

# Shared Stories of the Civil War Reader's Theater Project

## *Quantrill's Raid and Order Number 11*

The border between Missouri and Kansas during the years leading up to the Civil War was marked by tension and violence. Raids and sackings were commonplace. Even with the question of statehood behind them, both Kansans and Missourians feared those suspected of being sympathetic to “the other side.”

*Quantrill's Raid and Order Number 11* reader's theater script was created using excerpts taken from historical letters and witness accounts, and both historical and contemporary newspaper articles. Following the reading, participants will have the opportunity to discuss the lasting legacy of these events in Kansas and Missouri.

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



*Quantrill's Raid and Order Number 11* 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  
Kansas Humanities Council

[www.freedomsfrontier.org](http://www.freedomsfrontier.org)  
[www.kansashumanities.org](http://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 Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence or the issuance of Order Number 11. 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.

Two of the most notorious and unsettled events of the Civil War along the Missouri and Kansas border were Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence in 1863 and the issuance four days later of General Order Number 11.

The era of "Bleeding Kansas" had subsided by 1861, the year the first shots of the Civil War were officially fired at Fort Sumter, though skirmishes over slavery still posed a threat in some parts of the region. Many feared the Civil War would bring renewed violence between Kansas, a "free" state, and Missouri, a state which permitted slavery, but was not officially part of the Confederacy. This was also an era when spontaneous and unauthorized partisans formed pockets of informal militias known as guerrillas.

By the time Kansas became a state in 1861, the population demographics of Missouri and Kansas began to lay in sharp contrast to one another. In Missouri, 75% of Missourians claimed Southern ancestry and were largely immigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. One in eight families held slaves, with three-fourths of these families holding fewer than five.

Missourians ultimately boasted the unique distinction of having dual governments during the Civil War – a provisional Union government, under the political leadership of Governor H. R. Gamble and the military leadership of Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon, and the Confederate-sympathizing Missouri State Guard, led by Governor Claiborne Jackson and Major General Sterling Price.

Kansas, on the other hand, was anything but divided. The years of Territorial Kansas — 1854–1861 — brought political tensions and turmoil as "popular sovereignty" determined the question for the nation: Free or Slave? On January 29, 1861 the answer was clear: Kansas would be admitted into the Union as a free state. Lawrence continued to pride itself on being what one resident called the "citadel of abolitionism" in the West.

Missourians feared Kansas "Jayhawkers" would cross over to loot and destroy civilian property. Kansans, including those in Lawrence, feared the "Bushwhackers" for similar reasons. One of the most notorious raiders was William Quantrill, who had made a name for himself by sacking pro-Union border towns such as Aubry and Olathe.

By June 1863, uneasiness along the border increased and Lawrence mayor George Collamore requested Border Commander Thomas Ewing to send a temporary force to guard the town. Ewing sent 20 men. A month passed. Nothing happened and by July 31, Ewing had withdrawn some of the protection. Three weeks later, on August 21<sup>st</sup>, 1863 Quantrill's raiders stormed the town at dawn, taking its residents by surprise.

Four days later, Border Commander Brigadier General Thomas Ewing issued Order Number 11. It mandated that citizens in four Missouri border counties who were unable to establish their loyalty to the Union, must evacuate their homes or move within a mile of a Union post. Property was burned while women and children fled with only the clothes on their backs. Chaos and looting engulfed the border region for weeks.

To this day, Kansans mourn the victims of Quantrill's Raid, and Missourians remember the damage done to its citizens from Order Number 11.

## 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. Is violence ever justified?
2. Consider Castel's quote comparing the devastation and chaos from Order No. 11 to the atrocities committed by the United States during the internment of Japanese civilians during the Second World War. Is Castel's quote valid? Should the Union government have paid reparations to families dislocated as a result of the Order?
3. Brigadier General John B. Sanborn wrote: "If there is anything of value to a future age to be learned, it is that there exists in the breasts of the people of educated and christian communities wild and ferocious passions, which in a day of peace are dormant and slumbering, but which may be aroused and kindled by . . . war and injustice, and become more cruel and destructive than any that live in the breasts of savage and barbarous nations." Does this quote apply to the border tensions between Kansas and Missouri? Were Jayhawkers and Bushwhackers fundamentally good people who were unfortunate enough to get caught up in the unfathomable and violent passion of war?
4. Are "normal" peaceful citizens capable of being stirred into violent action?

## 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).**

NARRATOR

Episode One – Leading Up to Conflict.

