Shared Stories of the Civil War
Reader's Theater Project

The Underground Railroad in Missouri and Kansas

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We understand from history that the Underground Railroad had to be secret. Who would want to be caught running away, and face the lash or be auctioned away from loved ones as punishment? Who would want to let loose the secret, and be responsible for bungling a runaway's plea for help and watching him or her be captured?

But the penalties for bungling were much steeper for Underground Railroad operators than the mere shame of failure. Operatives, holding to their own code of moral law, risked fearful penalties by defying federal and state laws which favored slaveholders. Nowhere in the United States was the Underground Railroad more dangerous than in western Missouri and eastern Kansas in the late 1850s.

Please Note: Regional historians have reviewed the source materials used, the script, and the list of citations for accuracy.

The Underground Railroad in Missouri and Kansas is part of the Shared Stories of the Civil War Reader's Theater project, a partnership between the **Freedom's Frontier National Heritage Area** and the **Kansas Humanities Council.**

FFNHA is a partnership of 41 counties in eastern Kansas and western Missouri dedicated to connecting the stories of settlement, the Border War and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom in this area. KHC is a non-profit organization promoting understanding of the history and ideas that shape our lives and strengthen our sense of community.

For More Information:

Freedom's Frontier National Heritage Area www.freedomsfrontier.org
Kansas Humanities Council www.kansashumanities.org

Introduction

Instructions: The facilitator can either read the entire introduction out loud or summarize key points.

This introduction is intended to provide context to the reader's theater script. It is not a comprehensive examination of events leading up to and including the Civil War. It has been developed to remind us to consider the violence and complexities of the time period as we commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Civil War in 2011.

The stories of the Underground Railroad appeal to young and old. Tales of courage and conviction have held readers spellbound since 1852, when Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (a book second only to the Bible in popularity among 19th century readers). The novel portrayed many of the perils of escape from enslavement, with dangerous river crossings, bounty hunters chasing runaways, and secret assistance from devout abolitionists. That these abolitionists were law breakers, that the bounty hunters had the might of federal law on *their* side, are historical facts often overshadowed or overlooked in our thinking about these dramas.

We understand from history that the Underground Railroad had to be secret. Who would want to be caught running away, and face the lash or be auctioned away from loved ones as punishment? Who would want to let loose the secret, and be responsible for bungling a runaway's plea for help and watching him or her be captured? But the penalties for bungling were much steeper for Underground Railroad operators than the mere shame of failure. Operatives, holding to their own code of moral law, risked fearful penalties by defying federal and state laws which favored slaveholders. Nowhere in the United States was the Underground Railroad more dangerous than in western Missouri and eastern Kansas in the late 1850s.

There are two reasons for this. First, the area where Missouri borders Kansas was a war zone from 1854 to 1865. Missouri had entered the Union decades before as part of a compromise to placate Southern slaveholders: Congress allowed slavery in the new state — even though most of Missouri lay above the Mason-Dixon Line, the geographical parallel created to be the dividing line, north and south, between freedom and slavery — in order to bring Maine into the Union. This compromise maintained congressional balance of power between free states and slave-holding states. In this sense, from the beginning, Missouri was an unusual place for slavery: a slave state, but not a Southern state — a slave state bordered by free states to the north and east, open territory to the west, and the Mississippi and Missouri River highways offering appealing routes out for fugitives fleeing slavery.

Then, when Congress officially opened Kansas and Nebraska Territories to the west for American settlement in 1854, legislators abandoned compromise and gave up responsibility for choosing freedom or slavery there. Instead, they gave that decision to settlers. For many Americans, popular sovereignty in the Kansas-Nebraska Act created the expectation that Nebraska, the northernmost of the two territories, would enter the Union as a free state. Kansas would come in as a slave state, to maintain the balance. Pro slavery men poured into Kansas Territory in 1855 to vote illegally in its elections to bring this expectation to reality.

However, Americans who opposed slavery did not accept that Kansas, by default, would become slave territory. To halt the expansion of slavery, they too poured into Kansas to help settle the question. Most of these settlers came from states east of the Mississippi River and north of the

Mason-Dixon line. While the majority of all Kansas and Missouri pioneers were peaceful, passions and militancy ran high on both sides. Anti-slavery guerillas known as "Jayhawkers" and pro slavery "bushwhackers" proved willing to use violence on one another. Their deadly disputes turned the fields, homes, and towns of the borderlands into a war zone, where kidnappings, lynchings, burnings and shootings were not uncommon. Through this border war zone, runaway slaves attempted their escapes. No other Underground Railroad in the United States ran through a battleground in the late 1850s, and this is one reason the Kansas-Missouri underground was so dangerous for runaways, operatives, and their opponents.

The second reason is that the penalties for getting caught working on the Underground Railroad were much higher in Missouri and Kansas Territory than in other parts of the United States. Federal law, established in 1850 with the Fugitive Slave Act, required all citizens of U.S. states and territories to assist in returning runaway "property" to its "owner," or face six months in prison and a fine of $1,000. This was no small fee, as that translates to roughly $26,000 in today's money. But prison terms were even higher in the state of Missouri, where conviction for the crime of "slave stealing" resulted in a five- to ten-year sentence in the Missouri State Penitentiary. Between 1840 and 1865, 41 people served time in the Missouri state prison for abolitionist activities. Two of the 41 jailed were female, one white woman and one black. Four of the 39 men were African -American. Only five of the abolitionist prisoners — all men, one black — were born in Missouri. Most of the penitentiary's "slave stealers" were Northern or foreign-born abolitionists. However harsh these sentences may seem, the penalties according to Kansas statute from 1855, were even more brutal: 10 years' imprisonment at hard labor, or death, for felons found helping or hiding an escaped slave. Though these statutes were officially repealed in 1858, proslavery forces in many areas of Kansas Territory hunted abolitionists, with the blessing of federal law enforcement officers, as though the old slave laws existed.

According to these territorial, state, and federal laws, Underground Railroad workers were criminals. And there were plenty of righteous, law-abiding neighbors in Kansas towns watching for signs of such criminal activity, ready to tip off authorities or take the law into their own hands. Missouri law from the 1840s offered rewards to these neighbors, from $50 to $100 per runaway if an escaped slave was caught outside of Missouri. This incentive would equal about $1,300 to $2,600 today. Slave owners, too, offered their own rewards for the return of an enslaved laborer, anywhere from $100 to $500 per slave. That could amount, in today's terms, to thousands of dollars in reward money. It isn't difficult to see, in a frontier agricultural economy with the uncertainties of crop production and weather, why such bounties enticed Kansans and Missourians to keep an interested eye on Underground Railroad activity in their area. And yet…in the midst of such vigilance and the violence of "Bleeding Kansas," dozens of operators helped hundreds of African-Americans find freedom on the Underground Railroad, according to estimates made by the operators themselves.

