

Portrait of F. W. Read originally published in Richard Cordley, A History of Lawrence, Kansas (1895).

“Out of the Ashes”: The Rebuilding of Lawrence and the Quest for Quantrill Raid Claims

by *Katie H. Armitage*

Fred Read, a Lawrence dry goods merchant, was drinking heavily during the weeks after Quantrill’s raid on Lawrence in August 1863. Read had lost his store and goods valued at \$10,000 in the raid. His wife Amelia, who had heroically saved their home from a group of Quantrill’s raiders who had repeatedly fired it, became so desperate that she had her drunken husband jailed. Amelia Read’s brother-in-law, merchant Lathrop Bullene, who had also lost heavily in the raid, wrote, “Poor Fred how I pity him and poor Amelia if any woman needs sympathy she does. . . . He will probably be sent to some asylum before long, If he is not taken to the great disposer to the final one.” In a follow-up letter to his wife, Susan Read Bullene, who had left Lawrence for a time after the raid, Bullene related that Fred Read’s property “has been placed beyond his control—of which I approve. Had I known of any place a suitable asylum for inebriates I should have made an effort to take him to it.”¹ How much the trauma of the raid contributed to Read’s drinking is unclear, but the four hours of chaos, the death of friends and associates, and the feeling of being personally violated in his home and store likely contributed to Read’s torment, as it did to that of many other survivors. The raiders had even stripped Amelia’s arm of the bracelet that had belonged to the child the Reads had lost and mocked Amelia’s plea for this keepsake of the dead girl. In a sketch of his life, Read recalled, “[I] was entirely burned out in Quantrell Raid & lost Every Dollar I had.” For the Reads and others the raid was a traumatic experience that would affect them for the rest of their lives.²

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1. Lathrop Bullene to his wife [Susan Read Bullene], October 6 and 7, 1863, Bullene Letters, transcription folder, Watkins Museum of History, Lawrence, Kansas.

2. “Sketch of the Life of Fred W. Read,” F. W. Read Papers, State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas (hereafter cited as Read Papers).



Amelia Rockwell Read arrived in Lawrence in the 1850s after her marriage to Fred Read in New York. She became a local heroine by saving her home from raiders attempting to set it ablaze. Courtesy of the Douglas County Historical Society/Watkins Museum of History, Lawrence, Kansas.

Read's papers are among the approximately 150 accounts of Missouri guerilla leader William Clark Quantrill's August 21, 1863, raid on Lawrence, Kansas. This attack on almost entirely unarmed men and boys led by the Ohio-born Quantrill was the horrific culmination of tensions and strife that had begun shortly after Kansas Territory was opened to settlement in 1854. Settlers along the western Missouri border with Kansas Territory had looked askance as antislavery organizations in New England aided settlers with their travel arrangements to

the newly opened land. Missouri farmers, who grew tobacco and hemp on the western border, were often small slave owners who feared for their economic well-being and way of life. Voters in Kansas were to decide the slavery question for Kansas under the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act's popular sovereignty provision. As leaders of the free-state cause established homes in Lawrence, the confrontational rhetoric of leaders of proslavery Missourians and the heated antislavery pronouncements of Kansans soon escalated into skirmishes and attacks in the period of Bleeding Kansas. After the Civil War began in April 1861, Kansas men joined Union army units, and many battled Confederate forces in Missouri, where torn and conflicting loyalties also gave rise to guerilla bands. The raid on Lawrence in the middle of the Civil War was the peak of hostile acts that had begun nine years earlier. Numerous legal and personal records about this raid, especially the saga of the raid claims, provide a wealth of historical resources for this article to explore the resilience and recovery of a disrupted nineteenth-century community and the long pursuit for restitution of losses from this Civil War-era attack on this young town.³

Historian Albert Castel declared, "The Lawrence massacre was the most atrocious act of the Civil War." This raid virtually wiped out the Lawrence downtown, killed as many as two hundred men and boys, and left Lawrence with a high proportion of widows and "orphans," as the fatherless children were called. The recovery of this devastated town in the western theater of the war and its "arising out of the ashes" has been less documented than the often-told story of Quantrill's August 1863 raid. A number of books and articles have recounted the events of the raid on Lawrence from the early work of raid survivor and pastor Richard C. Cordley to more recent histories of the attack. Several of these books mention

3. Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence, Kansas: From the First Settlement to the Close of the Rebellion* (Lawrence: E. F. Caldwell, 1895); Albert Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958). Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), masterfully placed the raid on Lawrence in the context of the broader Kansas-Missouri conflict and the Civil War, especially Chapter 10, "I Am Here for Revenge, The National Civil War," 219-45.

the quick recovery of Lawrence but offer few details and no account of raid claims. Cordley wrote that even in the midst of alarms in 1864, "The business street was built up again almost solid, and many houses were restored." He cited the opening of the bridge across the Kansas River and the arrival of the railroad for the rapid recovery of Lawrence. Albert Castel's history of wartime Kansas noted that money and supplies from other Kansas towns and "from the East" aided the reconstruction of Lawrence.⁴

In the face of the enormity of the human and material loss in the young town, Fred Read and a number of his fellow merchants managed with great fortitude and outside help to rebuild in short order. Born in Bedford, Westchester County, New York, December 25, 1831, Read had arrived in Lawrence in 1856, and returned to New York to marry Amelia Rockwell. He had begun business in Lawrence with his brother, J. F. Read, and brother-in-law Lathrop Bullene. The partnership soon separated, each man opening his own store. In the two years before the raid Fred and Amelia had lost two young children, daughter Addie aged one year and eleven months in 1860, and baby Freddie on August 30, 1862. The time that Read spent in jail in September 1863 apparently stopped his drinking and enabled his return to business. On October 9, 1863, his brother-in-law Bullene wrote, "Fred is quite well. They will be selling goods in a day or two." Read may have taken heart from the activity all around him in Lawrence. Merchants, such as Bullene, began to repair partially destroyed buildings and reopen their stores, but for Read and many survivors the psychological scars of the raid persisted.⁵

4. Cordley, *History of Lawrence*, 236; Castel, *A Frontier State at War*, 207. David Dary argued that because Lawrence was favored by the railroad before most other Kansas towns, the community took the lead in industry and trade. Dary also mentioned the benefit of new roads. David Dary, *Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas: An Informal History* (Lawrence: Allen Press, 1984), 135. Thomas Goodrich's *Bloody Dawn: The Story of the Lawrence Massacre* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1991) presents a highly dramatized, detailed account of the raid. In the last chapter, "When Paths Join," a few paragraphs address the recovery. The author states that for Union soldiers returning to Lawrence and newcomers arriving, "vestiges of the famous raid were fast disappearing." Edward Leslie's *The Devil Knows How to Ride* (New York: Random House, 1996) credits the railroad as giving new impulse to trade; Duane Schultz, *Quantrill's War: The Life and Times of William Clarke Quantrill* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 238-39, quotes the Missouri Democrat on the rapid rebuilding of Lawrence.

5. Bullene to his wife [Susan Read Bullene], October 9, 1863, Bullene Letters; Karl L. Gridley, *A Survey of Nineteenth-Century Gravestones in Pioneer Cemetery, the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas* (Lawrence: Historic Mount Oread Fund of the Kansas University Endowment Association, 1997), x; "The End Has Come: Fred Read Died at His Home Saturday Evening," *Lawrence Daily World*, June 10, 1901.