*Tensions between Kansas and Missouri had been mounting for years and the Civil War did little to slow them. Both sides blamed the other for the loss in property, violence, and bloodshed.*

*The first part of this script examines three of many events that led up to Quantrill's attack on Lawrence. On September 23, 1861, in an effort to protect Kansas from possible invasion from proslavery guerillas, Kansas Senator James Lane led an attack on Osceola, Missouri. He and his men burned and looted the town of 2,000 inhabitants.*

READER 1

Camp Montgomery [near present-day West Point], Missouri

My dear wife,

All who were fit for duty, five days ago, went to Osceola. They returned yesterday, having had a little brush with the enemy, scattered them, took the town, obtained all the horses, mules, wagons, and niggers; loaded the wagons with valuables from the numerous well-supplied stores, and then set fire to the infernal town as it burned to the ground.

Affairs are looking squally there and in the SW part of this state . . . If [the governor] would send in troops to take care of the river towns, we could do the rest . . . Lane may know much more about it than what we are able to learn.

**Letter, Joseph H. Trego to his wife, Alice, September 25, 1861.<sup>1</sup>**

READER 2

Osceola, Missouri

We learned that General Lane with an army from Kansas was approaching, and at about 12 o'clock at night, a neighbor waked us up to tell us they could be heard coming . . . Then a piece of artillery was run down and fired upon [Missouri Captain J.M.] Weidemeyer's men. They returned the fire and drove the artillerymen away; soon their mounted men came down the road again . . .

That day they loaded six mules and horse wagons with the goods from the stores in town; then they fired and burnt the town, leaving only a few houses scattered in the suburbs . . . As soon as the town was looted and burned General Lane and his men left hurriedly for Kansas.

**Mrs. M. E. Lewis, October 1861.<sup>2</sup>**

READER 3 I walked up into what was the town of Oceloa [sic], it is enough to make a man's blood boil. Every business in the town, bank, court house, church, stores, mill and every thing else except some Union houses . . . they have totally destroyed it . . . Men are anxious to go to Kansas and retaliate, [and] if we are permitted to go, the retribution will be awful. Lane's men were the destroyers and there will be no mercy shown them if we ever get a hold of them.

**Diary, John W. Fisher, November 27, 1861.<sup>3</sup>**

NARRATOR *Lane's raid on Osceola became yet another source of tension between Missourians and Kansans. Few forgot how Jayhawkers had stolen thousands of dollars in livestock, slaves, and clothing, and how Lane's soldiers were so drunk after celebrating the raid that many had to ride in wagons and carriages when they left.*

*During this same time — 1861 — a man named William Quantrill organized a Confederate guerilla band in Missouri. A Northerner with no ideological ties to the Confederacy, Quantrill concocted a story that free-state Kansans had murdered his brother. Quantrill and his band of Bushwhackers began crossing the border into Kansas in the summer of 1862 sacking nearby Shawneetown and Olathe. Two years later, when Quantrill attacked Lawrence, the guerillas could be heard shouting, "Remember Osceola!" Whether accurate or not, Quantrill himself, when asked by a citizen why he had come to Lawrence, replied, "To plunder, and destroy the town in retaliation for Osceola."*

READER 4 Dear Mother,  
You have undoubtedly heard of the wrongs committed in this territory by the southern people, or proslavery people, but when one once knows the facts they can easily see that it has been the opposite party that have been the main movers in the troubles and by far the most lawless set of people in the country. They all sympathize for old J. Brown, who should have been hung years ago, indeed hanging was too good for him. May I never see a more contemptible people than those who sympathize for him. A murderer and a robber, made a martyr of; just think of it.

**Letter, William Quantrill to his mother, Caroline Clarke Quantrill, January 26, 1860.<sup>4</sup>**

READER 5 Elk City, Kansas [30 miles northeast of Coffeyville]  
  
My next interview with Quantrill was on the 7<sup>th</sup> of March, 1862. I stopped for the night at Aubry, in Johnson County, Kansas, not anticipating any trouble. But at daylight I was awake by the cry, "The cutthroats are coming!" . . . I was carelessly looking out at the window upstairs and Quantrill saw me through the window and . . . he made a good shot. I

was struck in the center of the forehead where the brains of most men are supposed to be located. I fell and was supposed to be dead. Quantrill and two others started upstairs and as soon as they got within about four feet of me, they all pointed their revolvers at my head . . . I handed them \$250, they then passed on and searched the rooms . . . They then ordered me down stairs.

**Letter, Abraham Ellis to W. W. Scott, January 5, 1879.<sup>5</sup>**

NARRATOR *Two events in August of 1863 may have also been the motivation for Quantrill's Raid of Lawrence. The first was the collapse of a makeshift women's prison in Kansas City, which held a dozen of the guerillas' wives and close relatives. The prison, a three story building named The Longhorn Store and Tavern, collapsed on August 13. Four of the women were killed, and another crippled for life.*

READER 2 Some of the girls, but not all, raced down the steps long behind long, skirts ballooning above white stockings. Behind them the walls teetered, swayed, then collapsed under a cloud of reddish-yellow dust . . . The bodies of an Anderson girl, Cole Younger's cousin, and several others were carried out. Female survivors wrung their hands and screamed imprecations against Ewing, and Lincoln's tyranny.