Of course not every freedom-seeker used the Underground Railroad. Many escaping enslavement set out on their own. Trusting their own skills and luck, some gained freedom in Northern territories, cities, and Canada without assistance from the Underground Railroad. But there were other African Americans and families in slavery who depended upon the network of homes and hearts which comprised the secret railway. Women and men, black and white, Missourian and Kansan, broke federal, state and territorial laws, and risked fearful punishments to provide an Underground Railroad to freedom.

Group Discussion Questions

Instructions: The facilitator should pose one or more of these questions in advance of the reading of the script. At the conclusion of the reading, participants will return to the questions for consideration.

1. Some enslaved persons, like Henry Clay Bruce, secured their own freedom by escaping to Kansas without the help of Underground Railroad operatives. Many other runaways, like the family of five headed by George and Fanny, accepted shelter and transportation to freedom from complete strangers working on the Kansas Underground. What would be some of the advantages and disadvantages of each scenario: to escape without assistance, or to put your trust in unknown Underground Railroad workers?

2. Adult operatives broke federal laws to do what they believed was morally right in helping runaways on the Underground. How might this decision and these activities have affected their families and children?

3. Henry David Thoreau wrote: "Is it not possible that an individual may be right and a government wrong?" In your opinion, is breaking a law justified, to right an injustice? Does it make a difference to our society if the lawbreaker is acting alone, or if it is a group of people working together in defiance of a law, in order to help others?

4. What examples do we find in society today which parallel the decision by Underground Railroad operatives to do what they believed was morally or ethically right, but against the law?

5. Some historians have concluded that "America was founded on breaking the law." For example, the militias of the American Revolution felt forced to use violent and illegal (according to Crown law in the colonies) methods in order to assert their freedom to govern themselves apart from Britain. Was the Underground Railroad an extension of this sort of American revolutionary spirit against injustice? Or was it rather an attempt to drag a backwardly moral United States into more modern practices? After all, slavery in Britain and most parts of Europe had been abolished by the early 1800s, while the United States permitted the practice for over half a century longer.

Script

Instructions: Each part will be read out loud by an assigned reader. Readers should stand and speak into a microphone when it's their turn. The source of the quote should also be read out loud (this is the information bolded beneath each quote).

READER 1

We every day see handbills offering rewards for runaway negroes, from Jackson (county Missouri) and neighboring counties. Where do they go to?

There is an Underground Railroad leading out of western Missouri, and we would respectfully refer the owners of lost n[egroes] to the conductors of these trains.

***Frontier News*, Westport, Missouri, spring 1855**[1]

READER 2

It was by a road which did not advertise, whose stock was not quoted in the market reports, the route not laid down on any map, and trains running mostly at night. It was in Kansas Territory, some of whose fields were still being cultivated by slave labor.

Reverend Lewis Bodwell, Topeka Underground Railroad Conductor[2]

READER 3

We want no negro-sympathizing thieves among us; they will be running off our slaves whenever a chance offers….Away with them; send them back where they belong. Up with the banner and shout of slavery, now and forever in our land.

***Kansas Pioneer*, Leavenworth County, Kansas**[3]

READER 4

On one side we see the weak, the poor, the ignorant, contending for their liberty against the strong, the rich and powerful. There comes to my door one of the former, asking for food and shelter and protection. My nature tells me to give him aid and comfort….and [when] I know the hunters to be upon his track, it is my duty to put him upon his guard...

Joseph Gardner, Kansas Underground Railroad Stationmaster[4]

READER 5

[I advised] the people in Missouri to give a horse thief, robber, or homicide a fair trial, but to hang a negro thief or abolitionist, without judge or jury; this sentiment met with almost universal applause.

U.S. Senator David Rice Atchison of Missouri, September 1854[5]

READER 2 I have learned from negroes who were emigrating from Missouri that they never would have known anything about a land of freedom or that they had a friend in the world, only from their master's continual abuse of…abolitionists.

John Bowles, Kansas abolitionist[6]

READER 1 When I started to come to Lawrence, Kansas, I didn't know if all the people in this town were devils as ole massa had said or not, but this I did know: if I could get there safe, old massa was afraid to come after me, and if they all should prove to be bad as ole massa had said, I could live with them about as well as at home.

Unnamed freedom seeker[7]

NARRATOR *It took all the courage, intellect, and ingenuity a person could muster to find — and give — secret assistance on the Underground Railroad. Runaway men, women and children had to rely upon their intelligence and wits. Their survival often depended upon their ability to read people and quickly assess a situation. Clues to a safe house could come from a slave owner's cursing an anti-slavery town or mentioning an abolitionist's name.*

Potential runaways learned from friends, as well as slave owners, which communities operated Underground Railroad stations. These included towns such as Mound City, Osawatomie, Lawrence, Topeka, Quindaro, Sumner, Clinton, Oskaloosa, Holton, and others. But a runaway traveling toward these settlements had to navigate clear of proslavery citizens in towns such as Leavenworth, Atchison, Kickapoo, Paola, Lecompton, Tecumseh, Franklin, and Fort Scott.[8] *Once runaways found a safe station on the Underground Railroad, an operative there might find help transporting them to another secure location, but many depended upon smarts and luck to travel toward freedom.*

READER 2 Charlie Fisher, who was twice kidnapped…came to our house in a coach from Leavenworth disguised in female attire. We kept him two days. I then took him by night and afoot…to another hiding place...

Ephraim Nute, Lawrence, Kansas Territory[9]

READER 1 [Ann Clarke] got away from her master…and hid in a thick place in the brush [by a ravine]…When it became light enough, she followed the ravine up…and came out onto the top of the hill on the edge of the prairie. Being now day break she could see all about and took her bearings. She finally saw a man coming along the road…He had a book under his arm. She thought a man with a book must be free-state ….She asked him to take her to his house, and help her to get free. He [agreed].

John Armstrong, Kansas Territory[10]

READER 4 It was the fall of 1858 when a runaway Slave called at my place, who had an exact description of my place, even to the particular gates I had—which description was furnished him by some friends in Fort Scott….I took him over to my Quaker neighbor Richard Mendenhall…It was Saturday evening…while friend Mendenhall was about ready to get into his wagon to go to Meeting, he turned smilingly towards the Runaway Slave and said: "Before thee goes [farther], thee had better go to my stable and leave thy faded horse there and take that little sleek fat pony of mine. Thee has a long journey towards the North Star before thee…mind me, take mine and leave thine." The [Runaway] did swap and left for Canada.

