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**THE RISE OF THE SLAVE-POWER.**

*11. Prelude.*—To appreciate the struggle which made Kansas famous, one must know something of the rise of the slave-power. The many minor incidents which fanned the sparks of dissatisfaction into a flame cannot be given. But the more important history must be related, though briefly.

*12. Introduction of Slaves.*—The oldest city in the United States is St. Augustine, Florida. It was founded by the Spaniards, under Melendez, in the summer of 1565; and the rude houses and the fortifications were built by negro slaves. Then and there was African slave-labor introduced on our soil. Later, in 1619, a Dutch man-of-war brought to Jamestown, Virginia, twenty negroes, who were sold to the planters. Importation was not very rapid, for at the end of thirty years there was in this colony but one negro to fifty whites. After that it steadily increased, and at the time of the Revolution slavery was a recognized fact in all the colonies. The total number enslaved was about half a million, of whom some thirty-two thousand were in colonies north of Maryland.

**13. Changes in Feeling.**—Just before the Revolution, both the northern and the southern colonies began to withdraw from slaveholding. In the "Articles of Association," adopted by the Congress of 1774, and very generally ratified by the people, it was declared that after December of that year no more slaves should be imported. The prohibition was repeated, without opposition, in April, 1776. But when Jefferson placed in the Declaration of Independence a clause complaining of George III. because he had forbidden the attempts "to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce," it was struck out,—mainly at the request of delegates from Georgia and South Carolina. This was the turning-point; and from that time the desire to perpetuate slavery grew steadily, though at first slowly.

**14. Slavery and the Constitution.**—The question was not before the people during the Revolutionary War, as they were then struggling for mere existence. After the war came a period of great financial distress, ending in a rebellion in Massachusetts known as "Shays," from the name of the leader. Then it became necessary to "establish a more perfect union," and the Constitution was "wringed from the grinding necessities of a reluctant people." So far as it differed from the old Articles of Confederation, it was a series of compromises. By one of these slavery was recognized, though the word does not appear. Although the South doubted whether slaves were human beings, and stoutly asserted their right to hold them as *property*, they were allowed to count them as persons (three-fifths entering the enumeration on which the representation was based). This virtually made a Southerner who owned five hundred slaves the political equal of three hundred and one free white citizens of the North. Moreover, the Constitution provided (Art. IV., Sec. 2, P. 3) for the re-

turn of slaves who might fly from one State to another. It is true that here, as elsewhere, the word "slave" does not occur; but the omission was only a very pitiable trick by which men lied to themselves and to the world about facts that could not be lied away.

**15. The First Fugitive-Slave Law.**—In 1793, Congress passed a fugitive-slave law. This was, perhaps, the first explicit national recognition of slavery. By this act it was possible for any one claiming to be the owner, or the agent of an owner, to arrest any negro anywhere, claim him as a slave, and bring the case for immediate trial before any justice of the peace. The testimony of the pretended master or agent would be sufficient, if the magistrate should so decide; and the negro must prove the fact of his freedom, when all justice required that the alleged owner should prove that the man was a slave. The negro was not entitled to a jury trial!

**16. The Cotton-Gin.**—In this same year Eli Whitney invented the cotton-gin. This separated the seed from the cotton. In thus preparing the crop for the market it did the work of three hundred and fifty men. This gave a great impetus to the cultivation of this plant, and increased the profit in slave-labor, and hence increased the demand for slaves.

**17. Importation of Slaves Forbidden.**—In January, 1806, Congress formally forbade the importation of slaves from and after January 1, 1808, the date prescribed by the Constitution. This sounds well, but it was really a mere paper law; and all debates concerning the punishment to be inflicted for breaking it show that there was no serious thought of enforcing it. The importation went on as before, both North and South engaging in it more and more zealously—the former rather outstripping the latter in this nefarious business.

**18. The Colonization Society.**—This was founded at Washington, in 1816, for the purpose of colonizing the free negroes in some part of Africa. Many philanthropic men, from all sections of the country, engaged in this work. But it is not questioned now that the real purpose of most Southern members was to get the free blacks out of the country; their association with slaves and their influence over them being considered dangerous. Many of the radical Northern anti-slavery men saw this from the beginning, and refused to have anything to do with the society. Out of its work finally grew the Republic of Liberia.