**Jay Monaghan, Civil War on the Western Border, 1854-1865.**

NARRATOR *The second event occurred five days later. On August 18, Brigadier General Thomas Ewing, commanding the District of the Border, issued Order Number 10, ordering the removal of Missouri families known to be aiding Quantrill and other guerillas.*

*Missourians did not agree with the Order and Ewing was accused as being heartless toward Missouri civilians, especially women and children. However motivated Quantrill's Raiders may have been after the prison collapse and Order Number 10, many residents of Lawrence, Kansas considered themselves relatively safe. After all, none of Quantrill's previous raids had occurred more than 15 miles beyond the state border. Lawrence was 40 miles away.*

READER 1 The wives and the children of known guerillas, and also women who are heads of families and are willfully engaged in aiding guerillas, will be notified by such officers to move out of this district and out of the State of Missouri forthwith . . . If they fail to remove promptly they will be sent . . . for shipment South, and their clothes and such necessary household furniture as may be worth removing.

By order of the Brigadier General Ewing.  
**General Order Number 10, August 18, 1863.**

READER 3            Mr. Quantrill is not invited to do bloody and infamous deeds upon unarmed men in any part of this State; but we venture to say that his chance of escaping punishment after trying on Lawrence just once are indeed slim — perhaps more so than in any other town of the state.

***Lawrence Journal, August 6, 1863.***

READER 4            The Kansan has been murdering and robbing our people for two years or more, and burned their houses by districts, hauled their household blunder, farming implements, etc., to Kansas, driven off their cattle, etc., until forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. Lawrence is the great hot-bed of abolitionism in Kansas. All the plunder (or at least the bulk of it) stolen from Missouri will be found stored away in Lawrence. We can get more revenge and more money there than anywhere else in the state of Kansas.

**William Quantrill, leading up to the raid, July 1863. Quoted by Captain William H. Gregg.**

NARRATOR            *Episode Two – The Invasion of Lawrence by Quantrill.*

*Quantrill's raiders were keenly aware that James Lane, architect of the Osceola raid, resided in Lawrence. Lawrence was also the hub of the free state and abolitionist movements. Quantrill — who had lived in Lawrence three years earlier — assembled his 400 men on the Blackwater River in Missouri, on August 19, 1863. They rode along just south of Lone Jack, across Cass County, Missouri, and crossed the state line south of Aubry. On the morning of August 21, they reached Lawrence. Most of the 2,500 townspeople (of which 400 were men) were still asleep when Quantrill's Raid began. Some who had seen the men on horseback, assumed they were the Union cavalry. Once the sounds of rifles firing and the screams of the wounded and dying could be heard, and the flames from the fires could be seen, there was little doubt as to the identity of the raiders.*

READER 1            [The Bushwhackers] passed leisurely from their hiding place in Missouri through federal lines, and almost within shooting distance of a federal camp in the day time, then just as leisurely made their way over forty miles of traveled road through Kansas settlements at night, and halted, called the roll in early dawn within pistol shot of the houses of the residents of Lawrence, and yet no warning voice rang through her quiet streets, 'Quantrill is coming!'

**Hovey E. Lowman.<sup>6</sup>**

READER 2                      Lawrence, Kansas

Dear Father,  
 As I looked, the head of the column of fiends rushed down the street on which the camp was, full in my view, and commenced shooting down the boys in camp near by. There were twenty-five boys there at the time, of whom they shot down and killed nineteen. How the rest escaped I do not know. I estimated there were some two hundred of the devils. There were about three hundred altogether. I saw that, too truly, "the secesh had come!"<sup>7</sup>

**Letter, Erastus D. Ladd to his father, August 30, 1863.<sup>8</sup>**

READER 4                      Leavenworth City, Kansas

My Dear Friends  
 The first notice I had was from Mr. Ross, who called to us from the foot of the chamber stairs that the guerrillas were in town. I jumped up, put on some old clothes, and ran down stairs. By this time my wife and Mrs. Ross, as well as the whole family were alarmed. I told them not to be frightened, as it was not probable that the women and children would be harmed. Just at this moment Mrs. Ross opened the front door, and I saw at a glance the danger we were in. Two or three streets in front of the house, the rebels were charging in all directions, shouting like wild Indians, and shooting down every man who appeared in the streets or attempting to escape.

**Letter, Sidney Clarke, August 26, 1863.<sup>9</sup>**

READER 5                      The hotel, and every point where a rally would be possible, was seized at once, and the ruffians then began the work of destruction. Some of the citizens escaped into the fields and ravines, and some into the woods, but the larger portion could not escape at all. Numbers of these were shot down as they were found, and often brutally mangled. In many cases the bodies were left in the burning buildings and were consumed.