Reuben Smith, Osawatomie, Kansas territory[11]

NARRATOR *Slavery came to Kansas Territory even before the land had officially opened for U.S. settlement in 1854. When this news reached Eastern papers, abolitionists by the thousands began emigrating to Kansas to halt the spread of slavery into yet another territory. Some individuals and families came sponsored by abolitionist congregations or organizations, such as the New England Emigrant Aid Company. They settled in spite of the brutal consequences of breaking territorial, state, and federal laws—indeed, abolitionists in both Kansas and Missouri intended to risk death and imprisonment in order to defy these laws.*

READER 3 ***The Kansas Emigrants***
(sung to the tune of Auld Lang Syne*)*

We cross the prairies as of old
The Pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the west, as they the east,
The homestead of the free.

Quaker poet, John Greenleaf Whittier[12]

NARRATOR *Experienced abolitionists brought practical underground know-how to Kansas territory. Other Eastern emigrants headed for Kansas with high ideals and no Underground Railroad experience. One of these was the Reverend Richard Cordley, who had emigrated to the U.S. from England as a boy, and received his doctorate in divinity in Massachusetts before settling in Kansas in 1859.*

READER 5 In my college days I had discussed the "Fugitive Slave Law"…I had denounced it as the outrage of outrages, as a natural outgrowth of the "sum of all villainies." I had burned with indignation when the law was passed in 1850. I had declared that if a poor wanderer ever came to my house, I should take him in and never ask whether he were a slave or not.

It is easy to be brave a thousand miles away. But now I must face the question at short range.

Reverend Richard Cordley, Lawrence, Kansas Territory[13]

NARRATOR *Newcomers were wise to be cautious. Convictions could get a man killed in the borderlands between Kansas Territory and Missouri. Death was not one-sided, and violence damaged lives on both sides of the slavery issue.*

READER 1 Linn county was the headquarters for the southern Kansas division of the "underground railroad"…Close to Trading Post, near the Missouri border, a man named Scott had several slaves. In 1858, seeing that slavery [in Kansas] was doomed, he took his slaves across the line and sold them to a trader. [Area abolitionists], being incensed at this, hanged him.

In the year following, one Russell Hines, who advertised himself as a "n[egro] hunter," led a party one evening…a few miles west of Mound City…. Unfortunately for Hines, he ran across Jennison, a man much of his own stripe, but on the other side of the question. Hines, after being captured, was taken…on horseback about four miles southeast of the present town site of Pleasanton; his neck was connected with a tree limb.

Charles Estabrook Cory, Kansas Territory[14]

NARRATOR *Abolitionists warily faced proslavery neighbors, even in towns known for anti-slavery sentiments. These neighbors watched for signs of Underground Railroad activity, ready to uphold the Fugitive Slave Law of the land. First-hand accounts help us to realize that slavery existed not just in Missouri, but also in Kansas Territory. Sometimes, then, the border in the "border wars" between slavery and freedom was merely a property line separating two Kansas settlers' claims.*

READER 2 Bowen was a settler in Douglas County, on Washington Creek. His claim joined mine. He came from Kentucky, and brought with him a family of slaves, father, mother, and eight children, the oldest boy about twenty. My sister Sarah taught the children their letters. They came to our house on Sunday for this purpose. Their master did not know this. There were other slaves in the neighborhood, a few grown ones, but this was the largest family.

John Armstrong, Kansas abolitionist[15]

NARRATOR *While slavery existed for a short while in Kansas, most enslaved men, women and children who traveled the Kansas Underground Railroad usually began that journey somewhere in Missouri. Though the state of Missouri permitted slavery, not every resident was a practitioner. Some Missourians, sympathetic either to individual suffering or the anti-slavery cause, offered*

comfort and assistance to freedom seekers. Near the James Hicklin property in Lexington, Missouri, a neighboring farmer helped an elderly slave escape in 1860. The farmer took pity on the old laborer whose master may have thought him a flight risk, for he wore a ball and chain shackled to one leg. The unforgiving shackle had rubbed raw the man's leg, maimed with festering sores. One night the farmer took the slave to blacksmith Robert McFarland, who not only supported an escape but had essential tools.

READER 3 As near as I can recollect it was in the fall of 1860 at Lexington, Missouri, that a Virginian came to me stating that [J. H.]—a rich farmer living 4 miles east of Lexington (who…was very hard on his slaves) was treating an old slave in a barbarous manner and that he thought the slave should be relieved of the torture. . . . I told my informer to conduct the Negro to my shop in the night and I would take the shackle from his leg. Late in the night they came and I found an old Negro man—partly grey haired—apparently 60 years of age—around whose leg (I think the left one) was riveted a heavy shackle to which was attached what seemed like a trace chain. On the other end of the chain—about 5 ft from the shackle—was a heavy iron ball weighing about 20 lbs which the Negro (when going to or from his work) was obliged to carry by placing the chain over his shoulder with the ball hanging behind. His shin and ankle was very sore from the constant rubbing of the iron (although somewhat protected by rags wound around the parts). The appearance of the leg and ankle with the offensive smell emitted from the sores so aroused our sympathies that [we] wished we could change the irons from the slave to the master.

Robert McFarland, Lexington, Missouri[16]

NARRATOR *Sometimes runaways in Missouri found assistance even closer to home, within a slaveholding household. A jealous or sympathetic wife might aid a bondsperson to freedom. This was true of the wife of a Kansas City, Missouri, slaveholder.*

READER 4 One of these colored women was sent to Kansas by her owner's wife because he and his two sons used her for the gratification of their lust.

This Missouri wife and mother sent money with the poor slave woman and offered to pay her expenses to Canada….She has been recaptured and returned to the lustful embraces of her master and his sons!

***Lawrence [Kansas] Republican*, February 3, 1859**[17]

NARRATOR *Missouri children also helped people escape slavery right out from under their parents' noses. One youngster "stated that very often the sympathies of the children of slave-owners were defiantly on the side of the bondspersons."*[18] *Even young children could put their skills to use, largely unsuspected. For an enslaved friend, a child old enough to write might forge a travel pass.*

READER 5 [P]atrols were put out in every township with authority to punish slaves with the lash, if found off their masters' premises after dark without a written pass from them….[Some slaves] would get their young master or mistress to write them a pass whenever they wanted to go out, signing their father's name.

