington, Warrensburg, and Harrisonville, struck Quantrill's trail and followed it to a point on Big Creek, five miles west of Pleasant Hill. As his advance was emerging from the timber or brush on the west side of the creek, about two o'clock on the 22^d, they noticed a large force of men advancing over the prairie, perhaps not more than half a mile off in front.

Colonel Lazear immediately sent forward parties to ascertain who they were, and they replied that they were "Federal troops," but declined to state to whose command they belonged.

The Colonel then ordered his men up and into line and rode forward and satisfied himself that the force in his front were guerillas, and about that time they commenced forming line of battle behind a fence on a ridge. When he dismounted a company to take the advance, they retreated about three quarters of a mile, and again formed behind a ridge. He moved forward again and attacked them vigorously, but after several rounds they broke for the brush and soon commenced to scatter. In this action Colonel Lazear reported that he killed five of the guerillas and wounded several, the whole force, two hundred strong, being under command of Quantrill. The Federal detachment were armed with long, muzzle loading guns, and Colonel Lazear stated that if his men had been armed with good carbines and revolvers he could have made a charge and killed and captured almost the entire force of guerillas. When the bandits commenced to scatter he divided his force, and one detachment, under Captain H. F. Peery, came up with them late in the evening, and after a sharp conflict in the brush killed five more. The ground over which the 1st action took place was strewn with goods of every description that the bandits had brought from Lawrence. Colonel Lazear reported that his men while out on that scout killed sixteen of the guerillas, brought in eight male and two female prisoners, besides twenty-five captured horses and a number of guns and pistols. Colonel Clark reported that his scouting parties after entering Missouri captured and killed twenty-one of the outlaws, and four were killed in the pursuit by the troops and militia from Lawrence to Paola. In the casualties on the Federal side Colonel Lazear had one man killed and one wounded.

When the dispatches came into General Ewing's headquarters at Kansas City, announcing that Quantrill had passed into Kansas with a large force, the General was in Leavenworth, having gone up there that day on official business. The information was at once telegraphed to him, but as the telegraph offices at Leavenworth City and Fort Leavenworth closed at eleven at night for want of relief operators, he did not receive the dispatch until after ten o'clock on the morning of the 21st. He hastily collected about three hundred men of the 11th Ohio Cavalry, who were being equipped at the fort for service on the plains, and started to join his troops to direct in person their operations against the bandits.

He was delayed several hours at De Soto in crossing the Kaw River, and soon after, receiving information of the movements of his troops, pushed on to overtake them, and at dark on the 22^d, reached a point on Grand River, Missouri, near where the guerillas had that day divided into several bands.

A combination of circumstances made it possible for Quantrill to march nearly fifty miles through Kansas, reach Lawrence, surprise the people, murder the citizens, burn the city, and return to Missouri without serious loss. The first fatal blunder was Captain Pike's failure to pursue the bandits and keep in sight of them the moment he heard of their entering Kansas near his station, instead of waiting for Captain Coleman to arrive from New Santa Fe, thus losing the time required to march twenty-four miles. In the next place, the people along the route traversed by the guerillas displayed an unaccountable indifference, with one or two exceptions, as to the fate of Lawrence and of the people on the road to that city. The people along the route could easily have warned the people of Lawrence of the approach of the bandits, but only one man, a Mr. J. Reed, living near Eudora, made an attempt to do so, and his horse, while he was riding it at full speed in front of the guerillas, fell, and was killed, and he himself injured

so severely that he died the next day. Everybody in Kansas knew of the desperate character of Quantrill and his band, and it was expected that if he entered the State he would leave a path of desolation unless he should be closely pursued by the Federal troops.

The murdering of the citizens of Lawrence and the burning and sacking of the city by Quantrill and his desperate outlaws caused intense excitement all over the State, and indeed was a shock to the entire loyal section of the country. Hundreds of loyal men in different localities in Missouri had been robbed and murdered since the beginning of the war without causing any unusual excitement outside of the State, but the Southern bandits had not, before the Lawrence massacre, entered a loyal State and made an indiscriminate slaughter of the citizens. In the excitement of the moment, such influential men as Governor Carney declared that Missouri must be held responsible for the acts of the outlaws; that *“no body of men as large as that commanded by Quantrill could have been got together without the people residing in Western Missouri knowing all about it”*; that *“such people cannot be considered loyal, and should not be treated as loyal citizens, for while they conceal the movements of desperadoes like Quantrill and his followers, they are, in the worst sense of the word, their aiders and abettors, and should be held equally guilty.”*

Senator Lane and other popular leaders in Kansas used more violent and inflammatory language than Governor Carney, and were in favor of the people of Kansas rising en masse for the purpose of marching into Missouri to burn and destroy everything for a distance of forty miles from the Kansas border, and to avenge the outrages committed by Quantrill and his band at Lawrence. At a mass meeting held in Leavenworth City, on the 26th of August, which was attended by many of the leading men of the State, it was resolved that the people should meet on the 8th of September at Paola and prepared for a campaign of fifteen days, for the purpose of going into Missouri to search for the stolen property that Quantrill had taken from Lawrence, and to retaliate upon the people of Western Missouri for the acts committed by the bandits.