**Rev. Richard Cordley, Published in *Blackburn's Gazeteer of Kansas*, 1863.<sup>10</sup>**

READER 1                      I ran threw open the blinds and then I saw a large body of horsemen trotting quite briskly along — just then they turned a corner coming nearer us . . . So we took in a faint sense of what it was to be surrounded by Guerrillas — we immediately buried our papers & money excepting a little which we left out to appease them — put our silver in the cistern & disposed of our watches and jewelry & waited for them to come.

**Letter, Sophia L. Bissell, to her cousin, September 8, 1863.<sup>11</sup>**



READER 2                   A devil came to the door with a cocked revolver in his hand, and called Eliza out. He demanded if I was in the house. She told him I was not. He demanded her money, jewelry, and arms. She gave him what she had. He then broke up some chairs, and tore up some books, piled them up in the dining room and in the kitchen and set them on fire.

**Letter, Erastus D. Ladd to his father, August 30, 1863.**

READER 5                   Lawrence, Kansas

Friend Hill,  
 Quantrill's men . . . commenced murdering our people at once. Judge Carpenter was pursued all over his house and finally shot repeatedly while in his wife's arms. They raised Mrs. Sargent's arm in order to make a fatal shot at her husband. Mrs. Fitch was not allowed to pull her husband's body out of the burning house, but was compelled to stand by and see the corpse consumed. Men were repeatedly shot with children and even babies in their embrace. Mr. Dix purchased his life by paying \$1000. As soon as the money was handed over he was killed. These instances are not the worst that occurred but are given as a fair sample of what transpired.

**Letter, H. M. Simpson to Hiram Hill, September 7, 1863.<sup>12</sup>**

READER 1                   The leader called for the man of the house. Henry went out to him. Your name? Bissell? You from New York! So said I, from Ct. Worse yet. Worse yet. Our trunks we had got into the yard although they forbid our doing it. Then they began breaking these open—throwing them into the air & letting them come down & stomping on them but they did come open. I ran to the leader & begged him to spare the house, pleading and telling him we were just peaceable people! Will you not spare the house? At last he said he would for my sake. Said I it is now on fire. Oh then I can't save it.

**Letter, Sophia L. Bissell, to her cousin, September 8, 1863.**

READER 4                   In a short time the fires were set in nearly every house in all parts of the city, and the conflagration which ensued was awfully grand. More than 200 buildings were burned—96 of them stores and shops, and the rest of them the finest residences in the city. The fires were set as soon as the plundering was done, and by ten o'clock A.M. the old Citadel of Freedom, and the most beautiful city west of the Mississippi was a heap of smoldering ruins

What the government will do I do not know. I do not know. I hope it will not be long.

The tried people of Kansas demand it . . . Nothing but the most rigorous policy will save us from the continued repetition of the Lawrence Massacre.

**Letter, Sidney Clarke, August 26, 1863.**

READER 3

Total Loss \$2,000,000, Cash Lost \$250,000

Massachusetts street [is] one mass of smouldering ruins and crumbling walls, the light from which cast a sickening glare upon the little knots of excited men and distracted women, gazing upon the ruins of their once happy homes and prosperous businesses . . . About one hundred and twenty-five houses in all were burned, and only one or two escaped being ransacked, and everything of value carried away or destroyed.

**Leavenworth Daily Conservative, August 23, 1863.**

NARRATOR

*The final statistics for the raid were unclear, but undoubtedly staggering. At least 180 citizens were killed, with at least 30 wounded. 80 were left as widows, and 250 children were made orphans, while countless others were left to fend for themselves while their husbands and sons served in the Union army. Property loss was estimated to be no less than \$1.5 million, and 200 buildings in total were demolished. One of Quantrill's goals was left unaccomplished – the notorious James Lane, the target of much of Quantrill's anger, survived by jumping out his window and fleeing into a cornfield. Clearly for Kansans, Quantrill's deeds could not be left unpunished.*

READER 2

The Missouri border counties, south of the Kaw, have furnished the "sinews" to the whole expedition. They, and they alone, should be held accountable. There is where the swift bolt of destruction should fall—and even there, in God's name, let discrimination be made between the innocent and the guilty.

**Leavenworth Daily Times, August 28, 1863.**

READER 4

Lawrence, Kansas

The universal testimony of all the ladies and others who talked with the butchers of the 21<sup>st</sup> ultimately is that these demons claimed they were here to revenge the wrongs done [to] their families by our men under Lane, Jennison, Anthony, and Company. They said they would be more merciful than were these men when they went into Missouri.

**Letter, "One of the Sufferers" to S. N. Wood, Council Grove Press, September 14, 1863.**

READER 5                    Last night was the most bitter cold of the season. We pity those who, last year at this time, had comfortable homes, and husbands and fathers to provide for them, but are now deprived of both.