Henry Clay Bruce, enslaved in Missouri[19]

READER 1 I learned to read and write at age six…I remember of taking delight in writing pass after pass for Negroes supposedly from their masters.

U. S. Hall, **slaveowner's son**[20]

NARRATOR *Even with assistance, escape carried terrible risk. Runaways constantly feared the brutal penalties of recapture and return to enslavement.*

READER 2 …[T]hey thrashed me once, made me hug a tree and whip me...Well you see I was a runaway…I run away when I was about grown and went to Kansas.

Richard Bruner, enslaved in Missouri[21]

READER 3 So often [my father] came home all bloody from beatings…My mother would take those bloody clothes off of him, bathe the sore places and grease them good and wash and iron his clothes…[O]nce he came home bloody after a beating he did not deserve and he run away. He scared my mother most to death because he had run away, and she done all in her power to persuade him to go back. He said he would die first, so he hid three days and three nights, under houses and in the woods, looking for a chance to cross the line but the patrollers were so hot on his trail he couldn't make it. He could see the riders hunting him, but they didn't see him. After three days and three nights he was so weak and hungry, he came out and gave himself up…

Mary Bell, enslaved in Missouri[22]

NARRATOR *When runaways succeeded in leaving their place of bondage, "[b]ecause of the shooting war going on between the proslavery and anti-slavery forces in Kansas, the fleeing bondspersons had to try and escape across a war zone."*[23] *Kansas Territory "attracted unscrupulous men who kidnapped both free blacks and runaway slaves to sell or be returned to their masters for a ransom or bounty…" Kidnappers and bounty hunters carried their black captives into Missouri to be sold back into slavery there or transported to Southern slave markets, even if these men and women were legally free.* [24] *The Underground Railroad in Kansas Territory assisted not only runaways*

from slavery but also free black pioneers who had settled in Kansas and Missouri and found their freedom threatened by slave traders.

READER 4

We were living in our house on Coal Creek, in southern Douglas County.… Some time in the fall of 1857 a stoutly built colored man of 23 or 24 came to the house….I found he had cooked for the river steamboats, and was very skillful….He was helping me in dinner preparation when a loud knock was heard on the door. Two men were there on horseback. The [man] came up pretty soon exclaiming, "I am done now; they have a blood-hound." I told him to keep cool; that he should not be caught. The dog ran past the house and down into the timber. I went out and looked around. I could see two horses hitched up at the house above, and the men nowhere in sight.

The axe was lying there and I told him to take it. He seemed uncertain of my meaning. I told him, "Now is your time. If that dog attacks you, knock him over the head with the axe. Don't make a mistake and allow him to get away. It is your only chance." He took the axe and started straight for the creek through the timber. I was all in a tremble. It was not but a little while when I heard the dog give a terrible yelp. I listened but heard no more.

I heard nothing further of the horsemen…The boy did not return until after dark. He said he was so trembly that he missed the dog the first stroke, but the second finished him….The last that I heard from him he was…bound for freedom.

Elizabeth Abbott[25]

READER 5

[M]y father was an ardent abolitionist, and for years our cabin was a station on the "underground railroad." In the summer of 1860, matters had settled down on the border until my father threw off all pretense at secrecy, and when a couple of stalwart blacks from Jackson county, Missouri, came along he hired them and put them to work quarrying rock with which to fence our claim. By our proslavery neighbors—and we had several—this was considered a crime, and word was passed along that the Gardners were harboring "n[egroes]"….Soon we heard rumors of a raid being organized to capture the Negroes, and incidentally to secure father's head, for which the sheriff of Buchanan county, Missouri, had offered a reward of $500, "dead or alive"…

Our home was a one-and-a-half story hewed log house, in which we felt we could stand a pretty successful siege against the firearms of that day, and we depended upon our two faithful dogs to act as sentinels. At 1:30 o'clock a.m. on June 9, 1860, our dogs raised the alarm. Father, mother, two children in a trundle-bed and one colored man on a pallet occupied the first floor, while four children, including [me], and one colored man were upstairs. At the first cry of the dogs father arose and started to investigate, and after taking a couple of steps he saw the forms of two men pass a window.

He inquired, "Who is there?" The answer came in a gruff voice, "Open the door, sir." His next query was, "What do you want?" He opened the door, and standing in the doorstep were two men with cocked revolvers in their hands ready for action. In less than one second he planted the muzzle of his [own revolver] against the breast of the nearest one and fired. Stepping back instantly, he closed the door. The remaining ruffian squatted and fired through the door and the ball, trending up at an angle of forty-five degrees, lodged in the wall of the house….[A] man at the window fired a load of buckshot at [my father], just missing him by a few inches. This charge of shot lodged in the staircase, except a stray shot which entered a large trunk beneath the staircase and punctured a pint flask containing the last drop of rattlesnake antidote on the premises.

Theodore Gardner[26]

NARRATOR *Rattlesnakes were the least of their worries. That particular summer, Kansas Territory suffered a drought, with fire an ever-present danger. On the night of June 9th, a brief shower of life-saving rain fell on the Gardner cabin.*

READER 5 The gentlemen…who had attacked our house, firing indiscriminately into it through every opening, knowing there were innocent women and children inside, finding they could not dislodge us by gun-fire, essayed the torch. Securing a bunch of hay from the stack yard, they placed it against the corner of the house and attempted to light it, but the shower had so dampened their matches that they failed to ignite. I leave you to place your own estimate upon the character of men capable of such acts.

Theodore Gardner[27]

NARRATOR *The other man sleeping on the ground-floor room of the Gardner cabin that night was Napoleon Simpson, one of the runaways Joseph Gardner had hired the previous summer to quarry rock. Prior to his escape from slavery in Missouri, Simpson had been sold for $1,500 to a slave trader who intended to sell him for a higher price in the Southern slave markets. But Simpson ran west, and the Kansas Underground Railroad helped him flee to northern Iowa.*[28] *In May 1860, Napoleon Simpson returned to the Gardner cabin, this time heading back to Missouri.*

READER 5 In his escape he had left behind the wife whom he loved, and had returned for the purpose of liberating her and taking her where they could live a life of freedom…Judge of his disappointment at finding his wife sick in bed and unable to travel. Sadly retracing his steps, he came again to our house to wait a couple of weeks when he would make a second attempt….We had furnished him with a Sharps rifle and instructed him in its management. On the night of the attack he was up and in the game with alacrity, firing at each fleeing figure he could see.