**19. Anti-Slavery Feeling in the North.**—The desire to free the country from the plague-spot, slavery, was slowly but surely gaining ground at the North. The Quakers had taken a firm stand against the institution as early as the beginning of the preceding century. Other denominations were slower to move, but in every Northern State was an increasing number who were at least unwilling to extend slave territory. Many foresaw that, sooner or later, the question must result in a sharp struggle, which might involve the life of the nation.

**20. The Missouri Compromise.**—When Missouri asked to be admitted as a State, several grave questions came before Congress. Among these were: Can Congress impose conditions on the admission of a State? Can Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? Can free blacks be considered citizens; and are they, as citizens of certain States, entitled to the privileges of citizens in all the other States? The first was already settled by several unquestioned precedents. The second ought to have been answered sharply in the affirmative, under the express terms of the Constitution (Art. IV., Sec. 3, P. 2). Nor should there have been any hesitation as to the

third. But in the long debate and in the so-called compromise which followed, the first and third were really avoided, and the power of Congress to forbid slavery in Territories south of 36° 30' was renounced in favor of the South. The supposed gain—that slavery should not exist north of 36° 30'—was (1) simply the expression of a right which had always been in the hands of Congress; and (2) a breathing-spell gained by the slave-power within which to better prepare for a new struggle. Men who thought this "compromise" settled the status of slavery were never able to shake off the Missouri question. Timid men had yet to learn that "in a free country nothing can be settled that is not right."

**21. The Admission of Texas.**—Texas was colonized by the South, though there is no good reason to believe that at the outset annexation was thought of. But it soon became evident that more slave States must be created, or the balance of political power in the National Senate would be lost. Moreover, Mexico abolished slavery, and this threatened to hem in the South with free labor—which would be disastrous in time. Then all the slave-power went at work to secure Texas. The attitude of our country towards Mexico—the rightful owner of Texas, the courses of action pursued, and the measures adopted, were disgraceful in the extreme. At the last moment of Tyler's Administration, in March, 1845, by a measure which was entirely unconstitutional, Texas was annexed; becoming a State in the following December.

From the outset, annexation was opposed by all anti-slavery men; and the final success of the South hastened the coming strife.

**22. The Wilmot Proviso.**—In 1846, David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, offered a bill in Congress to exclude slavery from any newly-acquired territory. This re-

ferred to the territory which the United States then hoped to purchase from Mexico, thus closing the Mexican War. The measure became historical as the Wilmot Proviso. The South plainly said that if the proviso should pass, the time had come to have recourse to the sword. Slavery recognized that as the world advanced its own position became more and more untenable—except by force.

**23. The Compromise of 1850.**—Early in Taylor's Administration the Missouri State Legislature declared that the Missouri Compromise had ceased to have any binding force. Other slave States repeated the cry. California adopted a Free-state Constitution and asked for admission, Feb. 13, 1850. Previous to this, Henry Clay, in the United States Senate, offered a compromise of all difficulties, consisting of eight points: the most important being, the admission of California, at its own request; the organization of territories acquired from Mexico without the Wilmot Proviso; the retention of slavery, but the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia; a more stringent fugitive-slave law. The debates over these points, at first united in what was called "the Omnibus bill," was marked by great bitterness; and the word "disunion" was frequently heard. In August and September, however, all were passed. Clay himself said that the chief merit of his measure was that it ignored the admitted opposition of principles. In this feeble way was it sought to stay the irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery.

The anti-slavery party was stirred to renewed energy by this compromise, and the over-zealous enforcement of the new fugitive-slave law was like oil to flames.