**John Speer, *Kansas Tribune*, December 31, 1863.<sup>13</sup>**

NARRATOR                    *Episode Three – Order Number 11 and the Violence in Missouri.*

*On August 25, 1863, just four days after the destruction in Lawrence, the commander of the District of the Border, Thomas Ewing, issued Order Number 11, evicting the populations of Jackson, Cass, Bates, and Vernon counties in Missouri. The intent was to prevent more raids from crossing the border into Kansas. Residents had 15 days to flee their homes, which for many, meant leaving behind most of their possessions. Some rushed to hide their valuables before their properties were abandoned. An estimated 20,000 people were made refugees. They made their exodus under sweltering sun - barefoot, and with little clothes and food. The Order particularly affected women, some of whose husbands and sons were fighting on behalf of the Confederacy.*

READER 1                    We were very soon convinced that we would not be allowed to remain very long. Each day the federals were becoming more and more antagonistic toward the southern families. One of their officials made a speech in Stockton saying he was in favor of driving the southern women and children out of the country, rob them of their sustenance, burn their houses, and force them out, if in no other way strap them astride a hickory pole get them out.

A little later on they issued an order [General Order Number 11] for all southern families to leave and if for any cause they failed to comply, their houses were to be burned and they driven out. It was this last order that caused me to emigrate to Texas.

**Partheny Horn, *Memoirs*, February 14, 1919.<sup>14</sup>**

READER 2                    It is well-known that men were shot down in the very act of obeying the order, and their wagons and effects seized by their murderers. Bare-footed and bare-headed women and children, stripped of every article of clothing except a scant covering for their bodies, were exposed to the heat of an August sun and compelled to struggle through the dust on foot . . . [Order Number 11 was] an act of purely arbitrary power, directed against a disarmed and defenseless population. It was an exhibition of cowardice in its most odious and repulsive form.

**George Caleb Bingham, 1877.<sup>15</sup>**

NARRATOR *Frances Twyman later recounted the story of one Mr. Crawford who, like other Missouri farmers, supported the South but had no slaves. The following events occurred just before Order Number 11 was carried out.*

READER 3 Mr. Crawford, an old man with a large family of children, was a southern sympathizer, but had never taken up arms against the government. He went to the mill one day with a sack of corn to have it ground to make bread for his wife and children . . . Two o'clock came and the husband was still absent. The children were hungry, crying for something to eat. The mother would say, "Papa will soon be here, then my darlings shall have something to eat."

READER 2 Three o'clock came, and the mother saw a company of soldiers approaching. They rode up to the door; the mother looked out and saw her husband a prisoner in their midst. He was told to dismount. Then they shot him down before the eyes of his wife and child, shot down like a wild beast. The mother was told to get out of the house with her children, as they were going to burn the house.

READER 3 Her husband killed, her house burned, she and her little children turned out in the cold world homeless and destitute. Her only son, 14 years old, went to Quantrill [as] he had no other place to go. Such an act as this is what made Bushwhackers. Oh, how strange that men, made in the image of God, could be so cruel and heartless.

**Frances Fristowe Twyman.**

READER 5 My father was too old for service, but he aided the South in every way he could . . . A southern soldier always got something to eat at our house, and if practical, a place to sleep, and for this he was imprisoned during most of the war, and finally sentenced to be shot.

Finally Order No. 11 was enforced, depopulating and devastating all the border counties south of the Missouri River, the refugees wending their way east and north (they were not permitted to go south) aimlessly, stopping wherever they could get assistance. O, the misery! Old men, women and children plodding the dusty roads barefooted, with nothing to eat save what was furnished by friendly citizens.

**Mrs. W. H. Gregg, published in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri During the Sixties, 1913.*<sup>16</sup>**

READER 3 The home of my mother, 70 years old, was burned. She had neither husband or son; she was an invalid, confined to her bed. She was accused of sending a ham of meat to Quantrill's camp. It was a false

accusation, but she owned slaves and had to suffer for it although innocence of the charge against her.

**Frances Fristowe Twyman.**

READER 4

After General Ewing of the Union army issued his famous Order No. 11, many citizens left their homes and fled for their lives beyond the boundary lines of Jackson County. In many instances their homes, with the accumulated earnings of a lifetime, were burned before their eyes, their stock appropriated or driven to camp, "confiscated," as it was called. The home thus rudely broken up, the inmates were forced to seek shelter wherever they could find it. I was in Jackson County on a mission of love and mercy for our sick and wounded soldiers, and I remember having counted twenty-nine blackened chimneys which marked the spot where once stood that number of country homes.

**Mrs. S. E. Ustick, published in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri During the Sixties, 1913.*<sup>17</sup>**

READER 3

The road from Independence to Lexington was crowded with women and children, women walking with their babies in their arms, packs on their backs, and four or five children following after them – some crying for bread, some crying to be taken back to their homes.