Finally, failing to discover anyone from the window, he opened the door and stepped boldly out upon the front step. He evidently saw the figure of a man, for he fired his rifle and was in the act of reloading it when an assassin hiding…ten feet distant, fired at him with a double-barreled shotgun loaded with buckshot…[T]he shot struck him in the collar bone and ranged down to the point of the hip, literally riddling his left side. Turning, he fell upon his pallet, exclaiming, "Oh! I'm shot."

[F]ather went to him and asked if there was anything he could do for him. He said, "Fight! Fight hard!" These were the last words of as brave a man as ever died, battling for freedom and loved ones.

Theodore Gardner[29]

READER 1 On the morning of the 9th of June, 1860, I and Dr. Thompson went to the house of Joseph Gardner. As we went into the house we saw the dead body of Napoleon Simpson, lying on the floor, on his left side and abdomen, face down, his shirt and sheet upon which he lay all covered with blood…we saw several pools of clotted or coagulated blood upon the floor. In turning him over, we saw…very evidently that the wounds were made by buckshot, discharged from a gun….His left shoulder was literally shot to atoms. Dr Thompson picked up from the floor two or three small pieces of bone that had fallen out of the wounds.

Testimony of Dr. Eliab G. Macy, coroner's inquest[30]

NARRATOR *The tremendous danger to all involved with the Underground Railroad made even the smallest acts of charity perilous.*

READER 4 [A] colored man named Charley Fisher…escaped and fled toward Lawrence. He lost his way, hid all night in a shock of corn, and the next night came to my house….We concealed the poor fellow, hunted like a wild beast, until the next day, when my wife…dressed him in women's clothes, but unthinkingly gave him a pair of my stockings…a beautiful pair with my initials in red in the tops….[T]hese he wore away. After his departure it became a source of great alarm to her lest he should be captured through the initialed socks, and she…be discovered as having helped a fugitive slave to escape. Happily no such result followed.

Reverend Hugh Fisher[31]

NARRATOR *Sparse pioneer homesteads in Kansas made creativity necessary to keep runaways safely hidden on the Underground Railroad. Ingenuity was required in the autumn of 1859, when a Douglas County, Kansas stationmistress Mary Cordley and two houseguests—a friend, Mrs. William Hayes Ward, and a runaway woman named Lizzie—faced the imminent arrival of a United States marshal and his posse hot on Lizzie's trail, before an Underground Railroad conductor could escort Lizzie to safety.*

READER 2 As night came on we were confronted by the probability that Lizzie's pursuers would come before her rescuers arrived. If they did, then what should we do? What could we do?...Of course, they would search the house. The ladies, Mrs. Ward and Mrs. Cordley, hit upon a plan to which we all assented.

Mrs. Ward…was to retire immediately after tea. Her room was the front chamber. The bed consisted of a mattress with a light feather bed spread over it. Mrs. Ward was to play the sick lady. She was so pale and slight that this was not a difficult part for her. Mrs. Cordley was to play the part of nurse, and was to be sitting by the bed. A stand at the bedside with bottles and spoons and glasses completed the picture of the sick-room. In case of alarm Lizzie was to crawl in between the mattress and the feather bed and remain quiet there till the danger was passed. Lizzie assented to the plan with great readiness.

READER 3 "I will make myself just as small as ever I can, and I will lie as still can be." Then she turned to Mrs. Ward and said, "You need not be afraid of lying right on me with all your might. You are such a little body you could not hurt any one."

READER 2 If the officers came they were to be told to look for themselves. The house would be thrown open to them. The illusion of the sick-room was so complete and natural that we felt a perfect assurance that they would not disturb a lady as sick as Mrs. Ward would be by that time.

Reverend Richard Cordley[32]

NARRATOR *After several tense hours of waiting, Lizzie's conductor came to the Cordley house ahead of the marshal, and hastily carried her by covered wagon on to the next stop.*

Conductors on the Underground Railroad faced the same perils as stationmasters in trying to keep fugitive slaves safe. Conductors, however, had the additional responsibility of safeguarding travelers on the move, sometimes through altered or unfamiliar terrain. The Reverend Lewis Bodwell, and a friend he identified only as "Emerson," conducted a runaway family of five from Topeka to Iowa in a canvas-covered wagon, in the summer of 1858. The wagon box served both as transportation and overnight lodgings, with mother Fanny and the children sleeping inside the wagon, "upstairs," as Bodwell wryly remarked in his journal. The father, George, slept below with the other two men, on the ground underneath the wagon—weather permitting.

READER 1 July 14th. Started for the north; spent the night in the rain on the prairie. In the thick darkness, preceding the storm which soon swept away that bridge, watchful for any sign or suspicion of pursuit, we passed the

river…[A]t about midnight, all there, seven within the space of [the] old wagon box, we somehow passed the long and rainy hours…

READER 3 July 16th…Turning west we found…a faint northward trail…[O]n the next rise, but a few roads away and coming towards us, were five hard looking fellows, of whom, the first thought was, 'They've outrun us; swam or forded the creeks…guessed our plan; turned west and trapped us.' [I] said to Emerson, who was driving, "They have us, but keep driving…Don't let them look in. Don't let them have the first shot." To George and Fanny: "Lie close and don't let the baby cry."…I don't know if the next three minutes seemed more like days or seconds…but I know it was with hearty thanksgiving that we saw them…pass on with only the question, "How far to Holton?"

READER 1 July 17th…Spent the night on Tennessee creek….[A]t dark, on the eastern bank, we at last made camp; gave Fanny, the nursing mother, and her little folks what they would eat, put them to bed up stairs; then took our rations, half a biscuit each (all there was); water from the creek…and make our beds on the ground floor.

READER 3 July 21st…With not a house then in sight we ventured to search for one, that we might get for the poor mother and children the unwonted luxury of a draught of milk…Under the shelter of a low scrub oak, we flung ourselves in a tired out heap on the ground; and without any "conflict of races," under one blanket, black and white slept heavily till…daybreak…"

NARRATOR *On July 23rd, the party left Kansas Territory and crossed the border into Nebraska Territory:*

READER 1 [W]ith a feeling of unwonted relief we left that dangerous barrier behind us…[T]oward sunset…in a quiet nook at the border of a wooded hollow, [we] made our camp, and (for the first time) a camp fire, with a feeling of comfort, safety, and good cheer, which as a whole we had not felt since our start. Miles from any known or suspected neighbor, the children freely used their limbs and lungs in a long uproarious romping spell. Then in and under the wagon, we slept with a kind of home feeling which was as delightful as it was novel.