Editor John Speer confirmed renewed business activity when he reprinted the *Troy Patriot's* tribute in his recently revived *Kansas Daily Tribune* of December 10, 1863:

Hurrah for Lawrence.—Talk about a Phoenix arising out of the ashes of its predecessor! Lawrence has done it, and, we expect, not half tried. One hundred and forty new houses already gone up, and business flourishing like a green bay tree. Bridges, railroads, and other little matters attended to, and now a daily paper, *The Tribune*, in full blast.⁶

But cheerful commentary could not mask the need for survivors of the raid to make difficult, painful adjustments. Editor John Speer lost two sons in the raid; they had largely put out his paper, so he advertised, "Boy Wanted," in the December 10 issue: "We want a boy 17 or 18 years old, to roll, turn a job press, sweep out, and do miscellaneous little chores. No objection to take a 'colored American of African descent.'" While existing records do not reveal whom Speer chose, his advertisement demonstrated not only his need for an employee to take over his sons' work but also his willingness to hire a young male from among the recently arrived formerly enslaved families that had poured into Lawrence from Missouri and Arkansas.⁷

The steadfastness of Speer and Cordley, who continued to carry out their duties in the face of personal loss, provided a model for other survivors. As spokesmen for survivors through the press and from the pulpit in the critical time after the raid, these men gave voice to the Lawrence community's suffering but also to its strength. Their belief in the justice of the antislavery cause that Lawrence leaders had championed contributed to the determination that Lawrence would not "wink out," as John Speer expressed this resolve.⁸

6. "Hurrah for Lawrence," *Kansas Daily Tribune*, December 10, 1863. The presses of the *Kansas Tribune* were destroyed in Quantrill's raid and two sons, John M. Speer, age nineteen, and Robert, age seventeen, were killed in the raid; William G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1883), 343, or online at <http://www.kancoll.org/books/cutler/douglas/douglas-co-p25.html>.

7. "Boy Wanted," *Kansas Daily Tribune*, December 10, 1863; *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, August 27, 1863.

8. Speer went to Topeka and on borrowed presses published his newspaper with a detailed account of the raid and news of businessman Ridenour clearing away rubbish and others planning to rebuild, *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, August 27, 1863; Cordley, who lost his home and library, conducted a mass funeral as well as regular church service. He wrote an account of the raid for the *Congregational Record*. [Reverend Richard Cordley], "The Lawrence Massacre," *The Congregational Record*

Leading businessmen lost no time in clearing the rubble and making plans to restock. A key to this quick business recovery was available credit. Buoyed by aid and credit from Leavenworth, Kansas; St. Louis, Missouri; and Boston, Massachusetts, surviving businessmen marshaled their resources, optimism, and youthful energy to reconstruct and expand the nine-year-old town. Vermont native and twenty-nine-year-old lawyer Oscar E. Learnard expressed the determined spirit of survivors. Only three weeks after the raid, on September 15, 1863, he wrote from Lawrence about the future:

And yet we here—even those who have suffered most in loss of property and friends are beginning to buoy up their griefs and nerve themselves for the great Future which awaits their coming. Most are cheerful, and all hopeful.

Many have, of course, left, some never to return, but their places and the places of the Dead will be filled by others and Lawrence will continue her onward march.⁹

Rebuilding shattered lives was a more difficult and longer process than the material rebound, given that the raid left the town with a score of wounded men, nearly a hundred widows, and 250 fatherless children. But outside support encouraged Lawrence residents. Town namesake and benefactor Amos A. Lawrence, a Boston industrialist, sent money to alleviate suffering from the raid. Charles Robinson, the first governor of the state of Kansas, who was in Lawrence at the time of the raid, had written Amos Lawrence regarding a fund for the proposed university and of the business revival: “Lawrence is rising rapidly from its ashes. Everybody is busy rebuilding. Property is enhanced in value rather than depreciated. This is owing to the prospect of two railroads in process of construction in this direction.” No doubt this vision of Lawrence as a railroad center added confidence to those rebuilding. The Kansas Pacific Railroad reached North Lawrence in December 1864, and in 1865, after Senator James H. Lane assumed the presidency of the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad, Douglas County voted \$250,000

5 (September & October 1863): 98–115, in *Quantrill and the Lawrence Massacre: A Reader*, ed. Richard B. Sheridan (Lawrence: the author, 1994), 144–64.

9. O. E. Learnard to “My Dear Mary,” September 15, 1863, Oscar Eugene Learnard Papers, 1850–1911, Volume 4, 1861–1864, Kansas Collection, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence.

to subscribe to the stock to be paid when the line was completed south to Franklin County.¹⁰

Leavenworth, the oldest and largest city in Kansas, sent immediate relief to survivors in the stricken town, as did area farmers who brought in wagonloads of food. The day after the raid the *Daily Times* (Leavenworth, Kans.) called on “our citizens to display their liberality. The loss and suffering in Lawrence must be great. Let immediate steps be taken towards raising a munificent fund to relieve their necessities.” Residents of Leavenworth also reached out to help friends in Lawrence. Barbetta Brechtelsbauer, a thirty-five-year-old German-born raid widow whose home was destroyed, recalled, “After the raid a friend from Leavenworth came down in a wagon and took myself and children with him where I stayed some 4 weeks.”¹¹

By September 1, the people of Leavenworth had raised \$20,000 as a Lawrence fund and the Leavenworth ladies of the Lawrence Aid Society had met to sew a sizable array of clothing which included: “26 aprons; 26 boys’ pants; 5 boys’ shirts; 6 boys’ waists; 5 boys’ aprons; 22 ladies’ chemise; 12 child’s dresses; 19 child’s waists; 10 child’s flannel skirts; 26 crash towels; 13 pairs drawers; 29 ladies’ dresses; 13 ladies handkerchiefs; 14 pairs hose; 13 infants’ flannel skirts; 150 infants’ napkins; 5 infants’ dresses; 21 infants’ flannel shirts; 3 night dresses; 37 sheets; 8 white skirts; 1 flannel skirt; 3 gents’ shirts; 3 gents’ collars.”¹²

Grocer Peter Ridenour, age thirty-four, appreciated the food sent from area farmers, and “the good people of Leavenworth were prompt in sending several wagonloads.” Moving quickly to assess the future of his ruined store, Ridenour located some cash in an unharmed safe, pocketed ten dollars, and determined to pay his creditors with the rest. In his autobiography he recalled that he set out to rebuild the firm even as his wounded business partner, Harlow Baker, fought for his life:

10. Charles Robinson to [A. A. Lawrence], October 5, 1863, box 1, folder 1, University of Kansas Collection, Collection 651, State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society; Harold J. Henderson, “The Building of the First Kansas Railroad South of the Kaw River,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 15 (August 1947): 225–26.

11. *Daily Times* (Leavenworth, Kans.), August 22, 1863; “Statement of Mrs. Bettie Brechtlenauer,” typescript, Recollections of Quantrill Raid for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Lawrence Massacre, Box 1, A–R, Collection 159, State Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society. An attached biographical sketch spells the last name “Brechtelsbauer.”

12. “Report of the ‘Ladies Lawrence Aid Society of Leavenworth,’” *Daily Times* (Leavenworth, Kans.), September 1, 1863.

Mr. Baker's life was still hanging in the balance. I studied the situation over for an hour or two, and came to the conclusion that we must start again, and did not know of any place more favorable to start than right where we were. . . .