Probably no one deplored the atrocious acts of the guerillas at Lawrence more than General Schofield, commanding the Department, but from his large experience in Missouri affairs from the opening of the first campaign under General Lyon, he knew that there was a vast amount of loyalty in that State, and even in the western counties of the State, and saw that it would not do to allow the enraged people of Kansas to enter those counties, ostensibly for the purpose of recovering their stolen property, but really to retaliate indiscriminately upon the Unionists as well as the secessionists for the slaughter of the citizens of Lawrence. So imminent was the danger of Missouri being invaded by a large number of the citizens of Kansas that General Schofield considered it advisable to issue a general order prohibiting the militia of Kansas and Missouri, not in the service of the United States, from passing from one State into the other, without express orders from the district commander. This order, which was immediately published extensively in the newspapers in Missouri and Kansas, also prohibited armed bodies of men not in the United States service, or not belonging to the militia of Kansas and Missouri, which had been placed under the orders of the Department commanded by the Governors of those States, from passing from one State into the other, under any pretext whatever. As an evidence of his earnestness in the matter, troops were stationed along the State line to enforce the order against any parties who might under take to disregard it.

The great mass meeting to be held at Paola, on the 8th of September, was the absorbing subject of conversation along the Border for several weeks after Quantrill's

raid. General Lane, Colonel C. R. Jennison, and Colonel George H. Hoyt made speeches in nearly all the counties of Eastern Kansas to arouse the people to come out and attend the meeting at Paola, at which it was expected that eight to ten thousand men would assemble. Some able bodied citizens who had ample opportunity to enlist in the United States service, but who did not do so, went so far as to assert that any one who was opposed to an irresponsible mob of citizens going into Missouri for the purpose of indiscriminate retaliation and plunder was not truly loyal to the Government. But the discussion of the impropriety of the movement, the probability that those who engaged in it would be opposed by United States troops, and unfavorable weather had the effect of making the Paola meeting a tame affair, only a few hundred people assembling to listen to the speeches and resolutions of the promoters of the scheme.

Immediately after the Lawrence massacre, General Ewing issued his famous Order Number Eleven, depopulating Jackson, Cass, and Bates Counties and the north part of Vernon County, Missouri, with certain specified exceptions near military stations. This order required the people living within the limits of those parts of the district to which it applied to remove from their places of residence within fifteen days from the date of the order. Those who could satisfactorily prove their loyalty were "*allowed to move out of the district, or to any military station in it, or to any part of Kansas west of the Border counties.*" The secessionists and Southern sympathizers were all required to move out of the district within the time specified. General Schofield did not approve that part of this celebrated order which directed the burning of property, and it was modified in that respect. But before the order was modified in regard to destruction of property, any one from a high point in the prairie region of Cass and Bates Counties might have seen the smoke arising from numerous farms, which was from burning stacks of grain or buildings that had been fired.

In the early part of September, a good many Southern families commenced moving south and to other parts of the State, and the few loyal families who lived in those parts of the district to which the order applied moved into the garrisoned towns and military stations that were able to afford accommodations for them. It was generally believed that if the loyal people were permitted to remain on their farms the guerillas would in retaliation have driven them off. Two years experience had shown that the only way to stop the guerilla war in that section was to remove all Southern families from it. The numerous atrocious acts committed by the guerillas in Western Missouri were gradually forcing many of the militia officers to recommend to their superiors the removal of Southern families from certain localities.

After the Lawrence disaster, everybody in Kansas, from the Governor down, was anxious that measures should be adopted that would prevent the recurrence of such a calamity. General Schofield suggested to Governor Carney that the militia of the State should be organized for home defense, and that the principal towns of the eastern border counties should be garrisoned by the militia. His suggestion was acted upon; the Kansas militia was organized, and a few men stationed in each of the towns along the eastern border, and all subject to call at a moment's notice, as soon as arms were furnished.

The above article is reprinted from the book "Civil War on the Border, 1863-1865", vol. II, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1899.

The illustration at the beginning of this article is a copy of the oil painting "Blood Stained Dawn" by American artist Ernst Ulmer. The CHAB is indebted to Mr. Ulmer for granting the association the kind permission to reproduce his artwork.