Reverend Lewis Bodwell[33]

NARRATOR *Not every Underground Railroad conductor met with success.*

READER 2 On the 18th of January, 1859, an arrangement was made with Dr. John Doy to take a party of colored persons as far as Holton. The party consisted of eight men, three women and two children, thirteen altogether, all of whom had free papers except [two who] were known to be free men. On the 25th

of January, everything being in readiness, the party started, crossed the Kansas river at Lawrence, and traveled about twelve miles…in the direction of Oskaloosa…[in] two covered wagons…No precaution had been taken to put out advance or rear guards or scouts, and they had traveled but a short distance, when they were surprised and halted by…about twenty mounted armed men, and being in no condition to make a defense, were compelled to make an unconditional surrender; and when asked by the Doctor what authority they had for arresting them, were told, by their leader, "Here is our authority," putting the muzzle of his revolver at the Doctor's head.

James Abbott, Kansas abolitionist[34]

NARRATOR *The armed men marched Dr. Doy, his son Charles, and the thirteen free black travelers across the border to Weston, Missouri. There John and Charles Doy were imprisoned for several weeks in an iron box, approximately 8 feet square and 7 feet high, with a grate on the iron door through which food was occasionally passed. The iron box provided neither "sanitary convenience or exercise," Doy wrote.*[35] *From this cell they witnessed the plight of the black travelers who had accompanied them. Most were stripped naked and examined, like livestock before auction. Those that tried to show freedom papers had them snatched away and burned before their eyes. Dr. Doy saw a toddler sold from its mother's arms for $25. But other black prisoners, including some from Doy's party, were marched to Southern slave markets for sale, the men "handcuffed together in pairs and driven down the road…behind wagons" of women and children, some of whom were tied up with ropes.* [36]

READER 4 [T]he colored people, both free & slaves, have been shipped for the New Orleans market…This party of Kidnappers consisted mostly of men from Weston, Missouri. But no less than 5 of our own citizens were among them, one of them the Postmaster of Lawrence, Dr. Garvin. It is certain that the movement was betrayed by a professed friend. Our suspicion is strongly fixed on several persons….Great rewards were offered, spies sent out and men hired in this place to watch and aid in recovering the runaway property. We find that every movement was known to the enemy who were gathered at Lecompton the evening before the starting of the train.

Ephraim Nute, Lawrence, Kansas Territory[37]

NARRATOR *One of the captured black men awaiting transport to Louisiana, Bill Riley, managed a daring escape.*

READER 5 Last night one of the captured fugitives…arrived at this place…[H]e was lodged... in the jail at Platte City with some ten or twelve other slaves, most of whom had been recently bought up to be taken South. He broke jail by burning out the bars from the [wooden] window. He walked 10 miles to the Missouri river and crossed on the floating cakes of ice; got first onto an island or sand-bar in the middle of the river where he spent two days and

nights hid in the young cottonwoods; thence again over the running ice to the Kansas side and walked the 35 or 40 miles to this place in one night.[38]

NARRATOR *For most Underground Railroad conductors and station operators, there was danger and duty enough in answering a knock at the door or escorting a runaway to the next safe house. Raiding a Missouri settlement to liberate slaves was a risky venture attempted only by a rare few.*

READER 1 "You must have seen Captain [John] Stewart's cabin," said father. "He is called the 'fighting Methodist,' but has given up preaching to devote his time to helping runaway slaves in reaching Canada. Sometimes he disguises himself as a peddler, and in the night travels to Missouri in his lumber wagon. The next morning he conceals his horses and wagon in

the woods and visits the slave quarters with his peddler's pack, but instead of selling goods, he soon begins talking of freedom and Canada."

unidentified Kansas settler[39]

READER 2 About two hours since I arrived at home after an absence of eight days, during which I have suffered more than I can describe to you, my hands and feet are froze, my ears are about an inch thick, and my cheek bones are destitute of skin, and what is worse, I have only a few hours for rest today, as I must start on the road again at night fall to seek a place of safety for two of my black brethren that I have brought this far from the land of bondage….I have spent a great portion of my time on this way, and have brought away from Missouri fourteen, including one unbroken family of which I feel rather proud and very thankful….During my last trip, the only horse I had fit for such a trip gave up the ghost after traveling 63 miles in less than 10 hours. He was a good horse and [I] have no doubt is gone to the land where all good horses go. But his loss will seriously hinder me in my future operations….

John E. Stewart, Wakarusa, Kansas Territory[40]

NARRATOR *The best-known raid into Missouri from Kansas to free slaves occurred in the winter of 1858, led by abolitionist John Brown.*

READER 3 Two small companies were made up to go to Missouri and forcibly liberate five slaves, together with other slaves….We then went to another plantation, where we found five more slaves; took some property and two white men….The other company freed one female slave, [and] killed one white man (the master) who fought against liberation…

John Brown[41]

READER 4 When the news of [John Brown's] invasion of Missouri spread, a wild panic went with it, which in a few days resulted in clearing Bates and Vernon counties of their slaves. Large numbers were sold South; many ran into [Kansas] territory and escaped; others were removed farther inland. When John Brown made his invasion, there were 500 slaves in that district where there are not 50 negroes now.

James Redpath, 1860[42]

NARRATOR *The group of 11 adults and one infant—a little boy born during the escape and named John Brown by his grateful mother—stayed in safe houses as they traveled northward through Kansas Territory: from "Bain's Fort," a private residence in Bourbon County, to Osawatomie, Lawrence, Topeka, Holton, Horton, and Albany. Escorted by seventeen armed guards known as the "Topeka Boys," the runaways then entered Nebraska Territory, crossed the frozen Missouri River at Nebraska City into Iowa, boarded a locomotive freight car for Chicago, traveled from there to Detroit, floated by ferry across the Detroit River and—after a three-month journey—celebrated freedom in Windsor, Canada, safely outside the slave laws of the United States.*

Those laws would remain in force in Missouri and Kansas until the end of the Civil War in 1865. While President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, the freedom this extended to enslaved Americans did not apply to those living in Missouri. Missouri had not seceded from the Union; she had remained loyal. The Emancipation Proclamation declared freedom only for slaves in states "in rebellion." But the proximity of the Union Army beckoned to enslaved people, who continued to run from 1861 to the free state of Kansas.