I nerved myself for the responsibilities of the hour. I felt that I was strong and that I had the best part of my life before me, and that I could and would succeed. . . . I went to work that afternoon and cleaned out the old corn-crib, got some lumber and built a "lean-to," and hoisted the Stars and Stripes on top of the corn-crib to attract attention to the fact that we had a store back there on the alley; I rolled into it two or three wagon-loads of salt and some other articles not paid for, which we had in transit from the Missouri River and which had not arrived at the time of the fire.¹³

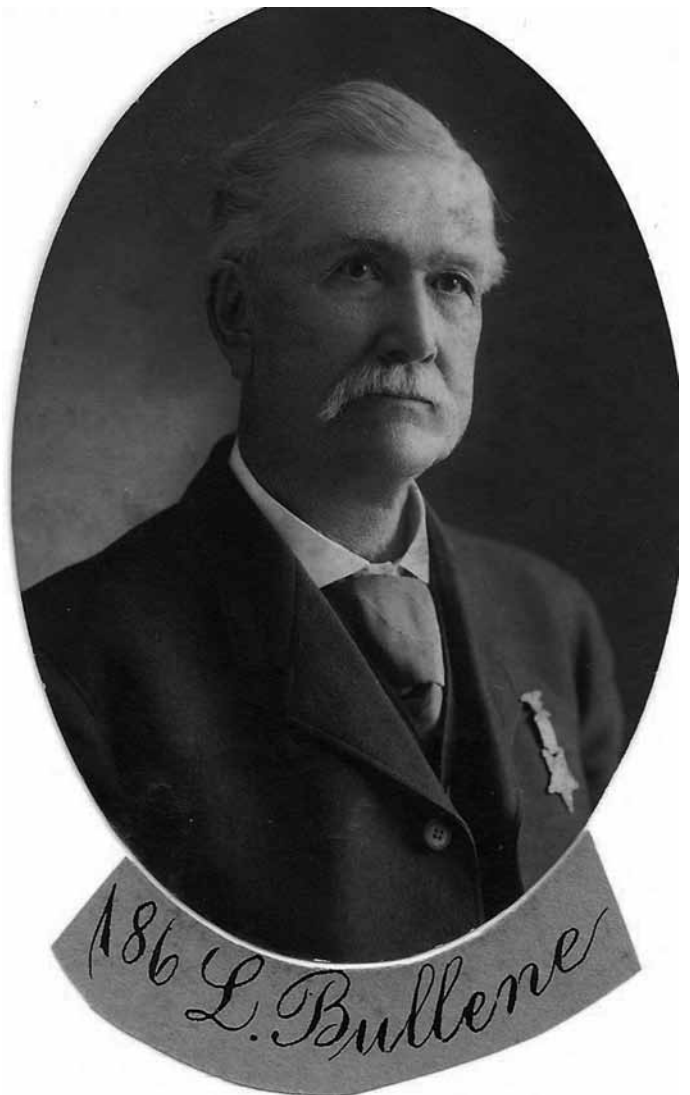
Before the raid Ridenour and Baker had established a thriving wholesale and retail business in Lawrence, and after the raid Ridenour resupplied the burned-out Lawrence store with goods the firm had in a warehouse in Leavenworth. By January 1, 1864, the Ridenour and Baker advertisement boasted their "New Store" offering "Staple and Fancy Groceries."

Only weeks after Phillip Albach's brother George was shot dead at the family home south of Lawrence, Phillip and his pregnant wife, Wilhelmina, set out on foot for Leavenworth to resupply their ravaged store. They stopped by Big Stranger Creek near Tonganoxie, where their son Henry Albach was born September 8, 1863. Phillip continued his quest and obtained \$600 worth of stock from a Leavenworth merchant named Ditmer. After returning to Lawrence, he reopened his grocery store at 149 Massachusetts Street. When this stock was sold, Albach ordered more goods.¹⁴

The Union Merchants Exchange of St. Louis sent \$10,000 after the raid as a relief fund, which was an important source of loans for rebuilding businesses and dwellings. The local fund administrators, Lawrence merchant Wesley H. Duncan, Reverend B. L. Baldrige,

13. Peter Darcuss Ridenour, *The Autobiography of Peter D. Ridenour with Genealogies of the Ridenour and Beatty Families* (Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson Press, 1908), 177-79.

14. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1864; Stacy A. Jeffress, "1701 Tennessee: The Albach House," research paper prepared for Professor Paul Wilson's Historic Preservation Law Class, Fall 1984, University of Kansas, Kansas Collection, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence.



Amelia Read's brother-in-law, Lathrop Bullene, had come to Kansas to open a business with the Reads, but their partnership broke apart. Bullene, who was in New York during the raid, estimated his business losses at \$20,000. Courtesy of the Douglas County Historical Society/Watkins Museum of History, Lawrence, Kansas.

and James B. Laing, gave out loans of between \$100 and \$500 at 6 percent interest for three to five years to Lawrence business survivors. One recipient, merchant G. W. E. Griffith, had paid \$30 interest on his loan by June 1865. Griffith also recalled going to Leavenworth, where he found a merchant from St. Louis who would sell iron and steel "on four months' time."¹⁵

15. "St. Louis Relief Fund," *Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 10, 1865; G. W. E. Griffith, *My 96 Years in the Great West: Indiana, Kansas and California* (Los Angeles, Calif.: Geo. W. E. Griffith, 1929), 169.



During the late 1850s, merchants on Massachusetts Street like Fred Read and Lathrop Bullene (whose store is near the middle of this image), owned bustling grocery businesses. Easy access to credit enabled Bullene to rebuild. He sold his business when he became ill in 1885 to his son-in-law, Arthur D. Weaver, who later opened Weaver's Department Store.

Two businessmen who were out of Lawrence at the time of the raid rushed back to the stricken town. On his honeymoon in August 1863, Alexander Lewis, age thirty-three, left his bride with a sister in Ohio and returned to Lawrence to reopen his dry goods store. With Lawrence rapidly rebuilding, Lewis switched to the lumber business. Reuben W. Ludington, age thirty-six, was visiting his home state of Massachusetts at the time of the raid during which he lost heavily. He returned to Lawrence, purchased the Methodist church building in the small nearby settlement of Franklin, moved it to Lawrence, and reopened his wholesale business. The next year he built a two-story building on Massachusetts Street and advertised "Liquor, Cigar and Tobacco Jobbing House." In 1864 he also was elected mayor of Lawrence.¹⁶

Two storeowners, one born in Pennsylvania, the other in Germany, took pride in their rapid return to business.

¹⁶ *Kansas Daily Tribune*, April 13, 1865; "Death of R. W. Ludington," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, October 7, 1905.

James G. Sands of Pennsylvania and his wife, Susie, had operated a saddle and harness shop on Massachusetts Street before raiders left it in ruins. By January 1864, Sands, whose brother-in-law George Sargeant had died in the raid, was back in business with his "Great Western Harness & Saddle Manufacturer." In his advertisements, Sands turned disaster into a defiant boast: "Established in 1855. Sacked in 1856. Stood the Famine in 1860. Totally Destroyed in 1863. Defies all Competition in 1864." Across the street from Sands's shop on the west side of Massachusetts, merchant Jacob House, born in Leipnik, Austria, in 1833, had been in Lawrence only a year when his store was damaged in the raid. By December 2, 1863, he advertised:

J. House Has Resumed Command! And Is Now In The Field! He Can be Found at His Old Fort Known As Miller's Block . . . Latest Styles of Clothing and Furnishing Goods, Hats, Caps, Boots and Shoes . . . ENTIRE NEW STOCK.