**Frances Fristowe Twyman, published in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri During the Sixties, 1913.*<sup>18</sup>**

READER 4

There is a perfect panic here [in Huntsville, MO]. People are leaving their homes and have lost all hope . . . All parties share the panic alike. The people are without organization and cannot resist such large bands [of guerrillas]. Please do not publish in the papers.

**Letter, James D. Head, J. B. Thomas, and W. R. Samuel to Major General William S. Rosecrans, July 18, 1864.**

READER 5

You understand that I have no desire in this to throw responsibility on President Lincoln, nor to defend myself. I have never regarded [Order Number 11] as requiring exculpation. On the contrary, it was an act of wisdom, courage and humanity, by which hundreds of innocent lives were saved and disgraceful and barbarous warfare brought to a summary close. Not a life was sacrificed, nor any great discomfort inflicted in executing it. The necessities of all the poor people were provided for, and none were permitted to suffer.

**General Thomas Ewing.<sup>19</sup>**

NARRATOR *Episode Four: The Legacy of Quantrill's Raid and Order Number 11*

*In the years that followed, Kansans and Missourians chose to remember Quantrill's Raid and Order Number 11 by holding public commemorations. In 1888, two decades after the Lawrence massacre, the surviving members of Quantrill's Raiders met in Blue Springs, Missouri. The distinguished guest of the "Ice Cream Social" was none other than William Quantrill's own mother, Caroline Clarke Quantrill. Between 1888 and 1929, there were 32 reported reunions of Quantrill's Raiders. Today, members of the William Clarke Quantrill Society meet annually for reunions in western Missouri.*

READER 1 [The guerrillas] were an intelligent and well-behaved lot of men, and did not seem possessed of any of the bloodthirsty characteristics ascribed to them. If they ever had, the refining influence of 23 years of peace and civilization have evidently transformed them into good law abiding citizens.

***Kansas City Journal, May 12, 1888.***

READER 4 But Quantrill and his men were no more bandits than the men on the other side. I've been to reunions of Quantrill's men two or three times. All they were trying to do was protect the property on the Missouri side of the line.

**Harry S. Truman.<sup>20</sup>**

NARRATOR *Meanwhile, in Lawrence, survivors of the Raid met to commemorate the losses of their friends and family members. Beginning with the first on August 21, 1891, reunions were held by the Association of Survivors of Quantrill's Massacre so that "the young generation should learn of the patriotism that actuated those who saved Lawrence from the invaders." These meetings were not held annually — mainly because of disagreements over how to properly commemorate the event. In 1913, on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the raid, a list of survivors was compiled and 200 of the remaining 550 living survivors were in attendance. There were, however, contradictory feelings.*

READER 3 The sorrows of those days live with us and the memory of heroism cannot be allowed to perish. But the bitterness is gone.

***Lawrence Daily Journal-World, August 22, 1913.***

READER 4 Who and what were the raiders who came to Lawrence to murder and destroy? [They] were technically Confederate soldiers, but they received no orders, made no reports, and were in every way as irresponsible as

when they were stealing horse and cattle and Negroes on their own account . . . [Quantrill was] a thin, cold, bloodless man with great personal vanity, jealous of all who dared to try to divide the spot-light with him, cruel and relentless in all his methods . . .

The day of restoration and requital will come, and when that eternal day has dawned, joy, God given, unspeakable joy, will have come with the morning.

**Charles Sumner Glead, "The Lawrence Massacre and Its Lessons," delivered August 21, 1913, Lawrence, Kansas.<sup>21</sup>**

READER 5

The story of the raid never grows cold here and the blood of the old settlers who survived the blood lusting raiders, still boils when they read each year of the celebrations at Independence of the very men who shot down their friends and neighbors and relatives and burned their homes and stores.

***Lawrence Daily Journal-World, August 21, 1909.***

NARRATOR

*For Kansans and Missourians, there still remain competing opinions about how to remember and commemorate the Civil War on the western front.*

READER 1

The Lawrence Massacre will always stand among the marked massacres of the world. In some respects it was unique, and had features of its own that distinguished it from any other. In the suddenness with which it fell, the speed with which it was accomplished, the hatred and vindictiveness with which it was persecuted, the violence and brutality by which it was characterized, it stands alone as something unique in history.

**Rev. Richard Cordley, "Memorial Sermon," August 21, 1892.**

READER 2

Order No. 11 was the most drastic and repressive military measure directed against civilians by the Union Army during the Civil War. In fact, with the exception of the hysteria-motivated herding of Japanese-Americans into concentration camps during World War II, it stands as the harshest treatment ever imposed on United States citizens under the plea of military necessity in our nation's history.