READER 2 While camped at Springfield [Missouri in the Fall of 1861]…our [Union Army] camp was the center of attraction to multitudes of [escaped slaves] and refugees…[T]he general [James Lane of Kansas] issued an order that all…refugees should be reported to headquarters...Next morning early there was a stir in the camp…I picked out about thirty negroes and armed them, the first negroes armed during the rebellion. We divided this company, and also the white escort, and placed half as an advance guard…and the other half as a rear guard…Such a caravan had not moved since the days of Moses…

When we reached Kansas I halted the command, drew them up in a line and, raising myself to my full height on my war horse, commanded silence. And there under the open heavens, on the sacred soil of freedom, in the name of the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, and by authority of General James H. Lane, I proclaimed that they were "forever free."

Their mouths flew open and such a shout went up as was never heard. Men and women who had been sighing for liberty during many long

unrequited years of toil, now felt and knew they were free. They jumped, cried, sang and laughed for joy. These were the first slaves formally set free. It occurred in September 1861, long before Mr. Lincoln's proclamation had been issued.

Hugh Fisher, Union Army chaplain[43]

READER 4 [M]y father read the emancipation for freedom to the other slaves, and it made them so happy, they could not work well, and they got so no one could manage them, when they found out they were to be freed in such a short time. Father told his owner…that if he whipped him again, he would run away again, and keep on running away until he made the free state land…

[F]ather stayed just six months…[then he took] eleven of the best slaves on the plantation, and went to Kansas City and all of them joined the U.S. Army. They enlisted the very night they got to Kansas City and the very next morning the…owners were on the trail after them to take them back home. But they *[sic]* officers said they were now enlisted U.S. Soldiers and not slaves and could not be touched.

Mary Bell, enslaved in Missouri[44]

READER 2 Excitement, such as I had never seen, existed [among Missouri slaves]...Work, such as had usually been performed, almost ceased…Slaves believed, deep down in their souls, that the government was fighting for their freedom, and it was useless for masters to tell them differently. Our owner did not want us to leave him and used every persuasive means possible to prevent it. He gave every grown person a free pass, and agreed to give me fifteen dollars per month, with board and clothing, if I would remain with him on the farm...

I…concluded to go to Kansas. I was engaged to marry a girl belonging to a man named Allen Farmer…[W]e decided to elope and fixed March 30, 1864, at nine o'clock, p.m. sharp, as the date for starting. She met me at the appointed time and place with her entire worldly effects tied up in a handkerchief, and I took her up on the horse behind me. Then in great haste we started…

Allen Farmer and as many other men as could be hastily gotten together started in pursuit of us, following every road we were supposed to take…hoping to overtake us. Of course they would have ended my earthly career then and there, could they have found me that night. But I had carefully weighed the cost before starting, had nerved myself for action and would have sold my life very dearly had they overtaken us in our flight. How could I have done otherwise in the presence of the girl I loved, one who had forsaken mother, sister and brothers, and had placed herself entirely under my care and protection?

…We avoided the main road, and made the entire trip without touching the traveled road at any point and without meeting anyone, and reached Laclede [Missouri] in safety, where we took the train for St. Joe, thence to Weston, where we crossed the Missouri River on a ferry boat to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. I then felt myself a free man.

On March 31, 1864, I landed at Leavenworth, Kansas, with my intended wife, without a change of clothing and with only five dollars in cash, two of which I gave Rev. John Turner, Pastor of the A.M.E. Church, who united us in marriage in his parlor that day.

Henry Clay Bruce[45]

NARRATOR *One year later, the United States passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery and with it, the need for an Underground Railroad. That year, 1865, all men, all women and children, were set free.*

Instructions: The facilitator will now return to the questions found on page 3 for consideration by the group.

At the conclusion of the event:

- ***The local coordinator will indicate whether the scripts need to be returned.***
- ***The page titled* Citations *is intended to be a take-home handout for participants.***

The words spoken by Readers in this script are the exact words of historical participants in Kansas and Missouri, 1854-1865, taken from first-hand accounts. For ease of reading, spelling and punctuation have been modernized in the script passages. You can read these accounts as they were recorded, and more, in the following sources:

Footnotes

[1] Quoted in James Patrick Morgans, *The Underground Railroad on the Western Frontier: Escapes from Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa and the Territories of Kansas, Nebraska and the Indian Nations, 1840-1865* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2010), 11.

[2] Lewis Bodwell, "A Home Missionary Journey Never Before Reported," *The (Manhattan) Kansas Telephone*, v. 14, no. 2, August 1893. The Reverend Bodwell served as the pastor of the First Congregational church in Topeka.

[3] Quoted in Eli Thayer, *A History of the Kansas Crusade: Its Friends and Its Foes* (NY: Harper & Brothers, 1889), 64-65.

[4] Letter from Mr. [Joseph] Gardner to *The Republican*, Lawrence, K.T., 14 June 1860, reprinted in Richard B. Sheridan, editor and compiler, *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader* (University of Kansas, 2000), 64-65.

[5] Quoted in Harriet C. Frazier, *Runaway and Freed Missouri Slaves and Those Who Helped Them, 1763-1865* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2004), 143.

[6] John Bowles, "The Lawrence Depot of the Underground Railroad," in Richard B. Sheridan, editor and compiler, *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader* (University of Kansas, 2000), 52.

[7] Quoted in James Patrick Morgans, *The Underground Railroad on the Western Frontier: Escapes from Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa and the Territories of Kansas, Nebraska and the Indian Nations, 1840-1865* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2010), 10.

[8] Richard B. Sheridan, editor and compiler, *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader* (University of Kansas, 2000), xvi.

[9] Ephraim Nute to unidentified recipient, 24 February 1859, Territorial Kansas Online, www.territorialkansasonline.org [Accessed 23 October 2010].

[10] John Armstrong, "Reminiscences of Slave Days," c. 1895, Territorial Kansas Online, www.territorialkansasonline.org (Accessed 30 October 2010).

[11] Reuben Smith, "Testimony of Hon. Reuben Smith of Osawatomie," Franklin County (KS) Historical Society, Underground Railroad box, Bondi Papers, A-3-6, from the Leonhardt papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

[12] John Greenleaf Whittier, *The Kansas Emigrants*, "The Kansas Poems of John Greenleaf Whittier," Kansas Collection, http://www.kancoll.org/articles/whittier.html (Accessed 30 October 2010).

[13] Reverend Richard Cordley, "Lizzie and the Underground Railroad," in *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader,* ed. and compiled by Richard B. Sheridan (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, 1998), 69-70.