House long remembered the generosity of Leavenworth and how his partner and their families had gone there to restock their goods after the raid and stopped at the Planter's hotel. When time came to pay the bill House recalled, "The hotel clerk refused to take our money, saying the good people of Leavenworth had paid our bills." No doubt people's kindness lifted the spirits of House and other raid survivors.¹⁷

In addition to attracting outside credit and support as Lawrence had from its founding, survivors were willing to take on town debt for local financing of the Eldridge hotel. Rebuilding the already iconic Eldridge House, as the hotel was called, involved both a concerted group initiative and public bonds. Only ten days after the raid, on September 1, 1863, a group of business men and bankers, who had lost their buildings but survived the raid, petitioned Colonel S. W. Eldridge, "We, your neighbors and friends appeal to you not to be discouraged but arouse yourself to action & rebuild the noble structure as near as possible as it was. We will aid you to the utmost of our ability and firmly believe the friends of freedom throughout the land will aid you."¹⁸ But Eldridge, who had lost \$60,000 when the hotel burned down in the raid, needed financial help. A committee visited the city council to ask for submission of a bond issue to the voters, and on March 3, 1865, a \$15,000 bond issue passed on a 162–47 vote, a vote of confidence in the future of the town from raid survivors. Eldridge hired men, began construction, and the rebuilding reached the third floor before work stopped. Out of money, on May 21, 1866, Eldridge sold the hotel to raid survivor George W. Deitzler, who moved immediately to have the building finished. By September 1866, the hotel was ready to receive guests. Although the name "Eldridge" was retained for the hotel, Shalor W. Eldridge, then in middle age, would never be quite as influential a figure in Lawrence as he had been before the raid.¹⁹

17. James G. Sands lived at 603 Tennessee; his saddlery was located at 722 Massachusetts. Sands's advertisement, *Kansas Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1864; J. House, "Experiences and Facts About Survivors," *Lawrence—Today and Yesterday: Published as a Magazine and Souvenir Edition Commemorating the Semi-Centennial of the Lawrence Massacre* (Lawrence: *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, 1913), 123–24; *Green and Foley's Lawrence City Directory, 1888* (Lawrence: P.T. Foley, Printer, 1887), 132.

18. Martha Caldwell, "The Eldridge House," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 9 (November 1940): 364.

19. *Ibid.* Eldridge in the Kansas State Census lists assets of \$40,000 and \$20,000 in real and personal properties. See Kansas State Census, 1865, Douglas County, Lawrence; "Sale of the Eldridge House," *Kansas Daily Tribune*, May 22, 1866. Eldridge built hotels in other towns, made money, but also lost wealth. Shalor Winchell Eldridge, *Publications of*



Prior to its destruction in the raid, the Eldridge House was one of Lawrence's most recognizable buildings. Within days of the raid, survivors encouraged its owner, Colonel S. W. Eldridge, to rebuild and offered him financial support. After running out of funds, Eldridge sold the partially completed structure to George W. Deitzler, who opened the new building in 1866. Alexander Gardner took this photograph of the hotel a year later. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Brinton W. Woodward had survived the raid when his raider assailants became distracted by the escape of a prize pony from a nearby livery stable. Woodward reopened his drugstore a month after the raid, because his building near the Kansas River was damaged but not destroyed. By January 31, 1865, he had constructed a new and larger building on the corner of Henry (Eighth Street) and Massachusetts Streets. Fred Read had made a remarkable recovery from his status as a "Habitual Drunk," as the Probate Court had labeled him. A jury of his peers, chaired by raid survivor L. Guild, in 1864, found him competent to regain control of his property, which had been placed under his wife's guardianship. In 1865 Read announced that he would make crockery his specialty and that he had arranged with a New York importing firm to supply him with "celebrated potteries." He would also keep selling other dry goods.²⁰

the Kansas State Historical Society Embracing Recollections of Early Days in Kansas (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1920), 2:206.

20. "New Edition for B. W. Woodward" advertisement, *Kansas Daily Tribune*, January 31, 1865; *Lawrence City Directory and Business Guide for 1866* (Lawrence: Boughton and McAllaster, [1866]), 70, 88; "F. W. Read," *Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 27, 1865; Douglas County, Probate Court Records, Record C, Kansas Collection, University of Kansas Libraries.

While Massachusetts Street businessmen sought to quickly reopen their stores, many of the raid widows had to find a way to earn a living. Many widows and wounded men received \$150 from the Lawrence Relief Fund in the immediate raid aftermath but had to improvise their own longer-term support.²¹ Three years after the raid thirteen raid widows had remarried, and German-born widow Mary Anna Oehrle had sent her two sons to an orphanage in Ohio. Two raid widows opened boardinghouses. Thirty-eight-year-old Annie Bell, widow of Douglas County clerk George W. Bell, advertised “Boarding” for “a few day and week boarders” in her home in August 1864. Left without extended family members in Lawrence and at a time when she could expect neither a government pension nor public support, Annie Bell, with five children to provide for, in 1865 advertised her “Home Restaurant” in rooms she had “fitted up” over Leis’s Drug Store. In 1866 her “New Restaurant” on Henry Street, just east of Massachusetts, opened up in rooms she had once again “fitted up” for her business. She announced she was “prepared to accommodate a few day boarders and furnish good meals at any time.” For her entrepreneurial pursuits in April 1865, Mrs. Bell received two infusions of \$50 each in cash from the \$5,000 fund that Amos A. Lawrence had sent to aid sufferers in the stricken city. In 1866 Annie Bell received another cash award that included \$19 for a washing machine wringer and funds to help pay taxes on her home. Jetta Dix, the young Irish-born widow of raid victim Ralph C. Dix, whose wagon and blacksmith shop were destroyed, rebuilt a home on the Dix property and opened a boardinghouse to support her three young children. She was not listed as receiving further relief funds but may have been extended credit on the basis of Ralph Dix’s entrepreneurial reputation and property. However, she had to apply to the Douglas County Probate Court for money from her husband’s estate for her children’s needs. Ralph Dix, like most victims, had not made a will. In these circumstances widows with underage children had to apply to the probate judge, raid survivor James Hendry, for funds from the estates of their husbands that were held in trust for the children.²²

21. “Report,” *Kansas State Journal*, November 12, 1863.

22. *Douglas County Marriages, 1854–1884*, vol. 1 (Lawrence: Douglas County Genealogical Society, 1989). Oehrle’s sons Gottlieb and Charles spent several years in the German Methodist Orphanage in Berea, Ohio. Widow Mary Anna Oehrle married John Damm of Stull, Kansas, on January 18, 1865; John S. Brown, who administered the funds, reported to A. A. Lawrence in Boston in letters and a listing of 115 dispersals of

The Amos A. Lawrence and Union Merchants Bank of St. Louis relief funds not only aided the raid survivors but also played a critical role in supplying money for Lawrence to secure designation as the site of the proposed state university. After much maneuvering in the Kansas legislature in 1863, Lawrence delegates secured the location of the university contingent on the town raising \$15,000 in a nine-year-old settlement that had almost been destroyed in the raid. Portions of both the St. Louis Fund and the Amos A. Lawrence fund were used to underwrite the first university building. By summer 1865, Lawrence city fathers decided an orphanage was no longer needed and applied money from these resources to the building that became known as North College. As a concession to the original intent of the funds, they agreed that raid orphans could attend the university tuition free.²³