**24. Early Occupation of Kansas.**—In 1834 Congress declared that all the country west of the Mississippi River,

and not in Louisiana, Arkansas, or Missouri, should be called the Indian country. A large part of this, including what is now Kansas, was placed under the jurisdiction of Missouri. Part of it, on the east bank of the Missouri River, from the mouth of the Kaw to the north line of the State, was a portion of the State of Missouri, in defiance of the terms of the Missouri Compromise. In 1827 a military post was established at what is now Fort Leavenworth. Somewhat later, Rev. Joseph Meeker established near the present site of Ottawa a Baptist Mission to the Indians, and in 1834 brought the first printing-press into the Territory. In 1835 Col. Henry Dodge, while on a return trip from the Rocky Mountains, established Fort Dodge on the Arkansas River, near the present site of Dodge City. In 1842 a military post was established at Fort Scott. Five years later the Catholics founded the Osage Mission, in what is now Neosho County. In 1849 the great rush to California, on the discovery of gold, carried thousands across the State; and the "Great American desert" was discovered to be a veritable land of promise.

**25. The Crisis.**—It soon became evident that the South intended to secure this territory, if possible. The Free-state men were determined to avert this. Neither party wished to strike the first blow. But in 1852 Willard Hall, a Congressman from Missouri, offered a bill to organize the Territory of the Platte, including Kansas and Nebraska. It was laid on the table; and, before its consideration was reached, Solomon A. Richardson, of Illinois, in February, 1853, offered a bill to organize the same territory as the Territory of Nebraska. Neither of these specifically proposed a slave State. The latter passed the House. Stephen A. Douglas, Senator from Illinois, reported it in the Senate without amendment.

It was laid on the table. In December of the same year, Augustus C. Dodge, of Iowa, offered a bill in the Senate to organize the Territory of Nebraska; which Douglas amended, in January. Before it could be considered, Douglas reported a bill of his own as a substitute. This provided for two Territories, Kansas and Nebraska; and expressly provided that as to Kansas the Missouri Compromise was suspended, and declared null and void. After a long and bitter discussion the bill passed, in March, 1854. The struggle had begun.

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**THE TERRITORY.**

**Events of 1854.**

**26. Squatter Sovereignty.**—The Douglas bill had proclaimed what was known as "Squatter Sovereignty;" that is, the people of the Territory were to decide by their votes whether or not slavery should exist within its limits. The act under which the Territory was created contained the same provision. The question then became, of course, which class of people should constitute the majority in Kansas—the Free-state men or the Pro-slavery party. Therefore both parties put forth most strenuous efforts to secure emigration to this new domain.

**27. Population.**—The Territory was occupied, when organized, by about fourteen hundred whites. Of these some seven hundred were soldiers and those attached to the army in various capacities; and the remainder were scattered here and there at the Missions and Trading Posts. Of the latter the most important were those at Elm Grove, at Council Grove, and at Delaware Post-Office—about ten miles from the mouth of the Kaw. The Mission Posts were quite numerous; the most well-

known being Shawnee, some three miles from Westport Mo.; St. Mary's, in Mission Township; and Osage.

**28. Pro-Slavery Preparations.**—There is abundant evidence that for some time previous to the introduction of the Douglas bill, the Pro-slavery party was making preparations to occupy Kansas. Slaves had been carried into the country by some of the missionaries, and were even given as presents to a few Indian chiefs. It was hoped in this way to make slavery an accomplished fact from the very outset. Secret treaties had been made with some Indian tribes, that there might be no hindrance to immediate occupation and pre-emption. In all this, Missouri was peculiarly interested. Slave property would become insecure should Kansas be made a free State. It would not do to have only an imaginary line between two such opposite civilizations. Clubs were formed all along the border for the purpose of securing the Territory and keeping out the "Abolitionists." In June, Missourians formed, near Fort Leavenworth, the Squatters' Claim Association. This passed many resolutions, the most noticeable being that "we recognize the institution of slavery as already existing in this Territory, and advise slaveholders to introduce their property as early as possible;" and "we will afford no protection to an Abolitionist as a settler." Throughout the South large meetings were held, and men and means were pushed on as rapidly as possible.

**29. Free-State Preparations.**—The open violation of the Missouri Compromise sent men over to the ranks of the Abolitionists by thousands. Massachusetts chartered an Emigrant Aid Society, the most prominent members of which were Eli Thayer, Henry Wilson, and Anson Burlingame. The object was to assist emigration, by giving correct information; by securing guides and