[14] Charles Estabrook Cory, "Slavery in Kansas," an address before the Kansas State Historical Society at its twenty-sixth annual meeting, 21 January 1902, published in *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, vol. 7* (Topeka: W.Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1902), 238-239; books.google.com (Accessed 31 October 2010).

[15] John Armstrong, "Reminiscences of Slave Days," c. 1895, Territorial Kansas Online, www.territorialkansasonline.org (Accessed 30 October 2010).

[16] Kansas State Historical Society, "Slave Shackle," http://www.kshs.org/p/slave-shackle/10381 (Accessed 8 November 2010).

[17] Quoted in Harriet C. Frazier, *Runaway and Freed Missouri Slaves and Those Who Helped Them, 1763-1865* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2004), 153.

[18] James Patrick Morgans, *The Underground Railroad on the Western Frontier: Escapes from Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa and the Territories of Kansas, Nebraska and the Indian Nations, 1840-1865* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2010), 84.

[19]Henry Clay Bruce, *The New Man: Twenty-nine Years a Slave, Twenty-nine Years a Free Man* (York, PA: P. Anstadt, 1895; reprinted by the University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 96-97.

[20] Quoted in James Patrick Morgans, *The Underground Railroad on the Western Frontier: Escapes from Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa and the Territories of Kansas, Nebraska and the Indian Nations, 1840-1865* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2010), 84.

[21] The Library of Congress, *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, Missouri Narratives, Volume X,* "Richard Bruner," pages 59-60, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mesn:21:./temp/~ammem_KCl3:: (Accessed 8 November 2010).

[22] The Library of Congress, *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, Missouri Narratives, Volume X,* "She Loves Army Men," pages 27-29, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mesn:20:./temp/~ammem_KCl3:: (Accessed 8 November 2010).

[23] James Patrick Morgans, *The Underground Railroad on the Western Frontier: Escapes from Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa and the Territories of Kansas, Nebraska and the Indian Nations, 1840-1865* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2010), 190.

[24] Richard B. Sheridan, editor and compiler, *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader* (University of Kansas, 2000), xvii.

[25] Mrs. James B. Abbott, "The U.G.R.R. in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas," in Richard B. Sheridan, editor and compiler, *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader* (University of Kansas, 2000), 38.

[26] Theodore Gardner, "The Last Battle of the Border War," in Richard B. Sheridan, editor and compiler, *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader* (University of Kansas, 2000), 60-61.

[27] Theodore Gardner, "The Last Battle of the Border War," in Richard B. Sheridan, editor and compiler, *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader* (University of Kansas, 2000), 62.

[28] Letter from Mr. [Joseph] Gardner to *The Republican*, Lawrence, K.T., 14 June 1860, reprinted in Richard B. Sheridan, editor and compiler, *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader* (University of Kansas, 2000), 65.

[29] Theodore Gardner, "The Last Battle of the Border War," in Richard B. Sheridan, editor and compiler, *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader* (University of Kansas, 2000), 61-62.

[30] Quoted in Richard B. Sheridan, editor and compiler, *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader* (University of Kansas, 2000), 63-64.

[31] Reverend Hugh D. Fisher, *The Gun and the Gospel: Early Kansas and Chaplain Fisher* (Chicago: The Kenwood Press, 1896), 146-148.

[32] Reverend Richard Cordley, "Lizzie and the Underground Railroad," in *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader,* ed. and compiled by Richard B. Sheridan (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, 1998), 74-75.

[33] Lewis Bodwell, "A Home Missionary Journey Never Before Reported," *The (Manhattan) Kansas Telephone*, v. 14, no. 2, August 1893.

[34] James B. Abbott, "The Rescue of Dr. John W. Doy," in Richard B. Sheridan, editor and compiler, *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader* (University of Kansas, 2000), 23.

[35] Dr. John Doy tells of the capture and imprisonment of his party in *The Narrative of John Doy of Lawrence, Kansas: 'A Plain Unvarnished Tale,'* 1860, reprint edited by Mark Volmut (Quindaro Net, 2004).

[36] Dr. John Doy tells of the capture and imprisonment of his party in *The Narrative of John Doy of Lawrence, Kansas: 'A Plain Unvarnished Tale,'* 1860, reprint edited by Mark Volmut (Quindaro Net, 2004).

[37] Ephraim Nute to an unidentified recipient, 14 February 1859, Territorial Kansas Online, www.territorialkansasonline.org [Accessed 23 October 2010].

[38] Ephraim Nute to unidentified recipient, 24 February 1859, Territorial Kansas Online, www.territorialkansasonline.org [Accessed 23 October 2010].

Additional details about Bill Riley's escape, as well as the information that Dr. Doy could not escape with Riley, appears in a letter from Ephraim Nute to F.B. Sanborn, Esq., 22 March 1859, Territorial Kansas Online, www.territorialkansasonline.org [Accessed 23 October 2010].

[39] Quoted in Richard B. Sheridan, editor and compiler, *Freedom's Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader* (University of Kansas, 2000), 47.

[40] John E. Stewart to Thaddeus Hyatt, 20 December 1859, Territorial Kansas Online, www.territorialkansasonline.org (Accessed 23 October 2010).

[41] Quoted in Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas: a cyclopedia of state history, embracing events, institutions, industries, counties, cities, towns, prominent persons, etc. ... / with a supplementary volume devoted to selected personal history and reminiscence*, vol II (Chicago: Standard Pub. Co., 1912) 823-826; Transcribed July 2002 by Carolyn Ward for KSGenWeb project, http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/1912/u/underground_railroad.html (Accessed 31 October 2010).

[42] Quoted in Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas: a cyclopedia of state history, embracing events, institutions, industries, counties, cities, towns, prominent persons, etc. ... / with a supplementary volume devoted to selected personal history and reminiscence*, vol II (Chicago: Standard Pub. Co., 1912) 823-826; Transcribed July 2002 by Carolyn Ward for KSGenWeb project, http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/1912/u/underground_railroad.html (Accessed 31 October 2010).

[43] Reverend Hugh Dunn Fisher, *The Gun and the Gospel: Early Kansas and Chaplain Fisher* (Chicago: The Kenwood Press, 1896), 155-157.

[44] The Library of Congress, *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, Missouri Narratives, Volume X,* "She Loves Army Men," pages 29-30, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mesn:20:./temp/~ammem_KCl3:: (Accessed 8 November 2010).

[45]Henry Clay Bruce, *The New Man: Twenty-nine Years a Slave, Twenty-nine Years a Free Man* (York, PA: P. Anstadt, 1895; reprinted by the University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 102-103, 107-109, 112.