Expansion followed recovery. By 1866 Lawrence had grown rapidly from about 2,500 people at the time of the raid to a population of 5,960, of which 1,113 were “colored,” according to the *Kansas Daily Tribune* on January 11, 1866. Among the new businesses and institutions were Lathrop Bullene’s “New Store,” a rebuilt Eldridge Hotel, and the University of Kansas, set to open with fifty-four students in September. With a toll bridge spanning the Kansas River, the city of Lawrence was ready to incorporate North Lawrence, the settlement that had been the Delaware Indian Reserve on the north side of the Kansas River, into the city. The city council, led by men who survived the raid, approved this measure after the Delaware Indians were moved to a reservation in Indian Territory, later the state of Oklahoma.²⁴

Some smaller preraid businesses never reopened. Those with fewer resources or access to credit than Fred Read, Lathrop Bullene, G. W. E. Griffith, R. W. Ludington,

the “Lawrence Fund” to persons in need, accounts 1865 to 1867. John S. Brown to A. A. Lawrence, July 8, 1867, folder 1, box 1, Collection 651, State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society. “Hon. A. A. Lawrence I hereby transmit to you an account up to the present date of my stewardship—This nearly closes up Dr. & cr. with the Funds I have rec^d from you. There have been a good many annoyances connected with the distribution of these funds. The pleasure of relieving want has more than balanced the trouble.” Pat Kehde, *High Hopes and Great Loss: The Story of Ralph and Jetta Dix, Lawrence, Kansas—1858–1871* (Lawrence: the author, 2013); “Funeral of Judge Hendry,” *Lawrence Daily Journal and Evening Tribune*, February 7, 1895.

23. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 11, 1865. C. S. Griffin, “The University of Kansas and the Years of Frustration, 1854–1864,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 32 (Spring 1966): 1–32.

24. “Population of Lawrence,” *Kansas Daily Tribune*, January 11, 1866; *Lawrence City Directory and Business Guide for 1866*; “Amending the City Charter,” *Kansas Daily Tribune*, February 7, 1866.

B. W. Woodward, J. G. Sands, and Jacob House may not have been able to obtain financing. Owners of small businesses did not have the connections to businessmen in Leavenworth and Kansas City that larger firms had. For example, E. L. Bradley, who had fled Arkansas in 1862, when that state expelled free people of color, did not reopen his bathhouse. He had arrived in Lawrence, widely known for its antislavery stance, with hopes that his Turkish bathhouse would win acceptance. But after the raid he turned to barbering for a living. Whether his first business had attracted general patronage cannot be determined, but the records show that he spent the rest of his life as a barber and was buried in a pauper's grave when he died in 1896. Credit may not have been made available to this African American businessman. Some business partnerships that had been revived after the raid quickly dissolved. H. S. Fillmore, whose brother and business partner, Lemuel Fillmore, died in the raid, reopened his dry goods store for only a brief time. The Fillmore property was sold to satisfy the estate of the deceased partner. The stable of the Willis brothers burned out in the raid reopened quickly, but the business was sold by 1865. Wesley H. Duncan, whose store had burned and whose partner was killed in the raid, partnered with businessman Robert Morrow to reopen in 1864. However, in June 1867, Duncan sold his share, packed up his wife and two young children, and joined an overland wagon train for California. The Duncan family returned to Lawrence the following year, and Duncan reentered business on Massachusetts with raid survivor G. W. E. Griffith.²⁵

Visitors to Lawrence found the rapid rebuilding remarkable. A man from Marshalltown, Iowa, wrote editor John Speer:

But what excites my admiration more than all things else, is the condition of your own Lawrence. That now on this 21st day



A public school teacher with a degree from Mount Holyoke College, Mary Carpenter had been married for less than a year before her husband's murder. After his death, she served as principal of the high school in Lawrence. Later she briefly taught at Washburn and married John C. Rankin of Quenemo, Kansas. Courtesy of the Douglas County Historical Society/Watkins Museum of History, Lawrence, Kansas.

25. "Bath House," *Lawrence (Kans.) Republican*, July 23, 1862, July 31, 1862; Kansas Census 1865, Elias Bradley, age 48, married, born Arkansas, barber; B. Jean Snedeger et al., *Complete Tombstone Census of Douglas County* (Douglas County, Kans.: Douglas County Genealogical Society Lawrence, 1987), 209; *Directory of the City of Lawrence for 1871* (Lawrence: J.T. Atchison, Publisher, 1871), 42. H. S. Fillmore resided on Kentucky Street between Quincy and Hancock. Listing of property sold to settle Fillmore estate, Douglas County, Probate Court Records, box

9, Kansas Collection; "Death of Jerry C. Willis," obituary Jeremiah C. Willis, *Lawrence (Kans.) Gazette*, November 22, 1888; Duncan, *Kansas Daily Tribune*, May 29, 1867; the Duncan family returned to Lawrence in 1868, when Duncan resumed business; Katie H. Armitage, "This Far Off Land": The Overland Diary, June–October 1867, and California Diary, January–March 1868, of Elizabeth 'Bettie' Duncan," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 12 (Spring 1989): 13–27.

of August, just four years from the time when by Quantrell's band all your business edifices were laid in ashes, when so large a portion of your dwellings were destroyed, when eighty-five widows mourned over their slain and one hundred and eighty orphans were left destitute, your city can present such an extent of well-built and substantial structures, both for business purposes and dwellings. Again and again have I inquired in amazement, after such destruction of buildings and property and life, whence came the wealth and enterprise which could accomplish such results, and in four years establish what appears to me to be so extensive and prosperous a business and so pleasant and attractive a city.²⁶

Alexander Gardner, a photographer employed by the railroad, arrived in Lawrence in September 1867. His images of the new university building, views of Massachusetts Street lined with two and three-story brick buildings, scenes of homes scattered down the hill from Mount Oread, as well as the railroad bridge and dwellings across the Kansas River, depicted the quick rebuilding.²⁷

Another indication that just a few years after the raid that citizens had rebuilt, expanded the city, and regained confidence can be found in their willingness to resume political activism, which before the Civil War had centered on the campaign against slavery. The temperance issue was beginning to stir action in Lawrence by the end of the Civil War. Raid widow and public school teacher Mary Carpenter, who was a graduate of Mount Holyoke, read a petition from Lawrence women in mid-October 1865, before the city council that asked for a vote on "licensing for the sale of intoxication liquors." The petition was received and placed on the record but no action was taken. In 1867 the Kansas legislature placed three suffrage amendments on the November ballot. Lawrence residents actively campaigned for the amendments to confer voting rights to black men and all women. Reformers in Lawrence were greatly disappointed when both amendments failed. A number of prominent women and raid survivors, such as Mrs. Honorable E. G. Ross, Mrs. G. W. E. Griffith, Mrs. J. H. Lane, Mrs. Reverend R. Cordley, and Mrs. ex-Governor Charles Robinson, signed the

26. "Impressions of a stranger," *Kansas Daily Tribune*, August 21, 1867.

27. Alexander Gardner stereographs, Gardner Collections Number 47, State Archives, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka; David Dary, edited by Steve Jansen, *Pictorial History of Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas* (Lawrence: Allen Books, 1992), 79–92.

"Address by the Women's Impartial Suffrage Association of Lawrence, Kansas." No name of any raid widow appeared on this list of twenty-nine women. The growing temperance cause was a moral issue that affected wives and families and therefore deemed more appropriate for public pronouncement by the respected raid widow than the political issue of voting rights.²⁸

Lawrence had rapidly rebuilt with loans from creditors, financing from banks in Kansas and Missouri, and by the initiatives of local businessmen and encouragement of leaders such as John Speer. Although the railroad boom did not bring as much growth and prosperity as once hoped, it brought new residents and goods to Lawrence stores and to Douglas County farms. The University of Kansas held its first graduation for a class of four in 1873. But after the grasshopper invasion of 1874 and the loss of the railroad roundhouse to Kansas City in 1877, the town entered a period of slow growth.