**Albert Castel, "Order No. 11 and the Civil War on the Border" (1963).**

***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.***

## Footnotes

---

<sup>1</sup> Joseph H. Trego (1823-?) was a native of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where he graduated from medical school in 1849. He married Alice Mannington on August 22, 1850. He came to Sugar Mound (present-day Mound City), Kansas Territory in 1857 from Rock Island, Illinois. There, he helped construct and operate a sawmill that led to the growth of the town. In 1861, Trego volunteered for military service and was chosen as 2nd lieutenant in the 5<sup>th</sup> Kansas Cavalry commanded by Captain Charles R. Jennison (commander of "Jennison's Jayhawkers.") He fought on behalf of the Union until 1862, when dust severely affected his eyesight, and offered his resignation in October.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. M. E. Lewis had her house invaded by 25 of James Lane's men. In her accounts, she surmises that 1,200 to 1,500 men invaded Osceola.

<sup>3</sup> John Fisher (1831-1910) served as 2<sup>nd</sup> lieutenant in the Missouri State Guard. Born in Virginia, Fisher was a resident of Westport, Missouri. He rigorously kept up his diary, which was written for his wife, Bettie. He witnessed the destruction of Osceola at the hands of James Lane's men before joining exiled Governor Claiborne Fox's Artillery Battery. Fisher survived the Civil War and died in 1910 at the age of 79 in a Confederate Veterans home in Harrisonburg, Missouri.

<sup>4</sup> William Clarke Quantrill (1837-1865) was the leader one of the most notorious fighting units in the Civil War. Born in Ohio, Quantrill traveled west in 1857, and lived for a time on the Delaware Reserve north of Lawrence. Wanted for murder and horse theft, he fled across state lines in 1860 to Missouri, where he soon became enamored with the Confederate cause. Leading a dozen men known as Quantrill's Raiders, he trekked into Kansas routinely, but earned national attention after the Lawrence raid. After the devastation of Order Number 11, Quantrill and his men rode south to Texas, but soon returned to western Kentucky in 1865, where they staged their last series of raids. After riding into a Union ambush on June 6, 1865, Quantrill was fatally shot in the chest.

<sup>5</sup> Abraham Ellis served as a clerk in the Kansas Legislature of 1863, and after the war, became a prominent newspaper publisher in Elk City, Kansas. In January, 1862, his home was invaded by William Quantrill and his raiders, and Ellis was shot in the forehead. Remarkably, he survived, and was later known as "Bullet-Hole" Ellis, due to the visibly large depression in his forehead caused by the wound. Apparently Quantrill spared Ellis because the two men knew each other when Quantrill formerly resided in Kansas.

<sup>6</sup> Hovey Lowman, a native of New York, was a prominent newspaper publisher in Lawrence. He founded the *Kansas State Journal* in 1861, which succeeded the *Kansas Herald of Freedom*. After Quantrill's Raid, he served as editor of the *Lawrence Journal*. He published a series on the raid in newspapers one year later, in 1864.

<sup>7</sup> "The secesh had come" was a common cry heard on the streets of Lawrence on August 21, 1863. "Secesh" was a popular term signifying Southern sympathizers – secessionists.

<sup>8</sup> Erastus D. Ladd (1815-1872) was born in New York, where he attended Wesleyan Seminary, before traveling west and becoming the first manager of the telegraph office in Chicago. He abandoned that office to join the New England Emigrant Aid Company in Lawrence. There he served as justice of the peace and lived prosperously, owning a large house on Massachusetts



---

Street. In 1858, he married Eliza Jane Blackford, and had three children. Ladd returned to Lawrence shortly after Quantrill's Raid and resided on a farm. Upon his death in 1872, the *Daily Kansas Tribune* wrote that he was "one of the worthiest of the brave pioneers of freedom who established liberty and equal rights in Kansas."

<sup>9</sup> Sidney Clarke (1831- 1909) was born in Southbridge, Massachusetts. He served as editor of the *Southbridge Press* in 1854, and quickly took an active interest in the Free Soil Party. He moved to Lawrence in the spring of 1859, where he immediately joined the Free State Party, and was elected to the Kansas Legislature in 1862. At the time of Quantrill's Raid, Clarke served as assistant provost marshal general, and was considered a target for proslavery Bushwhackers. After the Raid, he served in the U.S. House of Representatives before moving to Oklahoma in the 1880s to escape charges of corruption. There, he served as acting mayor of Oklahoma City and advocate for Oklahoma statehood (granted in 1907) until his death in 1909.

<sup>10</sup> Rev. Richard Cordley (1829-1904) served as minister of the Lawrence Congregational Church. A firm abolitionist, upon arriving in Kansas in 1857 he helped numerous escaped slaves along the Underground Railroad, and helped establish black churches and schools in Lawrence. In 1865, he served as Lawrence school superintendant, and served as pastor of Plymouth Church from 1857 to 1875, and again from 1884 until his death in 1904.