Fred Read, who stated, "I went through 8 years of war, 4 years of Territorial or border ruffian war & 4 years of war of the Rebellion," exemplified survivors who were determined to rebuild after the raid. After his seemingly temporary bout with alcoholism, he devoted himself to family, home, business, and the town. By 1888 the Read store had moved two doors south on Massachusetts Street, boasted a stock of \$10,000, an annual business of \$30,000 to \$35,000, and the employment of four to six clerks. Read served on Lawrence's city council in 1888 and again in 1898. As a councilman for his east Lawrence ward, he supported developing a storm-water system and worked to raise funds for the city to extend a water line to Oak Hill Cemetery, the burial grounds opened by the city in 1865 as an appropriate memorial for raid victims. Read also took pride in his home. On August 14, 1894, the *Lawrence World* noted, "One of the prettiest places in town is that of Fred W. Read on Rhode Island street.

28. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, October 19, 1865; "City Council Proceedings," *Kansas Daily Tribune*, October 21, 1865. Mary E. Carpenter, 1839–1917, returned to teaching after Louis Carpenter was shot dead in the raid. "Our City Schools," *Kansas Daily Tribune*, August 27, 1864; Sarah Wilkinson, Archives Assistant, Mount Holyoke Archives and Special Collections, e-mail message to author, July 12, 2010; "Suffrage," *Kansas Daily Tribune*, February 3, March 2, March 5, March 24, September 24, October 16, November 15, 1867; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joselyn Gage, editors, *History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. II, 1861–1876* (New York: Fowler & Wells, Publishers, 1882), 933. The third suffrage amendment—the only one of the three that got the approval of the Kansas electorate—disfranchised certain former Confederate soldiers.

During this hot, dusty weather it is a relief to walk by and see Mr. Read watering his lawn, trimming his shrubs and otherwise tending his choice flowers and plants. . . . To keep up such grounds requires a great deal of care and Mr. Read spends five hours each day in watering alone." In this latter period of his life Read's dark hair had turned gray, but he cut a dapper figure in his photographs with his trim mustache, bow tie, and a boutonniere in the lapel of his suit.²⁹

Quantrill's raid continued to motivate Read to action. In the 1880s Read took the lead in championing a bill in the Kansas legislature for payment of raid claims. Read and other Lawrence citizens who had lost so much in the raid felt entitled to compensation for their losses and were frustrated with the lack of action by the government. This cause came to symbolize both their material losses, their struggles in the Bleeding Kansas era, indeed all the wrongs that had been visited on the town. On January 16, 1869, Lawrence's *Kansas Daily Tribune* proclaimed, "We understand that a vigorous effort will be made soon to get an appropriation through Congress to pay the losses inflicted on our city by Quantrell's raid. It is a measure of such justice and humanity, that we do not believe that the representatives of a government which professes to protect the humblest of its citizens, will turn a deaf ear to this petition."³⁰

As the federal government had paid claims for losses from vigilantism and quasi-military incursions in 1856 in Kansas Territory, raid survivors hoped the United States government would reimburse survivors for raid losses. Raid survivors felt this a matter of justice for those Union loyalists who had suffered so much from Confederate guerrilla bands during the Civil War.³¹ But the U.S. Congress, consumed with the politics of Reconstruction and the needs of wounded Union soldiers and the widows of these fallen, did not take up the claims of Lawrence civilians. With no action by the federal government on the raid claims, raid survivors turned to their state for action. The Kansas legislature in 1875 appointed a commission to gather testimony from survivors. John N. Murdock,



Buoyed by the rebuilding he saw around him, Fred Read recovered from the shock of the raid to open his store. His business, located in a different retail space on Massachusetts Street during the 1880s, grossed over \$30,000 annually. Courtesy of the Douglas County Historical Society/Watkins Museum of History, Lawrence, Kansas.

chair of the commission, asked all persons who desired to present claims to send a postcard to the commission and advised, "Claimants will do well to prepare an itemized statement of their losses, and be prepared to support the same by the evidence of *at least* one disinterested witness." By June 1875, the commission had allowed \$594,000 worth of claims in Lawrence and was set to return after taking more claims in Paola and Fort Scott. The commission issued paper warrants or certificates that totaled \$882,390.11.³²

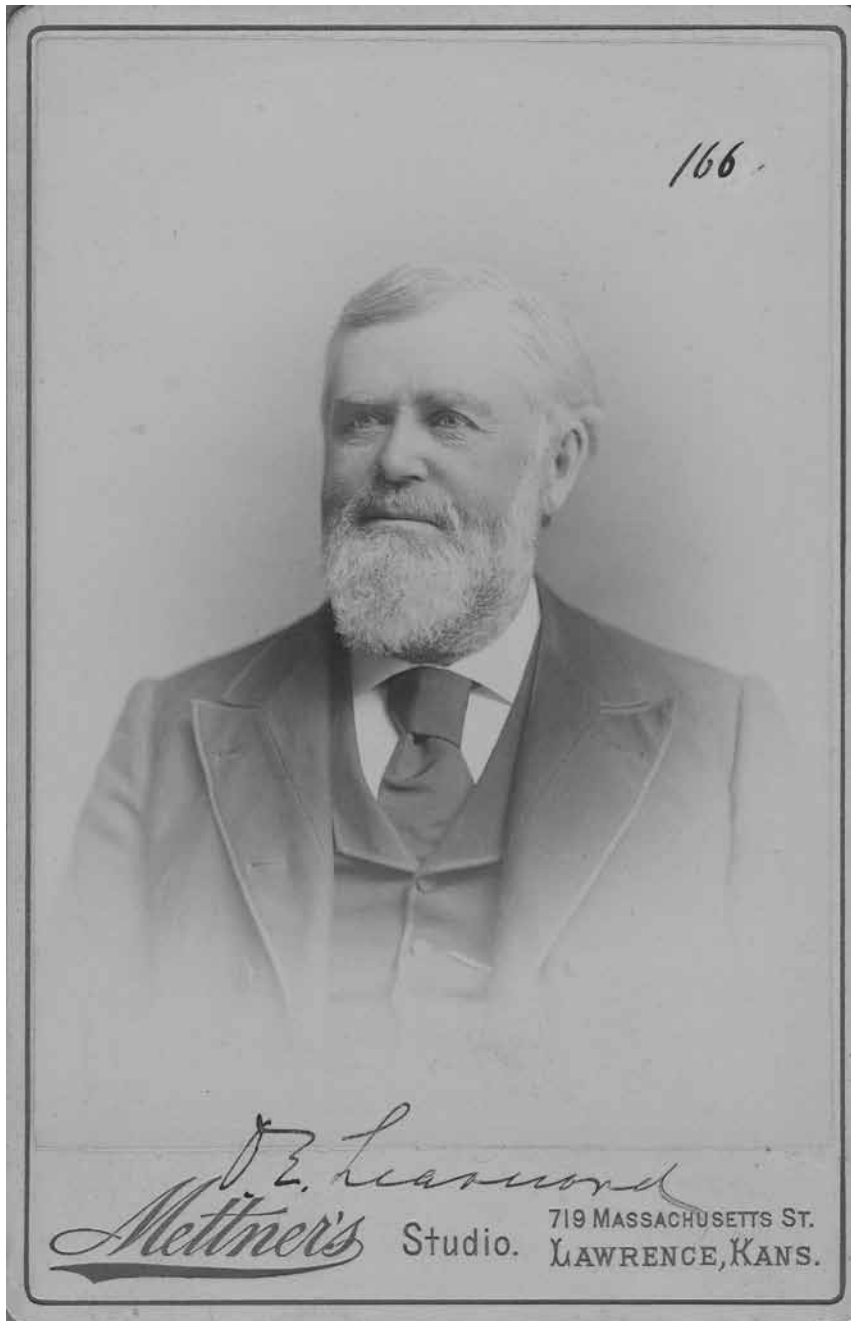
Despite the work of the Raid Commission and the issuing of warrants, the Kansas legislature appropriated no money to redeem these claims. The raids in eastern Kansas had not affected new settlers in western Kansas, who were struggling to establish farms and homes. Their immediate interests did not favor restitution of loss in Civil War Kansas. As the years passed, a number of the raid claimants died and claims passed to descendants. In 1883, twenty years after the raid, Fred W. Read became chair of a state executive committee on raid claims. Ex-