<sup>11</sup> Sophia L. Bissell (1830-1912) spent most of her life in her native Suffield, Connecticut, but in 1858, she accompanied her widowed mother and her older siblings to Lawrence. She returned to Connecticut within three years after Quantrill's Raid, but she continued to own property south of Lawrence. In Connecticut, she became an active member of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Her obituary noted that she was "one of the best known women in town" and "was greatly admired."

<sup>12</sup> Henry M. Simpson was a Lawrence resident and served on the original Board of Trustees of Washburn College in Topeka. Hiram Hill (1804-?) was born in Massachusetts, where he was a successful shopowner. Though he never lived in Kansas, he made considerable business investments in the Lawrence community, including the operation of a grist mill, and numerous urban projects.

<sup>13</sup> Before settling in Kansas, John Speer (1817-1906), a Pennsylvania native, was the editor of the Medina (OH) *Gazette*. He settled in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1854 and founded the *Kansas Tribune* on January 10, 1855. He was a member of the first free state territorial legislature and introduced the first bill to establish a civil code in Kansas. During Quantrill's Raid, his two sons were killed. He later served intermittently in the Kansas House of Representatives and state senate, and wrote a biography of James Lane.

<sup>14</sup> Partheny Horn (1842-?) was believed to be the oldest daughter of Hezekiah and Malinda McPherson of Ceder County, Missouri. She married F. E. Horn, a soldier in the Missouri Brigade, in 1861. After Order Number 11 was issued, Partheny and her children joined nine other families as they journeyed to Texas.

<sup>15</sup> George Caleb Bingham (1811-1879) was born in Virginia, but moved to the town of Franklin, Missouri at a young age. A self-taught painter, Bingham established himself as a portrait artist

---

in St. Louis, before being elected to the Missouri General Assembly in 1848. He immortalized Order Number 11 through his paintings depicting noble patriarchs defending their families at the callous hands of Union soldiers. Before his death at the age of 68, he served as the first Professor of Art at the University of Missouri in Columbia.

<sup>16</sup> Mrs. W. H. Gregg (1845-?) was 15 when the Civil War broke out. Her parents were native Virginians, and had settled in Missouri with their slaves.

<sup>17</sup> Mrs. S. E. Ustick lived on a farm in western Missouri 50 miles from Kansas City with her four daughters. Her husband died before the Civil War commenced. Prior to Order Number 11, her house was searched seven times by "drunken Jayhawkers" (six of which occurred at night.) During the Border War, Ustick, "deeply concerned for my neighbors," traveled to Jackson County and cared for sick and wounded Confederate soldiers.

<sup>18</sup> Frances Fristowe Twyman was the daughter of one of the first county judges in Jackson County, Missouri. In 1848, she married L. W. Twyman, a noted physician, and lived in Independence, Missouri. The couple, their six children, and Frances' 72-year-old mother eventually fled to Missouri City, Texas, in November, 1863, after the issuing of Order Number 11. They rode in a two-wheel buggy after borrowing a spare wheel from their neighbor. The Twymans' oldest daughter, 16-year-old Julia, did not survive the journey. Shortly after the war, the Twymans returned home to western Missouri.

<sup>19</sup> Thomas Ewing (1829-1896) served as Brigadier General of U.S. Volunteers and commanded the Border District when he issued Order Number 11 on August 25, 1863. An Ohio native, Ewing had served as a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention of 1858 and Kansas' first supreme court chief justice in 1861, when he was commissioned as colonel of Kansas forces in 1862. He left Kansas at the end of the Civil War, and practiced law in Washington, D.C., until he returned to Ohio in 1870. He ran for governor of Ohio in 1880, but narrowly lost when George Caleb Bingham's paintings depicting Order Number 11 were used by the anti-Ewing campaign.

<sup>20</sup> Harry S. Truman (1884-1972) served as 33<sup>rd</sup> President of the United States. A native of Lamar, Missouri, Truman's parents were farmers who had survived the ordeal following Order Number 11. Truman served in the Missouri National Guard from 1905 to 1911, was elected Missouri State Senator in 1934, and became President after Franklin Roosevelt's death in 1945. Recent scholarship has surfaced indicating Truman had at least two ancestors who were Confederate soldiers (it is well-documented that Truman's mother, Martha Ellen Young, whose family was relocated during Order Number 11, refused to sleep in Lincoln's bedroom at the White House.) Truman, a card-carrying member of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, was known to have attended the reunions of Quantrill's raiders.

<sup>21</sup> Charles Sumner Gleed (1856-1920) was a native of Vermont, and moved to Kansas shortly after the Civil War. He attended the University of Kansas, and was admitted to the bar in 1884. Thereafter, he served a distinguished career at the legal department at the Santa Fe Railroad in Topeka, and later purchased the *Kansas City Journal*. Gleed also served as a University of Kansas trustee. On the 50 year anniversary of Quantrill's raid, he eulogized the victims in his memorial address entitled, "The Lawrence Massacre and its Lessons."