29. "Sketch of the Life of F. W. Read," Read Papers; *Lawrence Daily World*, August 14, 1894; William G. Cutler, "Fred W. Read" in *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1883), 343.

30. "Raid Claims," January 16, 1869, *Kansas Daily Tribune*. "Quantrell" was often spelled with an "e" instead of an "i" into the early twentieth century, when the spelling was corrected to "Quantrill."

31. H. J. Strickler, *Claims of the Citizens of the Territory of Kansas: Report of H. J. Strickler, Commissioner to Audit*, 35th Cong., 2d Sess., Mis. Doc. No. 43 (1858).

32. "Quantrell's Raid," *Republican and Daily Tribune*, April 30, 1875; Frank W. Blackmar, "Claims," in *Kansas: A Cyclopaedia of State History, Embracing Events, Institutions, Industries, Counties, Cities, Towns, Prominent Persons, Etc.* (Chicago: Standard Pub. Co., 1912), 1:355; Commission to Audit Quantrill Raid Claims, "A Roster of Kansas for Fifty Years," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1903-1904* (1904): 529. The three-member commission included William H. Bear of Burlington, John N. Murdock of Ottawa, and Charles D. French of Lawrence.



In the weeks following the raid, Oscar Eugene Learnard, a twenty-nine-year-old lawyer from Vermont, professed his faith in Lawrence's future. Over twenty years later, he purchased the Lawrence Daily Journal, which continued to publish information about raid claims into the 1890s.

Governor Charles Robinson lent his name to the board of this citizen committee. Read visited thirty Kansas counties, where he solicited thousands of petition signatures supporting payment of raid claims to deliver to the Kansas legislature. He mounted a campaign that anticipated a modern public relations effort as he

enlisted prominent supporters, circulated petitions, and issued public statements on the issue. In January 1885, Read submitted a letter to the *Lawrence Daily Journal* from William Hutchinson, former Lawrence resident and then chairman of the U.S. Pension Commission, endorsing and praising Read's work and urging the Kansas legislature to pay the raid claims. When the Kansas House of Representatives debated the raid claims bill in 1885, Read was among a group of prominent Lawrence men in Topeka, but no bill passed. In February 1886, Lawrence men were again pressing this cause without success.³³

When the Kansas legislature finally passed a raid claims bill in March 1887, twenty-four years after the raid, a Lawrence newspaper editor welcomed it as the town's "biggest boom." The paper and Fred Read praised the work of local state representative J. D. Bowersock for steering the bill that passed with a seven-vote margin. The small margin in favor of the act indicates the reluctance of some legislators to support this funding. The act also covered claims from other guerrilla raids in Kansas from 1861 to 1863, but as the majority of the losses occurred in Lawrence on August 21, 1863, these certificates were generally called the "Quantrell Raid Claims." The newspaper printed the names and original amounts claimed by 237 Lawrence survivors. But the 1887 act reduced the total value of claims by half. Because allocations for payments of the claims would stretch over a ten-year period, the legislation added \$104,720.26 for interest on the claims. In a blow to those with the largest losses, no claims above \$1,500 could be redeemed. Claims of less than \$1,000 were to be paid, then only 25

33. "The Raid Claims," letter from William Hutchinson to F. W. Read, *Lawrence Daily Journal*, January 8, 1885; "The Raid Bill," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, February 23, 1886.

percent of claims above \$1,000 and up to \$1,500. The newspaper editor admitted, "It works injustice to the heavy losers, but as a rule they are better able to stand it, and the \$1,500 will be something." Many likely rejoiced in the passage of the bill, but the question of who deserved the most credit for the passage of the act distressed Fred Read, who believed he was responsible. Read had contacted raid claimants, offering them contracts that appointed himself as attorney and agent to procure legislation for collection of claims. Those signing some one hundred of these contracts agreed to pay him 10 percent of the amount assumed by the state of Kansas.³⁴

Twenty years after the raid, new leadership had replaced raid survivors in Lawrence. The population had grown to over 8,500 and the town had gained the United States Haskell Industrial Training School, the present Haskell Indian Nations University. A number of prominent raid survivors had changed careers. In 1883 John Speer, whose newspaper vigorously and continuously promoted the rebuilding of Lawrence, left the newspaper business and moved to Garden City, Kansas. Other prominent Lawrence businessmen who had rebuilt in Lawrence, such as P. D. Ridenour, Harlow Baker, R. W. Ludington, B. W. Woodward, and Lathrop Bullene, moved some or all of their successful enterprises into the growing railroad center of Kansas City, Missouri. By 1880 G. W. E. Griffith had become a banker and was president of Lawrence Gas and Fuel Company before the end of the decade. But soon Griffith left Lawrence to establish branches of that company in the West. Phillip Albach had left the grocery business to become a "fruit grower." H. S. Fillmore, a former dry goods merchant, had also become a fruit grower. Jacob House's clothing store was one of the two largest in Lawrence, and he was prosperous enough in 1884, to build a large, Italianate-style home for his family on Ohio Street. Shalor W. Eldridge had invested in mining in Arkansas. Oscar E. Learnard left his position as attorney for the Kansas City, Fort Scott and Memphis Railroad in 1884 and became owner of the *Lawrence Daily Journal*. The Oehrle sons, who had been sent to an Ohio orphanage, returned to Lawrence, and Charles became a fisherman, while Gottlieb edited a German-language newspaper, *Die*

34. "Quantrell Raid Claims Bill," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, March 5, 1887; *Lawrence Evening Tribune*, March 5, 1887; Blackmar, "Claims" in *Kansas: A Cyclopaedia of State History*, 1:352-56; Read Papers, 1864-1901. In addition to a brief autobiography, the documents include dated folders with envelopes of signed contracts and letters relating to the Read's raid claim efforts.

Germania. Although raid widows Annie Bell and Jetta Dix remarried, both continued to operate boardinghouses into the 1880s.³⁵

Fred Read remained in the dry goods business on Massachusetts Street and lived nearby in a home on New Hampshire Street and then on the next street east, Rhode Island, for the rest of his life. As he walked to his dry goods store daily, back home for dinner at noon, and returned to the store for the afternoon, he tread the ground where some of the most horrific scenes of the raid had taken place. He had an honorable discharge from service in the Home Guard; was a member of Washington Post, No. 12, Grand Army of the Republic; of Masonic Lodge, No. 6, AF&AM; and Plymouth Congregational Church. He likely discussed the raid with Reverend Richard Cordley, a raid survivor and historian.³⁶

Fred Read had long ruminated on the losses he and so many others had suffered. He had devoted four years of his life to lobbying for the raid-claims bill and displayed his "Certificate of Audited Claims for Raid Losses" in the window of his store in July 1887:

This is to certify that F. W. Read, or his assigns, is entitled to receive from the State of Kansas, on the first day of February 1889, the sum of \$156.00 on the claim. . . . This certificate will be received in payment of all taxes except school taxes for the years 1898 and 9, and for all subsequent years, and shall bear interest from July 1, 1887 at the rate of four per cent per annum, payable annually.³⁷

The certificates were not fully funded but could be used to offset taxes. Holders of the newly issued certificates

35. U.S. Census, 1880, Douglas County, Lawrence; "Lawrence, Douglas County Directory" in *Southwestern Business Directory* (Denver, Colo.: McKinney Publishing Co., 1889); Griffith, *My 96 Years in the Great West*, 211-15; David M. Katzman, "William Allen White Attends a Lawrence Jewish Wedding," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 34 (Summer 2011): 145; "Col. O. E. Learnard" obituary, *Lawrence Daily Journal*, November 6, 1911; Honorable R. W. Ludington, *Lawrence Daily Journal*, March 11, 1885; information on Oehrles from a descendant, Mrs. Frank Scott, in "Many Direct Descendants of Pioneers Living in Area," *Lawrence Journal World*, September 16, 1954; Mrs. Arthur H. White, interview with the author, October 18, 1996. Annie Bell had married John R. Hamill in 1872; he soon died. In *Green and Foley's Lawrence City Directory, 1888*, she was listed as a widow with a boardinghouse at the end of Tennessee Street. Jetta Dix married W. J. Flintom in 1871, and in 1883 she was listed under "Boarding Houses" in the *Lawrence City Directory for 1883* (Lawrence: Lawrence Publishing Co., [1883]), 88, 198.

36. "Sketch of the Life of F. W. Read," Read Papers.

37. "Quantrill Raid Certificate," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, July 20, 1887.



campaign, writing those who had signed contracts for him to be their agent. Even though the claims had been drastically reduced, Read expected to be paid ten percent of the \$1,500 allowed. Some claimants, such as Fred Eggert, then living in Portland, Oregon, immediately paid up by sending Read a draft for \$15 in a letter thanking him for his work. But raid survivor Sam Reynolds of Lawrence wrote to Read in July 1887 to explain that he had not received his new certificate and had yet to decide whether or not to sell. Reynolds, who claimed a loss of \$3,226 for his house and barn, sympathized with Read, but added, "I know the world is very ungrateful, but the late legislature is responsible for some things." Other letter writers asked for more information before considering selling their claims. Mrs. J. B. Sutliff (Augusta) then in Kansas City, Missouri, replied to Read's letter, "When we get our pay—or scrip [*sic*—we would then consider the matter of selling. . . . We shall sell ours as we need the money to close our home here of debt." She promised to let Read have the first chance at buying her script, "as you say you will give as much as anyone."³⁸

In 1889 Read publicly declared that "Claimants rushed to Topeka and drew their 100, 500, 1000, and 1500 with alac-

After recovering from the financial and psychological damage of Quantrill's raid, during the 1880s and 1890s Fred Read served as a councilman and worked to secure raid claims from the government for civilian victims.

who needed money could sell them immediately but at a discount to speculators and investors. Several Lawrence businessmen and bankers, including Fred Read, offered to purchase the certificates at less than face value expecting them to be redeemed eventually. Read began a letter

38. Fred Eggert to F. W. Read, August 22, 1887; Sam Reynolds to F. W. Read, July 27, 1887; Mrs. Sutliff, 309 Waldron Dr., Kansas City, Missouri, to F. W. Read, July 30, 1887, Read Papers; Civil War Claims Register, Quantrill Raid—Claims Paid, and Rejected Quantrill Raid Claims, State Auditor Files (35-05-08-03), State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

city” but did not honor their signed obligation to pay their share of the expenses. He had received the money from only “one in ten” of his contracts. When he penned a bitter letter for publication in Learnard’s *Lawrence Daily Journal*, Read claimed to be “out of pocket more than one thousand dollars” and to be “left holding the bag” by others in whose names he had worked and sacrificed. Read posted the signed contract of H. S. Fillmore on the door of his store and threatened to post others unless he was paid for his efforts. Fillmore, whose brother Lemuel had died in the raid, did not respond in the newspaper in the following days or month. Fillmore originally filed for \$15,965 for the loss of the store and stock. He may have felt that the reduced amount of \$1,500, only 10 percent of his loss, did not meet his expectations for Read’s contract to act as agent to the legislature for raid losses.³⁹

So many years after the raid, the practical impact on those who sold their certificates or scripts at less than face value or eventually redeemed their certificates with interest was modest. While \$1,500 or less was welcomed, these amounts were likely not enough to sustain a financially threatened business or a poverty-stricken family for a long period of time. A more timely and generous government reimbursement for losses might have been enough to revive smaller business, such E. L. Bradley’s bathhouse or even H. S. Fillmore’s store. Timely cash surely would have helped raid widows and “orphans.” For Fred Read, the official recognition of loss by the redemption of raid claims

seemed to vindicate his experiences. Amelia Read, who was considered a heroine of the raid when she stood up to the raiders and saved her home, died of cancer in 1892, after a yearlong illness. Before Fred remarried he lived for a short time with his only surviving child, his son Lathrop Read, and family. When Fred Read died in 1901, his obituary in the *Lawrence Daily World* affirmed, “Mr. Read held many positions of trust but the big work of his life was getting the Quantrell raid claims through the legislature. . . . Year after year he made it the paramount issue of his life to have justice done.” For Fred Read, raid widows and orphans, and many other survivors who rebuilt Lawrence “out of the ashes,” Quantrill’s raid was a defining event of their lives.⁴⁰

Many towns and cities were burned during the Civil War, but few had sustained the double loss of so many men and buildings that the young town of Lawrence experienced. Despite the terrible loss, Lawrence survivors rallied behind their leaders to reclaim their town. In a few years after the raid, Lawrence businessmen had rebuilt their stores and citizens their homes with loans and support from nearby Leavenworth, Kansas; from St. Louis, Missouri; and Boston, Massachusetts. But the years-long quest for payment of raid losses demonstrated the continuing hold the raid had on survivors. Despite the material rebound and growth of Lawrence, the struggle for redemption of the raid claims speaks to the long shadow that Quantrill’s raid cast on survivors to the end of the nineteenth century and beyond. [KH]

39. “Quantrill Raid,” *Lawrence Journal and Evening Tribune*, November 11, 1889.

40. “Claims,” *Lawrence Daily Journal*, July 3, 1891; “Mrs. F. W. Read Dead,” *Lawrence Daily Journal and Evening Tribune*, October 1, 1892; *A Directory of the City of Lawrence and Douglas County for 1893–1894* (Wichita, Kans.: The Leader Directory Company, [1894]), 132. Fred Read and Lathrop Read lived at 746 New Hampshire Street. At the time of his death, Fred and Louisa Read lived at 635 Rhode Island Street. *Chittenden’s 1900–01 Lawrence City Directory* (St. Louis, Mo.: Chittenden Directory Company, 1900), 165; “The End Has Come. Fred Read Died at His Home Saturday Evening,” *Lawrence Daily World*, June 10, 1901.